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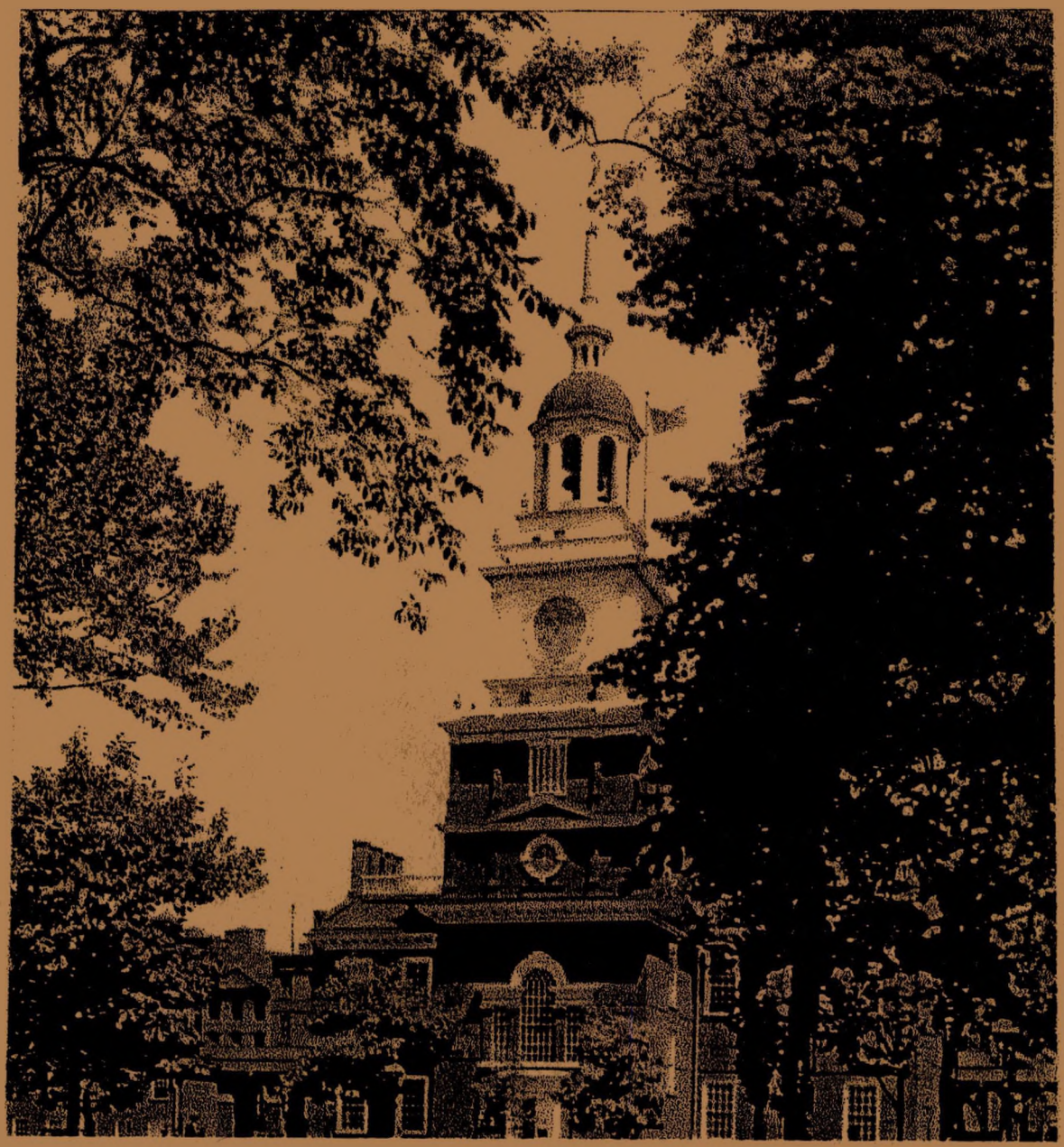
DRAFT

Cultural Landscape Report

INDEPENDENCE SQUARE

Historical Narrative

by
Anna Coxe Toogood, Historian
Independence National Historical Park



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REVISED COPY

Independence National Historical Park
National Park Service
January 1998

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Management Summary

Background and Purpose:

Independence Square, a property owned since 1818 by the City of Philadelphia, is managed by the National Park Service as part of Independence National Historical Park by cooperative agreement signed July 14, 1950. This agreement provides for the city's approval on any management decisions that impact on the resources at Independence Square.

Independence Square, one of the squares defined by the first city plat in 1683, is bounded east and west by Fifth and Sixth Streets, and north and south by Chestnut and Walnut Streets. Originally it was divided by William Penn into bonus lots for Radnor Township settlers. The Colonial Assembly purchased the square over a 40-year period (1730-69) as a site for a state house and public walks. The State House, later known as Independence Hall, gained significance for its role in the American Revolution. The nation's founding political documents--the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States-- were drafted and signed in the State House, Independence Hall, and the U.S. government made the square its home during the precedent-setting first decade of the nation under the Constitution.

Today Independence Square is a World Heritage site for its associations with ideas, beliefs and events of outstanding historical importance. It is listed as part of a National Register district that includes all the property within the boundaries of Independence National Historical Park. The National Register description of the Square recognizes the existing elements of the landscape from the Centennial (1875-76) period and from the 1915-16 modifications under the American Institute of Architecture, but does not identify that the central walk

between Independence Hall and the Walnut Street entrance dates to the original Vaughan landscape of 1785-1787, as does the landscaping of the grounds with a grove of shade trees.

A new General Managment Plan (GMP) for Independence National Historical Park has been underway for three years. This cultural landscape report will support that GMP by providing the history of the use and landscape changes at the square, analysis of the built landscape as it now stands, and treatment recommendations that will help shape the management decisions for Independence Square in the next two decades.

The recent cultural landscape inventory prepared for Independence National Historical Park identified the visual diagonal association of entrances and paths between Independence and Washington Squares. This study will document the historical relationship the two squares have and make recommendations for their treatment.

Independence Park's massive utilities project will fund certain elements of maintenance and repair for "severely deteriorated" features of the landscape. The cultural landscape report will help inform decisions during that work. The park is also preparing a plan which will recommend wheelchair accessibility to all the resources, to comply with the Americans with Disabilities Act. This report will help inform decisions on implementing that project.

Methodology and Scope of Project

Since Independence Park's establishment many historic structure and furnishings reports have been prepared to tell the history of the buildings on the Square, while archeology reports document the below-ground evidence of man's presence there. In 1959 park staff prepared an historic grounds report to record the

site's first landscape, laid out by Samuel Vaughan following the American Revolution. It gave only cursory information on the subsequent 200 years of landscape history.

This study aims to fill several gaps in the park's documentation of Independence Square. As no historic resource study has ever been programmed, the history section incorporates as much information as possible on the public use and context of the grounds over the last 300 years. Context specifically focuses on the relationship of Independence and Washington Squares, with a mind to whether the two squares warrant similar maintenance treatment. It also goes into some detail on Independence Square's nineteenth and twentieth century landscape design changes, as well as its use as a rallying place for a diverse range of enthnic and political groups.

This report relies heavily on the work of former park historians and historic architects who carried out research in national and international record centers during the 1950s and 1960s. This material was compiled into a research notecard file which is maintained in the park's library. The research covered Independence Square as a topic, as well as 18th century horticulture. Besides this compilation, the report draws on numerous primary and secondary sources. Research by Gary B. Nash, Morris J. Vogel, Nicholas Wainright, John Cotter, and Edwin Wolf 2nd, among others, streamlined a crash course in Philadelphia's cultural and economic history. The Pennsylvania Horticultural Society and Historical Society, the Atheaneum and the City Archives provided significant new material, particularly for documenting the nineteenth and twentieth century history of the square.

The historical narrative benefited from several Independence Park collections. Microfilm rolls of the Etting collection (Historical Society of Pennsylvania) gave evidence of the grounds

during the nation's Centennial anniversary. The City Collection provided the files --including historic photographs-- generated by city officials in charge of the square this century. The Horace Wells Sellers Collection documented much of the 1915-16 A.I.A. restoration effort on the square. Sellers was the principal architect on the landscape design changes during that project. The park's numerous stereoptic views (in several different collections) furnished many late 19th century/early 20th century images of the grounds, while the park's photographic study collection provided copy prints (drawings, sketches and photographs) from all three centuries. The park archives hold the papers of the early planners for Independence National and State parks, as well as clippings from several Philadelphia papers covering aspects of the park movement. The archives also contain copies of all planning and research reports prepared for the park. The photostat collection has copies of many maps, drawings, and articles on the square, while the map files give evidence of the minimal landscape alterations to the grounds since the National Park Service's takeover.

Summary of Findings: Historical Overview & Context

Independence Square, so named in 1825, has received three major landscape changes and numerous modifications over 200-plus years. The first designed landscape followed the Revolution and reflected the Romantic or naturalistic style that had been fashionable in England for nearly half a century. The second design was laid out for the nation's Centennial in 1875. Additional entrances and paths that converged on a central circle made the square accessible and convenient. The third design, designed by the local chapter of the American Institute of Arc

Independence Square -- originally known as the State House Square-- was purchased between 1732 and 1769 by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for a state house and public walks. The Assembly at once moved to level the ground so that walks could be laid out and trees planted to make the property "more beautiful and commodious." On February 20, 1736, the legislators appointed trustees to supervise the ongoing construction of the State House and decreed that no part of the grounds south of that building be "made use of for erecting any sort of buildings thereon, but that the grounds be enclosed and remain a public open green and Walks forever."

This vision of a green and open space soon got further defined by directives to lay out the grounds in rows of trees and walks, a familiar landscape motif for English country houses. This foresightful planning, however, did not get realized until after the Revolution. Available funds went towards the purchase of the entire block, and the construction of a high wall to enclose the yard. Up to and through the Revolution, the colony put the yard to practical uses, making it an area for storage and military drill or ceremony.

Immediately after the Revolution the Pennsylvania legislature set out to landscape the yard under the direction of a recently arrived English merchant gentleman and close friend of Benjamin Franklin's, Samuel Vaughan. Vaughan's social circle included the local gentry and intelligentsia, among them botanists and horticulturalists. The yard's design reflected the Romantic landscape style current in England for several decades. A natural look, with serpentine walks, hilly contours, and a variety of trees and bushes marked the grounds. Vaughan also fulfilled the early mandate to have rows of trees and walks. The broad central allee lined with a double row of elms gave welcome shade and a ceremonial axial approach to the State House from the grand Walnut Street entrance gate. This public garden, enclosed

by a seven-foot brick wall, served the federal and state legislatures, as well as the city's government, during the decade (1790-1800) Philadelphia was the nation's capital.

The central walk south of the State House has been retained, although modified, to the present. As a design element it had precedents in English, French and Philadelphia landscapes. In the eighteenth century the State House Square was Philadelphia's only public garden -- and perhaps the only urban landscaped park open to the public in the new nation, other than New York's Bowling Green Park.

The Assembly's 1736 mandate to reserve the south yard as a public walk did not prevent the Assembly's grant of a lot on Fifth Street for the American Philosophical Society's hall in 1785, but it did provide the key ammunition for the city's successful campaign to purchase the square to save Independence Hall from the state's plan of 1813 to subdivide and sell off the block. Again in 1867, the 1736 act was by-passed to build a much-needed county courthouse on the Sixth Street side of the square, but at the same time, it was instrumental in warding off more expansive schemes to erect a new city hall complex on Independence Square.

During the 19th century the landscape features around the buildings were altered and modified several times, to give the square more air (palisade fence) and light (thinned trees), and to make it more convenient to pedestrians (new paths and entrances). For the nation's Centennial, the city retained the central allee on the axis with Independence Hall, as well as the narrower cross and diagonal walks to the square's center. A circle (planned for a patriotic monument) at the center connected with paths radiating like wheel spokes to the street entrances. For the convenience of commuters, four new entrances were added, and the walls taken down to curb height, which made the grounds

more visually accessible. The radial design provided for the retention of as many trees as possible.

At the close of the century, as the last government offices moved to the new city hall at Penn Square, patriotic and professional groups began to propose the restoration of Independence Square's Revolutionary setting. When the American Institute of Architects assumed a controling role in the restoration of Independence Square's buildings, they considered restoring the landscape, but in the absence of adequate information, opted to make the grounds more harmonious with the historic buildings. They designed to simplify and dignify the setting. They saw to the demolition (1901) of the 1867 courthouse, eliminated the four entrances near the Walnut Street corners put in for the Centennial design, rebuilt the brick wall to a height of four feet on a pattern following colonial church yard walls, and fashioned lamps modeled after an 18th century prototype designed by Benjamin Franklin. They also laid brick paving around the buildings, cobblestone in the Sixth Street driveway, and refurbished the flagstone that had been laid in the Centennial period. This was the last major modification of the landscape design for the yard south of Independence Hall.

Neighboring Southeast Square --renamed Washington Square in 1825--began to be improved as a public walk in the 1790s. With private leadership and funds, the square was tranformed by the 1830s into a much-admired arboretum of 400 trees with diagonal and circular walks. Trees had become increasingly valuable to the health of the city, especially following the great yellow fever epidemic of 1793. During the first half of the nineteenth century, when ready transportation to the country remained limited, people escaped the sickly heat and congestion of the urban setting in these shady public squares.

During the 19th century the city's care of the two squares

often led to similar treatment. The Centennial landscape at Independence Square and the 1880s redesign at Washington Square, both executed by William Dixey of the City Property Bureau, had corresponding diagonal entrance designs at the Sixth and Walnut Streets corner. This diagonal corner connection continued with the 1915 redesigns at both squares, and remains a strong feature today.

Besides being a public park, Independence Square has also served as memorial grounds, and for some groups, a symbolic gathering space. Patriotic private donations supplied the Centennial's Temperence Fountain (removed as of 1968), the Revolutionary War cannon (1932-35), two Civil War cannon inbedded since 1919 at the end of the Sixth Street driveway, the statue of George Washington (1869, recast 1910) in front of Independence Hall, the Commodore John Barry statue (1907) in the center of the square, historical plaques on the buildings and sidewalks, and scores of trees in the yard. Patriotic ceremonies and gatherings in the square following the Civil War contributed to a coordinated effort to protect the grounds from drastic change. Ultimately public advocacy led to the square's designation as a National Historic Site in 1943 and its inclusion as the centerpiece of Independence National Historical Park in 1948.

During the nineteenth and twentieth century Independence Square became a symbol to a range of ethnic or politicized groups. Nativists, Abolitionists, Pro-Slavery, African-Americans, Slavic Federationists, women suffragists, heads of state from around the world, as well as Gay Rights groups rallied or met there, drawing inspiration from the Declaration of Independence or Constitution of the United States. The City of Philadelphia eventually restricted political demonstrations on the Square, except for pre-approved gatherings. The National Park Service has designated Independence Mall for these traditional expressions of freedom of speech and protest.

The National Park Service, like the A.I.A. before it, considered but chose not to restore the original Vaughan landscape. While retaining the grounds behind Independence Hall as they found them, the Service has replaced trees, benches, and flagstone, and added bushes at the entrances. On the Chestnut Street side of Independence Hall, the Park Service in 1974 restored the Chestnut Street sidewalk with 18th century features --brick and pebblestone paving, bollards, and simulated water pumps-- based on contemporary prints and official records, as well as archeological evidence.

Independence Square's buildings and boundaries, walks and tree-covered grounds, lamps, benches, wall and elevated surface south of the buildings, all are landscape features retained as elements from one or more of the three designs, 1785, 1876 and 1915-6. The statues and plaques indicate the site's continued patriotic association with the nation's founding. The landscape thus reflects a significant historic use of Independence Square as a political center, public walk and memorial ground.

Part I: The State House Square

The Original Landscape: William Penn's Purchase

In September 1681 William Penn sent three commissioners to the Delaware Valley to take charge of his new Royal charter for Pennsylvania. He asked them to set aside 10,000 acres for a "large Towne or Citty" on the Delaware River. After several months surveying the coast, the commissioners purchased an undeveloped stretch of riverfront from three Swedish settlers.[1]

The tract, bordered by swampy lowlands to the south, stood on high, firm ground covered by a dense hardwood forest of oak, black walnut, chestnut, cypress, hickory, beech and elm. The terrain rolled with hills and provided bountiful water sources from springs, ponds and streams. A large tidal estuary, the Dock, branched off near the waterfront, penetrating the land for nearly a mile northwestward to today's 10th and Arch Streets and southwestward beyond Spruce, with a flow that required Penn's settlers to construct at least six bridges for the early roadways. The lush setting gave promise of an abundant source of food and water, and the deep water harbor gave ample opportunity of a prosperous port for the new colony.[2]

During his first visit in October 1682, Penn purchased more land so that the town would stretch from the Delaware River west to the Schuylkill River in a rectangular shape containing some

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[1]Weigley, Russell F., ed., Philadelphia A 300 Year History (New York, 1982), pp.4-6. Evidently about 50 subsistence farmers, mostly Swedes and Finns, but also a few Dutch and English, had settled within the original town site, but their cleared lands were minimal and their "snug" houses sat near the Delaware shore. Ibid, pp. 3-4.

[2]. Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, p. 6; John F. Watson with additions by Willis P. Hazard, Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania, I, 489-91 .

1200 acres. He had his surveyor-general Thomas Holme draw up a town plan which showed a gridwork of streets running one mile north and south along the two rivers and two miles between them.[3]

An aristocrat and Quaker, William Penn had a bold vision for his new city. Little more than fifteen years after London's bubonic plague of 1665 and Great Fire of 1666, Penn wanted "a greene Country Towne, which will never be burnt, and allways be wholsome." His concepts may have been shaped in part by the scores of city planners throughout Europe who were trying to find ways to improve the overcrowded medieval walled cities of an earlier age. More likely, during his residencies in Ireland, he visited the new Irish garrison towns such as Londonderry, laid out in gridiron patterns. The city lots gave space for a residence, gardens, orchards and fields. During his 1684 visit, Penn renamed all the east-west streets of Philadelphia after native trees, in keeping with his emphasis on green surroundings in a simple, orderly setting.[4]

Penn's plan set aside five large public squares, one in each quadrant of the city and one in the center. The squares received geographic names--Northeast, Northwest, Southeast, Southwest and Centre--and all were reserved as public open spaces, with the exception of the ten-acre Centre Square, which Penn designated as the site for public buildings, including a Quaker meeting house, state house, school and market house. Approximately one mile from each shore line, Centre Square stood at the heart of the future city which, in Penn's mind, would grow inward from the two navigable rivers.[5]

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[3] Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, p. 7; Weigley notes that Penn's plan provided for a "far more generous city limits than in any other early American town."

[4] Ibid., pp. 1, 7, 10.

[5] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Soon Penn realized that he could not control the rapid expansion of Philadelphia. By 1700 the city had grown ten-fold, with a population of some 2000 to 2500 and with about 400 structures clustered along the Delaware River. By mid-century Philadelphia had become a major port for the colonies. The city overflowed its borders to the north and south along the Delaware River, while westward development had been minimal, with the outskirts of town still hovering around Sixth Street, where the "Governor's Woods" began. Throughout the town narrow, densely-populated alleys compromised the original large lots, creating the potential for fire and disease Penn had hoped to avoid.[6]

Selecting A State House Site, 1729-30

In 1729 the Pennsylvania Assembly began to consider moving their Assembly south to Chester, Pennsylvania, finding it dishonorable "to be obliged annually to hire some Private House to meet and sit," having spent forty-six years in Philadelphia. Anxious to keep the colony's government in town, the city petitioned the Assembly for permission to build them a state house. Immediately resolving that "such a house was very much needed," the legislators authorized that L2000 be raised for the project, and appointed a committee of three to select the site, get plans made and contract for its construction.[7]

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[6]Ibid., p.11, 16; Hannah Benner Roach, "Historical Report First Block Independence Mall Bounded by Fifth, Sixth, Market and Chestnut Streets," Philadelphia City Planning Commission, Work No. 610, July 18, 1952, p.1; Martin P. Snyder, City of Independence Views of Philadelphia Before 1800, (New York, 1975), 35.

[7]Edwin B.Bronner, "Village Into Town, 1701-1746," in Philadelphia, p. 51; Charles H. Browning, "The State House Yard, and Who Owned It First After William Penn," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 40 (1880), 87; quote from, Remonstrance of Andrew Hamilton, Pennsylvania Archives, Ser. VIII, v.III, 2213-4. The Minutes of the Provincial Council for December 16, 1728, reveal another reason the Assembly considered leaving town:

Speaker of the House Andrew Hamilton sat on the committee and won the Assembly's support for his choice of building site, at the west end of Chestnut Street on the outskirts of town. He also shared the responsibility with his future son-in-law, Judge and wealthy merchant, William Allen, for the purchase of the land and construction of the state house.[8]

The building site on the south side of Chestnut between Fifth and Sixth Streets sat on a rise, with the ground falling off as much as five feet toward Walnut Street. Only a handful of houses stood in the neighborhood. The block's original sixteen lots which William Penn had granted to Welsh settlers of Radnor Township as "bonus lots," had changed hands and in some cases, been subdivided. The neat geometric pattern of the original lots--eight fronting on Chestnut and Walnut Streets, each 49 1/2 feet across, and extending back 255 feet to meet mid-block--now had smaller lots fronting on Fifth and Sixth Streets, making nearly 25 parcels of land on the block. Three small turn-of-the-century houses stood together at the corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets, and a newer house stood mid-way up Walnut to Sixth. A house had gone up on Fifth Street, on the Chestnut Street half of the block, and two houses, one of brick, stood mid-way up Chestnut, making only seven homes on the block. The balance of the land

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"there has been of late several Indecencies used towards the Members of Assembly attending the Service of the Country in Philadelphia, by rude & disorderly Persons, unknown to this House;" and they resolved to find a meeting place that would "seem most safe for the Members of Assembly & most convenient for the Dispatch of the Business of the Country." Colonial Records III, 340.

[8]Browning, "The State House Yard," p. 89; Bronner, "Village Into Town," p. 52; "Remonstrance of Andrew Hamilton," 1733-34, in Pennsylvania Archives VIII, Series III, 2213-4. Hamilton tells the story of how the committee of three fell to fighting and that progress on construction suffered from the personal animosity between Hamilton and his committee members. See also Independence Hall section of notecard files, INDE library.

apparently stood vacant, with an occasional tree and numerous whortleberry bushes covering the ground.[9]

William Allen made the first purchase for the State House in October 1730, when he bought two consolidated lots fronting on Chestnut Street, constituting the entire northern half of the block, 396 feet on Chestnut and 255 feet south to the "back lots"

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[9] John Lukens' survey of Sixth Street in July 1766 found that from the south side of Chestnut Street on the northwest corner of the State House Yard, to the south side of Walnut Street there was a descent of five feet, 1 1/2 inches. Lukens Papers, 1750-1788, American Philosophical Society (APS). In 1706 there had been a hollow at Fifth and Chestnut which perhaps still remained in 1730. Minutes of the Council, Jan. 13, 1706-7, in Minute Book 1704-76, p. 44, as cited in INDE notecard file. National Park Service archeology in the square during the 1950s also determined the sloping grade. A 1737 regulation of the State House ground noted a descent of half inch in ten from the center door westward to the east side of Sixth Street, where a water course flowed. "Regulation of the Ground at the Statehouse," July 19, 1737, Bureau of Land Records, Department of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, D-113-272. Watson, who decried the city regulators' leveling of the landscape, noted, "Our present State house, now so dead a level, was originally three to four feet higher than now." Annals 1, 214 and 396; Chain of Title for Independence Square in park library. Charles Browning has a diagram of the square during the land purchase period and describes the Radnor Welch Friends' bonus lots by number. "State House Yard," pp. 86ff. It appears from the park's chain of title that a house stood on lot 5 as early as 1705, when Philip Howel sold the property to David Powell. Lot 5 is one of the two lots reserved for the State House, and may help explain the vault for a well under the floor of Independence Hall's central hallway. This vault, found in 1967, posed an enigma to archeologists. Archeologist Wilson thought it an 18th century well put in by Surveyor David Powell in the 1690s, but his excavation turned up only late 19th century artifacts. Joseph H. Hall, IV, in an analysis of Wilson's report concluded "No secure date can be had for construction of the well." Hall,"Synthesis of Archaeological Data, Independence National Historical Park," Museum Institute for Conservation Archaeology, University of Pennsylvania, December 1979; "Archeology at Independence Hall: Real and Ideal," undated with no author; Charles I. Wilson, "The Well in the Entrance of Independence Hall," Independence National Historical Park; and John L. Cotter, Regional Archeologist, "Archeology in Old Philadelphia: An Update," July 7, 1976, in files of Historic Architect and Park Archives.

on Walnut Street. Hamilton then arranged to buy out the rights to pieces of the same property from other owners of the Chestnut and Fifth Streets lots, evidently rectifying early land transactions that had become entangled.[10]

The State House Setting, 1730

When selecting the State House property, Hamilton no doubt considered his own 133' frontage on the north side of Chestnut Street, opposite the proposed site. Since about 1693 a tavern had been operating there, set back from the street in a grove of stately Walnut trees. Originally called "Pott House," after patentee-owner William Crew's first use of the building as a pot-maker, the name changed to "Blue Ball," or "Clarke's Inn", then to "The Thistle and Crown," and, finally, after the State House opened for business, to "State House Inn." [11]

On the blocks to the south, east and west of the State House site, few properties of note had yet been built. The land had been cleared to Broad Street, where Penn's Woods, a mature forest, ran down to the Schuylkill River. From Fourth Street west most of the city lots stood in pasture until after mid-century. An occasional house did, however, break the uniformity.

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[10] Levin Hill, et ux, to William Allen, Oct. 14, 1730; Thomas Pagler to Andrew Hamilton, September 12, 1732; Matthew Dawlin, Butcher, to Andrew Hamilton, June 10, 1732; William Davis to Andrew Hamilton, 18, 1736, Deeds, as recorded in Chain of Title, Independence Square, INDE.

[11]Andrew Hamilton may have purchased this piece of land in 1720 realizing its potential for serving the in-bound traders and Indians to the center of town several blocks east, down by the Delaware River. Certainly his heirs, who continued to own it after his death in 1741, benefited from the popularity and strategic location of the tavern. William Hamilton finally sold the property in 1794, and it was torn down the next year. Roach, "Historical Report," 46-50; INDE photo files, Chestnut St, 5th-6th; Pennsylvania Journal June 23, 1768, as cited in "State House," entry, Hannah Benner Roach Index, APS.

The long-remembered "country house" of Joshua Carpenter, Common Councilman in 1706, had been built back from the north side of Chestnut Street beyond Sixth Street, and on the northeast corner of Walnut and Fifth, Thomas Peters had put up three small houses. Further east on Walnut, about mid-block, Daniel Jones had developed his property with a house, orchards, lights and fences, but otherwise the neighborhood remained pastoral.[12]

The city's Southeast Square--today's Washington Square--diagonally to the southwest of the State House block, had been leased out for pasture since 1706. The square contained especially lush meadowlands due to a stream--a branch of the Dock--which crossed Sixth Street 140 feet south of Walnut Street and traversed the block in a deep gully running to the northwest and southwest. The latter branch ended at a duck pond --a favorite hunting spot-- approximately on the site of today's

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[12]Deborah Norris Logan, daughter of Charles Norris, recalled that as a child in the 1750's, you could look west from the upstairs window of her father's house to "pasture lots, bounded by the 'Proprietor's Woods.'" Her account was published with the title, "Before Our Time," in The American-German Review (April, 1951), 6-7; Watson's description (Ibid., p. 376) of Joshua Carpenter's "ancient" house built on the block diagonally across Sixth Street to the north, suggests that Carpenter may have been living in the area when the State House site was selected. Carpenter, who died before 1730, probably built the house early in the century when he served as Common Councilman and held a lease for Southeast Square. He was the brother of Samuel, one of the most active of the early settlers. Scharf and Westcott, History, 3, 2356. Watson records that the "Governor's Woods" remained from Broad Street to the Schuylkill River until the Revolution, when British soldiers cut them down. Watson and Hazard, Annals 1, 231, 376; A small house(s) may also have been built on the south side of Walnut, opposite the State House block, but without a chain of title, it cannot yet be confirmed. The Chain of Titles for 427 and 435 Walnut Streets, in a deed for the former dated March 29, 1699, and the will of Thomas Bullock, April 12, 1727, indicated there were three houses on the north-east corner of Fifth and Walnut. Chain of Titles, INDE library.

Hopkinson House, at Locust and South Seventh Streets.[13]

Southeast Square had also been patented as a Potter's Field, or Strangers' Burial Ground, by 1706, to provide a public graveyard for the poor and those "who might not so conveniently be laid" in the several church burial grounds. The same year Joshua Carpenter received a 21-year lease of the square as a cattle pasture, after agreeing first to fence the grass lot. At the center of the square -- which then stretched nearly to Eighth Street, or 500 feet from Sixth Street -- Carpenter evidently walled off a small piece of ground to bury a family suicide victim and then he and his relatives, the Storys, were buried there as well, reportedly under the branches of an apple tree.[14]

When the Carpenter lease expired, City Council reported that the square had not been properly maintained according to the terms of his lease, and set up a committee to investigate the circumstances. Perhaps with the future improvement of this public space in mind, Council ruled that future leases for pasture on Southeast Square would be limited to three years, a policy they followed until the Revolution.[15]

From the outset Southeast Square served as a burial ground for the town's African-Americans, free and enslaved. According to John Watson, the Square also served as an early meeting place for blacks, where reportedly as many as 1000 came together at a time to dance, sing and give speeches in the manner and tongue of

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[13]Survey Book, Lukens Papers, APS; Watson and Hazard, Annals I, 405. Scharf and Westcott, History, 3: 2355.

[14]Watson, Annals, 1, 405. Old-timers told Watson they had, as boys, caught crayfish and fish six-inches long in this brook within the square. Scharf and Westcott, History 3, 2355; Frey, Washington Square, 3.

[15]Scharf and Westcott, History 3, 2356.

their African nation, especially at holidays and times of festival. By the 1730s this square adjoined what was to become a burgeoning black community that remained in the neighborhood well into the twentieth century.[16]

All around the State House site and throughout the town in 1730, the streets with few exceptions remained unpaved and often impassable. In wet or cold weather, the roads hampered traffic with muddy bogs or icy ruts. In dry spells the dust from wagons and horses obstructed vision. People felt free to dump garbage and other refuse onto the streets, or release their hogs to forage randomly in the city. The transport of supplies to construct what was soon to become the largest public building in the colonies must have been a daunting task, one which no doubt contributed to the many delays which interrupted the completion of the Pennsylvania State House.[17]

The State House and Grounds Under Construction, 1732-1760

Excavation for the State House cellar got underway in 1732, but construction soon bogged down with acrimonious disputes between the three project commissioners. That year the Assembly, still meeting in private lodgings elsewhere, considered the motion "that the Ground belonging to the State-house may, with the least Expence, and with all convenient Speed, be levelled,

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[16] Scharf & Wescott, History, 3:, 2355-6; Watson & Hazard, Annals, 1, 406. More will be said about the African-American community throughout the report.

[17] Weigley, Philadelphia, 58-9. As late as 1739 the grand jury complained that many of the streets remained unpaved and impassable and it was not until the 1740s that a program of municipal paving got underway. As early as 1719, according to a letter and council minutes cited in Watson, several Philadelphians had begun a private effort to pave and regulate the streets in front of their houses. Annals 1, 213.

and enclosed with a Board Fence, in order that Walks may be laid out, and Trees planted, to render the same more beautiful and commodious." This ambitious landscaping never took place, likely because of the Assembly's chronic struggle with funding shortages. The board fence probably did go up, however, to protect the construction site.[18]

Frequent delays slowed construction on the State House. Skilled workmen were hard to get, salaries had to be negotiated, and various other familiar building complications thwarted completion. In January of 1734 the Assembly moved their meetings to an old house adjoining the construction site, perhaps to save rent money. There they remained for a year and a half, probably becoming all too familiar with the disappointing progress next door. In 1735 the Assembly appointed Trustees to superintend the property and ordered "that the two old Houses next opposite to the State-house (one being the House where the Assembly now sits) be demolished" in anticipation of meeting in the unfinished State House in September. When the legislators convened in the fall, the walls had not been plastered nor the windows put in because the State House Trustees feared that unsecured, they invited breakage from vandals.[19]

Property security became a recurring theme. To protect the state records against fire the Assembly voted to build two office buildings as State House wings. The structures reached completion early in 1736, but were not occupied for a few years because two

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[18]Pennsylvania Archives, Eighth Series, V. 3, Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania, p. 2163; Edward M. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," in Historic Philadelphia From the Founding until the Early Nineteenth Century, (Philadelphia, 1980), 10-17 details the problems surrounding construction.

[19]Burton Alva Konkle, George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania, 1731-1791, (Philadelphia, 1922), 10; Historic Philadelphia, 13; June 24, 1735, in PA, Ser VIII, V. 3, 2274.

officials adamantly protested moving the records, preferring to locate them near the Market-place, at the center of town.[20]

In 1736 the Assembly restricted the use of the remaining part of the square by voting "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 thereupon, but that the said ground shall be enclosed and remain a public open green and Walks forever." This Statute took on increasing significance as the city expanded westward; in fact, it became the bedrock for all decisions regarding development of the square from that time forward.[21]

The wall called for in the 1736 statute did not get underway for nearly another four years. In the interim the Assembly had 478 1/2 yards of earth dug and hauled out from "the south side of the Western office of the state house." This amount of excavation, according to Archeologist John Cotter, could have been the cellar of a building, but no structure has been recorded for that location in this period. One plausible explanation might be that some kind of ground leveling was underway, as originally proposed in the 1732 Assembly motion.[22]

If the 478 yards of earth hauled away from behind the west wing leveled a rise there, than other parts of the yard during this construction period evidently were receiving fill. Archeological evidence confirms that potter Anthony Duche (c. 1682-1762) hauled large quantities of saggers, waste products

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[20]Historic Philadelphia, 14-15.

[21]As quoted in Historic Philadelphia, 7-8. Assemblyman cited it again in 1762 while authorizing the enlargement of the yard.

[22]"Bill of Thos. Godfrey and Eber Tomlinson, February 20, 1738, in "Letters Colonial and Revolutionary," PMHB (1918), 75, taken from the Dreer Coll., HSP, as cited in INDE notecard.

from his kiln, to the state house yard sometime between 1732 and 1762. Duche's kiln was half a block east of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, on the north side of Chestnut, from around 1730 until his death in 1762. As there is no record in the State papers of a payment to Duche for his fill, it seems likely that the Superintendents of the property agreed to let him dispose of his waste in the yard. Fragments of pottery of varying sizes were recovered "pretty much throughout the entire Square," with a concentration in the northeast and southwest corners. Moreover, sidewalk excavation along Fifth and Chestnut Streets revealed a trail of shards from Duche's kiln entrance across from today's Second Bank of the United States, to the State House yard.[23]

In 1739, the Assembly ordered "that Materials be prepared for encompassing the Ground with a Wall in the ensuing Spring." Construction proceeded so slowly that the Assembly in 1741 complained that it impinged on "the Reputation of the Province, and the Safety of the Work itself." They committee appointed to investigate advised that the brick wall already needed repair and that its construction should be modified to protect the brickwork from moisture and to give the yard better security. They recommended:

> A boarded Fence, from each Office to each Wall, as high as the Wall, and Doors fitted in the Wall adjoining the Offices, to inclose the whole.
>
> Part of the Brick Wall ought to be taken down, and new

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[23]Altogether 1235 sagger fragments, ranging in height from 1 5/8 to 8 or 9 inches, were recovered and now make up one of the park's several archeological collections. B.B. Powell, Park Archeologist, to Ivor Noel Hume, Chief Archeologist, Colonial Williamsburg, January 15, 1962; Archeologist, INDE, to Archeologist, Region Five, May 2, 1961, in file "Archeology," Museum Files, INDE; "Field Specimen Data, Independence Square, Grass Plot 16," 1965, Accession No. 2129, INDE Mus. Files; Robert L. Giannini,III, "Anthony Duche Sr., potter and merchant of Philadelphia," Antiques (January, 1981), 200. Giannini made the call to Cotter and brought this archeological material to my attention.

> built; the North End of each Wall returned round, or carried upright, to prevent Children Getting over.
>
> The Earth being high, and the Wall low on the South Side of the back Wall, the Earth should be taken away, to prevent getting over.
>
> Considering Stone is so hard to be come at to cover the Wall, Bricks will have many Joints where the Water will get in, and perish the Wall, we are of Opinion, that to put a Cornish on each Side of the Wall, to carry the water a small Distance off, and cover it with Shingle, will be sufficient for many years, and not very chargeable.[24]

The square's irregular terrain throughout apparently lay behind the difficulties with the State House wall. Before 1769 the wall enclosed approximately the northern two-thirds of the square, (or about 335 feet of the block's 510-foot length), including the 255-feet depth of the original Chestnut Street lots and an additional 80 feet purchased with Fifth and Sixth Streets lots. William Bradford recalled that in his youth the yard "was about half its present depth from Chestnut Street- was very irregular on its surface, and no attention paid to its appearance." The uneven terrain had evidently not been corrected along the southern boundary of the property, so that when the wall went up, the ground rose so high along it's south side that children could climb over, at the risk to the supplies, records, or other public materials on the building site. Although the records do not confirm it, the Assembly likely did carry out the recommendation to lower the ground on the wall's south side to remedy the security problem; they also appear to have placed the recommended board fence between the wall and wings to complete the enclosure. Mary Biddle's city map published in 1762, (a compilation of surveys made by her father, Nicholas Scull, former Pennsylvania surveyor-general), at least confirms that the yard

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[24]PA. Archives, Ser. VIII, V. 3, 2680, 2682-3.

at that date stood completely enclosed. [25]

There are no graphics of the yard at this early date, but the 1752 Nicholas Scull and George Heap Map of Philadelphia described the State House's enclosure as "a high Wall," and specified that "the Ground is to be laid out in walks with Rows of Trees." Scull, commissioned Pennsylvania's surveyor-general in 1748, would have been familiar with the trustees' future plans for the grounds.[26]

The concept of landscaping with "rows of trees" came directly from European precedents. The trustees likely had consulted John Evelyn's classic, Sylva or a Discourse on Forest Trees (London, 1664), which remained the standard English work on trees for over a century. Evelyn had toured northern France in the 1640s and 50s, and at his return became a strong proponent for the great avenues of elms, linden or limes and walnuts he saw

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[25]"Historic Grounds Report, Part 1, on State House Yard, Independence National Historical Park," (June, 1959), chapter II, p.2; Chapt. V of the same report discusses (p. 10) the archeological investigation in the 1950s that found in Grass Plot 5 the foundations of this first wall five feet below the present surface. The wall foundation measured 2.5 feet across. Thomas Stapleton to Andrew Hamilton, 1739, Independence Square Chain of Title, INDE. Nicholas Scull surveyed the streets and lots of the city during the 1750s, intending to publish it as a city map. At his death in 1761, his daughter and executrix, Mary Biddle, collaborated with Matthew Clarkson to publish the map. Martin P. Snyder, City of Independence, 62. The Walnut Street lots remained in private hands until 1769-70, and none apparently had structures adjoining the wall.

[26]Scull and Heap, Map of Philadelphia, as cited in INDE notecard file. Snyder, City of Independence, 36, gives an essay on the 1752 Scull and Heap Map, and specifically mentions that Nicholas Wainwright had disproved the assumption that the map first appeared in 1749, the date used on the notecard file citation referred to in this text to discuss the map's text. Snyder also notes that Scull received his title as surveyor-general in 1748 after more than two decades of work in the region.

there. Through his Sylva, he influenced the taste of English readers with the fashionable French and Italian garden design philosophy.[27]

Besides Evelyn's Sylva, the Assembly members may have been familiar with Andre Mollet's Jardin de Plaisir(1761). Mollet, who had worked in England, Sweden and Holland besides his native France, took inspiration from the works of Italian writers and architects, particularly Veneto Andrea Palladio (1508-80). His Jardin recommended planting "a big avenue with a double or triple row of female elms, or lime trees ...which must be planted in line at right angles to the front of the chateau...and be of convenient and proportionable breadth."[28]

Another popular French gardener, Andre Le Notre, had widely popularized allees and avenues. Post-humously his student, Antoine-Joseph Dezallier set out his rules of gardening in La Theorie et la Practique du Jardinage, which was translated into English in 1712. By the early 18th century, allees and avenues were planted all over Europe's countryside. The State House trustees, cosmopolitan men, likely embraced these design ideas, and proposed to apply them for the State House yard.[29]

Philadelphia's internationally-known botanist, John Bartram, whose botanical gardens later supplied much of the landscape material for the State House yard, may have provided the Trustees

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[27]Penelope Hobhouse, Gardening Through the Ages An Illustrated History of Plants and Their Influence on Garden Styles from Ancient Egypt to the Present Day (New York, 1992), 115, 133. Evelyn found 2000 elms planted in allees at Luxembourg gardens in 1644. Ibid., 164. By the mid-18th century in England, this formal tree planting style had gone out of fashion, replaced by the Romantic style. Ibid., 204.

[28] Mollet as quoted in Ibid., p. 163-4.

[29] Hobhouse, Gardening, pp. 164-5.

with a local example of the use of "rows of trees." We know from a visitor to the Bartram gardens in 1787, that a walk from the house down to the Schulykill River went "between two rows of large, lofty trees, all of different kinds..." Such large trees perhaps were set in the ground during Bartram's first decade on his property in the 1730s. [30]

The proposed tree rows and walks for the State House, however, got way-laid for another 25 years, in part because of the slow progress on the buildings. Construction probably kept the grounds in a constant state of disarray. Building supplies must have been piled in the walled yard awaiting use. Other bulky items were stored in the yard, such as the original milestones made to mark the line between Pennsylvania and Maryland. In 1746 the Assembly finally decided to have these stones hauled across the Schuylkill River to mark the Gulf and Haverford Roads, after deciding they were too heavy to be carted to the state line.[31]

Construction on the piazzas, the tower and staircase, and the committee room and library lasted until 1753. Likely a lamp or two were installed on the Chestnut Street side after the Assembly by act of 1750 called for a "sufficient and convenient number of lamps" to be located around the city, in places the

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[30]William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler, Life, Journals and Correspondence of the Reverend Manasseh Cutler, (Cincinnati, 1888), I, 274. Bartram purchased his land on the Schuylkill in 1728 and soon after laid out his grounds.Dictionary of American Biography 2, (New York, 1929).It is not sure when he put in his tree-lined walk, but considering the current landscape fashion, it may have been among his first endeavors.

[31]"The Welsh Tract," in a Lower Merion County Historical Society publication of December 20, 1955, as cited in INDE note card file on Independence Square. These milestones were marked with Penn's Three Apples seal.

town Wardens deemed "meet and expedient."[32]

The landscape plan was further delayed by troubled times. In 1754 the French and Indian war broke out, making defense of Philadelphia and the colony the Assembly's uppermost concern. For Philadelphia's first fifty years under a Quaker-dominated Assembly, the city had no military defense, but in 1748 Benjamin Franklin, James Logan and several others had called for volunteers to form a militia in response to the threat of Spanish and French privateers on the Delaware. Within days 1000 men had stepped forward and through a lottery the association purchased more than 50 cannons, the city's first armed force.

Such military preparedness reflected the shift in the city's population. Quakers no longer were in the majority. Over 70,000 German and Scotch-Irish immigrants had arrived in Philadelphia, many of whom had moved west to the frontier where Indians posed a mounting threat. By February 1756 the Governor had commissioned the Philadelphia Regiment for the city's defense. That month they were "reviewed ... in the Statehouse Square, where they were drawn up under Arms, and made a fine Appearance." So began a long series of military displays in the yard behind the State House during times of war and peace.[33]

Throughout the century Native American delegations

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[32]Historic Philadelphia, 17-19; Weigley, Philadelphia, 104. "An Act for the Better Regulating the Nightly Watch Within the City of Philadelphia, and for enlightening the streets, Lanes and Alleys of the said City, and for Raising Money on the Inhabitants of the said City for Defraying the necessary Expenses Thereof," Statutes at Large, V, 111-113. Hazard's Register II, 247, noted that in October 1751 "this city began to be illuminated with lamps in pursuance to an act of Assembly." As cited in Horace Wells Sellers Coll., Folder 9, INDE.

[33]Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, 47, 103-4. Quote from Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser, March 4, 1756, p.1

frequently came to town to submit their requests and grievances with the Governor and Assembly. During the French and Indian War, these visits increased. In 1755 the Governor thought it "absolutely necessary" to place some constables at the State House Square because a band of Indians who had just arrived "heated wth their Journey and in Liquor," were being lodged there. The Governor gave orders that "none of ye Towns people" be permitted to visit the party, presumably to avoid their further access to liquor. By 1759 concern that the Indians' carelessness with fire threatened the public buildings and records prompted the Assembly to propose the construction of a "small House" next "to the [south] wall of the State House Yard" for their accommodation. There is no evidence to suggest this location outside the wall became a site for the temporary shelter. The accepted assumption has been that one of the sheds depicted on the Fifth and Sixth Street corners of Chestnut Street in Charles Wilson Peale's 1778 painting of the State House (see Illus)-- presumably the same structures shown on Biddle's 1762 map of Philadelphia-- provided lodging for Native Americans until the Revolution. Thomas Bradford, Esq. recalled for John Fanning Watson that during his youth Indians occasionally came to visit, and that their common shelter was a long shed set against the wall on the Sixth Street side of the square, where the ground sloped "one to two feet below the general surface." [34]

Besides political uses, the State House served as a

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[34]Governor to Mayor and Alderman, Aug. 17, 1755, PA Archives, 1st Ser., II, 389-90. See INDE notecard file for Independence Hall for frequent reference to Indian visits. Watson and Hazard, Annals I (1909), 396-7. Bradford's recollection does not correlate with a later record of 1774 left by Robert Proud's Latin students, who specified that visiting Indians were housed upstairs in the east wing. John W. Jordan, "A Description of the State-House, Philadelphia, in 1774," PMHB 23 (1899), 417-18. The original version, written by Samuel L. Wharton, appeared in the Universal Magazine and Literary Museum in 1774. See Norris Family Papers, 1742-1860, pp. 35-38; 46-50; 61-62.

community center in Philadelphia. Governor James Hamilton and other civic leaders threw lavish dinners and balls in the Long Gallery, and, more soberly, lecturers taught experimental philosophy, electricity, and anatomy. The Library Company of Philadelphia set up their library upstairs in the west wing in 1739. All these functions brought wealthy and cultivated men to the square, men who may have taken an interest in improving the grounds within the walled yard.[35]

Municipal Improvements, 1750-70

By mid-century Philadelphia had become the largest, most cosmopolitan city in British North America. The French and Indian War, or Seven Years War, (1754-63) greatly increased the port's commerce, providing the foundation for the city's rising wealth. In the 1750s the city took charge of lighting the streets, drilling and maintaining the pumps along the streets, and providing security after sundown with a night watch, all functions to provide a safe and orderly environment. Private individuals organized fire companies--six by mid-century--and fire insurance and the first hospital for the poor in the colonies. It was a decade of growing optimism.[36]

After a severe financial depression in 1760-61, however, economic conditions for the middle and laboring classes started to decline, making the gap between the very wealthy and the populace greater. Simultaneously, the birth rate began to rise

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[35]Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, 68, 95,97; Historic Philadelphia, 15; PA Gazette, Nov. 2, 1738, Mar. 1, 1739, Apr. 17, June 5, 1740, Jan. 28, 1751, Sept 14 and 28, 1752, Nov. 14, 1754, Sept. 25, 1755, Mar. 24, 1757, July 1 and Nov. 11, 1762. Bob Giannini kindly shared his recent research on the State House, from the CD-Rom version of the PA Gazette at the APS.

[36]Weigley, Philadelphia, 68-108, the chapter entitled, "Town into City, 1746-1765," by Theodore Thayer.

for the first time in 70 years and immigration took an upswing at the close of war, flooding the market with new labor. City leaders met these urban problems with a stepped up effort for public improvements. The Assembly debated but failed to resolve how to manage the swelling number of immigrants and poor on relief, and finally, in 1766, private investors subscribed to a plan for a large, new Bettering House on Spruce Street. [37]

A more critical problem centered on environmental issues. In 1762, after growing complaints about the trash-filled and dangerous condition of the city's streets and the threat to the city's ground water from "foul and stinking Liquors" cast by artisans into deep wells, the Assembly authorized the colony's first street paving program under the regulatory supervision of street commissioners. Each property owner was obliged to pave with "good well burnt Bricks, or good square flat Stones, the Footway and Gutters of their respective Fronts," in conjunction with the street paving. The gutters were to be 22 inches wide and not more than four inches deep. Every ten or twelve feet across the front, the owner had to provide "one round, dress'd red Cedar Post, of the Length of Seven Feet, and of the Thickness of six inches Heart at least". They were also obliged to keep signs from obstructing pedestrians and to sweep their walks for a weekly trash collection.[38]

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[37]Susan E. Klepp, "Philadelphia's Population," American Philosophical Society Symposium on the Demographic History of the Philadelphia Region, 1580-1860, May 30, 1987; Gary B. Nash, The Urban Crucible Social Change, Political Consciousness, and the Origins of the American Revolution, (Harvard, 1979), 254-7, 327-8. Nash notes (257) that war accelerated the process of the wealthy getting richer and the poor more destitute, leaving Philadelphia with 5% of the taxpayers holding as much combined property as the remaining 95%.

[38]Charles S. Olton, "Philadelphia's First Environmental Crisis," PMHB (Jan. 1974), 94; Pennsylvania Gazette June 2, 1763, p. 3 published the owners' obligations. See also, David A. Kimball, "Historical Research Report on Cobblestone Paving,

While a real success at first, the street paving program got bogged down in the expense and difficulty of enforcing the legislation. At the State House, streets remained unpaved and even yet not graveled as in other parts of the city. In the summer of 1769 Du Simitiere complained that all the doors and windows of the Loganian library on Sixth Street opposite the square had to be kept closed, or else the road dust made "it a most incomfortable Situation & at the Same time injure the books greatly." Mud in other places also proved to be a daunting problem. "Tom Trudge," complained in an editorial of 1769 that wives of the poor "at many seasons of the Year, [had to] wade to the knees in carrying a loaf of bread to bake."[39]

In 1769 the Assembly passed a new act for "regulating, pitching, paving and cleansing" the streets, and for "regulating, making and amending the water courses, and common sewers," which supplemented and strengthened the earlier legislation. Its enforcement, however, lost momentum during the forthcoming revolution and the progress of improvements never reached the western edge of town where the legislators sat. Nevertheless, life on the edge of town still had a rural quality which no doubt

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"regulating pitching, paving and cleansing the highways, streets, lanes and alleys, &c., within the settled parts of Philadelphia," caused the streets south of Market Street to be "thrown from three to five feet more south than before..." Watson cited the example that the Norris house on the same side of Chestnut one block east had been constructed three feet back from the pavement, but after 1762, was considered six to eight inches on the footwalk.

[39]Olton, Ibid., 90, cites Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere, "The City of Philadelphia," in the Du Simitiere Papers, Lib. Co., and, 96, Pennsylvania Chronicle, Mar. 27, 1769, for the Tom Trudge reference. Trudge's comments complained that the gentrified sections of town were paved by the street commissioners before those inhabited by middling and poor people. Olton, 97.

helped to make the square a pleasant place.[40]

Enlarging and Planning the State House Yard, 1761-70

In 1761, in an atmosphere of relative prosperity, the Assembly again committed to improving the State House yard. A committee that year assessed whether the owners of the remaining lots along the southern third of the block would be willing to sell and at a fair price. With an affirmative, and the Governor's assent to proceed, the Assembly in February 1762, ordered that the rest of the block be purchased as part of the State House yard. Significantly, the act reaffirmed the original 1736 legislation for the State House yard by providing that "that no part of the said ground lying to the southward of the State House within the wall as it is now built to be made use of for erecting any sort of building thereon, but that the same shall be and remain a public green and walk forever."[41]

The legislation carried other important phrasing: that "whereas it is thought necessary for the public convenience to purchase certain lots," and that this purchase was "for the use of the public." While the Assembly may have been responding to what they saw as a growing need in the city for pleasant public walks to escape the town's often filthy streets, they may also have deemed it necessary to provide a safe place to recreate. The seven-foot-high brick wall built in 1770 after all the lots had been purchased, suggests the Assembly's attention to security in an age when crime and poverty were a growing problem in the "City

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[40]Olton, "Environmental Crisis," 96. Olton, 98, also notes that local approval of the results following the 1760s legislation to improve the city.

[41]PA Archives, Ser. VIII, v. Vi, 5342-43. The committee of three to write the 1762 bill for enlarging the square were "Mr. Galloway, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Rhoads."

of Brotherly Love."[42]

Plans to landscape the square once the Walnut Street lots were acquired again resurfaced. The London Magazine in 1761 announced, "The town house stands in a square of 396 feet by 255, inclosed in a high wall, which square is to be laid out in walks, with rows of trees." While the phrasing comes directly from the 1752 publication of Scull and Heap's Map of Philadelphia, this brief account again affirms that specific design ideas already were projected for the yard's future landscaping.[43]

In the Fall of 1763, despite mounting political problems, the Assembly ordered the Superintendents of the State-house to "prepare a Plan for laying out the Square behind the same in proper Walks, to be planted with suitable Trees for Shade, and that the said Plan be laid before the Assembly at their next meeting." The plan, if put to paper, has not survived. It is doubtful that any improvements were made to the yard during this decade while the Walnut Street lots were being purchased and their several brick houses, surrounded by fences, wells, and other features, still stood. In fact, the Assembly rented the Walnut Street properties as they bought them, to augment the budget for public improvements. [44]

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[42]Statutes at Large of PA, VI, 223-6; Weigley, ed.Philadelphia, 76, 83, 99. Philadelphia in the 18th century was a class-conscious place where only about one in fifty voted and about 10% of the population owned 89% of the property. Theodore Thayer, "Town Into City 1746-1765," Weigley, 99. Birch prints and period accounts describing the square after it was opened to the public suggest it was used by genteel Philadelphians and visiting dignitaries, including Indian delegations.

[43]The London Magazine (October, 1761), 515-516, as quoted from INDE notecard taken at HSP.

[44]PA Archives, Ser. VIII, VI, 5484; PA Archives, Ser. VIII, VII, 6047, 6268. Samuel Rhoads owned two brick houses on the corner of Sixth and Walnut by 1752. The one on the corner was 2 stories, the one adjoining, three. Rhoads may have purchased

Besides the landscape planning, the Assembly in 1763 also affirmed the 1735/36 resolution that reserved the corner lots on Chestnut Street for the construction of a new City Hall and County Courthouse by conveying the lots, each measuring 50 feet by 73 feet, for L50 each. In 1768 the city agreed to pay the street commissioners the expense "of putting up posts, and making a Gutter & pavement before the Lot of Ground in Chesnut Street to the Eastward of the State House, belonging to this Corporation." Gradually, the long-overdue master plan for the square was coming into realization, although funding shortages and the distance from the center of town continued to slow its progress.[45]

By February 1769 the balance of lots along the southern end of the block had been purchased, but not without resistance. As Watson commented in his Annals, "old Mr. Townsend's at north-east

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these in anticipation of the land eventually going to the state, as he appears in 1761 on a committee to explore the title to deeds on the square with the Governor, and the next year is appointed one of the several trustees for the State House and Grounds. Contributionship Insurance Survey 35 and 36, June 2, 1752, Loose Surveys, INDE Microfilm Roll XV; PA Archives, Eighth Series, VI, 5204. Robert Tempest owned "three messuages or tenements and Two Pieces or parcels of Ground" on the Fifth Street side of the square. He often was short of cash, having to mortgage his property twice in the 1750s. He also advertised for rent "a good two Story Brick House, 18 Feet Front, and 32 Feet deep, with a large Kitchen adjoining the House," near the corner of Fifth and Walnut. Mortgage Book X 2[1752-1757], p. 769, Phila Archives; Pennsylvania Gazette, Mar. 2, 1758, Sept. 4, 1760, May 14, 1761. During the 1750s Thomas Gordan advertised his two-story brick house with a good kitchen and garden at the "upper-end" of Walnut, "at Walnut & 5th." A 1754 insurance survey estimated the house to be 18 years old (i.e. built c. 1736). Contributionship Survey 276, Aug. 8, 1754, Micro XV, INDE; PA Gazette, Apr. 16, 1752, Oct. 18, 1759, and Jan. 17, 1760. The other Walnut Street lots evidently remained undeveloped. The Assembly's order in 1752 to purchase William Allen's lot mid-block on Walnut, "on which a Cedar Tree now Stands," at least indicates one landscape feature on these properties. PA Archives, 8th Ser., IV, 3509.

[45]Minutes of Common Council, 1704-1776, p.729; Historic Philadelphia, 19; Souder's History of Walnut Street, chapt. 57, as cited in INDE notecard; PA Archives, Eighth Series, VII, 5928.

corner of Walnut and Sixth street--a brick house with a large walnut tree before it, which he lamented over as a patrimonial gift forced out of his possession by a jury valuation," was one case where the state confiscated property for the public good. The Trustees then authorized the sale of all the "old houses ...for the best price that may be had" to help pay for several repairs needed on the State House and for the extension of the brick wall around the newly acquired ground. After three months the wall reached completion in February 1770. It cost L1239, a sizeable sum for any building project in that day. [46]

One of the expensive features of the new brick wall was its grand central entrance gateway on the Walnut Street end of the block. Period illustrators William Birch and P.Malcolm show the gates from both sides, from within the yard (Birch 1799) and from

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[46]Statutes at Large of PA, VII, 207-8; Accounts Current, 1760-1776, Report of Committee of Public Accounts, General Accounts, 1763-1926, Record Group 4, Records of the Office of the State Treasurer, PA State Archives, Harrisburg, in INDE notecard file. Herein cited, RG 4. PA Archives, Eighth Ser., VII, 6561; Watson, Annals, 1, 397; PMHB 24, p. 386. The sale of the "old Tenements on the State House Lot, Fences &ca." only garnered the state at public auction L139.11.10. Provincial Council Reports of the Committee of the State on Public Accounts, 1769-1776, 135, MSS, State Records Office, Harrisburg. None of the existing bills or state records give an account of the height or fabric of the first wall or its extension in 1770. Surveyor John Lukens in 1766 referred to a line that ended below "the Top of the Stone Wall of the North West Corner of the State House Yard." Could the early wall have been stone? Probably not, but such a specific reference is worth speculating that a section of wall perhaps was left over from the 1730s on that corner lot and not taken down until after 1766. Birch prints and other period illustrations show the wall after 1770 when it was about seven feet high and brick. [John Lukens] Survey Book, July 1766,Lukens Papers, 1760-1788, APS. The year the wall extension got underway, the American Philosophical Society and the Library Company of Philadelphia petitioned the legislature for a lot on the square. The records do not disclose why these petitions went no further at this time, but the idea finally took root after the Revolution.

the Walnut Street side (Malcolm, 1788). The massive paneled wood doors rose above the wall another seven feet or more and were topped with an arched pediment. Not only did they invite admiration for their design and monumental size, they underscored the security achieved by the new enclosure.

The completion of the massive wall evidently prompted a new landscape initiative for the yard. One writer learned in 1771 from the former Speaker of the House that "the plot of ground ...is to be planted with trees, and divided into walks, for the recreation of the citizens." Approving the idea, the visitor ventured to suggest that the Legislature purchase another square to the south to enlarge the improvements. He concluded that otherwise, the State House "walks must be very contracted, unless they make them of a circular or serpentine form." Thus this anonymous writer anticipated by fifteen years one of the specific design elements of the yard's first landscape -- serpentine walks.[47]

The Assembly evidently never considered the idea to "purchase another square" to the south, but in 1769 it did appoint a committee to evaluate the proposal to buy lots opposite the State House, on the north side of Chestnut Street. In 1772 a committee was appointed to buy the lots, but no report followed, probably due to the escalation of politics before the Revolution. This seed of a plan came to fruition more than 200 years later, when in 1954, the first block of Independence Mall reached completion.[48]

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[47]Caspipina's Letters, Containing Observations on a Variety of Subjects (1777), pp. 12-15, as cited in INDE notecards. This 1777 publication provides the description of the State House in a letter dated July 4, 1771.

[48]Souder's History of Walnut Street, Chapt 57, as cited in INDE notecard. Souder's history maintains that the lots on the north side of Chestnut Street were to be purchased to give light

Despite public anticipations, no landscaping of the yard went forward before the Revolution. Instead, the State had numerous loads of dirt hauled into the yard by Robert Erwin and Lawrence Shiney in 1771-2, presumably to level the surface which descended from Chestnut to Walnut Streets along Sixth Street. [49]

Concern for the safety of the public records also led to the addition of two wells for water pumps on the Chestnut Street side in 1772, to provide "for the greater security ...from Fire." A pavement of brick around them kept the ground free of mud. The next year the pumps got painted, the wells curbed, and cedar posts were set along the footway to protect pedestrians from street traffic.[50]

The Transit of Venus Observatory, 1769

In 1768, more than a year before the event, the attention "of every civilized Nation in Europe" began to focus on the upcoming Transit of Venus across the sun in the Spring of 1769. "America will be the Place where the best Observations can be made," the American Philosophical Society told the Pennsylvania Assembly, and underscored it with the fact that another such transit would not occur "for more than an Hundred Years to come."

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and air to the State House and to show off its fine proportions from Market Street. The 1772 authorization for the committee to purchase the lots only said, "as will make a convenient Street through the said lots into Market street." PA Archives, 8th Ser., VIII, 6842.

[49]Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania X, 53-54, records that the Assembly in 1772 paid Robert Erwin 7L 4 4 and Lawrence Shine, - 17 4, for "Halling Earth into the State House Yard". John Lukens' survey, 1766, describes the descent along Sixth Street from the south side of Chestnut to the north side of Walnut Street as 5 feet 1 1/2 inches. [John Lukens] Survey Book, Lukens Papers, 1760-1788, APS.

[50]PA Archives, Eighth Series, VIII, 6162-3, 7007, 7146-7; PMHB 24, 386; PMHB 39 (1915), 236.

In preparation, the Society proposed to send immediately to England, to Benjamin Franklin, to order a proper telescope, and requested funding from the Assembly to help defray the cost. [51]

In February 1769, the Society again petitioned the Assembly asking permission to build an observatory in the yard to record the Transit, stressing it was an "Object of so much Importance, that most of the civilized States in Europe appear to be desirous of lending Assistance in it." Evidently encouraged by feedback from their appeal, the Society's committee, including Samuel Rhoads, Jr., Robert Smith and J.M.D. Pennington, went right to work planning the necessary structure. They hired house carpenter James Pearson to build it, and by the end of March he had it made. In mid-May the observing party--Mr. John Ewing, Dr. Hugh W. Williamson, Joseph Shippen and Thomas Pryor--began testing the equipment and the Assembly finally voted to allot L100 towards the observatory and gave the Society its official blessing.[52]

The Society mounted another observation station to the north of the city, at David Rittenhouse's farm, Norriton, and to the south, at Cape Henlopen. An equally impressive team of local men staffed these sites, including the college's president, the Rev. Dr. Smith, David Rittenhouse, John Lukens, Pennsylvania's Surveyor General, and Owen Biddle, assisted by Charles Thomson and Joel Baily. The equipment for the observation stations were

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[51]An Address from the American Philosophical Society, Oct. 15, 1768, PA Archives, 8th Ser.,VII, 6288-9.

[52]An Address from the American Philosophical Society, February 10, 1769 as presented in PA Archives, 8th Ser., VII, 6356-7; Silvio A. Bedini, "That Awfull Stage" (The Search for the State House Yard Observatory), Offprint from Science and Society In Early America (APS, 1986),160-61.(Copy in Museum files, INDE.) Originally APS had selected Fort Pitt as one of the observation sites, but the western location had to be dropped. PA Gazette, Sept. 14, 1768, p. 4. Pearson charged L60 for building the observatory. PA Gazette Mar. 30, 1769, p. 1.

borrowed from several sources, including Owen Biddle, James Hamilton (former Governor), Polly Norris and the Library Company of Philadelphia. "Two very large fine Telescopes" arrived from London, one purchased by the Assembly and the other purchased by Benjamin Franklin for Proprietor Thomas Penn as a present for the College. The transit began at two o'clock in the afternoon of June 3, 1769. The day was clear and bright, making the readings possible. The results, when published more than a year later, made the world "immensely richer in knowledge," as one anonymous newspaper article maintained. The figures computed from the three sites established the earth's distance from the sun as well as a prime meridian through Philadelphia which gave other places in the United States their longitude for nearly half a century afterwards. For the American Philosophical Society, this observation brought them the international recognition they strived for to place them on an equal footing with similar societies throughout Europe.[53]

Neither the observatory's location on the square or its appearance have been established, although a number of determined researchers have tried. Some information can be gleaned from period documents. John Ewing in his recollections as observer of the transit noted "that our time piece was fixed to a large post sunk into the ground four or five feet, secured from shaking by a brick wall at the bottom, and no way communicating with the sides of the building." Although only eight years old when the observatory was taken down, Thomas Pratt testified a few days before his death at 95 that he perfectly remembered the observatory to be "a rough, wooden stage which stood on the line of the eastern walk, about midway between Fifth and Sixth Streets." His recollection is supported by the fact that the

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[53]Bidini, "That Awfull Stage," pp. 160-165, 195. Albert E. Lownes, "The 1769 Transit of Venus," Sky & Telescope, Vol. II (1943), no. 6, pp. 3-5. My thanks to Paul Inashima for the second reference.

observatory when sold in 1783 went for only 18 pounds to the American Philosophical Society's janitor William Redige, who probably bought it for firewood, which that year he supplied the Society, along with candles.[54]

In 1984 Silvio Bedini, having studied the array of sources intensely, ventured to draw a composite picture of the observatory, admitting that it was based on "only a few fragments of confirmed documentation." He maintained that the Observatory's most dominant feature "was a square wooden platform measuring either twelve or fifteen feet in diameter" perched on four posts rising about twenty feet from the ground. He figured that the space underneath the platform was open and that open wooden stairs provided access to the platform. The observatory room he concluded "must have been a small frame building" with a door and several shuttered window openings, including one in the roof for viewing the transit. [55]

Similarly, Bedini made educated guesses about the location of the observatory. He concluded that "sufficient evidence suggests that it was situated at a distance of fifty feet from the wall of the east wing of the State House and between forty and fifty feet from the present back door of Philosophical Hall." It appears that he was basing this on Frank Etting's account of the work done in the yard in 1875, in preparation for the

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[54]John Ewing, "An Account of the Transit of Venus, June 3d, 1769, pp 1-49, as cited by INDE notecard from the A.P.S. collections. Armstrong, "Penn and Logan Correspondence," HSP Memoirs 9, xlv-xlvi, as cited in Bedini, 179; APS, Treasurer's Book of Accounts,...1782...1791, March 2d, 1783, as cited in INDE notecard.

[55]This writer did not have sufficient time to trace Bedini's reasoning. How he figured that the platform was square and measured 12 by 15 feet, is not explained in the article. Bedini, Ibid, p. 191.

nation's Centennial. Etting, in his 1876 history of Independence Hall, claimed that workmen digging on a sewer project came upon the observatory's foundations "about forty feet due west from the rear door of the present Philosophical Hall and about same distance south from the wall of the present (eastern) wing." [56]

In 1914, the Bureau of City Property, under the zealous supervision of Independence Hall's curator, Wilfred Jordan, dug at this site again to confirm Etting's account and claimed to find evidence of the observatory's foundation. The next year, the city submitted text to the Art Jury for a marker to identify the site. The Jury turned to Horace Wells Sellers, chairman of the Preservation of Historic Sites Committee, Philadelphia branch of the American Institute of Architects (A.I.A.), to verify the exact site. Sellers received a permit to dig again for the oberservatory's foundations. His committee dug trenches 3 1/2 to 4 feet deep in key places on the east side of the square, and found no evidence of the structure. Before they could continue to the west side of the central walk, Independence Square came under the Fairmount Park Commission, which evidently did not support further investigations.[57]

Bedini concluded that Seller's committee may not have dug deep enough (considering the 18th century contours of the square which sloped towards Walnut Street), and that the "foundation may in fact still remain." In 1954, the National Park Service again carried out archeology in the same area to find evidence of the observatory, but found none. The supervisory archeologist, Paul J.F. Schumacher, explained in a letter to William S. Powell of History News, that the Park Service hoped to locate "the Observatory from which Colonel John Nixon read the Declaration of

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[56]Etting as quoted in Bedini, Ibid., p.178; Bedini's opinion, 192.

[57]Ibid., pp.181-88.

Independence for the first time publicly in Philadelphia on July 8, 1776." This premise, that the Declaration was first read from the observatory, cannot be supported by this research. Rather, it is more likely that Nixon read from a temporary stage typically set up in the yard for public meetings. Nevertheless, the 1769 observatory has significance on its own merit and its exact location may still be forthcoming.[58]

John Fanning Watson probably introduced the concept of Nixon reading the Declaration from the observatory in his early 19th century Annals of Philadelphia. The building's association with the Declaration of Independence soon overshadowed it's significance as a site for recording the Transit of Venus in 1769. The transit observation, however, involved scores of eminent men of colonial America and put Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and America squarely on the map in the world of science. It was the last, and, perhaps, the most important event in the State House Yard prior to the outbreak of the American Revolution. As well, it may have been the only distinctive feature (other than privies) in the yard during this early period, and thus represents the most significant feature of the cultural landscape prior to first design for the yard in 1784.[59]

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[58]Ibid., 192. Paul Inashima's review comments, of 8/19/96 provided the Schumacher quote. He also pointed out that again in 1962 Archeologist Bruce Powell dug in the basement of Old City Hall, at the site where an octagonal structure appeared on a 1783 plan of the square, in hopes of finding the observatory, but archeology identified the structure as a 1778 privy. B.Bruce Powell, "Report on the Archeological Excavation in Old City Hall," 1962. See section on the Revolution for further comments on the temporary stage stored in the State House cellar.

[59]Paul Inashima generously shared this quote from the Pennsylvania Chronicle, March 20-March 27, 1769, which printed the American Philosophical Society's request to the Pennsylvania Assembly for public support to build the observatory. The request pointed out that recording the Transit of Venus was "an Object of so much importance, that most of the civilized States in Europe appear to be desirous of lending assistance in it."

The State House Square in a Revolutionary Era

During the 1760s political tensions in the city continued to mount, along with unemployment, crime and poverty. The emergence of urban problems so long dreaded by 18th century American leaders were becoming a reality, and swallowing up government attention and funds.

In this climate, the State House and yard stood as a landmark in its neighborhood, and a place of meeting for the populace. Although set aside for recreation, the yard increasingly was used for political gatherings. Still in a "walking city," the State House remained at the center of the north-south extension of development, and on the fringes of its western growth.[60]

In February 1764 the "Paxton Boys" marched into town from the Lancaster County area demanding better defense against Indian attacks on the frontier. They came determined to seize the band of visiting Indians under state protection at the Barracks in Northern Liberties. The Governor called a public meeting at the State House to alert the citizens to the crisis. He ordered Captain Schlosser "to defend the Indians to the utmost of his Command" and proposed that 150 "Gentleman of the Town" assist the soldiers in guarding the Barracks. He also sent "4 of the Cannon" "from the State House yard with the proper Artillery Stores," to reinforce the troops. The Assembly defused the crisis by buying

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[60]Nash, Urban Crucible, 255; David Schuyler, The New Urban Landscape The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America (Baltimore, 1986), 11-13,19. See the Clarkson-Biddle Map of Philadelphia, 1762, illus. , and Snyder, City of Independence. During the 1760s a number of newspaper announcements used the State House as the point of reference to identify a location. In 1760, for instance, a Loganian Library notice told the public the library was on Sixth, between Chestnut and Walnut, "behind the State House Square."Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser, Oct. 15, 1760.

off the angry frontiersmen, but the solution ignited another local dispute. Although Benjamin Franklin managed to pull together a militia force to control the unruly affair, the resident governor, Thomas Penn's nephew, refused to release the funds for the military revenue bill without securing concessions for the Proprietary on long disputed tax issues.[60]

Franklin took this opportunity to renew his campaign against the Proprietary government as a means to promote a royal colony for Pennsylvania. The campaign set off "the most intense pamphleteering, speechmaking, and assembling of the public for open-air meetings in the city's history." For the next two years a volume of scurrilous writing from a variety of presses attacked the traditional authority in the government. It set a climate of "pervasive uneasiness and irritability" that tore at the social fabric of the city.[61]

Amidst this local divisiveness, troubles escalated with Parliament. On October 5, 1765, the State House yard witnessed the largest public rally of the decade, to hear speeches about the Stamp Act and the imminent arrival of the Royal Charlotte, a

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[60]Colonial Records IX, Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, 132-33. The Governor was responding to news that armed men from Lancaster County planned to descend on the Barracks and murder the Indians housed there under the State's protection. Nash, Urban Crucible, 283. Theodore C. Tappert and John W. Doberstein, eds. The Notebook of a Colonial Clergyman (Philadelphia, 1959), 94-99, gives a suspenseful account of the Paxton episode, including the German amazement that the Quakers armed themselves during this crisis against their own inhabitants, to defend Indians who may have taken part in the slaughters of white families on the frontier.

[61]Quotes from Nash, Urban Crucible, 285 and 287. See Nash, Ibid., 267-91, 305-9, 313-31 for excellent coverage of the turmoil of these pre-Revolution years. Parsons, ed. Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer, 24. William Allen, one of the Trustees for the State House and Yard, and now chief justice of Pennsylvania, suffered insult at this time. He received the name "Old Drip-pan," and "a tricking Judge, and Presbyterian Jew."287.

British ship bearing the odious stamps and stamped paper for executing the new tax on newspapers, almanacs, documents, playing cards and other papers. This gathering was a well-organized affair, according to the German pastor Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who recorded that two deputies had been sent "by the leading English merchants" to announce the ship's arrival and to request the Lutheran church cooperation. Indicative of the underlying tensions between the German and English communities, Muhlenberg advised his church members "not to appear at the State House and to have nothing whatsoever to do with any uprising or tumult."[62]

Although the Germans stayed away, "several thousand citizens" gathered at the State House at four o'clock in the afternoon, accompanied by the steady tolling of bells throughout the city as a signal of the ship's arrival. According to a press account, every face reflected "the appearance of sincere mourning for the approaching loss of Liberty." Asked to consider "the proper ways and means for preventing the unconstitutional act of Parliament (the Stamp Act) being carried into execution," the crowd voted to send seven of their number to ask William Hughes, the stamp collector for Pennsylvania, to resign. The crowd waited for the delegation's return. When they heard from the deputies that Hughes had refused to resign, "the company were instantly transported with resentment" and rage, but soon were pacified by the explanation that Hughes, in fact, "appeared to them at the point of death." The crowd broke up after agreeing to let him have until Monday (two days hence) to sign his resignation, a

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[62]As quoted in Tappert, ed. Colonial Notebook, v, 120-121. Muhlenberg also recorded that "all the bells on the High Church as well as those on the State House were to be tolled in mourning, all the ships lying at anchor in the roadstead were to give signals of distress and mourning, drums covered with crape were to be sounded throughout the city, and a general gathering of citizens was to assemble at the State House for further discussion..." Ibid.; Edwin Wolf 2nd, Philadelphia Portrait of an American City, (Philadelphia, 1975), 68.

statement immediately drawn up and sent to Hughes' door.[63]

Resistance to the Stamp Act proved successful and in May 1766 news arrived of its repeal. The city was jubilant. Huge bonfires were lit in the streets, the bells tolled, and the people received "a liberal distribution of strong beer." At the State House "the most prominent citizens of the city" were the guests of the mayor at a feast with "no less than three hundred plates." All was "Elegance and Decorum." The Governor, his officials, military leaders, and foreigners saluted each other with twenty-one toasts. The Province's cannons, which had been placed out in the yard, fired off the twenty-one shot royal salvo for the toast to the king and queen, and continued to fire seven shots for each additional toast.[64]

The exuberance was short lived. The next year Parliament passed the Townshend Acts which imposed selective duties on the colonies. New York and Boston called for a joint boycott in the spring of 1768, but Philadelphia merchants resisted the call. Although other Philadelphians, showed their "spirit of independence and freedom from control," by protesting the duties and drawing up resolves in the State House yard, it was Jonathan Dickenson's Letters to a Farmer that finally brought the local merchants to sign the non-importation agreement in March of 1769.[65]

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[63]Pennsylvania Journal and Weekly Advertiser, Oct. 10, 1765, p. 2. Benjamin Franklin suffered his worst political setback by appointing his old friend Hughes to the post as collector. Wolf, Ibid.

[64]Maryland Gazette, May 29, 1766, p. 1; Der Wochentliche, May 16, 1766, p. 2.

[65]As quoted from John Kalb's report of 1768 after he arrived in Philadelphia as a French secret agent. Frank Monaghan, French Travelers in the United States, (New York, 1961), viii; Wolf, Philadelphia, p. 78; Thompson Westcott, The Historic Mansions and Buildings of Philadelphia, (Philadelphia, 1877), 116.

The next month, Jacob Hiltzheimer witnessed the branding of John Holland on the hand for manslaughter at the State House. Although not specified, the public humiliation probably occurred in the yard before a large crowd of onlookers, rather than in the halls of government. Such corporal punishment increasingly drew criticism from Quaker leaders, who soon after began to organize for the reform of the Province's penal code.[66]

Undoubtedly scores of public meetings took place in the State House yard in the following years, but the next significant political rallies came in 1773, after news arrived in October that the Dutch East India Company had decided to "send down a great quantity of their tea," despite the city's resolve not to accept the import of tea so long as Parliament's 3-penny tax was in place. On the 19th, at a mass meeting at the State House, a large gathering issued resolves of resistance and appointed a committee which successfully persuaded James and Drinker, the Dutch East Indian Company consignees, to resign. [67]

Up and down the coast the seaport towns stood poised to reject the tea's arrival. In Boston a town meeting adopted Philadelphia's resolves, but could not get their consignees to resign. When the tea ship Polly approached Philadelphia late in December, a Committee for Tarring and Feathering warned the pilots not to lead her to port. A committee went down to Gloucester to intercept the ship and bring Captain Ayres back to

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[66]Parson, ed. Extracts, 116. The notecard for this citation had crossed out "Hall" in the Independence Hall heading, and hand penciled, "Sq". I found no other evidence that the square was the cite, but it stands to reason, considering the public usually witnessed these punishments in an outdoor setting.

[67]As quoted in Der Machetliche, Oct. 19, 1773; Pennsylvania Packet Jan. 3, 1774; New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, Jan. 3, 1774, p. 3., Newspapers as cited in INDE notecard file. The tea act was already six years old. Richard B. Morris, ed. Encyclopedia of American History (New York, 1953), p.81.

the city. On Monday December 27, a public meeting was called "upon an hour's notice" at the State House. The Pennsylvania Packet reported that all allowed that the assemblage proved to be the "most respectable, both in numbers and rank" ever known in the city. So many came that the meeting adjourned from the State House "into the square." Near 8000 strong in short order passed seven resolves demanding that the captain return the tea to England. Captain Ayres spoke to the crowd, vowing to honor their resolutions, and the next day set sail without unloading the tea.[68]

Despite such disruptions in trade and the severe credit crisis in 1772, Philadelphia in the last years before the Revolution showed signs of unequaled prosperity. Some merchants like Samuel Powel, John Cadwalader and John Stamper lived in remarkable splendor, and the reputation of the city's artisans stood unsurpassed in the colonies. Across the city new public and private buildings were under construction. Carpenters' Hall and the City Tavern reached completion in time for the gathering of the First Continental Congress in Philadelphia on September 5, 1774. [69]

Prosperity for those in power contributed to the conservative political environment in Pennsylvania. Governor Penn refused to call the Assembly together to consider the

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[68]Morris, ibid.; Wolfe, Portrait, ibid.; New York Gazette, ibid. and Jan. 10, 1774; Pennsylvania Journal, December 27 and 28, 1773; Pennsylvania Packet, December 27, 1773. Newspaper citations from notecard file. It was the Packet that reported the crowd estimate: "The ground which was covered by the people ...in the State House Square, being measured, it was calculated, by two different persons, unknown to each other, that there were near 8000 people collected there..." Parsons, Hiltzheimer, 28. A public notice of the December 27 meeting has survived in the collections of the Library Co. of Philadelphia and is reproduced in Weigley, ed. Philadelphia, 118.

[69]Nash, Urban Crucible,314, 317; Wolf, Philadelphia, 82.

impending Congress, so that local leaders took matters into their own hands. On June 18th, two of the city's most prominent merchants and provincial officers, Thomas Willing and John Dickinson, led a "very large and respectable meeting of the freeholders and freemen of the city and county of Philadelphia in the State House Square." They resolved to condemn Parliament's closure of the Boston port. They found it "unconstitutional, oppressive to the inhabitants of that town, dangerous to the liberties of the British colonies," and therefore considered their "brethren at Boston as suffering in the common cause of America." Behind the yard's new seven foot-high wall, in the great open yard, the citizens heard speeches from the college's Provost, William Smith, as well as from young merchant Charles Thomson and lawyer, Joseph Reed. The meeting resolved in favor of a colonial congress and appointed a 43-man Committee of Correspondence, Thomas Willing, chair, to take charge of the communication throughout the Province and the appointment of delegates to the Congress. [70]

When the First Continental Congress delegates arrived in September, they quickly made a pointed gesture in recognition of the Pennsylvania Assembly's strong conservative leadership. First, they turned down Speaker Joseph Galloway's offer of the State House as their meeting place, in lieu of the still unfinished, but elegant, Carpenters' Hall. Then they chose as their secretary Philadelphia's fiery young radical, Charles Thomson, the "Sam Adams of Philadelphia," who faithfully recorded the minutes of the Continental Congress until the First Federal

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[70]Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, 119; quotes from the record of the meeting in PA Archives, 2nd Ser.,XIII, 277, 279, INDE notecard file; Marshall's Remembrancer, pp. 7-8;Rivington's New York Gazette, June 22, 1774; Pennsylvania Packet, June 20, 1774; William B. Reed, Life and Correspondence of Joseph Reed, I, 67.

Congress chose his replacement in 1789.[71]

The cannon at the State House Yard, so visible during earlier celebrations, now stood ready for potential military action. How reassuring they actually were, however, comes into question with Jacob Hiltzheimer's diary record of September 17, 1774, after he saw the collected remains "I dare say 20 pieces," of Robert Jewell's hand which had been blown off accidentally "by the ramrod of a Cannon" that had gone off unexpectedly in the yard.[72]

News of the Battles of Lexington and Concord arrived in Philadelphia in late April 1775 and immediately a notice was sent out for a public meeting at the State House Square. As Christopher Marshall recorded in his diary, a crowd "which by computation, amounted to 8000 people" came to "consider the measures to be pursued in the critical affairs in America." The Pennsylvania Gazette reported that they listened to patriotic addresses and then resolved "to associate for the Purpose of defending with ARMS their Property, Liberty and Lives, against all Attempts to deprive them of them." The war had begun, and the Quaker "city of Brotherly love" was preparing to fight.[73]

The month before, in March, John Little hauled earth into the State House yard and William Stuart brought in stones. The reason does not appear in the records, but it seems possible the

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[71]John Adams called Thomson the "Sam Adams of Philadelphia" in his diary for Aug. 30, 1774. Charles Francis Adams, The Works of John Adams, II. (Boston, 1850), 358. Weigley, ed.,Philadelphia, 122.

[72]"Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer," September 16, 1774, MSS, APS. For more on Robert Jewell, see PMHB 31, 197, 360.

[73]Morris, ed., Encyclopedia, 85; PA Gazette, Apr. 26, 1775, p. 3; Extracts from ...Diary of Charles Marshall, p. 7, from INDE notecard file.

authorities were preparing the yard for the heavy equipment and wagons that might soon be needed and stored in the yard. The dirt and stones may have been laid for a pebblestone entrance into the walled enclosure where the cannon already were kept and where local militia were staging their formation and regulation.[74]

When the Second Continental Congress convened on May 10, 1775 in the Assembly's room at the State House, the adjoining yard came to be the delegates' outdoor room. Massachusetts' John Adams later remembered that during a walk there with Samuel Adams of Boston "for a little exercise and fresh air, before the hour of Congress," they arrived at a scheme to nominate George Washington as the commander and chief of the Continental Army. Also, in his diary for September 23, 1775, Adams noted that he took a long walk that morning "backward and forward in the State house yard with Paca, McKean and Johnson," talking over such political hot points as the right to regulate trade.[75]

Congress began to debate the means to resist British aggression that summer of 1775, when some Pennsylvania delegates balked at the possibility of war. As John Adams later recorded, he had been called in the yard for business during a particularly heated session. John Dickinson "darted after me," he recalled, and "broke out upon me in a most abrupt and extraordinary manner; in as violent a passion as he was capable of feeling, and with an

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[74]Provincial Council Reports of the Committee of the State on Public Accounts, 1769-1776, March 30, 1775, p. 130, MSS, State Records Office, Harrisburg; "Christopher Marshall's Diary," April 29, 1775, MSS, HSP.

[75]C.F. Adams, Works of John Adams, II, 409-10, INDE notecard file. According to the notecard, the meeting with Sam Adams occurred on June 21, 1775, but the card does not specify what letter or recollection this anecdote comes from. The September 23, 1775 meeting with McKean, et. al., comes from John Adams Diary, MSS, Mass. Historical Soc., (MHS) folio 24, INDE notecard.

air, countenance, and gestures, as rough and haughty as if I had been a school-boy and he the master." Dickenson pressed Adams on why he and the other New Englanders opposed the measures proposed for reconciliation. As Adams recalled, Dickinson threatened that his group would "carry on the opposition by ourselves in our own way." [76]

Meanwhile, others in the city were taking stock of the military supplies building behind the State House wall. In July 1775 Christopher Marshall noted that a person had just been sent to prison for "attempting to Spike the Guns" in the State House yard. The same day John Adams wrote to James Warren to inform him that 135 full barrels of powder, weighing six and a half tons, had just been delivered into the yard by six wagons and that it soon would be forwarded to him. Two months later, as tensions heightened about the deliberations of Congress and the fate of the colonies, a man named Samuel Slace was taken into custody and interrogated for frequently observing and taking account of "the Cannon & Carriages in the State House Yard," and for making inquiries about the "different constructions of Machines, Boats, &ca." The Board who examined Slace finally ordered his release, but required that he inform them if he intended to leave the Province.[77]

Such precautions were well founded. Pennsylvania by November 1775 had more than fifty new cannon of different sizes, running from 3 pounders to 18 pounders, with carriages to mount them on, all kept in the yard or in the east and west "stores" at the State House--assumed to be the wooden sheds that appear at the corners of Fifth and Sixth Street, beside the two State House

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[76]C.F. Adams, Works of John Adams, II, 416, as cited in INDE notecard file.

[77]John Adams to James Warren, July 26, 1775, Warren-Adams Papers, MHS; Christopher Marshall Diaries, July 26, 1775, MSS, HSP.

office wings, in Charles Willson Peale's painting of the square in 1778. (see Illustration No. 1) The full list of "Iron Gunns" around the City numbered many more. Six months before the Declaration of Independence, Philadelphia was prepared for war.[78]

But Pennsylvania's Assembly still dragged behind, hoping for reconciliation, rather than the ultimate change--a break with Great Britain. Many of its members were from the elite, merchant class and had much at stake. Their future rested in Philadelphia's prosperous port trade so intertwined with Great Britain. Even Thomas Paine's Common Sense which captivated so many people throughout the colonies after its January 1776 publication, didn't sway the conservative Assembly members in favor of independence.[79]

The highly politicized Philadelphia townspeople took matters in their own hands on May 20, 1776 by holding a public meeting in the State House yard. A stage was erected for the occasion, where Colonels McKean, Cadwallader and Matlack addressed the crowd. Called together by the city's Committee of Safety, the crowd, estimated at 4000-strong, stood from 9am to noon in a heavy rain to hear protest against the Assembly's political maneuvering and to adopt the resolves of Congress. The results of the meeting, as officially published in the Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, provide few specifics about the political issues, but suggest a clear political takeover by the liberal faction:

At this meeting it was unanimously voted that the

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[78]"Return of No. Guns in City Nov. 1775," Com of Safety Folder 6, Executive Correspondence, Harrisburg, and INDE photostat #10021.

[79]Wolf, Philadelphia, 84, explains that Common Sense, "Paine's clarion call for immediate independence," met a receptive audience. It was reprinted throughout the colonies and overseas, selling an estimated 120,000 copies in three months.

> instructions of the Assembly to the delegates in Congress ought to be repealed; that the present Assembly was unfit to frame a new government; that that body had no right to execute the resolves of Congress; that the present government was not competent to the present conditions, and that a provincial convention ought to be chosen by the people. The meeting also adopted, with but one dissenting voice, the protest framed on the 18th of May, by which the meeting of the committee renounced and protested against the "authority and qualification of the Assembly." These resolutions, together with a "remonstrance" largely signed by the Quakers, was laid before the new Assembly on May 21st, 1776, the day after it met.[80]

Six weeks later, on July 4, 1776, Pennsylvania's delegation in Congress joined with eleven other colonies (New York excepting) to adopt the Declaration of Independence. Pennsylvania, free of the influence of its conservative faction, chose to support the American cause. On July 8, 1776, at noon, the Declaration was read to the public for the first time, from "that awful stage in the State-House yard," as John Adams described the platform which later historians assumed was the 1769 observatory for the Transit of Venus across the sun. No known contemporary account specifically mentions the observatory, however, and Adams' "awful stage" likely referred to a temporary platform put up for the occasion, like the one erected "atempore" for the May 20 rally.[81]

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[80]Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, IX, 457; Josiah Bartlett to John Langdon, May 20, 1776, Bartlett Papers, Folder 92, New Hampshire Historical Society, (NHHS);James Duane to John Jay, May 25, 1776, John Jay Papers, Reel I, Colgate University; John Adams to James Warren, May 20, 1776, Warren-Adams Papers, vol. 2, MSS, MHS; Duane, ed.,Extracts...Diary of Christopher Marshall, pp. 72-73; R.W. Davis, "Glimpse of Philadelphia in July 1776," Lippincott's Magazine (July 1876), 35; all the above from INDE notecard file. The public meeting occurred on May 20, 1776.

[81]J. Adams specifically told Warren that "a Stage was erected atempore for the Moderator, and the few oraters to ascend" at the May 20 mass meeting. Josiah Bartlett similarly took note about the May 20 event, "Yesterday the city met,...in the field before the State House, a Stage being erected for the Moderator, (Col Roberdeau) and the chief speakers..." As both these men had been in

Christopher Marshall left a careful account of his involvement in the first reading of the Declaration on the 8th of July:

> 8. Warm sunshine morning. At eleven, went and met [the] Committee of Inspection at [the] Philosophical Hall; went from there in a body to the lodge; joined the Committee of Safety (as called); went in a body to [the] State House Yard, where in the presence of a great concourse of people, the Declaration of Independence was read by John Nixon. The company declared their approbation by three repeated huzzas. The King's Arms were taken down in the Court Room, State House [at the] same time. From there, some of us went to B. Armitage's tavern; stayed till one.[82]

Marshall's telling of the event has close parallels to most of the other known accounts. John Adams noted that the audience included the Committee of Safety, the Committee of Inspection, and "a great Crowd of People."[83] The German press of Henrich Miller also reported a sizeable gathering and offered a few new details:

> Yesterday at twelve o'clock noon the Declaration ...was publicly announced in the English language in the local Statehouse Yard from a raised platform, ...The announcement was given by Colonel Nixon with Sheriff William Dewees at his side; in addition many members of Congress, of the Assembly, the generals and other high war officials; below in the yard were perhaps several thousand people, who experienced these festal occurences. After the reading of the Declaration a three fold shout of joy resounded with the word, "God bless the free states of North America: To this indeed every true friend of these colonies can and will say,

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town for months and knew members of the Philosophical Society, it seems likely that they would have specified that the observatory was used, rather than noting a stage had been erected. The first reference this writer found to the observatory as the site for the reading of the Declaration was John Fanning Watson who based his Annals on recollections of oldtimers still living when he began to take interest in the city's history. Time did not permit a search in his papers to try to trace his source for the observatory claim.

[82]Duane, ed. Extracts...Marshall, 82.

[83]John Adams to Samuel Chase, July 9, 1776, Robert J. Taylor, ed., Papers of John Adams,4, (Cambridge, 1979), 372.

"yea and Amen."[84]

Although Miller specified that many high officials took part in the ceremony, there is some evidence that the audience may not have been so large or made up of people from the upper end of society. Curiously, few Continental Congress members left record of the event in their correspondence. Two Philadelphians, however, jotted down observations which contradict the two above. Charles Biddle remembered there "were very few respectable people present," and Deborah Logan, who witnessed the event from her family's estate across Fifth Street, recorded that, "the first audience of the Declaration was neither numerous nor composed of the most respectable class of citizens."[85]

The claim that the respectable people were not part of the audience might in part be explained by the fact that the 8th also was an election day of great significance for the Province, one in which the Independents in favor of a break with England ran and won the vote. Establishment members of the Assembly, like William Allen and John Dickinson, were replaced by radicals the likes of Benjamin Franklin, Timothy Matlack, and David Rittenhouse. The newly elected Convention took complete charge of the independence movement in Pennsylvania. Also on the 8th, the city was in a great turmoil, organizing to send off state militia, or Associators, to relieve New York, then under siege by British troops. Members of the Continental Congress who did write letters or journals that day primarily had their minds on these doings, as well as plans on all fronts to prepare for war with

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[84]Henrich Miller's Pennsylvanisher Staatshate No. 813, July 9, 1776, INDE notecard file.

[85]The two quotes come from James S. Biddle, ed., Autobiography of Charles Biddle Vice-President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania 1745-1821 (Philadelphia, 1883), 86. Biddle and Logan, both from wealthy, upper class families, reflected their social bias.

one of the greatest powers in the world. Finally, many of the "more respectable" people in Philadelphia were either Tories, Quakers, who generally dropped out of politics at this time, or moderate Whigs, who remained wary of the radical leaders rising in Philadelphia.[86]

The Associators (militia) in Philadelphia took to arms with great enthusiasm during July 1776 and were anxious to march off to the field. Captain Roberdeau tried to get the soldiers to parade as guards in the State House yard, only to find them reluctant, claiming to be "more desirous of a Campaign." Instead, Roberdeau set up a corps of city guards and arranged to have the "Stage in the State House yard fitted up" for them with "a Sufficient number of Camp Kettles for Their use."[87]

Throughout the Fall the yard hummed with military preparations. Wheelwrights were set up to make or repair wheels for the wagons and carriages in the yard, and carpenters put together sentry boxes and guard houses, and worked on the

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[86] The Declaration of Independence gave politicians fresh energy. Benjamin Franklin revived from a bout with gout and other ailments to launch himself into a "whirl of state and national politics," which probably precluded his presence in the State House yard for the ceremony. He did that day, however, send a copy of the document to Silas Deane. Thomas Fleming, The Man Who Dared the Lightening A New Look at Benjamin Franklin (New York, 1971), 330; William B. Willcox, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin, 22 (New Haven, 1982), 502; David Freeman Hawke, Paine (New York, 1974), 56-7; Brooke Hindle, David Rittenhouse (Princeton, 1964), 138-143; South Carolina Delegates to John Rutledge, July 9, 1776, and John Adams to Abigail Adams, July 10, 1776, Paul H. Smith, ed. Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, (Washington, 1979), 420-423; according to John M. Coleman, Thomas McKean Forgotten Leader of the Revolution (Rockaway, NJ, 1975), 182-3, the Committee of Safety and the city committee vied with each other in the preparations of the reading ceremony in the square.

[87] D[aniel] Roberdeau to R.[ichard] Peters, July 15, 1776, Papers of Continental Congress, Item 78, Record Group (RG) 11, National Archives, (INDE notecard); Colonial Records X, 653.

"Magazine at State House." Indoors, cartridges were being made for rifles. The Pennsylvania Convention and the Continental Congress persued war efforts from their chambers in the State House, the members breaking to walk in the yard or make use of the privies. The duties of attending committees and general sessions often kept the delegates at the State House day and night, leaving them little time to write or carry on their other affairs.[88]

Public meetings continued to be held in the yard, despite the military stores kept there. In October "a large and respectable Number of the Citizens" came together and adopted resolves "expressing opposition to the new State Constitution." The delegates at the Convention to draw up Pennsylvania's constitution were, for the most part, neophytes in politics. Their effort to produce a government framework brought so much criticism that the November election in the State House yard returned to office many of the old-time politicians, including Dickinson, Robert Morris, and George Clymer.[89]

In late November 1776, when General Howe threatened to

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[88]Minutes of Council of Safety, Vol.2, Sept. 6, 1776, p. 99, PA State Archives; Colonial Records X, 717; pay to John Stiller "for attending on the Wheel-right work," Comptroller General, Waste Book, 1775-1783, p. 113, MSS, Division of Public Records, Harrisburg; George Read to Mrs. Read, Dec. 6, 1776, Judge Richard S. Rodney Coll., Historical Society of Delaware. All above in INDE notecard file. The exact location of the privies during this period cannot be established; archeology found several pits to the rear of the State House.

[89]PA Gazette, Oct. 23, 1776, p. 2; Hindle, Rittenhouse, 143. William Hooper in a letter to Joseph Hewes and Samuel Johnston on November 6, 1776 noted, "The Constitution of Pennsylvania...expired yesterday in the State House Yard, Dickinson, Rob. Morris Christian Saml Morris-Clymer-Shubler-Parker were elected and soon ride triumphant upon the ruins of the Constitution." Hayes Coll, typescript, MSS, N.Carolina State Archives. All citations from INDE notecard file.

invade Pennsylvania, the yard became the scene of a passionate renewal of the people's faith and enthusiasm for the war:

> At eleven o'clock this forenoon, a very large & general Town Meeting was held at the State House Yard. The Members of General Assembly and the Council of Safety were present. Mr. Rittenhouse, Vice President of the Council in the Chair. The intelligence which has been received of the probability of Genl. Hoe having it in Contemplation to invade this State, was laid before the Citizens, and they were informed that the Congress had requested the Militia of the City and of several of the Counties, and part of the militia of each of the other Counties to march into New Jersey. The people expressed their cheerful approbation of the measure by the most unanimous acclamations of Joy ever observed on any occasion, and the Militia are ordered to be reviewed to-morrow at 2 o'clock. General Mifflin addressed his fellw Citizens in a Spirited, animating & affectionate address, which was received by them with marks of approbation, which showed their esteem for, & confidence in the General.[90]

These were heady but short-lived moments. Only a week later George Read reported in a letter to his wife that when the term expired for the militia troops of the "flying camp", particularly those from New Jersey and Maryland, they abandoned General Washington "in whole brigades," refusing to serve an hour longer, "so that the city [was]...filling up with the returning soldiers, though never more needed in the field." The delegates from Maryland and General Mifflin "harangued a great number [of them], perhaps six or seven hundred..., in the State House yard" with success, and most of them agreed to return to the field for another month.[91]

Only a few days later, Major-General Israel Putnam, having just arrived in Philadelphia, took charge of a potential panic resulting from dark rumors afloat that the Continental Army officers intended "to burn and destroy the city of Philadelphia."

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[90]PA Archives, 1st Ser., V, 77.

[91]Read to Mrs. Read, Dec. 6, 1776, Edmund C. Burnett, ed., Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, II, (Washington, 1923), 171-2.

He assured the populace that General Washington would consider any attempt to burn the city "a crime of the blackest dye," and that any person who attempted such would face capital punishment. Putnam called all able-bodied men to the State House yard the next day with their "Arms and Accoutrements," conscientious objectors accepted. The general wanted to be sure no "idle spectator" remained in the city who could injure the American cause or who could still lend his support to it. Thus, all those who would not fight were expected to give over their weapons and get paid for them.[92]

Considering the Tory, Quaker and Moravian resistance to the war and the fragile condition of internal politics, Philadelphians witnessed the walled-in and guarded center of government at the State House with varying degrees of support or foreboding. Quakers who would not swear allegiance were stigmatized, and some were sent off under guard to Virginia. In June 1777, when the war looked bleak, General Mifflin addressed a city meeting in the State House Yard urging the citizens to join the militia against the common enemy. Two days later some 2000 men appeared on the commons, "resolved to be victors or to die in the defence of the freedom of their country." Young recruits paraded about the city to reassure an uneasy city that protection was at hand against the British troops not far from its borders in the summer of 1777.[93]

Military activity heightened so much around the State House

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[92]Maryland Gazette, Dec. 25, 1776, p. 1; "Official Documents, Israel Putnam, Major General, Headquarters, Phila., Dec. 13th, 1776-Orders, Item #5584, MSS, New York Public Library, as cited in INDE notecard.

[93]Quotes from, Pennsylvanische Staatshate, No. 864, June 18, 1777, p. 2. PA Gazette, June 18, 1777, p. 3; PA Archives, 2nd Ser., XV, 206; Thomas Paine to R.H. Lee, July 1, 1777, R.H. Lee and A. Lee Correspondence, Vol. 1, p. 333, MSS, APS. All above from INDE notecard file.

yard that summer that the Provincial Council felt it necessary to issue orders on June 20th to curb the noise:

> The great inconveniences arising from the Waggoners bringing their Waggons into the State House Yard, & the noise of the Drums, which greatly incommodes, not only the Council, but also the Congress and General Assembly, whenever the Companies or Battalions exercise or Parade in the Yard, & having been observed by the Council with great concern; thereopon,
> Ordered, That no Drums be admitted into the State House Yard, & that the Waggoners be forbid to bring their Waggons into the State House Yard without permission so to do.[94]

The British under General Howe took command of the city only three months later, in September 1777, setting artillery in the yard and some of their officers in the State House. For four months, from October to February, they reserved the second floor for captured American officers who suffered appalling conditions, according to two contemporary reports. Henry Laurens returned to Philadelphia as a South Carolina delegate to the Continental Congress only weeks after the British evacuation in June 1778 and filed this account:

> ...the offensiveness of the air in and around the State House which the Enemy had made an Hospital and left it in a condition disgraceful to the Character of civility. Particularly they had opened a large square pit near the House, a receptacle for filth, into which they had also cast dead horses and the bodies of men who by the mercy of death had escaped from their further cruelties, I cannot proceed to a new subject before I add a curse on their savage practices.[95]

Archeological digs in the yard during the 1950s and 60s did not give evidence of horse or human remains to substantiate whether such a pit was dug in the yard, and the only other report specifying the prison phase of British occupation at the State

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[94]Minutes of the Provincial Council of PA, XI, 229.

[95]Henry Laurens to the President of South Carolina, July 15, [1778], in Burnett, ed. Letters of Members,III, 332-33. David A. Kimball, "Independence Hall Room Use, 1732-1992," p. 4, report in draft, History Office, Cultural Resources Management, INDE.

House, one given in 1778 by Francis Hopkinson to Tory Joseph Galloway, only confirms the abusive treatment the American officers received and suggests that the yard in fact had grass growing in it, despite the military supplies and activity:

> Cunningham had deserted from the Americans to the British, and was made keeper of the provost prison. The state-house in Philadelphia was made use of for this purpose; and the author was assured, by some who made their escape from thence, that they had seen bodies lying in the yard of prisoners, who had died of mere famine, with unchewed grass hanging out of their mouths. Some of the citizens had one day sent a bucket full of broth to the prisoners of the provost--the infernal Cunningham took it into the state-house yard, and when the starving wretches had gathered eagerly round, he kicked over the bucket with his foot, and then laughed to see them lie on their bellies and lap the slop from the ground, like dogs, with their tongues.[96]

After the British departed, the State House and yard were so filthy, it took two months before the square once again was fit to serve as the seat of government and place for military storage, practice and parade. Congress hired house carpenter Robert Allison to build a new four-door frame necessary in the yard with moulded stone steps (suggesting that the privy stood above ground level), and then supplied it with 83 bushels of lime. This privy had to service members of the Continental Congress and State Assembly, the governor, his Supreme Executive Council, and the state Supreme Court, as well as their several staff personnel, and thus probably had up to sixteen holes, four in each compartment. To see to the comfort of these federal and state workers, they also stretched a chain across Chestnut Street at the upper and lower ends of the block, to stop the wagons and other carriages that rumbled past during session, and once again strictly forbade "the Beating of Drums near the State House"

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[96]"A letter to Joseph Galloway, Esq.," 1778, in Francis Hopkinson, Miscellaneous Essays I (1792), 130, fn., as cited in INDE notecard. See also Pennsylvania Packet Jan. 7, 1778, and Watson, Annals, II, (1870), 301, for similar accounts.

during the working hours of either the state or national assemblies.[97]

The summer of 1778 also saw brickwork for the "new building Causways &c at the State House," a project that at first reading is most mysterious. Another source phrased the work, "for bricks for the new building, causeway, &c at the State House." Since the records show that a new four-door privy went up in the yard, perhaps that is the "new building" referred to in the second source, and the causeways were brick paths to it through the mud and earth. Other possibilities might be that the causeways were brick paths laid to allow the wagons better access into the yard, or access to a new brick building of undetermined nature. The brick causeway may also have been a pathway around the buildings,

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[97] PA Archives, Ser. I, VII, 189;Journal A-1,(1775-1786), p. 46, Comptroller General's Financial Records, MS, State Archives, Harrisburg; orders dealing with noise dated Sept. 9, 1779, Journal of the House of Representatives of PA, 1776-1781, p. 227, 481. As archeologist Paul Inashima observed, this new privy likely was the octagonal privy excavated by B. Bruce Powell in 1962 beneath the basement of Old City Hall. The same privy is marked on the "ground plan of the State House Measured the 6th day of November 1783," and was torn down in 1790 to make way for the construction of City Hall. In July 1995 a document pertaining to the new privy came to light from a private donor: it is Alexander Crawford's bill of Nov. 2, 1778, for providing moulded stone steps for the necessary "measuring in all forty feet." Another record noted he was paid for "four stone steps" which could mean steps to each of four doors. If each step measured five feet across, which is wide enough for two people to pass, if one was coming and the other going, then there would be 8 stone steps, or two for each of four entrances. Crawford bill in INDE Mus. files. The State paid for 3765 feet of pine boards and 820 of cedar for "necessary house and presses for holding records." Presumably the pine board were used for the privy. They also purchased 40 yards of paint for the necessary. The bills for this period also included bricks for "the new building causeway, &c", however, which may suggest that the necessary was brick. The painter glazed 32 lights which suggests four transoms of 8 panes each to provide natural light. Painting Measurer's bill, State House Papers, Public Rec. Office, Harrisburg.

but that would not account for the reference to "the new building" in the second source above. Without further information, it will be impossible to determine the exact nature of this work which paid Jacob Steinmetz L124.6.3 in November of the year.[98]

As the war droned on, only one newsworthy rally took place, on May 25, 1779, when a large swarm of angry citizens massed in the yard and "abused the Congress" after not getting the answers to their complaint about two ships that had left port against the peoples' wishes with a cargo of goods that were in real shortage in the city. The crowd turned rowdy, taunting Congress with "three Cheers for King George IIId of England," at which point a "Body of Troops" came forward, a fray ensued, and "many were wounded on both sides."[99]

By early Spring 1781 the war effort had dwindled so much on the square, that William Hurrie, doorkeeper for the House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, received permission to have the exclusive "benefits and emoluments arising from the grass of the state-house lot." This privilege did not preclude, of course, the use of the yard for artillery drills, nor the artillery's salute fired on October 24th in the presence of the members of the state government and federal congress, at the official word that Cornwallis had surrendered. The next night fireworks were set off in the yard to mark the joyous news that the war was over.[100]

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[98]Journal A-1, Ibid., p. 86; Journals of the House, 1776-1781, 480. The Oxford English Dictionary describes causeway as a roadway largely built up over wet land.

[99]New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, May 32, 1779, p. 3. This account differs markedly from the ones summarized in the notecard file from Philadelphia papers, which only said the meeting addressed the need for fair prices. PA GazetteMay 26, 1779.

[100]Journal of the H. of Reps. of PA 1776-1781, p. 607; Philadelphische Correspondenz No. 28, Nov. 7, 1781, and No. 57, May

Fireworks had been set off in the yard three months earlier for the Fourth of July, and were called for again in May 1782 to honor the birth of the Dauphin. They would continue to be one of the prime forms of celebration at the State House Square in the century to come.[101]

Another kind of fireworks seemed in the air on June 21, 1783 when 300 soldiers from the Pennsylvania line marched behind their sergeants to the State House, encircled the building to keep all the members of the Pennsylvania Council and Continental Congress inside, and presented their demands for back pay and for the right to pick officers who would represent their grievances more assiduously. Although they stood armed and threatening for three hours in the hot sun, the soldiers got no where with their appeal. All the government representatives left at the close of day, passing without harm through the ranks of the soldiers, who marched back to the Barracks with only a faint hope that Congress would keep to their recent resolve to grant them three months pay. The famous "mutiny" prompted Congress to leave Philadelphia, not to return again until 1790 as the First Federal Congress.[102]

29, 1782, p. 2; Maryland Gazette, Nov 15, 1781, p. 2; PA Packet, Nov. 1, 1781, newspapers as cited in INDE notecard file.; Parsons, ed.Diary of Hiltzheimer, 46.

[101]Parsons, ed. Hiltzheimer, 45; John Vaughan to Wm. Temple Franklin, 18 May 1782, Wm. Temple Franklin Papers, Vol. IV, Folio 41, APS.

[102][Account of French Minister Luzerne],Corresp. Pol., Etats-Unis, Vol. 24, Min. Aff. Etrang., Paris, as cited in notecard; John Byers to Wm. Irvine, 1 July 1783, Irvine Papers (Transcripts), II, Draper Coll, State Hist.Soc. of Wisconsin, INDE notecard.

The State House Neighborhood During and After the Revolution

By the time of the Revolution the neighborhood surrounding the State House had grown and changed considerably, much of it due to the presence of the government in its midst. Prominent families lived nearby, merchants, politicians, judges, and attorneys who attended in the State House to carry out various aspects of their career. New businesses and private institutions served those who worked or visited the Hall, as spectators often came to watch the Pennsylvania Supreme Court proceedings. The Walnut Street Prison, completed in 1775 after two years building its massive and foreboding stone walls, overshadowed the yard on the south. West of Sixth Street settlement continued to be sparse; empty squares generally "clothed with short grass," open pasture for cows and swine. The city had pushed considerably west, however, along its principle east-west artery-- High or Market Street, one block north of the State House.[103]

Although most of the streets along the waterfront by 1771 were "well paved in the middle for carriages" and footwalks had been paved in brick by the property owners before their houses, the streets around the State House remained packed dirt and gravel. The city street commissioners, however, paved the gutters and footways along the State House square's Fifth Street side in 1783, so that "the Passage would be much more convenient, and perhaps much more reputable to the State."[104]

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[103]Quote from Watson and Hazard, Annals I, 485. Watson gave considerable space to the late development west of Sixth Street. See Eastburn's map of the city, 1777, in illus.

[104]Quote from "Caspipina's Letters, Containing Observations on a Variety of Subjects, 1777," pp. 9-10,; Street Commissioners to Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, June 10, 1783, Pennsylvania Archives, Ser. 1, X, 55,; the work was carried out in August by Benjamin & Enoch Taylor, who laid 475 yards of brick pavement. "State of Pa. a/w Commissioner of Streets, Aug. 29, 1783, Nead Papers, HSP; all sources, as cited in INDE notecard file.

Chestnut Street boasted some of the most notable homes in the city, particularly the Charles Norris mansion (c. 1750) on the site of today's Second Bank of the United States. The Norris family owned the northwest quadrant of the block and several of the lots along Walnut Street. Period illustrations show the large Georgian brick house and yard enclosed, like at the State House, with a high brick wall.

Behind the wall the Norris' Swedish gardener had helped transform the grounds into a showcase property where, as Charles Norris' daughter, Deborah Logan, recalled, the "more respectable citizens," considered a walk there "a treat to their friends from a distance," and a way to impress them with the beauties of their city. In her youth Deborah enjoyed a pallisade "adorned with scarlet honeysuckles, sweet briars, and roses, and shaded by five spreading Catalpa's." She noted that the Catalpas, as well as the large willows "that flourished at the bottom of the garden" were the first of their kind introduced to Pennsylvania. Along with such innovative horticultural elements, the yard also had a section laid out in "the old taste," featuring "square parterres and beds, regularly intersected by gravelled and grass walks and alleys." While seated on one of the white garden benches in this enchanted garden, the only thing visible beyond the wall, Deborah noted, was the State House steeple.[105]

Along Fifth Street below Chestnut Street and north of Norris' court, the gardener's cottage in its fenced yard had such a charming appearance, according to one writer, that "it might have been thought to belong to a rural village." Yellow willows lined Fifth Street from Chestnut down to the court leading to the

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[105]Charles A. Poulson's description of the property given in Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia 2, 870; D. Logan's recollections reproduced in Charles Peterson, ed.,"Before Our Time," The American-German Review(April, 1951), 6-7, and copy in Press Clippings, INDE Archives.

stables.[106]

At the south end of Fifth Street opposite the State House, however, it was a very different story. For many years Henry Dawson had been operating a slaughterhouse there, bringing with it all the flies and nasty odors associated with its business, "to the extreme nuisance of the neighborhood and the general injury of the inhabitants".[107]

At war's end, when the city's first directories were published, two butchers, a shopkeeper and a baker also lived along the south half of Fifth Street on this block, probably in some of the eleven frame houses that sold with the lots in 1786 when the slaughterhouse finally was put out of business. Tax records for 1782 also list "the Laboratory" adjoining a vacant lot on this stretch of Fifth Street. The name suggests one of the ammunition factories set up during the Revolution, as that it the term used in the military records for this type of manufacturing center.[108]

Certainly the army took over properties all around the square during the Revolution. The military confiscated the new Walnut Street prison in mid-1776, requiring the 100 or so

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[106]The willow tree evidently was introduced to Philadelphia by Benjamin Franklin who asked Norris to plant a piece of wicker basket he had picked up, either in the Dock, as Watson recorded, or on a wharf in Boston, as Deborah Logan recalled. Watson and Hazard, Annals I (1909), 408; Peterson, "Before Our Time," 7.

[107]Scharf and Westcott, Ibid; Dawson's slaughterhouse was described during an inquest presenting grievances at the Philadelphia court of oyer and terminer. North American Intelligencer July 20, 1785.

[108]Francis White, The Philadelphia Directory (Philadelphia, 1785), as compiled by INDE notecard file under Fifth Street. Pennsylvania Packet, Aug. 30, 1786.

convicts to be moved back to the old stone prison at Third and Market Streets, from whence they had come only a few months earlier.[109]

The stone Walnut Street prison was imposing, stretching 200 feet on Walnut and 400 feet south on Sixth Street. (See illustation No. 42) Many times bigger than the city's first jail, the prison was built to answer a crying need for more room for the multiplying prison population. Philadelphia, a city of 23,000-plus, was struggling with a rise in poverty and crime. The enormous size of the building cast a dark shadow over the community for the length of its use, despite the fact that it became associated with a strong movement for prison reform.[110]

It seems no accident that the Pennsylvania Assembly located the prison across the street from the State House square, nor that they hired the prominent architect, Robert Smith, to design it. The location linked the prison visually with the seat of government, while presenting the facade as architecturally handsome and physically secure for visitors to the city, and for the many prestigious politicians and judges who had to pass it regularly in their comings and goings to the State House

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[109]Thorsten Sellin, "Philadelphia Prisons of the Eighteenth Century," in Historic Philadelphia, 326.

[110]Sellin, Ibid.; Harry Elmer Barnes, PH.D., The Evolution of Penology in Pennsylvania A Study in American Social History, (Indianapolis, 1927), 73, 80-81; Sam Bass Weaver, in The Private City, Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth, (Philadelphia, 1968) 11, gives the city and suburbs population as 23,700 and the city proper as 16,500. I took the former figure, because the population had long spilled over the borders of the original city to the north and south, beyond Vine and South Streets. A more recent study estimates a total population of 27,802 in 1774 and compares these figures with several other studies on population. Sharon V. Salinger and Charles Wetherill, "A Note on the Population of Pre-revolutionary Philadelphia," PMHB 109 (1985), 369-386.

square.[111]

Throughout the Revolution both British and American soldiers endured stays in the prison. Accounts left by American survivors speak of cruel and brutal treatment, the typical fare for most of the prison population prior to the turn of the century. Starvation, beatings and other indignities evidently ate away at the prisoners. When an inmate died, he was carted across the street to the Potter's or Stranger's burial ground, (today's Washington Square) which, for the duration of the war, doubled as a military cemetery. Congress delegate John Adams wrote to his wife Abigail on April 13, 1777, to tell her about his disturbing visit there:

> I have spent an Hour, this Morning, in the Congregation of the dead. I took a Walk into the Potters Field...The Graves of the soldiers...from the Hospital and bettering House, during the Course of the last Summer, Fall, and Winter, dead of the small Pox, and Camp Diseases, are enough to make the Heart of stone to melt away.
> The Sexton told me, that upwards of two Thousand soldiers had been buried there, and by the Appearance, of the Graves, and Trenches, it is most probable to me that he speaks within Bounds. [112]

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[111]Sellin, Historic Philadelphia, 326. Smith designed Carpenters' Hall and the large and impressive German Reformed Church at Fourth and Race Streets, both which were under construction at the same time as the prison. Joseph W. Hammond, "The German Reformed Church in Philadelphia, An Important 1772 Addition to the Works of Robert Smith," MSS, in the files of the writer, courtesy of the author. Dallet, in Washington Square, 7, compares the prison design to Smith's Nassau Hall in Princeton.

[112]By a criminal code set up in 1718 the state mandated death for nearly all felonies, and whipping, branding, mutilating, stocks and the pillory for lesser crimes. Pennsylvania's radical constitution of 1776 called for penal reform, and a series of laws after the war made Philadelphia by the close of the century a world leader in prison reform. Barnes, Penology, 73, 80. Adams letter as quoted in Laura J. Feller, "Report on Washington Square, Pennsylvania, Its Eligibility for Designation as a National Historic Landmark," History Division, Mar. 29, 1984, p. 5. Feller also cites a deposition from two American soldiers who survived to tell of their treatment in the

According to Jacob Mordecai's recollections collected many years after the Revolution, burials at the Potter's Field also came from a temporary military hospital a block away, in the Dickenson family home that sat "large and solitary" catty-corner from the State House, on the north side of Chestnut Street west of Sixth. Dead soldiers at first were carted to the Potter's Field in coffins, Mordecai recalled, but "when they died too rapidly," the dead were dumped in trenches "on the western side of that square from one end to the other," and then only slightly covered before another row was deposited, until the trench filled up. Except for the specifics of where the trenches were dug, a Mrs. Speakman gave John Fanning Watson a remarkably similar recollection. Archeology in 1956 in the northwest corner of Washington Square turned up evidence of a mass grave and three bodies that appeared to be Revolutionary soldiers' remains, one of which now rests in the square's Memorial to the Unknown Soldier.[113]

British provost. p.6. Watson gives Jacob Ritter's graphic and grim memories of his stay there after being captured at the battle of Brandywine. Watson, Annals, II, (1870), 300-301.

[113]Whitfield Bell, in his article presenting Jacob Mordecai's recollections, explains that Mordecai gave this testimony after a fifty-year absence from Philadelphia. Clear of mind and a scholar, Mordecai agreed to write down his memories at the urging of the ardent historian and librarian of the American Philosophical Society, John Vaughan. "Addenda to Watson's Annals of Philadelphia: Notes by Jacob Mordecai, 1836," PMHB 98(1974), 131-3; quote, 168; Watson gives a collaborating account by a Mrs. Speakman who told him she had witnessed the "interring the dead...at Pottersfield...They first dug square pits for them along the western side of that square, but as they died faster, they dug a long trench on the whole length of the southern side--...making two rows of lengths, interring double in length on top of one another, and casting the earth over them only as fast as the trench was filled up by the carts bringing the bodies from the various houses of sickness." Annals, II, (1844), 329. Hiltzheimer records yet another sort of military burial on July 25, 1782: "Returning from a ride with my wife, saw the burial of Major Galvan in the Potters' Field. The Major shot himself last night through the head." Parsons, ed. Diary, 50. Cotter et.al., The Buried Past, 207-8, gives an entertaining account of the 1956 dig in Washington Square.

Across Sixth Street from the State House square, on the corner of Chestnut Street, the army evidently had several frame buildings to store their wagons and miscellaneous supplies. Jacob Hiltzheimer recorded in his diary for April 12, 1782, "Moved all the Continental wagons and other public property out of the lot of Mr. Logan, at corner of Sixth and Chestnut." The same month the Pennsylvania Packet advertised the sale at auction of frame buildings on the corner of Sixth and Chestnut, including a carpenters shop, 48 by 26 feet, covered with shingles. The Loganian library stood on Sixth further south, and James Logan's sons no doubt still owned all or most of the block.[114]

The block directly across the street from the State House served the war effort in a more civilian way, providing government office space, a large commercial stables and two establishments that sold food or drink. Robert Livingston, first Secretary for Foreign Affairs, rented John Lawrence's three-story house on the corner of Sixth and Chestnut in 1782, and put his office in a small three-story brick building behind it on Sixth Street. Prior to his rental, John Lawrence, former mayor and justice of the Supreme Court, had stayed in his house until June 1778 as a Tory sympathizer, by special parole granted by the Continental Congress as a sign of the high respect they held for him. [115]

New York's Robert R. Livingston conducted his business as secretary of Foreign Affairs in both his residence and office. He was fond of entertaining important political and diplomatic persons at home, while next door he had space for a staff of three--two clerks and an interpreter--on the first floor and himself and Gouverneur Morris's nephew, Lewis R. Morris, in the

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[114]Parsons, ed. Diary, 49. The Loganian library stood on Sixth as early as 1760; Pennsylvania Packet Apr.2, 1782.

[115]Roach, "Independence Mall," pp. 53-4.

two offices on the second floor. This was in the final year of war and many documents had to be written and were received dealing with the future of the nation.[116]

Adjoining Lawrence's corner lot to the east was George Kemble's livery-stable where, according to Hiltzheimer's diary, the delegates of the Continental Congress kept their horses. The Pennsylvania Packet in April 1775, advertised the lease of this "well-accustomed" livery stable that held up to thirty horses with good stables, a large yard, coach house and the like. Interested parties were to see Mrs. Kemble "opposite the State-House" which suggests that Kemble himself had died or was off at war, leaving his wife in charge.[117]

Directly opposite the State House stood the old inn which had been in service from the first years of the colony. Michael Clark held the lease from 1769 through the Revolution. He gave the old inn the name "Coach and Horses" to advertise his additional service of "flying coaches" for those who wanted to hire transportation. During the British occupation Clark stayed in business, evidently providing a regular meeting place for British officers who had organized the "Loyal Association Club."[118]

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[116]Roach, Ibid., 57.

[117]Roach, Ibid., p. 57; Pennsylvania Packet April 10, 1775; Roach also cites an article of June 24, 1762 which announces Kemble's completion of a "commodious stable" built "nearly opposite the State House." State House, Roach Index, APS.

[118]Roach, Ibid., p. 49. Roach's research points out that Clark took the lease in 1769, when it was called the "Sign of the Blue Bell," which leaves in question whether the Mrs. Clark who put a notice in the Pennsylvania Gazette on June 23, 1768 identifying her location as the "Blue Ball, opposite the State House," was Michael Clark's spouse, and whether she was then running the business. Roach Index, APS.

Jacob Mordecai had especially fond memories of the "aged Africans" who lived in "some houses of humble appearance" near the State House Inn. As a school boy he and his friends often bought tarts and molasses buns from them. Nostalgically he claimed, "Nothing of the present day that I have met with can compare with the pastry of those humble and respectable Africans." As an indication of how vivid this memory was, Mordecai later in his notes described the scene again: "Opposite the State House [in] Chestnut Street stood some large trees. There lived in some humble wooden sheds a few orderly black women whose apple and cranberry tarts and beautiful pastry exceeds any thing now to be met with." Considering the very sparse written record on the African American population during this period, despite their presence everywhere in the city, such a fond, happy memory is welcome.[119]

Mordecai's boyhood occurred in the midst of optimistic challenges to the institution of slavery, particularly by the leading Quakers of the city and a handful of political radicals led by George Bryan in the Pennsylvania Assembly. In fact, he may still have been patronizing the Africans' shop in 1780 when the Pennsylvania Assembly across the street finally voted in favor of

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[119]Bell, "Addenda," PMHB 98(1974), 131, 149,158; contemporary accounts of the city always identified people by race, and it is diaries, city directories, tax assessment and prison records, Quaker humanitarian societies' papers, letters, and histories, combined with illustrations by the century painters Charles Wilson Pale and William Birch, that support the statement that African Americans were everywhere felt in the city. Demographic research by Jean R. Soderlund and Gary B. Nash indicates that in 1775 the slave and free black population only totaled 837, which amounted to just 2.7% of the city's estimated population of 31,410, covering the city, Northern Liberties and Southward. Population graphs, in this writer's files, were handouts at a lecture series. See Jean R. Soderlund, "Black Women in Colonial Pennsylvania," PMHB 107(1983), 49-68, for background on the condition of free and slave women in the period. See also Nash, "Slaves and Slaveowners in Colonial Philadelphia," William and Mary Quarterly 30 (April, 1973), 223-256.

a hotly debated gradual abolition act, the first of its kind in the nation.[120]

The rest of the Chestnut Street block to Fifth street remained in the possession of George Emlen's heirs. A prominent Quaker family, the Emlens had lived there since 1729, and had operated a malt house in a frame building still standing on the corner, at Fifth. When the third George Emlen died in 1776, the malt house reportedly closed, and his wife rented the building to a coachmaker.[121]

Finally, the north side of Chestnut Street between Fourth and Fifth by the time of the Revolution complemented the Norris' mansion on the south side, with a number of fine large brick homes, with an array of gentlemen and gentlewomen, attorneys, and merchants in residence. At the western corners of Fourth Street at Chestnut, however, older, more modest structures served a commercial purpose. The log tavern on the south corner, the Moon and Seven Stars, was where Col. Nixon with several other men, stopped for refreshments after the first public reading of the Declaration of Independence.[122]

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[120]Mordecai was born in 1762, making him a boy of 18 in 1780. Bell, "Addenda," 131. For more on the Gradual Abolition Act of 1780, see Gary B. Nash, "The Black Revolution in Philadelphia," paper presented to the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies, February 28, 1985, and Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, Freedom By Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath (New York: 1991) which chronicles how the act actually did not free any slaves in the state during the century because of its clause requiring the children to remain in indentured servitude until the age of twenty-eight.

[121]Roach, "Independence Mall", 60-61, 66.

[122]White, Philadelphia Directory, Chestnut Street names compiled by writer; John Binns, Recollections of the Life of John Binns (Philadelphia, 1854), 193.

Post-War Recovery and Improvement

At the close of the war, Philadelphia came alive with activity, on its waterfront, streets, and squares. Merchants who had lost their lucrative colonial trade with the British West Indies, began finding new markets in French ports around the Atlantic seaboard. The return of Robert Morris and partners' Empress of China to New York in 1785 signaled the nation's first trade with China. Soon Philadelphia teemed with exotic commodities such as tea, silks, ginseng, and Chinese porcelain. In response to this risky business, pioneer insurance companies formed in Philadelphia to meet the needs of maritime commerce.[123]

At the same time, municipal and state authorities launched an effort to repair the damage to the city from years of wartime neglect and abuse. Critical jobs that had been postponed during the war were tackled first, like the removal of the State House's rotting steeple, completed in 1781. Beginning in earnest this decade the street commissioners followed through with the act of 1769 to improve the city's streets. Reportedly their regulation moved all the streets below Market two to three feet to the south. Under a board of regulators, they also leveled the hilly contours of the city, plowed and paved the streets, and repaired and expanded the sewer system, especially at the Dock, which they finished arching over to Third Street in 1784, and at Fourth and Market Streets, where flooding into the basements and out onto the streets continued to be a nagging problem.[124]

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[123]Philip Chadwick Foster Smith, The Empress of China (Philadelphia, 1984) 231; Jean Gordon Lee, Philadelphia and the China Trade 1784-1844 (Philadelphia, 1984),21-3; Arthur Ervin Brown, "A Philadelphia Merchant in 1768-1791," PMHB 19 (1895), 397-402.

[124]Jacob Hiltzheimer chronicled his work as a street commissioner during the 1780s. Parsons, ed. Diary, 62-96. Many references can be found in INDE notecard file under, "Streets." Riley, Independence, 20. The arching over of the Dock pertained to

Post-War Repairs at the State House

Certain immediate repairs on the State House grounds were completed at the close of the war. Henry and George Apt and John Stutzer provided new pumps for the two pumps in front of the State House after Joseph Fry and Isaac Vannost had made earlier attempts to repair them. John Parker repaired "pavement in the yard," location unspecified. Carpenter Thomas Nevell repaired the "the Guard House," probably a vestige from the war. [125]

In June 1783, the Street Commissioners laid a footway and gutters along the east, or Fifth Street side of the State House Square, while regulating Fifth Street between Chestnut and Walnut Streets. The regulation intended to "carry off the Water, make the Street a more convenient Passage, and ...[make it] appear decent to the many Strangers & others who pass that way to the State House,&c." Since the commissioners were not in the position

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the lower portion, from Walnut down to the drawbridge. The section from Walnut to Third had been completed in the 1760s. Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, Philadelphia A History of the City and its People,I (Philadelphia, 1912), 312. Watson in his Annals I, 214 claimed that James Pearson as regulator "became in effect sole ruler" of the street leveling project which he promoted with a vengeance. Pearson also served as the supervisor of the improvements on the State House square.

[125]John Parker's Bill, State House Papers, Pub. Rec. Off.,, Harrisburg; Mar 1, 1782, "Thomas Nevell for repairs at the Guard House, State House, etc."Book E: Accounts of D. Rittenhouse, p. 27, Box 1, Accounts Current, No. 1, 1 vol., RG 18, Records of Office of State Treasurer, Div. of Pub. Rec., Harris; Isaac Vannost, Sept. 12, 1780, for "mending the Pump belonging to the State House," Committee of Public Accounts, 1779-1780, Box 2, RG 4, Records of the Comptroller Gen., PA State Archives, Harrisburg; Joseph Fry, "For Repairing Pumps at State House," Sept. 20, 1782, Journal "A-1", Acct. #340, p. 360, Final Rept., Comptroller General, State Arch., Harris.; Appt & Stutzer, May 31, 1783, "for fixing two new pumps in the wells before the State-house," PA Archives, 3rd ser.,V, 158; all citations from INDE notecards.

to pave the street-- which would have required the state as property owner to build the footway-- they recommended that the governor approve the footway project so that "the Passage would be much more convenient, and perhaps much more reputable to the State." The governor complied, and that August Benjamin and Enoch Taylor layed 475 yards of brick pavement, after "digging & regulating the gutter and footway."[126]

In the first phase of this busy activity, in June 1783, the Pennsylvania militia marched on the State House to demand from the Pennsylvania legislators back pay and more sympathetic leaders. Although highly charged and threatening, the encounter came to no violence. Nevertheless, the Continental Congress voted to leave Philadelphia, with the excuse that the Pennsylvania Supreme Executive refused to suppress the militia forcibly. In actuality, the delegates were already contemplating, as Oliver Ellsworth noted prior to the incident, "to remove to a place of less expense, less avocation and less influence than are to be expected in a commercial and opulent city." Congress, moreover, could not have helped but notice that the State House yard's public meetings often turned into rowdy affairs, posing a threat to the dignity of their sessions.[127]

Suddenly Philadelphia no longer was the nation's capital. The Pennsylvania legislature, perhaps with the future return of

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[126]PA Archives, 1st Ser.,X,55; The State of PA to the Commissioners of Streets, Aug. 29, 1783, Nead Papers, HSP, INDE notecard.

[127]As quoted in Weigley, Philadelphia, 154; Kenneth R. Bowling in "New Light on the Philadelphia Mutiny of 1783: Federal-State Confrontation at the Close of the War for Independence," PMHB 101 (Oct. 1977), 419-450, gives a lively account of this encounter, which he maintains was manufactured by Alexander Hamilton to try to provide support for the federal government. He also noted that large crowds gathered to watch while local taverns served up quantities of liquor. p. 434.

Congress in mind, finally launched the first major landscaping for the State House grounds, put capital dollars into bringing the State House into presentable condition, built a new courthouse on the corner of Sixth Street, and laid the groundwork for the construction of the city hall on the corner of Fifth Street. To fill the now-empty room abandoned by the Continental Congress, the Assembly in 1784 leased the space to British artist Robert Edge Pine to exhibit his works.[128]

A special committee appointed in 1784 to recommend those repairs "as appeared most immediately necessary," proposed that a new cap be laid on "the old part of the east wall, including the yard, and to paint the south gates, and covering the whole of the said wall," (with paint?). Although the Assembly on September 22, 1784 adopted that it be done, the bills for this work are not clearly identifiable in the records.[129]

Improvements to the Chestnut Street plaza did get completed in 1784. As the work order described it, the project included "Copper spouts, and a brick pavement of nine feet broad on the east and west sides of the steps, to meet that of the wings, taking up the present pebble-stone pavement, and repairing the mason work of the base of the building" for an estimated L106-15-0, under the supervision of Capt. James Pearson, house carpenter. According to Pearson's report to the Supreme Executive Council on December 20, 1784, the work before the State House included graveling, but no specifics were given as to where. A committee inspected the completed work in February 1785 and reported that it included "new red cedar posts (turned and a neat rail of pine along the Chestnut Street front, & painting)" for L70.0.0. The

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[128]Pine reference from Kimball, "Room Use," p. .Pine's works were removed from the State House in December 1786. Pennsylvania Packet and Daily Advertiser, Dec. 18, 1786, p. 3.

[129]Journal of House of Representatives of PA, 1781-84, p 346.

old posts that had lined Chestnut Street were reused "at several places on the other side of the square" and the footways on the south and west sides of the square were graveled.[130]

The Constitutional Convention, 1787

On a national level, only a few short years passed before the states realized the disadvantages of the Articles of Confederation with its weak central government. Finally, in 1786, a call went out to meet in Philadelphia for a national convention to reconsider the Articles of Confederation. The Federal Convention opened in May 1787, in the Assembly Room of the State House, in full view of the newly planted landscape in the yard. The delegates that month also witnessed groundbreaking for the new courthouse in the adjoining lot at Chestnut and Sixth Streets, as well as progress on the new hall rising on Fifth Street for the American Philosophical Society. The Society, it so happens, had many prestigious members, including convention delegates George Washington, John Adams, and Alexander Hamilton, who might well have anticipated the convenience of having Philosophical Hall so close at hand if Congress were to return to Philadelphia. During their three-month meeting the delegates enjoyed Philadelphia's amenities and hospitality, even to excess, as some letters home recount. [131]

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[130]Minutes of Assembly Sessions 9,10,11, 1784-87, as cited in Sellers Coll, INDE 4301, Folder 2; Pearson report in G-Independence Square, State House, Maintenance Vouchers, List, 1784, Oct. 10-Dec. 21, No. 1-25, State Archives, Harrisburg. This source also shows that George Krebs provided 4500 paving bricks for the project.

[131]"Former Resident Members," a list of American Philosophical Members [1769-1975], provided to writer by Roy Goodman, librarian, APS; Catherine Drinker Bowen, Miracle at Philadelphia, (Boston, 1966), 49-53.

Lobbying to be the Nation's Capital

The Federal Convention adopted the Constitution of the United States on September 17, 1787 and sent the draft to the states for ratification. By 1789 the Constitution had been ratified and a new U.S. Congress elected. That March the Pennsylvania Assembly invited Congress to make use of the new county courthouse, or any other public buildings in Philadelphia, as their future meeting place, until Congress selected a district for the nation's capital. While waiting for Congress' decision, Philadelphians lobbeyed to bring the federal government back to town. Articles touting the city's new improvements appeared in newspapers and magazines. Philadelphia's senator and wealthy merchant, Robert Morris, politicked the hardest and won infamy in New York for his skills. Dr. Benjamin Rush, a man at the top of the medical field nation-wide and signer of the Declaration, pressed his old friend John Adams to consider Congress' return to Philadelphia, a city which offered a more healthful climate than the other sites under consideration.[132]

Ambitious municipal improvements and aggressive lobbying by leading Philadelphians during the decade did help sway the minds of the Congressmen who, on July 16, 1790, passed the Residency Act designating Philadelphia the nation's temporary capital for ten years while Washington, D.C. was under construction along the Potomac River. Congress' move to Philadelphia brought on one of the greatest decades of real estate expansion in the city's history.[133]

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[132] Wolf, Philadelphia, 105; Weigley, Philadelphia, 170; Congress Hall Capitol of the United States, 1790-1800, Handbook # 147, (Washington, D.C., 1990), n.p. Benjamin Rush to John Adams, Feb. 21, 1789, L.H. Butterfield, ed. Letters of Benjamin Rush, I, (Princeton, 1951), lxx, 501-502.

[133] Congress Hall, "The Move to Philadelphia," n.p.

The Vaughan Landscape: the First Design for the State House Yard

On September 25, 1783, the General Assembly agreed to Governor Dickinson's petition to "authorize the laying out the [State House] ground according to the original design." They also agreed to revive the February 1736 law that affirmed "that the part of the State House lot not built upon, should remain a public open green and walks forever." This project, the Governor argued, "would be reputable to the State, particularly useful to the inhabitants of this city, very agreeable to strangers, and might be effected, we believe, with little expence to the public." [134]

A few months later the American Philosophical Society and Library Company of Philadelphia renewed their plan to build on the State House Square. Driven by an increased rent at Carpenters' Hall brought on by post-war inflation, the Library Company had been looking for a building site for several years. The American Philosophical Society likewise had been busy planning for a new building to hold their collections and had even purchased a site at Fifth and Arch Streets when the building committee opened discussions with the Library Company on the State House Square proposal.[135]

On March 12, 1784 the two institutions filed a joint petition for permission to build architecturally similar structures on the two Walnut Street corners of the yard. One of the American Philosophical Society's building committee members, Samuel Vaughan, who had already begun work to improve the State

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[134]John Dickenson to the Assembly, Sept. 17, 1783, PA Archives, 4th Ser., III, 930. Dickenson's use of the word, "design" is confusing here in today's use of it, but this writer assumes that it means the general purpose to lay out the yard in walks. No actual plan has been found for the 18th century landscape.

[135] Historic Philadelphia, 45, 130.

House grounds, felt confidant that the buildings on the southeast and southwest corners of the square would balance each other and "be sufficiently ornamental not to interfere materially with the views of making a publick walk."[136]

The joint proposal was denied, however, perhaps for the same reason that the governor turned down another appeal from the two institutions to locate their buildings "midway between Walnut and Chesnut Streets," because they would "too much interfere with the intended plan for improving the said ground," in accordance with the 1736 law. Instead, in contradiction also with the law, Dickinson proposed two building sites on Fifth and Sixth Streets just south of the corner lots for Congress Hall and City Hall. Dickenson's proposal died in a dispute that year between the two applicants, both of whom were vigorously vying for the lot on the east side of the square, thought to be more convenient for their members. Finally the Library Company gave up the struggle and in March 1785, the American Philosophical Society received the desired Fifth Street building lot.[137]

Meanwhile, work had begun on the improvements in the yard, under the learned supervision of Samuel Vaughan, Jr. a wealthy London merchant who had recently brought his family to Philadelphia from his property in Jamaica. Vaughan received great praise and recognition for his part in the completion of the

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[136]Samuel Vaughan to Benjamin Franklin, March 8, 1784, as quoted in Ibid., 130.

[137]Undated rough draft in J. Dickinson hand, Folder 45, Box 34-45, Dickinson Papers, Library Co. of Phila. This note card was taken in 1953, before the papers had been catalogued. Historic Philadelphia, 45. Library Company Minutes, Vol. 2, p. 233 -37 gives a summary of the problems over the lots in the minutes for Dec. 10, 1784. By Act of March 28, 1785 the Assembly granted the APS the lot on Fifth 96 feet southward from Chestnut Street. The lot measured 70 feet on Fifth and 50 feet to the west. Historic Philadelphia, 46.

landscape from his contemporaries, but no design plan or written account of his several years shepherding the project has ever been located. [138]

Enough information survives, however, to piece together a very interesting story of how Vaughan got involved, where he turned for his horticultural plans, and how he found the desired materials for the landscaping. Vaughan's transition to life in Philadelphia was relatively effortless because he had sent his son John ahead a year earlier to make the appropriate arrangements. Vaughan soon was on the social rounds meeting the leading families of the city. The Bache's, Benjamin Franklin's daughter and son-in-law, were instant friends, an extension of the affection the Vaughans felt for Franklin, who then was in France. [139]

At 63, Samuel Vaughan had come to America as a keen admirer of General George Washington and the freedoms and liberties set out in the Declaration. In December 1783, when the General stopped in Philadelphia en route home to Mount Vernon, Vaughan and Washington met each other. Afterwards, in correspondence, Vaughan offered to send Washington his house joiner and a marble mantel to help the general complete a large new room at Mount Vernon.[140]

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[138]William Rees, bill "from January 3 to April 18 for 8 Days & 1/4 Work in the State House Lot at 10 S pr Day L4.2.6. Received the contents in full [pr?] hands of Mr. Sam Vaughan. "2-v: Independence Square, State House Yard, Work Rolls, 1784, Jan.-Dec., State Arch., Harrisburg; Stetson, "Philadelphia Sojourn," 459, 465.

[139]Stetson, "Philadelphia Sojourn," 460-61.

[140]Stetson, Ibid., 460-61, 463. Stetson points out that Vaughan hoped to visit all the battlefields of the Revolution which had any connection with Washington, a symbol of the Revolution's success. George Washington to Samuel Vaughan, January 14, and April 8, 1784, John C. Fitzpatrick, The Writings of George Washington, Vol. 27, (Washington, 1939-9), 297-8, 390. The evidence that the two met in

Vaughan entertained Washington twice at dinner in 1787, when Washington returned to Philadelphia for four months to attend the Federal Convention. That summer Vaughan took off for a southern tour, having completed his work on the State House yard. On August 10 he arrived at Mount Vernon, where he stayed for a week, despite the absence of General Washington, who was still in Philadelphia. Vaughan recorded many details in his journal about Mount Vernon's landscape and horticulture, and drew up a plan of what he saw, which he sent to Washington in November 1787. Afterwards, they continued to correspond sporadically until Vaughan's return to England in 1790. [141]

During their first meeting in December 1783, the

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person in December 1783 comes from Washington's later correspondence. He did not keep a diary in 1783; his letters for the week in Philadelphia are business related only; and Baker's listing makes no reference to Vaughan. However, after returning to Mount Vernon, Washington thanked Vaughan, in a January 14, 1784 letter, "for the polite attention you were pleased to shew me, while I was in Philada.; and for the friendly offers you obligingly made me, before I left that city." Two years later, at hearing that Vaughan's family was returning to England, Washington wrote Vaughan, "I regret not having had the pleasure of testifying under my own roof the respect and regard I had imbibed for your Lady and family before their departure...," and reinvited Vaughan to visit when his schedule permitted. Washington to Vaughan, Sept. 12, 1786, Fitzpatrick, Writings, 29, 6-7. Washington visited Philadelphia from December 8 to 15, 1783. Baker, Itinerary of George Washington, 316-17.

[141]Stetson, "Philadelphia Sojourn," p.459, 463; Vaughan had Washington to dinner at least twice in the spring/summer of 1787, during the Federal Convention. Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds., The Diaries of George Washington, V, July 1786-December 1789, (Charlottesville: 1979), May 30 and June 30, 1787. A photocopy of Vaughan's Journal for 1787, which records his trip south, can be found in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress. Washington's letters during 1784-85 only acknowledge gifts sent or offered by Vaughan and extend warm greetings to Vaughan's wife and children, but make no mention of gardening. See Fitzpatrick, Writings, Vol. 27 297-9, 399,425-6, Vol 28 and Vol. 29. The last recorded letter from Washington to Vaughan, in response to a letter from Vaughan about the steamboat inventor, Rumsey, is dated August 25, 1791. Ibid., Vol. 31(1939), 345.

conversation very likely turned to horticulture, one of Washington's favorite interests. He had been working on the grounds at Mount Vernon off and on for thirteen years when he first met Vaughan. Had he well-developed plans for Mount Vernon, plans which the Revolution had delayed and which he now eagerly shared with Vaughan? Or did Vaughan share notions of how the State House yard should be planted, suggesting how it might apply at Mount Vernon? [142]

Vaughan may well have discussed his exciting plans for landscaping the State House yard, as the project got underway the next month under the care of William Rees, a professional gardener Vaughan had hired. The undertaking would have been noteworthy news, as the United States at the time had few city spaces, other than New York's Bowling Green park, set aside for public walks, even though Americans were well aware of English examples, at places like St. James' Park and Vauxhall Gardens and Walks in London. Philadelphia was on the verge of ground breaking public improvements and such men as Vaughan and Washington would have been intrigued with the planning for such a garden.[143]

The assumption that Vaughan and Washington discussed plans for the proposed landscape comes from the striking similarity

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[142]Peter Martin, The Pleasure Gardens of Virginia From Jamestown to Jefferson, (Princeton, 1991), 135-144, discusses George Washington and his landscaping of Mount Vernon, comparing it to Thomas Jefferson's Monticello.

[143]Carl and Jessica Brindenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin (New York, 1942), 215-6 points out that Americans began to emulate the formal gardening brought back before the Revolution by returning prominent Americans like Philadelphia's Samuel Powel. My thanks to Ethan Carr, landscape historian at Scenic Hudson, Inc., for his contextual information about Bowling Green Park in New York, supplied by phone, and in the booklet he sent: Three Hundred Years of Parks A Timeline of New York City Park History (New York City Parks and Recreation, c. 1987), 4.

between the completed landscape Vaughan received credit for at the State House yard (as seen on period maps or described by contemporary visitors) and Washington's Mount Vernon plan drawn by Vaughan during his only visit to the estate in 1787. Both the State House Yard and Mount Vernon designs featured tree-lined serpentine gravel walks shaped like pears, similar tree plantings and artificial mounds. The coincidence is striking, but the question of who influenced who in the design remains shrouded. At least we know from Washington's papers that in 1759, he sent to England for a copy of Batty Langley,'s New Principles of Gardening, (1728), which recommended serpentine walks as part of a naturalistic landscape. Vaughan's wealth, sophistication and horticultural associations suggest that he, too, would have had like publications at his disposal. [144]

Certainly Washington held very deliberate concepts of how he wanted his property laid out, and was ambitious to have his estate as elegant as the English estates Vaughan readily could have described. At his return home in 1784, Washington's time was consumed by a horde of visitors and long delayed business, but in the late winter and early spring of 1785 he finally set out to work on his landscape. So carefully did he conceive it, that when Vaughan drew him a finished plan (1787) as a present, Washington

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[144]See illustrations for maps and Vaughan's plan for Mount Vernon. I owe a special thanks to Shaun Eyring, National Park Service landscape architect, for pointing out Samuel Vaughan's connection with Mount Vernon, and for the loan of Martin's Pleasure Gardens which illustrates and discusses the plan in the chapter, "Landscape Gardening at Mount Vernon and Monticello," 135-142. My thanks to Paul Inashima for the reference to Langley's publication and Washington's ownership of it. Fitzpatrick, Writings of George Washington, 2, 321, provides Washington's May 1759 list of items to be shipped, which includes, "Longley's Book of Gardening," presumably the same as cited above. Freeman, George Washington, Vol. 6, 43-4, details Washington's planting of trees and other landscape elements in the late winter and early spring of 1785, many of which died from drought. Freeman based the list on Washington's diaries.

could not help pointing out an important mistake "from the original" that obscured the well-thought-out design. [145]

Washington proved to be an ardent and talented student of horticulture and a thoughtful landscape planner. As landscape historian Peter Martin concluded, there is "no doubt that he considered carefully and deeply the styles and arrangements he desired" for his property. His work on the grounds over three decades (1769-1799) made Mount Vernon one of the two "most successful and comprehensive landscape gardens in Virginia," and earned him the reputation as "one of the two or three most imaginative and innovative landscape gardeners in eighteenth century Virginia." Certainly, then, Washington may have been a resource for Vaughan, who was, in Sarah Stetson's evaluation, "not a practitioner of landscape art." Similarly, Vaughan, fresh from the genteel life in England and full of Enlightenment learning, may have contributed to Washington's relentless quest for pleasing, fashionable landscape designs. [146]

Both Mount Vernon and the State House yard reflect elements of the then-fashionable Romantic or naturalistic style, with its emphasis on imitating nature's patterns through serpentine walks, artificial mounds, and clumps of trees and shrubs. At the same

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[145]Washington to Vaughan, November 12, 1787, Fitzpatrick, Writings of Washington, 29, 313. This letter of acknowledgement to Vaughan for the plan praised it for its accurate description of "the houses, walks and shrubberies etc.," but pointed out that "in the front of the Lawn, west of the Ct. yard" the plan differed "from the original," alluding, it appears, to Washington's own plan. Washington specifies that in the former, Vaughan's plan, he had "closed the prospect with trees along the walk to the gate; whereas in the latter [the original design] the trees terminate with the two mounds of earth on each side of which grow Weeping Willows leaving an open and full view of the distant woods." Freeman, Washington, 6, 28-43; Martin, Pleasure Gardens, 137.

[146]All quotes about Washington from Martin, Pleasure Gardens, 136, 142, 144; on Vaughan, Stetson, "Philadelphia Sojourn," 465.

time the State House plan carried out concepts defined by the Assembly decades earlier, that the yard would be "leveled and enclosed...in order that Walks may be laid out, and Trees planted, to render the same more beautiful and commodius" (1732), and that the design would have "proper Walks, to be planted with suitable Trees for Shade" (1763).[147]

Besides Assembly mandates, Philadelphia's cultural milieu contributed to Vaughan's planning for the yard's landscaping. For nearly two decades Philadelphians had been intensely pursuing horticulture, sometimes more in theory than in practice. For years newspapers had been publishing lists of books on "Farming and Gardening" to encourage better practices and design based on English models. Prints and illustrated books of English gardens and landscapes invited study of the latest landscape fashion. John Bartram's botanical gardens on the Schuylkill--a principal supplier for Vaughan's State House landscape-- also had inspired local gardening improvements. [148]

The founder of Bartram's gardens, John Bartram, had begun a correspondence in the mid-1730s with English Quaker botanist, Peter Collinson, who kept him current with horticultural trends overseas. Collinson furnished Bartram with copies of important standard reference works, such as Philip Miller's Gardener's Dictionary, and introduced him to other Americans interested in gardening. Collinson and Bartram exchanged seeds and plants on a regular basis, and Bartram thereby supplied American trees to an

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[147]Martin, Pleasure Gardens,137, 216. Martin, p. 161, also illustrates Thomas Jefferson's rough sketch for the proposed serpentine walk around Monticello's west lawn--dated in 1807, twenty years later than Vaughan and Washington's designs. Stetson, "Philadelphia Sojourn," 465; PA Archives, 8th Ser., VI, 5484.

[148]Brindenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen, 215-16; Dorothy Hunt Williams, Historic Virginia Gardens (Charlottesville, 1985), preface xiii.

array of English estates. Bartram in 1765 toured the South with his son, William, to see the impressive gardens around Charleston, South Carolina. There he likely saw William Middleton's grounds laid out in 1743 with serpentine walks, different elevations, and all the other characteristics of the natural style. He definitely visited the "great improvements" at Henry Laurens' town garden, then under the supervision of a "complete English gardener," John Watson. Watson's presence, as one garden historian pointed out, "was no mean distinction...considering the scarcity of competent English gardeners in any of the colonies for much of the century." Bartram thus returned home having witnessed one of the first examples of a professionally laid out English natural landscape in the colonies, and likely helped introduce the style in Philadelphia.[149]

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[149]Williams, Historic Virginia Gardens, preface xiii; Hobhouse, Gardening, 200; Martin, Pleasure Gardens, xx, notes that Collinson also actively corresponded and traded species with Virginians, such as John Custis in Williamsburg. From Seed to Flower, pp.18, 21, identifies Collinson as a London merchant and horticulture enthusiast; Hobhouse, 200, added that he supplied many seeds for William Hamilton's estate, the Woodlands, through John Bartram. U.P. Hedrick, A History of Horticulture in America, (New York, 1950), 86, notes that Bartram was the largest and most reliable dealer in the exchange of plants between Europe and America, and that he carried on a correspondence with the "witty and wholly delightful" Collinson for more than 30 years. Quotes are from George C. Rogers, Jr.,"Gardens and Landscapes in Eighteenth Century South Carolina," in Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin, eds., British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century:Eighteen Illustrated Essays on Garden History (Williamsburg, 1984), 149; also 148 and 150, which note that Laurens' garden was enclosed by a brick wall, and that Watson went on to become Charleston's most respected gardener of mid-century. Middleton's garden is described by Eliza Pinckney Lucas in a 1743 letter cited on pp. 151-2. Charleston's Ralph Izard brought home Thomas Whately's Observations on Modern Gardening (London, 1770), from his travels in England before the Revolution, a garden source Collinson probably also sent to Bartram in Philadelphia. Ibid., 153. Alexander Pope's poems and gardens at Twickenham in England provided much of the inspiration for the natural school of landscape. Ibid., 151.

Despite this emerging interest in landscape, gardening at Philadelphia and across the nation had remained "in its infancy" until the close of the Revolution. Although founder William Penn, along with numerous other colonial settlers of Philadelphia, had laid out gardens at their city and country houses, they remained in the minority during a period of settlement, expansion and political turmoil. After independence, Philadelphia showed rapid progress in all things horticultural. Wealthy patrons like William Hamilton, owner of the Woodlands, and Robert Morris of the Hills, began to execute magnificent landscape designs for their country estates, and a class of professional gardeners emerged to execute and maintain them. To meet the demand for new plantings, professional nurseries such as Bartram's, Christian Lehman's in Germantown and David Landreth's on Market Street competed to provide a variety of trees, shrubs, bulbs, roots and seeds. [150]

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[150]Bridenbaugh, Rebels and Gentlemen, 216-7, 220; Stevenson Whitcomb Fletcher, Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life 1640-1840 (Harrisburg, 1950), 205; Elinor Shafer Barnes, "A 'Faire Greene Country Towne' Plays Host: Philadelphia, 1787," The Social Studies XXVIII, No. 7, (Nov. 1937), 298; Sarah P. Stetson, "William Hamilton and His 'Woodlands,'"PMHB 73(1949), 26, notes that "no very large or sweeping changes [to introduce the Romantic style of gardening] were carried out in America until after the Revolution." Hedrick, Horticulture in America, 262, 474, 500. Hedrick points out that the horticultural focus after the Revolution continued to lean more towards the practical, with an emphasis on scientific study of fruits and vegetables, or on exploration and collecting new plants.(474) J.D. Schoepf, Travels in the Confederation, 1783-84, I, (Philadelphia, 1911), 93. Besides finding gardening in its infancy, Schoepf noted that most of America's gardens were "purely utilitarian" and that "pleasure-gardens" had "not yet come in" and even the natural landscape wasn't very various because of the "still immense forests." As landscape historian, Elizabeth McClean, observed, Schoepf's conclusions failed to recognize at least ten estates in the Philadelphia area then that showed "conspicuous artistic achievements in landscape gardening." "Town and Country Gardens in Eighteenth Century Philadelphia," in, Robert P. Maccubbin and Peter Martin, British and American Gardens in the Eighteenth Century Williamsburg,1984), 136. Adler Ascher, "The Oldest Seed Company in America," The Green Scene (September 1985), 13.

Vaughan, an Englishman of wealth and social standing, quickly joined the ranks of those pursuing horticultural interests. In January 1784 he was invited to become a member of the American Philosophical Society, where many of the leading minds of the city and nation came together, albeit infrequently. Vaughan at once became an enthusiastic promoter of the Society and eventually won acclaim for the fund raising, design and superintendence of the society's Philosophical Hall on the State House square. Among the society's members was John Bartram, son of the founder of Bartram's gardens and second generation horticulturalist, who became a major supplier for Vaughan's State House garden design. [151]

At the same time, Vaughan also became an enthusiastic founding member of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, along with Col. George Morgan, a man widely recognized for his horticultural talents. Within months of the Society's first meeting, Col. Morgan donated 100 elms for the State House yard, the shade trees commented on so frequently for decades to come.[152]

In May 1785 Vaughan also consulted John Bartram's cousin, Humphrey Marshall, owner of an arboretum at Marshallton, his estate in Chester County. Marshall's botanical catalogue on new world plants, one of America's sole works on botany, interested

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[151]For a history of Philosophical Hall and the difficult time Vaughan had keeping the building project afloat, see William E. Linglebach, "Philosophical Hall, The Home of the American Philosophical Society," in Historic Philadelphia, 43-70. The original John Bartram was considered a brilliant botanist by Penn's secretary, James Logan. Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, 42, 81.

[152]Stetson,"Philadelphia Sojourn," 463, 469; Simon Baatz, "Venerate the Plough" A History of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, 1785-1985 (Philadelphia, 1985), 9; Register of Pennsylvania I, 416 gives the Assembly's April 22, 1785 vote of thanks to Morgan for the gift of 100 elms.

Vaughan so much he asked permission to publish it because of its "public utility." At the same time, Vaughan asked Marshall's help in planning a botanical garden in the State House yard that would display every type of tree and shrub in the thirteen states:

> As it is my wish to plant in the State House Square specimens of every tree and shrub that grow in the several States on this Continent...that will thrive there, I have enclosed a sketch of such others as have occured to me hitherto; but as I am unacquainted with the vast variety remaining, and that you have turned your thoughts in that aim, I have to request, and shall be much obliged to you for a list of such as occur to you with direction in what state or place they are to be had; that I may lay out to procure them to plant in the fall. [153]

Vaughan's own propensity for study, his boundless energy, and his fondness for "natural, picturesque beauty" also helped forge the State House yard design. Between 1784 and 1787, the most intense years on the project, Vaughan was also supervising the Philosophical Hall construction, which often commanded his time, connections--especially with his old and dear friend, Benjamin Franklin--and personal financial backing. Simultaneously, he landscaped the grounds at the new Episcopal Academy campus a block west of the State House, and at the popular resort, Gray's Ferry, on the banks of the Schulykill. At the latter property Vaughan designed a Romantic park with the help of a gardener and ten laborers. [154]

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[153]Vaughan to Marshall, May 28, 1785, as quoted in John T. Faris, Old Gardens in and About Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1932), 31; Fletcher, Pennsylvania Agriculture, 231; Stetson, "Philadelphia Sojourn," 468-470. Stetson notes that Marshall's Arbustrum Americanum; the American Grove or an Alphabetical Catalogue of Forest Trees and Shrubs, natives of the American United States (Philadelphia, 1785) was not popular in America and now stands as "the rarest of American horticultural books."(470)

[154]Stetson, "Philadelphia Sojourn," 465-467; Historic Philadelphia, 46, shows that Franklin and Vaughan donated the two highest sums during the subscription Vaughan superintended.

By 1787 Vaughan's two large-scale landscaping projects were almost completed and when opened to the public, instantly drew delighted reviews from visitors. Of the State House grounds the July edition of the Columbian Magazine mentioned that the yard had been "highly improved by the exertions of Mr. Samuel Vaughan, and affords two gravel walks, shaded with trees, a pleasant lawn, and several beds of shrubs and flowers." Manasseh Cutler, eminent botanist and physician from Connecticut in town to lobby with the Federal Convention, gave a more detailed account. With an experienced eye, Cutler judged Vaughan's accomplishments as "a fine display of rural fancy and elegance." After a visit on a fine day in July, Cutler wrote:

> 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 more than a large inner Court-yard to the State House, ornamented with trees and walks. 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 assumed 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. That painful sameness, commonly to be met with in garden alleys, and others works of this kind, is happily avoided here, for there are no two parts of the Mall that are alike. Hogarth's "Line of Beauty" is here completely verified. The public are indebted to the fertile fancy and taste of Mr. Sam'l Vaughan, Esq., for the elegance of this plan. It was laid out and executed under his direction about three years ago.[155]

Cutler's account may as well have been a textbook

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[155] Stetson, "Philadelphia Sojourn," 467; The Columbian Magazine I(July 1787), 513, copy in Horace Wells Sellers Coll., Folder 9, INDE. Cutler, Manasseh Cutler, I,262-3, as cited in INDE notecard. Cutler also described Vaughan's landscaping at Gray's Ferry, where graveled serpentine walks repeated the naturalistic style. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, eds., Dictionary of American Biography, 5, (New York, 1930) 13, records that Cutler "one of his preferred avocations was botany." He was the first to record a systematic account of the flora of New England.

description of period landscape style which had rejected the rigid and prim formal gardens of a monarchial age for the free-spirited, natural expression of the Enlightenment. "Nature abhors a straight line," became the motto of this movement. Vaughan's landscape style, with serpentine lines and informal planting, had been in vogue in England for thirty years, since mid-century, but had not yet caught on widely in the colonies. Following the prescription, Vaughan imitated nature with a wide variety of terrain and plantings. John and William Bartram's itemized bill for seventeen different "Growing Shrubs" ordered for the yard in April 1786 records some of the species Vaughan chose:

> Trija arbor vitae
> Red Flowering Larch from Italy most beautiful
> Silver leaved Fir from Scotland
> English Sicermore
> Snow White Mespiles
> Toxicodendron Canadensis
> Staphilodendron Staf tree very sweet 2
> Prunus Canadensis very beautiful
> Crategus Red
> Dwarf Mespibus very beautiful
> Calicanthus Caroling alspice
> Manure or Etalian Serivs [?]
> Euonimos Latifolio
> Hidrangea Virginiaug
> Y'tea Virginiana
> Ascrilias octandrea New river Horse Chesnut
> Ascrilious pavaia Scarlet Horse Chesnut
>
> 7 April
> Received 14 Jan 1787 of Mr. Sam Vaughan the full contents of above L1.14.3 for John & William Bartram
> Robert Thomas[156]

Vaughan's plan to introduce one of every species of tree in

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[156] Hobhouse, Gardening Through the Ages, 204; A. Amherst, History of Gardening in England, 263 f., and State House Yard, Maintenance (Trees and Shrubs), 1787, Independence Square, Folder 3B, Div. of Pub. Records, Harrisburg, as cited in INDE notecard file. According to Williams, Historic Virginia Gardens, xiii, this naturalistic style "reflected the new English style of landscape gardening."

the thirteen states --much like a national arboretum--got off to a shaky start in 1785. George Clymer reported that Vaughan had told him he'd collected 80 different kinds of trees, but that since they were planted "too late in the Season" they were vulnerable to the "bad effects of a hot or dry summer." Vaughan turned more than once to John Bartram to renew his plantings. Another April 1786 itemized list from Bartram expands our appreciation of Vaughan's ambitious planting program:

Samuel Vaughan Esqr April 15th 1786
Bought of John Bartram Trees & Shrubs
for State house garden Viz.----

Robinia rosla rose coloured Robinia.....3/6
Hypericum Kalmianum Broad Leave Shrub St. Johns two pts..2/6
Hypericum Kalmianum ....Narrow leaves.....7/
Cornelian Cherry.....2/
Amorpha fruticosa Bastard Indigo.....4/
Acer pumila Dwarf Mountain Maple...../6
.....Cycamore Maple.....2/
Andromeda Calyculata Evergreen Dwarf andromeda.....-6
Myrica cerifera Candle Berry Myrtto.....-6
Euonimus sempervirens Evergreen Euomimous.....-6
Ledum thymifolium Thyma leaves Marsh cistus.....2/
Kalmia Glauca olive leaves kalmia.....-6
Hammamelis witch Hazel.....-6
Myrica------Gale-----.....-6
Prinos Glaber Evergreen Winter Berry.....2/
Euonimos Latifolues Broad leaves spindle tree.....2/6
Hydrangea frutescens Shrubry Hydrangea.....1/6
Sorbos Montana Mountain Service.....2/6
Prunus Punila Dwarf Bird Cherry.....2/6
Cyressus Thyoides White leader.....-6
Rhus---Toxicondendron Canadenses.....-6
viburnum.....1/6
Acer glaucum Silverleaves Maple.....2/

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Received 6 Janry 1787 the Contents
in full John Bartram
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Vaughan liberally used elm trees for shade and to ornament the yard. Although Cutler did not make mention of it in 1787, one

of Vaughan's most dramatic design effects turned out to be the double row of elms lining the wide graveled central walk between the State House and the Walnut Street gate. Vaughan began planting elms in 1784, and the next year received the 100 elms donated by Col. Morgan. In the Fall of 1786 the state requisitioned 25 more American elms from Col. Morgan and Vaughan on December 26, 1787, recommended that some of these "lately received," be planted "from the South end of the Philos. Building. to the end of Wallnut Street" to make a "highly ornamental" and "agreeable shady walk for the Inhabitants." He also kept elms in reserve in the southwest corner of the yard and some of these he recommended as replacements for the trees damaged when lowering the street level in front of the Academy at Fourth and Arch Streets.[157]

The central walkway possibly had been a design feature long in the minds of some of the legislators, as suggested by Scull and Heap's map of 1749 which forecast that the yard would be laid out in "walks with rows of trees." In 1787 Cutler noted at Bartram's house on the Schuylkill "a walk to the river, between two rows of large, lofty trees." John Bartram's tree-lined approach to his house, as well as similar treatments introduced at several country homes near the Schuylkill by mid-century, reflected a longstanding horticultural fashion in England and Europe, but one which by the time Vaughan laid out the State House yard, had gone out of fashion, replaced by the Romantic style. [158]

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[157]Saml Vaughan to John and Saml Vaughan, Fort Penn, 26th Decemb 1787, Benjamin Vaughan Papers, #B/V46, APS.; Work receipts for March 1784 showed that half a day was spent planting elms and pines. 2-v: Independence Square, State House Yard, Work Rolls, 1784, Jan.-Dec. and 1786, June-Nov., State Arch., as cited in notecard file, INDE

[158]Cutler's description also noted that the two rows lining the walk were trees "all of different kinds." Cutler, Manasseh Cutler, 274. James Boyd, A History of the Pennsylvania Horticultural

By the close of 1787 the landscape plan was as far along as it would be under Vaughan. The records indicate that the western members of the Assembly let it be known that year that they had grown tired of paying for the yard's improvements and the Assembly forthwith voted to cut off the flow of funds. Vaughan got discouraged with the struggles he had had with the bureaucracy over money, and seems to have interceded only occasionally thereafter before his departure in 1790. Moreover, he took a long tour of the country in 1787 and then another one after that to Jamaica on business, finally returning to England for good in 1790. [159]

In January 1790, on the eve of the return of the U.S. Congress to the State House Square, the Columbian Magazine provided a picture of the yard as it had matured since its original landscaping:

> This area has of late been judiciously improved under the direction of Samuel Vaughan, Esq. It consists of a beautiful lawn, interspersed with little knobs or tufts of flowering shrubs and clumps of trees well disposed. Through the middle of the gardens runs a spacious gravel walk, lined with double rows of thriving elms and communicating with serpentine walks which encompass the whole area. The surrounding walks are not uniformly on a level with the lawn, the margin of which, being in some parts a little higher, forms a bank which in fine weather affords pleasant seats. When the trees attain to a larger size it will be proper to place benches under them, in different situations, for the accommodation of persons frequenting the walks.[160]

Society (Philadelphia, 1929), 25-27, refers to Bushill and Springettsbury as early examples where tree rows were used to make grand approaches. Hobhouse, Gardening Through the Ages, 204-4.

[159]Stetson, "Philadelphia Sojourn," 466

[160]The Columbian Magazine Jan. 1790, pp. 25-26; Robert P. Reeder, "First Homes of Supreme Court," in Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society 76, No. 4(1936), 570. An account of 1798 added the detail that there were two types of elm: "a spacious

Unlike the July 1787 Columbian Magazine description of the grounds, this 1790 account has no mention of flowers in the listing of horticultural improvements. "Flowering shrubs," however, are mentioned, which suggests that the 1787 mention of flowers may have been the shrubs at an early stage, or that flowers had turned out to be too costly or too labor intensive and were abandoned. As far as the record shows, flowers did not continue as part of Vaughan's landscape.[161]

Construction and Landscaping on the Yard, 1784-90

Many men labored on the State House yard to transform it from its war-time utilitarian dreariness to a show case public garden adorned with handsome Georgian buildings. The arsenal shed for cannon and carriage storage came down in 1785, to be rebuilt on the commons (Centre Square), at Broad and Market. Brick paving was laid on the yard side, a complement to the nine-foot brick footway on Chestnut Street. Major construction got underway and reached completion on Philosophical Hall and on the new and elegant county courthouse at the corner of Sixth Street. The shed on the corner of Fifth Street (shown in Peale's 1778 sketch of the State House, see Illustration no. 1) probably continued in use as storage and a work area for the grounds project, the building construction, and the extensive repairs carried out on the State House itself.[165]

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gravel walk, lined with a double row of large native and exotic elms..." The Philadelphia Monthly Magazine or Universal Repository, Vol.1 (June 1798), 333.

[161]For a listing of typical period flowers Vaughan may have selected from, if indeed he put flowers in the yard, see Fletcher, Pennsylvania Horticulture, 229.

[165] On the construction of Philosophical Hall (1786-1789) see, William E. Lingelbach, "Philosophical Hall," in Historic Philadelphia, 43-51; for Congress Hall,(1787-89), see Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," Ibid., 27-29; In July 116 yards of brick

Beginning in January and continuing through 1784 gardener William Rees supervised the preparation of the ground for the planting of trees. Workmen also were busy tieing and trimming trees, laying sod and howing the "clumps," presumably the artificial mounds described in period accounts. In March, Rees spent a half-day with the planting of elms and pines, and in the Fall, he directed load after load of sand, gravel and earth to their designated locations on the square. Such supplements were needed to give the terrain a natural hilly effect, to cover the gravelled serpentine walks, and to level the front footway, where the nine-foot brick pavement before the State House was under construction.[166]

By October 1785 the landscaping of the grounds had made considerable progress, according to J. Belnap, who kept a journal of his tour to Philadelphia. "The Elegant Square called ye 'Area of ye State-house' wh is now improving & ornamenting," he recorded, was "a delightful walk & rural retreat for ye Citizens." He found "Grass plots- & graveled Walks" laid out and the yard "filling with young trees."[167]

Early in the year the street commissioners sent over eight loads of street dirt and over the next months many more loads of sand, gravel and earth, as well as sod from the Commons, found their way into the yard. In April Mahlon Hall supplied a substan-

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pavement was laid "in the State house yd." The records do not indicate where. 2-Y: Independence Square, State House Yard, Work Rolls, 1785, Aug.-Nov., State Arch., Harrisbg, INDE notecard.

[166] Work Rolls, 1784,Jan-Dec. 2-v: Independence Square, State House Yard, State Arch., Harris.; James Pearson to the Supreme Exec. Council, Dec. 21, 1784, G-Indep. Square, State House, Maintenance Vouchers List, 1784, No. 1-25, State Arch., INDE notecards.

[167] J. Belnap's "Journal of a Tour to Philadelphia, 1785", MSS, MHS, INDE notecards.

tial number of trees for planting--92 hollies, two weeping willows, one large laurel, four white cedar, one Newfoundland spruce and a bundle of thorns. John Bartram's nursery delivered another shipment of sixty-eight trees and shrubs and Jacob Hiltzheimer furnished 100 bundles of rye straw, no doubt to cover the clover seed provided by John Lownes in May. The wall evidently was suffering water damage because workmen cut through it to insert three spout stones with covers. In October stone mason William Stiles began cutting the 33-foot-long stone steps "at the south end of the principal walk" (see Illus for 1868 view of steps) and laying them on a brick pott foundation. Ninety-four feet of red cedar logs were delivered to the yard and William Roberts began to saw them up to build two 7-foot, 9-inch long garden benches. While all this was going on, other workmen were taking down the "old Artillery house." Finally, in late April, Samuel Vaughan began planting a row of trees along Walnut Street, under the watchful eye of street commissioner Jacob Hiltzheimer.[168]

This, surely must have been an intense year at the square, for on November 13th Samuel Vaughan reported to his son, Benjamin, that he felt disappointed and vexed by the difficulties with the State House Garden and the building of Philosophical

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[168]William Stile's estimate in August was for three stone steps "33 Feet long one foot in the clear broad & 7 Inches high". The photographs show only two steps at the south end of the central walk. Folder 2z, Pub. Improv. File, State Arch. From the payment to Stiles in Oct., it appears that the state cut his estimate down either by ordering the foundation to be on the shallow side, or by making only two steps. Compt. Gen. Accts, Journal AA No. 2, p. 686, 2478, Pub. Rec. Off., Harrisbg. Edw. Pole to James Pearson, June 29, 1785 mentions the construction of the artillery house in the Commons. I-Independence Square, State House Corresp., State Arch. It took 41/2 days to take it down. The same list of expenses mentions that Pearson spent 2 weeks with an assistant and laborers leveling and staking out the walks. G-Indep. Sq., State House, Maint. Vouchers & List, 1784, No. 1-25, State Arch., Harrisbg., INDE notecards; Parsons, ed. Hiltzheimer, April 23, 1785, p.72

Hall and had resolved not to interfere anymore in Public matters.[169]

Part of Vaughan's problem lay in the fact that the Romantic style of landscape was expensive and the state slow to pay its bills. James Pearson, Superintendent of the State House Square, appealed to Governor Dickenson or his executive body several times over the year to pay off debts incurred for the yard and the building repairs. He had to pay for a gardener, a gardener's assistant, tools and supplies and sometimes as many as a baker's dozen of laborers to carry out the necessary work in the yard, not to mention the two quarts of rum per day for each of the laborers on duty. By the close of the year expenses for the improvements under Vaughan's direction totaled L695, more than twice the amount allocated for the subsequent two years.[170]

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[169]Samuel Vaughan, Jr. to Benjamin Vaughan, Nov. 13, 1785, p. 2, B. Vaughan Papers, MSS, APS.

[170] Stetson, "William Hamilton and His 'Woodlands'," PMHB 73(1949), 28; Pearson petitions of Feb. 28, March 25, April 16, 1785, PA Archives 1st Ser., 10 426-7; 442-3. Among the thirteen day laborers listed in the work rolls for May 1785 was a Richard Allen, who may have been the man known today as a prominent African American community leader and founder of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1794. Work Roll 1785, State House Yard, Folder 2w, Div. of Pub. Records, Harrisburg, as cited in INDE notecard. However, one account of Allen's life, in Barbara Clark Smith, After the Revolution The Smithsonian History of Everyday Life in the Eighteenth Century, (New York, 1985), 168, says he returned to Philadelphia from itinerant preaching in 1786. This detail needs to be verified (her source unclear) for local and black history awareness. Caesar Carpenter, who signed his receipt for hauling dirt with a mark, however, unquestionably was a local African American. The state paid for 12 steel garden spades, 1 picks, a grubbing hoe, a rolling stone for rolling the gravel walks, 2 wheel barrows, a rake and a grass trimmer, which a nearby blacksmith, Joseph Skerrett, made, as well as for the construction of a (painted) water cart. Comptroller General's Waste Book or Journal, 1782-1788, 4612, Div. of Pub. Records, Harrisburg. The totals for 1785, 86, and 87 are given on Loose sheet, Compt.Genl. Recs., State Arch., Harrisbg. Citations from INDE notecard file.

The headaches and hard work of 1785, however, quickly won Pennsylvania and Vaughan praise. Robert Hunter, traveling from Quebec, visited the square in late October and marveled, "The state-house is infinitely beyond anything I have either seen in New York or Boston, and the walk before it does infinite honor to Mr. Vaughan's taste and ingenuity in laying it out."[171]

Such approval no doubt helped renew Vaughan's spirit, but so must have the return this year to Philadelphia of his old friend Benjamin Franklin, who at 79 had just completed a long diplomatic career and had been unanimously elected by the Executive Council, as the President of Pennsylvania. Franklin supported Vaughan's campaign to raise funds for Philosophical Hall, putting the largest sum in the pot. There is no record of how Franklin responded to Vaughan's improvements in the yard, but his daily trips to the square as President and then, in 1787, as delegate to the Constitutional Convention, certainly gave him ample opportunity to enjoy their rapid maturation.[172]

The work carried out on the yard in 1786-87 essentially repeats the planting, carting, leveling, and sodding tasks completed in 1785, except the amount slowed dramatically. Still, Vaughan continued to order new trees and shrubs from Bartram and Joseph Sepher to supplement or replace those that already had been planted. Sepher supplied numerous evergreens in the spring of 1786-- 16 spruce, six junipur, six common pine, and 10 cedar--

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[171]Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling, eds., Quebec to Carolina in 1785-1786...the Travel Diary of Robert Hunter, 169, as cited in INDE notecards; transcript of original journal at Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, CA.

[172]Carl Van Doren, Benjamin Franklin, (New York, 1938), 733-4; Historic Philadelphia, 47.

besides six pop[l]ar and six linden.[173]

Expenses in 1786 included the cost of bricks to build a barracks in the yard for invalids from the Revolutionary War who were hired to guard the square, according to an Act of Assembly on September 22, 1785. The Invalid Corps program did not last long, but while in operation, the men wore watchcoats issued by the state, guarded the square, and perhaps planted seeds (as the records show they received seeds). No record apparently was kept of when exactly they fell out of sympathy with the authorities, or what happened to their barracks building.[174]

Two red cedar chairs were added for visitors, as well as red cedar "Closets", presumably necessaries or water closets. Workers dug a sink or cesspool using 500 bricks, sand and lime, and then paved a gutter, and laid 1800 paving bricks "by the West door in the Yard." The notation of painting "boxes in the yard" suggests that the state had authorized watch boxes to help keep the square secure, for with all these improvements at such a

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[173]"HGR", 2; Bartram's list of April 16, 1786, see Appendices; Joseph Sepher supplied 69 trees for the yard in the spring of 1787. HGR, 10, and notes, 2, #23. No biographical information on Sepher was found; he is not in the PMHB index.

[174]Robert J. Colburn, "A Study of Philadelphia Watchboxes," Independence National Historical Park, Revised July 1964, p. 7-8 cites the Act of Assembly of Sept. 22, 1785 passed by the Supreme Executive Council authorizing to "employ the Invalids who are pensioners, as guards..." and points out that Comptroller General John Nicholson was pushing for more security for the records under his care in the State House wings.; On Nov. 5, the State paid for 10 blankets and 7 watchcoats for the Invalid Corps. RG 28, Office of State Treasurer, State Arch., Harrisbg. On May 3, 1786, James Pearson paid Philip Wirt "for bricks at the Statehouse for a barracks for invalids." No other information was given, however, on this note, and without the number of bricks delivered, it's hard to know if the building was made of brick, or even guess its size. Catalogue, Post Revolution Papers (PRP), XXVIII, 14, as cited in notecard file. " Robert J. Colborn, "A Study of Philadelphia Watchboxes," Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Revised July 1964,

great expense, there was much at stake.[175]

Security did become a growing concern as the improvements on the square progressed. In 1785 a large padlock had been made for the Walnut Street gate. Locks were made, as well, for the necessary, the lime house, and even the roller for the walks. By 1789 five lamps kept the yard lit after sunset and two watch boxes provided shelter for the three state house guards. In June that year Charles Biddle gave instructions to two new watchmen who were "to attend in the State House Yard every Sunday afternoon from [3 o'clock?] till night" to prevent "any person or persons" from attempting "to injure the Public property about the State House." But guards were not enough: in July the Supreme Executive Council paid for 50 handbills "for preventing any injuries to the Trees walks of the State House Square." Clearly, the state perceived that there already was a problem with vandalism or theft and was cracking down on it just as they were actively preparing to lure the United States Congress back to Philadelphia.[176]

Besides security, the Assembly hired new staff after 1787 to maintain the grounds on a day to day basis. Jonathan Pilling,

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[175]Aug.15, 31, Sept. 25, Oct. 18, 27, Nov. 4, 30, Independence Square, 3A: Independence Square, State House Yard, Work Rolls, 1786-June-Nov., Div. of Pub. Records, Harrisburg. INDE notecards.

[176]Charles Biddle Folder, 1789-1811, Ber-Bic, Misc. Coll, MSS, NYPL, INDE notecard; Main Vouchers, State House Yard, Indep. Square, MSS, State Arch., Harrisbg. Evidently some damage was being done to the plants, as watchmen were paid for "attending daytime to prevent the Shrubery being injured." Day Book-Comptroller Gen., Jan 2, 1790-Sept 30, 1790, Div. of Pub. Rec., Harrisbg. Three "Greet Coats" for the Watch man were included in the vouchers cited above. For more information on the history of the watch boxes on the square, their appearance and purpose, see, Coburn, "Watchboxes," 8-10, which describes the beat of a watchman in 1772 from the northwest corner of Fifth and Chestnut down to Market, west to Seventh Street, down a____ alley to Sixth Street, south on Sixth to Chestnut, and south on Chestnut to his stand.

gardener, and William Redisher supervised and provided the requisite rum for the several laborers who matted the trees, added new seeds to the clumps, raked, and most importantly, mowed the lot and made hay. Lawn mowers did not come into use for nearly another century and the usual cutting with a scythe was expensive and time-consuming, and thus, not frequent. The yard's grass grew until it reached hay level and then was sold. The trimmer purchased during these years probably kept the grass down around the benches and along the paths. Usually the door keeper for the state's House of Representatives had the right to the hay as part of his job. The profit from its harvest was sufficient enough to prompt a fellow worker to appeal for the job. Well into the nineteenth century the clover matured in the yard and made a profit.[177]

At the close of the decade, in July 1789, the Federal Gazette editorialized disapprovingly of a new privy placed in full view of the ladies who might want to visit the "elegant square:"

> A correspondent thinks it very singular, that when the public went to the expence of laying out that elegant square of ground adjoining the State-House, they should suffer such a disagreeable obstacle as that placed at the south east corner of the building, which must be very disgusting to the

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[177]Comp. Gen. Financial Record, MS, Journal "AAA-3" (1788-89), pp 359-360, State Arch., Harris.;May 12, 1791 entry in"Day Book, Nov. 1, 1790-Sept 30, 1791, Box 1, Office of the Reg. Gen, RG 24, Records of the Reg. Gen, State Arch., Harrisbg. INDE notecards. In 1788 an act was passed "to exonerate Joseph Fry, door keeper of the House of Representatives of the Freemen of Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in General Assembly, from any charge for rent or other demands for or on account of his occupying of part of the western wing of the State House and consuming the herbage of the State House Yard." Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania, XIII, 51-2; the comptroller general in 1789 recorded receipt of 12.17.6 for "3 Tons seven hundred and three quarters of Hay at 40/June 1788" , Comptroller General's Waste Book or Journal, 1782-1788, Div. of Pub. Rec., Harrisbg. Hedrick, Horticulture to 1860, 263, notes that turf seats 1 1/2 feet wide and 2 feet high were commonly built around the base of a tree or set against a wall.

> ladies, and the reason of their so little frequenting that place is very justly attributed to the above cause--He thinks as the public have wisely chosen watchmen to take care of the square, they might at the same time change the place for one more convenient and retired.[178]

National Park Service Archeologist Paul Schumacher uncovered a privy just east of the bell tower in 1953, which suggests that the privy remained under the nose of the public, and that the Gazette's complaint fell on deaf ears.[179]

Siting a privy on the newly-landscaped grounds probably would have raised complaints no matter where it was placed. In 1790 the Library Company of Philadelphia, having just completed their "elegant" building on Fifth Street across from the square, filed a petition against the new necessary going up "directly in front" of their building. In language similar to the Gazette's, the petition expected that its location "must be generally disgusting & peculiarly so to a large Body of Citizens--" the library's 500 members, who would have a direct view of the necessary when they came and went. The petitioners had learned that the privy floor would be "nearly on a Level with the raised Part of the Yard," in a location that would materially injure the library's prospect. They asked consideration of their proposal to conceal the privy from view: that if "the House must be built on that Spot, at least the Floor therof may be kept as near the level of the Footway opposite thereto on 5th Street, as will allow the Water from within the Walls to be carried into the Gutter without." They also argued that there could be no reason for building the privy in such a conspicuous place, and "that

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[178]Federal Gazette, July 16, 1789, p. 3.

[179]"Archeological Field Notes, Archeological Project Nos. 2 & 3: Independence Square--Gras Plots 1 & 2," July 1955. The site is marked on Drawing No. NHP-IND 2175. Paul Inashima kindly brought this reference to my attention.

under any Form or Modification it must be exceedingly offensive to the Public Eye & directly obstruct the very design for which the Statehouse Yard has at so great an Expence been beautified & improved."[180]

No record was found to indicate whether the state agreed to put the privy underground, but it is seems unlikely. The well for the privy already was dug at the time of the petition and the expense of modifying the plan would have been considerable. The state had already taken down the old necessary where the new City Hall was going up on the corner of Fifth Street and its replacement no doubt was sited to be useful to employees of the State House buildings, as well as the newly-completed Philosophical Hall. In August of 1790 the state paid Thomas Waters' bill for "diging and walling a Necessary (in the state house yard) 11 feet wide 22 feet in depth at 8/4 pr foot deep L9 3 4"[181]

This clamor about exposing the public to the sight of a necessary probably explains why William Birch's view, "Back of the State House" at the close of the decade shows a small, graceful outbuilding in the distance that may have represented a privy or watch box. (See Illustration no. 11)

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[180]Petition of the directors &c. of the Library Company of Philadelphia Read in Council August [6],1790, Independence Square Papers, State Archives, and INDE photostat #10,002. It was not clear if one or two privies were the subject of these complaints.

[181]Independence Square Papers, Div. of Public Records, INHP photostat 10,000; Historic Philadelphia, 51; Colonial Records, Minutes of the Supreme Executive Council XVI, 410. An itemized bill for the labor in taking down the old necessary and building the new accounts for 9000 bricks for walling the necessary. The workmen also built a fence, probably to enclose the construction site. The bill was paid to carpenter David Evans on July-Aug. 1790. Comp. Gen. Warrant Bk., 1796, MSS, Harrisbg. INDE notecard.

Neighborhood Changes, 1785-90

While construction progressed on Congress Hall (1787-1789), Philosophical Hall (1786-1789), City Hall (1790-91) and the diverse elements of the State House Square landscape, the surrounding neighborhood witnessed a coincidental metamorphosis. By December 1787, the Pennsylvania legislature had invited Congress back to Philadelphia, and improvements on the streets and lots all around the State House thereafter began to take shape. With the improvements came striking patterns of social change.[182]

In 1785 the street commissioners began construction of a sewer from the wall of the just-completed prison work house on Prune Street (today's Sansom Street) down to Fifth Street. The next year, they paved Sixth Street from Market south to Carpenter street, about mid-block. This work required laborers to plow "the hard-trodden streets" to prepare the surface for paving. In May the work extended to Sixth Street opposite the State House Square, where they began plowing a ditch for surface drainage. When inspecting the new pavement on that block, the street commissioners retired to the "tavern opposite the State House" for dinner. By August laborers had begun laying a wooden gutter along Seventh Street near Walnut, where loads of earth were removed and hauled to the common sewer under construction next to the Work House wall. [183]

The Walnut Street Prison loomed over the neighborhood,

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[182]Edward M. Riley, "Philadelphia, The Nation's Capital, 1790-1800," Pennsylvania History XX (Oct. 1955), 358. See below for citations covering streets and demonstrations. As Hiltzheimer noted in his diary on November 16, 1786, the year before inviting Congress back, the Assembly debated and turned down a proposal to move its house to Harrisburg. Parsons, Hiltzheimer, 104.

[183]Parsons, Hiltzheimer, 69-70, 81, 87, 91-94.

sometimes disturbing visitors to the new State House garden. Manasseh Cutler found its presence "forever disgusting" and judged it "must greatly diminish the pleasure and amusement" which the public walks at the State House were to offer. Although he found the building itself "elegant", Cutler abhored "its unsavory contents" who insulted his ears "with their Billingsgate language" or wounded his feelings "with their pitiful complaints." The prisoners extended "long reed poles, with a little cap of cloth at the end" over "into the Mall, incessantly begging for charity," and if refused, shouted "foul and horrid imprecations." So all-pervasive did he find this experience, that he claimed, "whatever part of the Mall you are in, this cage of unclean birds is constantly in your view, and their doleful cries attacking your ears."[184]

While this account is baffling (how could a pole stretch across the 50-foot street and reach into the yard over a seven-foot wall?), it gives a good indication of the drawbacks of the State House yard's proximity to the Walnut Street prison. Jeremy Belnap in his journal for 1785 shared Cutler's intolerance for the prisoners' verbal abuses. As "Gentlm and Ladies are walking for pleasure, they have in view a Cage of Felony. their Ears are saluted with Profaneness & bald [?]-from ye windows hang bags Suspended by poles fishing for pence from passengers." Samuel Vaughan and the legislators, men of similar backgrounds, no doubt felt similar antipathy.[185]

The prisoners who so offended Belnap and Cutler were living under appalling, often brutal conditions. Inmates were thrown together regardless of sex, age or the severity of their crime. Thus the worst offenders could readily prey on women and

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[184]Manasseh Cutler I, 263.

[185]Belnap, "Journal of a Tour to Philadelphia," 1785, np.

children, and those convicted of minor crimes. The gaoler, often corrupt, was under Grand Jury study for selling them liquor, and convicts frequently found themselves without food, clothing or bedding. Public funds did not provide for such goods.[186]

Quakers in 1776 had launched a campaign to improve conditions at the Walnut Street prison, but the Revolution thwarted their efforts. After the war Benjamin Franklin, Dr. Benjamin Rush, and several other prominent citizens rekindled the reform effort. They aimed to replace the brutal 1718 penal law which imposed the death penalty for all felonies, and whippings, brandings, the pillory and stocks for lesser crimes.[187]

In response to this movement, the Pennsylvania Assembly passed pioneer legislation in 1786 which supplanted the death penalty with "continued hard labor, publicly and disgracefully imposed." Some of the first felons to benefit from this reform broke ground for the County Courthouse on the State House square in the spring of 1787. While digging out the cellar, they disposed of the earth one block south, to fill in Sixth Street along the prison. For this public labor the criminals had their heads shorn, wore multi-colored patchwork suits and worked chained to their wheelbarrows or balls. The wheelbarrow men detested this humiliation, the public found themselves frequently insulted or harmed by them, and within a year their presence had vanished from the neighborhood.[188]

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[186]Barnes, The Evolution of Penology, 73,80-81.Barnes notes that frequent deaths from starvation were recorded.

[187]Ibid., 80-81.

[188]Ibid., 81; "An Act Amending the Penal Laws of this State" passed September 15, 1786, The Statutes at Law of Pennsylvania, 1786, 280-290; William Shippen to Thomas Lee Shippen, Vol. 4, Shippen Papers, LC; Westcott, "History of Philadelphia," Chapter CCXCVI, 1787 gives a memorable account of how the wheelbarrow men procured liquor and got drunk, pickpocketed passersby, or dropped

This public display of the prisoners, however, did raise awareness of their condition and in May 1787, the Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons organized with the newly-elected Bishop of the Pennsylvania Episcopal diocese, William White, 39, as its first president. After numerous inspections of the Walnut Street gaol over the following two years, the society submitted a memorial to the Assembly reminding them that in many cases the prisoners across the street were "destitute of shirts and stockings and warm coverings," and were "lying promiscuously on the floor" at night, as no kind of bedtime furniture had been provided.[189]

Such philanthropic efforts reflected the Enlightenment spirit that anticipated improvements in all aspects of man's experience. Dr. William Shippen, who lived a few blocks away, at the corner of Fourth and Prune Streets, proved to be a zealous reformer of American medicine. After returning from medical school in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1762, Shippen had introduced lectures on anatomy at the State House, and in 1765, was appointed anatomy professor at the nation's first medical school, part of the College of Philadelphia, later to be the University of Pennsylvania. By 1787, Shippen's anatomy classes were famous and controversial, as he demonstrated his lectures with

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the ball (at the end of a chain) on their feet. Barnes, Penology, p. 73, 79, 119. The 1786 legislation restored Pennsylvania to a position of leader in criminal jurisprudence that it had established at the founding of the colony, when Quakers, fresh from brutal experiences in English prisons, instituted radical reforms which the 1718 law overturned. Ibid., 73,79.

[189]Barnes, Ibid., 83-4; Bishop White remained president until his death, during the first 49 years of the society's existence. The memorial as quoted in, Aimee E. Newell, "Blankets versus Sheets: Household Textile Necessities in 18th-Century Philadelphia," January 24, 1995, unpublished paper generously provided by its author. Karie Diethorn, "William White," draft text for upcoming catalog of INDE's portrait collection.

dissections of real cadavers-- a shocking travesty for church-going Philadelphians-- and he stole bodies for his lectures out of the Potter's Field in the Southeast Square.[190]

The Potter's Field or Strangers Burial Ground was the only burial ground available to the poor and African American populations who had no access to church or family burial grounds. Shippen's practice of stealing corpses from the Potter's Field was not without risk. In December 1787, Shippen found himself "at a great loss" for a body "for dissection and demonstration." As he explained to his son, the "negroes have determined to watch all who are buried in the Potters field," and "the young men have been twice driven off by arms, once fired on and two wounded..." Not to be denied, the doctor hired six invalids with muskets who "beat off the negroes and obtained a corps[sic]," which he directed be put in the Theatre. But "the resolute impertinent blacks broke open ye. house stole ye subject and reburied it." The anger fomented and spread through the community, as Dr. Shippen further reported: "This Transaction was made known to ye friends of the dead who joined ye negroes in great numbers on Sunday night and swore death and destruction to ye Faculty."[191]

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[190]Julie S. Berkowitz, College of Physicians of Philadelphia Portrait Catalogue (Philadelphia, 1984),193 ; The Art of Philadelphia Medicine (Philadelphia, 1965), 22. The Shippen Papers at the Library of Congress contain a series of letters William Shippen wrote to his son, Thomas Lee, in London, which report community criticism of his dissections, as well as the ongoing problem of getting bodies for his anatomy lectures. The importance of the medical school's establishment in Philadelphia was defined by William Allen to Provincial Governor Thomas Penn in a letter of Nov. 13, 1766, where he noted it would "...make this flourishing Province, situated in the centre of his Majesty's dominions, in some great measure the Seat of the Sciences, and in the physical way, the Edinburgh of America." as quoted in PMHB 31 (18), 452-3.

[191]William Shippen to Thomas Shippen, December 18, 1787, from Shippen Family Papers, Library of Congress, and copy in writer's files. Edward D. Smith, Climbing Jacob's Ladder The Rise of Black Churches in Eastern American Cities, 1740-1877, (Washington, D.C.:

Near two weeks later, when Shippen tried again, with the help of his black servant boy Moses, who had scouted out a body at the Potters Field, he found himself besieged by a mob:

> Since I began this letter by the watchfulness and intrepidity of little Moses a Subject was obtained and we began to dissect him--his Friends found it out, raised a mob, dragged him out of the hay loft where we had concealed --put him on a board and brought him down to my door attended by 3 or 400 sailors, negroes, &c broke my windows, called for a new coffin wch was furnished, then a sheet wch your sister ordered to be thrown out of ye window. By this time I brought 4 Justices. Mr.Tod exerted himself and hurried them off to the Potters field and dispersed them--[192]

Such riotous behavior so close to the State House did not sit well with "the Chief," when Shippen appealed to the mayor for assistance. He was denied help because it "would so much interupt ye peace of ye city." Particularly when the city set its sights at bringing Congress back to Philadelphia, law and order took on great importance. Then the Walnut Street prison across the street won favor for projecting the secure "idea of a strong arm in the government of the Union."[193]

Certainly the latter part of the decade witnessed an attitude shift in Philadelphia, from a celebration of liberty, freedom and equality, to a quest for order, constraint, and a balanced Republican government. As an indication of the state of mind in 1785, Charles Ridgley cautioned his son to return to his lodgings by early evening because "the frequency of Robberies in Philadelphia makes it absolutely necessary." After Shay's Rebellion in Massachusetts in 1786, another kind of anxiety

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1988), 25.

[192]Shippen to Shippen, Dec. 18, 31 (same letter), 1787, Ibid. Jacob Mordecai in his recollections observed that the Potter's Field was the burial ground for sailors and the destitute. Bell, "Addenda" PMHB 98, (1974), 141.

[193]Shippen to Shippen, ibid; [Worcester] Massachusetts Spy, Apr. 16, 1789, p. 3, INDE notecard.

deepened this reactionary mood. By way of explaining his confidence that Pennsylvania would ratify the U.S. Constitution, William Shippen wrote,"the fear of anarchy & not having so good an one if this is rejected, are the great reasons that operate on mens minds." To take control of this lawlessness, government and social organizations were setting down new rules and regulations, and establishing institutions to teach moral values and compliance.[194]

One such institution, the Episcopal Academy, organized in 1785 and purchased a building site for a new school on the south side of Chestnut Street half a block west of the State House square. The subscribers to the building fund, led by Rev. William White, came from Philadelphia's elite, including Superintendent of Finance and founder of the Bank of North America, Robert Morris, Thomas Willing, Richard Peters, Edward Shippen, and the Reverends Robert Blackwell and Samuel Magaw. The trustees hired Samuel Vaughan, who was then busy laying out the grounds at the State House, to plant trees and shrubs in the lot adjoining the site, and launched the building's construction the following year. In 1787 the Assembly not only granted the school a charter as the Academy of the Protestant Episcopal Church, but also provided for its support by granting 10,000 acres of land in Tioga County. In the Fall of 1788 the school moved from their rented quarters on Fourth Street, into their still unfinished building.[195]

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[194]Larry E. Tise, "The American Counterrevolution: from Liberty to Confederacy," (Philadelphia, 1992), draft of a chapter for a work in progress, pp. 23, 56; William Shippen to Thomas Lee Shippen, December 3, 1787, Thomas Lee Shippen Papers, Library of Congress; Mabel Lloyd Ridgely, ed. The Ridgelys of Delaware and Their Circle What Them Befell in Colonial and Federal Times: Letters 1751-1890, (Portland, 1949), 37.

[195]Charles Latham, Jr. The Episcopal Academy 1785-1984, 9, 27; Watson and Hazard, Annals, I, 485.

Another institution of note that landed on the skirts of the State House Square in these years was the Library Company of Philadelphia. Failing to receive a preferred lot on the square's Fifth Street side, the Library Company finally purchased a site on the east side of Fifth, across from the lot granted to the American Philosophical Society.[196]

Benjamin Franklin, founder of the Library Company and president of Pennsylvania, had influenced the choice of site. In 1786 he offered to leave his fine collection of books-- probably the largest private library in America-- to the company "whenever there should be a safe Place to deposit them in." The committee studied the matter and determined to build on a lot "in some central safe Part of the Town." While not yet central, the Fifth Street lot stood free of other buildings and thus safe from fire, one of Franklin's foremost concerns.[197]

The library went under construction in 1789 and reached completion very rapidly the next year. William Thornton, a doctor and amateur architect, designed Library Hall in the Adamesque

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[196]Tench Coxe notified Congressman George Thacher(ME) on April 8, 1789 that "the size of our two libraries in this City--the Philada and the Loganian Library both belong to the public and containing about 13,000 sets of books in English chiefly, but some in French, German, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Latin, Greek & Hebrew...I ...mention it as such ...would prove a great convenience, etc. would save a heavy expence of purchase to the Gentm. of Congress." George Thacher Papers, MHS.

[197]"Minutes of the Proceedings of the Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, III", 17-18, MS, Library Co.; for many years Philadelphia had suffered disastrous fires which Franklin had met by organizing the first fire fighting company and had studied means to protect properties from fire. Franklin no doubt meant safe from fire for his condition to donate books to the Library Co. "Philadelphia, City of, Fires and Fire Prevention," INDE notecard file. After his return from France in 1785, Franklin built new houses on Market Street in the fireproof construction he had witnessed abroad. Benjamin Franklin's 'Good House' Handbook 114, (Washington, D.C., 1981), 45, 47.

style then fashionable in England. The classical look, Federal style in the United States, soon captured the market for country estates, prominent city dwellings and banks in Philadelphia. Besides giving an air of elegance, Library Hall, together with Philosophical Hall and the Loganian library, made the neighborhood a center of learning and knowledge.[198]

The Library's lot on Fifth Street adjoined the alley leading to Norris' court, on land once occupied by Isaac Norris' garden. South of the alley the slaughterhouse's noxious workings had been cleaned up, and modest tradesmen and laborers, including 14 blacks, had settled into the small frame houses. The University of Pennsylvania had taken over the entire corner lot confiscated from Tory Andrew Allen during the Revolution, and was leasing the buildings for income.[199]

On Chestnut Street, across from the State House, the old inn, now called Hassel's, increasingly served politicians who came to dine or meet in committee, or choose delegates for the U.S. Congress. A block west, the old Carpenter house, lately remodeled and still surrounded by a notable garden, was occupied by the ambassador from France, Chevalier de Luzerne. Other than the imposing new Episcopal Academy across the street, the two blocks remained largely undeveloped.[200]

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[198]Charles Peterson, "Library Hall,"in Historic Philadelphia, 129-136. The Library Co. minutes indicate that as early as Oct. 1787 the lot was in their possession, although the deed was not finalized until 1789. Minutes, III, Oct. 4, 1787, p. 79.

[199]For a description of the confiscated lots, see PA Gazette, Aug. 2, 1780, p. 1 and Aug. 15, 1786, p. 1; for list of people appearing in the 1785 directories, see INDE notecards under Fifth Street, 1785 and 1790, the latter gleaned from the U.S. Census. The Norris estate was broken up in 1789, and the lots to the west and south of the house sold. PA Gazette, July 11, 1789, p. 2.

[200]Roach, "Independence Mall," 50; Scharf and Wescott, History of Philadelphia 2, 854-5.

Maintenance of the New State House Gardens, 1787-1800

Maintaining the public gardens at the State House required the steady supervision of the caretaker, Joseph Fry (until October 1799), who also served as doorkeeper for the Pennsylvania House of Representatives, and Charles Culnan, his successor; gardeners--Joseph Pilling until 1794, and Edward Martin after; and day laborers, who appear to have been hired by the job. Beginning in 1799 a single laborer, Caesar Worthington, a neighborhood African American, took on most of the yard work, repairing breeches made in the walk, filling up a well, and other general maintenance, besides occasionally supplying the yard with lime. Many other suppliers brought cart loads of gravel each year for "dressing" the walks, and many loads of sod for repairing the edges of the walks. Once each year men were hired to mow the grass and make hay in the yard and seasonally the gardener trimmed the trees.[201]

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[201]State House Yard, Maintenance Vouchers, 1790, May-Aug. Independence Square Papers, Folder "3d", Div. of Public Records, Harrisburg; Register of Accounts, 1790, MSS in Records of Sec. of Commonwealth, Div. of Public Records. INDE notecards; PA Archives, 9th Ser, I, 253; Journals of H.ofR. of PA, 1790, 1791-92, 1793-4, Appendix: "Report of Reg. Gen.1792;" "Day Book, Nov. 1, 1790-Sept. 30, 1791," Box 1, and Ledger: July 1, 1792-Nov. 23, 1793, pp. 101-102,and Journal, Nov. 1799-June 1803, Journals, 1790-1810, p. 1300, RG 24, Records of Office of Reg. Gen., Div. of Public Rec., Harrisburg; Comp. Gen. Warrant Bk., 1796, MSS, Harrisburg; Caretakers Voucher, May 20, 23, 1797 and Aug. 16, 1797, State House Papers, Pub. Rec. Off, Harrisburg, INDE notecards. In the 1795 directory Caesar Worthington was listed as a laborer and head of a household at 73 South Fifth, half a block from the State House yard, on the east side of the street below Walnut. Edmund Hogan, The Prospect of Philadelphia and Check on the next Directory,(Philadelphia, 1795) p. .Lists of his work payments in PA Archives, 9th Ser., 2, 1560 and Work Rolls, 1800, July 1-1802, Jan. 12, Indep. Sq., State Ho. Yard, Div. of Pub. Rec., Harrisburg, INDE notecards. In 1789 two other names that most certainly were black laborers appeared on the work rolls--Barskekra & Tulo. Nash, in Forging Freedom, p.81-88, gives a careful analysis of the names black Philadelphians went by during the late 18th century.

From vouchers it is evident that certain physical changes took place in the yard, although exact locations and the reason for the work were not self-evident. In October 1790 the state granted the city Corporation the right "to fix upon any spot of ground in the State House yard for sinking a necessary, which they may judge most convenient and suitable." It's logical to assume privy was sighted near the newly constructed City Hall at the Fifth Street corner. Where the "Double Necessary to make watter" was dug in 1797 is anybody's guess. That year eight new benches were made for the yard, and the old ones, mended. [202]

During the subsequent five years, work was routine, except in 1793, when vouchers show payment for "digging and walling a well" in the State House yard. Was this a well for a yard pump? Without further information, little can be determined about this feature. Men also removed a watch house from the yard, but the extant records do not explain why. [203]

In 1796 repairs were made in the pavement contiguous to the East Wing when 30 yards of paving using 1,080 bricks and a stone step were laid "opposite the East Wing" after the ground was dug up and regulated. Was this to for the City's privy? No record indicates. The same year Shinn & Ridgway made a gutter in the yard using 1500 stretchers, perhaps work connected with the paving project next to the East Wing. The same year the necessary was taken down, the bricks cleaned and sold, and 9000 new bricks

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[202]Minutes of Supreme Exec. Council, XVI, 16, 496; PA Archives, 9th Ser., II, 1255; "Day Book, July 1, 1796-Nov. 30, 1798," July 3, 1797, Box 3, RG 24, MSS, Harris.; Bill of Allison & Smith, State House Papers, Pub. Rec. Off., Harris., all from INDE notecards.

[203]Journal of H. of Reps. of PA 1791-1792, Appen., Report of Reg. Gen, 1792"; Ledger: July 2, 1792-Nov. 23, 1793, p. 102, RG 24, Div. of Pub. Rec., Harr., INDE notecard.

laid for walling the necessary again.[204]

Repairing the Wall and Paving the Footways

In February 1790 the Pennsylvania Gazette printed a stinging criticism of Fifth Street's condition, on the State House Square's east border:

> ...Fourth and Fifth Streets still remain unpaved, and without sufficient number of lamps to render citizens secure...
> Fifth-street altho' it is become a common thoroughfare for the citizens, ...is little better than that of an unreclaimed swamp, and the old miserable brick wall with one or two solitary lamps on the one side, and a variety of nuisances on the other, render it (tho' in the center of the town) the most noisesome and disagreeable, as well as the most insecure part of this large city.[205]

Perhaps in response to such public censure, the Pennsylvania Assembly in June 1791 issued a new version of its legislation that provided for "the Lighting, Watching, Watering, Pitching, Paving and Cleansing the Streets, Lanes and Alleys" of the city. It was an ambitious act that gave the street commissioners additional power to regulate the footways between properties and the curb, to "prevent, as much as possible, irregularities in the surface and descent." Property owners were responsible for the cost of the footways, which had to be installed simultaneously or before the paving of the streets.[206]

In September the legislature passed "An act to provide for

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[204]Day Book, Feb. 1, 1796l-Feb. 28, 1798," Box 3, RG 24, Register Gen. Off.; Comp. Gen. Warrant Bk, 1796, MSS, Harris."Day Book, July 1, 1796-Nov. 30, 1798," Nov. 18, 1796, Box 3, RG 24. The wording of the bill suggests the yard had only one necessary: "...2 Men taking down the Woodwork of the necessary in the State House Yard."

[205]Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 24, 1790, INDE notecard.

[206]PA Gazette, June 8, 1791, p. 2.

...paving the footways round the state house square" and authorized the governor to contract for the work "whenever the city commissioners pave the cartways of the streets round the square." By December 1791, the Fifth Street kirb, gutter and footways were completed and in 1793 considerable earth was dug out along the Walnut Street wall to make the footway. The ground level was lowered sufficiently to need four stone steps fitted to meet the south gate. When the footway project reached completion the gate once again was opened to let visitors enjoy the grounds "as a public green and walks."[207]

Next, the State mended the wall. In 1797 carpenters John Smith and Robert Allison made many repairs and rebuilt 150 feet of the wall on the square's east side. The also made eight new benches similar to those in the yard. Robert Haydock then painted the new wall capping and benches. No color was mentioned in the bill, but perhaps it was painted a neutral shade to keep with the current fashion "to unite with the wood, the lawn, and the walk" around them.[208]

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[207]Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser, Oct. 5, and Dec. 10, 1791, p. 2; City Commissioners to Thomas Mifflin, Sept. 2, 1791, State House Papers, Pub. Rec. Office, Harris., INDE notecards. PA Archives, 9th Ser., I, 238-9, gives the articles of agreement of Oct. 7, 1791, between the state and the city commissioners to complete the project. Jacob Herneisen hauled away 31 one-horse cartloads of earth in July and August 1793. James Traquair & Co. made the four stone steps, measuring 83 feet 61/2 inches and two gutter stones and two spout stones for the project. Griffith Coomb altered the gate, and provided lime for setting the steps, as well as the stone. Folder 5g, Pub. Improv. File, State Archives, INDE micro 387. No separate bills appeared in the notecard file for work on Sixth Street footway, but the work no doubt was completed this decade.

[208] PA Archives, 9th Ser., II, 1255; First quote from Independence Square, State House Paving, Estimate for Passage through, 1797, June 12, State Archives; "Day Book, July 1, 1796-Nov. 30, 1798," July 3, 1797, Box 3, RG 24, MSS, Harris.; Bill of Allison & Smith, State House Papers, Pub. Rec. Off., Harris. "DayBook Feb. 1, 1796-Feb 18, 1798," Aug. 17, 1797, RG 24, Ibid, INDE notecards. The

Public Commentary on the New Landscape

Besides Manasseh Cutler's detailed journal entry in 1787, only a few people recorded a visit to the State House garden in the first years of its making, when the trees only cast shadows half the size of a man. Philadelphian John Swanwick, a member of Congress and noted poet of his day, wrote a verse, "On a Walk in the State House Yard, June 30, 1787," after strolling the gardens with his Delia. His poem suggests that the "soft retreat" with its trees and "grassy sod" made an "auspicious grove" for young lovers, while the "sages whom the land convenes" [delegates at the Federal Convention] were invited to enjoy "pensive wandering through these rural scenes." James McHenry, one of Maryland's delegates, wrote his wife in August that he planned to enjoy "half an hour in the State house walks." The same year Noah Webster noted in his diary three June walks in the State House gardens, one in company and one "in Contemplation."[209]

Webster maintained that Philadelphia's public garden was "for the express purpose of accommodating men in business." Suggesting that he thought urban settings should be utilitarian, Webster's only comment on the new landscape at the square

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quote about the fashion for garden seats comes from Practical Treatise on Planting and Gardening as cited in Thomas Dobson's Encyclopedia (Philadelphia, 1798), VII, 561. The rebuilding of 150 feet of the east wall may have been needed because, according to the testimony of "an elderly gentleman" recorded in Watson, Annals I, 401-2, the east wall along Fifth Street was much older than that along Sixth Street.

[209]The shadow reference comes from a verse signed "Philastra" in the September 1786 issue of Columbian Magazine, which ends "When in the State House Yard upright/ My level shade was half my height?" Information on Swanwick from Text for Newspaper article on Congress Hall, in Congress Hall Events, 1895-1913, City Collection, Museum Files, INDE; McHenry to Mrs. McHenry, Aug. 26, 1787, McHenry Papers, Vol.2, Library of Congress. "Noah Webster Diary, July 1, 1786-Sept. 19, 1820," Webster Papers, MSS, NYPL, INDE notecards.

concluded, "the gardens at the state-house are too small for a public walk in that large city."[210]

Webster was not alone in criticizing the size of the yard. French emigre Brissot de Warville observed, "It is not large, but it is agreeable." The Columbian Magazine in January 1790 also noted that "the grounds, though not so extensive as might be wished, are sufficiently large to accommodate very considerable numbers..." [211]

One of the garden's greatest virtues, in de Warville's terse opinion, was that "one may breathe there." In an era when disease and death took a large toll on the population, and sickness in some circles was thought to be carried through the air from miasmas generated by rotting garbage and other matter in the streets, the virtue of a secluded garden with uncontaminated air had real public value.[212]

By 1789 the therapeutic value of the State House yard's open air walks had become current thinking. Congressman John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg told Dr. Benjamin Rush he planned to escort some of his fellow members to Philadelphia "to take the benefit of the fresh air in the open enclosure at the State House," to help convince them that his city would be a more healthful place

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[210]This article comparing the plans of Philadelphia, Boston, Philadelphia, Charleston and New Haven published in the May 1789 American Museum, pp. 491-93, is attributed to Noah Webster on the note card, but without a reason for this attribution.

[211] J.B. Brissot de Warville, New Travels in the United States of America, 1788, (Cambridge, 1964), 316; Columbian Magazine Jan. 1790, pp. 25-26.

[212]De Warville, Ibid. Cecil Kent Drinker, M.D., ScD.,Not So Long Ago A Chronicle of Medicine and Doctors in Colonial Philadelphia (New York, 1937),22-47.Nathan G. Goodman, Benjamin Rush Physician and Citizen 1746-1813 (Philadelphia, 1934), 193.

for the nation's capital.[213]

Exercise, too, was becoming an important means to improve public health. As the Columbian Magazine observed, the State House garden gave "open and healthy" public space to enjoy "the salutary exercise of walking." The writer added, "If the ladies, in particular, would occasionally recreate themselves with a few turns in these walks, they would find the practice attended with real advantages."[214]

During the decade as the nation's capital, Philadelphia's public garden was at the height of its popularity. It attracted foreign visitors like Thomas Wickham and his wife, who "walk'd thro' the Green, or Yard. (Sally said she never was so delighted with anything as the beautiful appearance it made)".[215] A local reporter wrote of its "delightful shades and verdant carpets."[216] Mrs. Smith found the garden "an agreeable retreat for a warm Day a gravel walk in the center Trees and Grass on each side with seats to set under them, it is a publick walk much resorted to".[217] Englishman Henry Wansey noted the State Gardens provided "the pleasantest walk at Philadelphia" and that it reminded him of Kensington Gardens, "but not so large." Wansey devoted more space to the yard's use by the U.S. Congressmen:

> [the garden was] "open for company to walk in. It was planned and laid out by Samuel Vaughan, Esq. a merchant of London, ...It is particularly convenient to the House of

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[213] Muhlenberg to Rush, April 2, 1789, as quoted in notecard file.

[214] Columbian Magazine July 1790, pp. 25-26.

[215] Thomas Wickham Journal, July 10, 1790, MS, New York Public Library, NY, INDE notecard.

[216] Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser, June 7, 1792, p. 2-3;

[217] Mrs. Smith's Journal for 1793, 40-41, MSS, Duke U. Library, and Photostat 50,015, INDE.

> Representatives, which being on the ground floor, has two doors that open directly into it, to which they can retire to compose their thoughts, or refresh themselves after any fatigue of business, or confer together and converse without interrupting the debate."[218]

Not all the commentary was favorable. The yard's high brick wall for some created an unpleasant and unhealthy confinement. While William Winterbotham found the public walk "neat, elegant and spacious," he thought the high brick wall limited the prospect.[219] Others, concerned that the wall blocked the air flow, petitioned to have the east and west sides lowered and a palisade fence put up in their place. Claypoole's Daily Advertiser pointed out that a palisade fence not only would serve as a "very great improvement to the appearance of the square," but that it would be "unquestionably more healthy than a dead wall" because the public would "have a view of the garden, and enjoy the benefit of more air as they pass thro' the streets which surround the state-house."[220]

The Assembly and city council authorized the project, specifying that the wall be taken down to within three feet of the pavement, and that "substantial palisadoes of iron, fixed on a stone capping" be placed on the wall. But they both also specified that this work must be done "at the expense of the citizens of Philadelphia."[221]

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[218]David John Jeremy, ed. Henry Wansey and His American Journal 1794 (Philadelphia, 1970), 103, 116. The introduction gives a biographical sketch of Wansey who came to see the new nation, but also had business and real estate investment ambitions as well.

[219]William Winterbotham, An Historical, Geographical etc View of the United States of America, Vol. II, (New York, 1796), 417, as cited on INDE notecard.

[220] Claypoole's Daily Advertiser Sept. 27, 1791, p. 3.

[221]Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser Oct. 5, 1791, p. 2; Ordinances of the City of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1805), 101-2.

Probably many agreed with the petition's aim to improve public health "by admitting a freer circulation of the air." In June 1794, Henry Wansey found the city unbearable at 88 degrees, and pointed to the city's lack of "fresh evening breezes" and its "low, flat, and marshy" nature as reasons why he "could scarcely breathe." He openly worried that such oppressive, still heat increased the "exhalations of all the marshes" which in turn brought on the city's annual outbreak of bilious remittent fevers.[222]

Health reasons were compelling in a city struck regularly with all kinds of fatal disease--smallpox, an array of malignant fevers, and cancer among them. But lowering the State House wall was not only an expensive project, it presented a potentially risky idea. High walls characterized Philadelphia's landscape, enclosing private lots, school yards, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the several church cemeteries. The concept of opening up the State House yard to the view of the population at large probably struck many at first as something of an invasion of privacy. Based on the existing record--written and pictorial-- most of the visitors to the public walks came from the upper end of society, who remained by choice out of close contact with the growing number of Philadelphia's poor. Places like the State House yard, walled back yards and country estates constituted safe sanctums to escape from the city's unhealthy or dangerous settings for its uncultivated masses.[223]

In 1793 the Library Company of Philadelphia led a campaign to lower the east and west walls and put up "Iron Pallisadoes." Certain members perhaps had witnessed this style fencing in England and had reiterated its potential benefits to the health

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[222]Ordinances, ibid.; Jeremy, Wansey, 108.

[223]See William Birch's print of the State House yard, 1799, illus.

of the neighborhood and to the general aesthetics of the public square. But the time was not ripe, and nothing came of this project during the decade.[224]

In 1797 Charles Willson Peale, then live-in curator at Philosophical Hall on the square, came up with a novel idea for using the State House wall. He imagined the State House Square and adjoining Potters Field "united together" to make a pleasant "shaded gravel walk," by erecting a high, arched wooden bridge between the wall's abutments and Southeast Square.[225]

Peale's idea of joining Southeast Square with the State House gardens no doubt flowed from the fact that Southeast Square already had a three-year growth of lombardy poplars bordering it. A citizen petition to the mayor in 1792 had called on the city to follow the Commonwealth's example at the State House by planting trees on the five public squares which had become "public nuisance's" out of neglect and abuse. The memorial cited the importance of exercise and recreation as reasons to improve the squares, but more importantly, urged tree-planting for the health of the city. As the petitioners reminded the mayor, "it is an established fact that trees and vegitation" contribute to "the increased salubrity of the air." Citizen advocacy had also led to tree planting along many of the neighboring streets. The city directory for 1794 attributed "an increase in horticulture, and consequently of vegetable aliments" as the cause for the considerable decrease in deaths over a ten-year span (excepting

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[224]Pl 341, Meeting of July 8, 1793, Minutes of the Proceedings of the Directors of the Library Company of Philadelphia, Vol. II, MSS, FPL, as cited in INDE notecard.

[225]Charles Willson Peale's Autobiography, typescript copy, p. 233, APS.

1793) and the "general healthfulness" of the city.[226]

Public opinion also called for improvements on the Chestnut Street side of the square. In 1790 a writer for the Federal Gazette felt "great mortification" that nothing had been done "to ornament, or render useful, the fronts of that venerable Edifice the State House, or the adjoining wings." He noted that "many respectable citizens" agreed that the area "should be enclosed by a handsome iron railing neatly painted, that a number of Evergreens or of other trees should be planted within and around the enclosure" to create "an agreeable and useful decoration," and that the whole "should be paved in the most substantial manner." The state legislators, however, did nothing with the idea.[227]

Despite the criticism, the garden was a popular attraction while Congress sat at the State House square. As the Philadelphia Monthly Magazine reported in June 1798:

> This garden ... is laid down in a grass platt, divided in the middle by a spacious gravel walk, lined with a double row of large native and exotic elms, which form a cool shadowy retreat, and is plentifully supplied with benches for the accomodation of visitors. As this is the only spot in this populous appropriated to the necessary and refreshing uses of exercise and air, it usually thronged with company, and on days of festivity, exhibits a lively scene of busy gaiety.[228]

A caterpillar invasion at the same time threatened to

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[226]Typescript copy of the citizens' memorial, undated, in Sellers Coll., Folder 9, INDE; Denise Rabzak, "Washington Square: A Site Plan Chronology, 1683-1984" Independence National Historical Park, 1987, 5; James Hardie, A.M. The Philadelphia Directory and Register:... (Philadelphia, 1794), 117; Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia 2, 875; Watson, Annals I, 223.

[227]The Federal Gazette, Oct. 20, 1790, p. 3.

[228]The Philadelphia Monthly Magazine, I (June, 1798), 333, 335.

blight this idyllic setting and damage the State House trees. The Weekly Magazine's article observed, "I collected a number of the worms that were, this season, crawling on the trees, in the State-House yard, and, after keeping them for three or four days, I found they turned into a small bug-like fly..." This is the first mention of a caterpillar invasion on the square; over the next two centuries caterpillars periodically caused major damage to the trees, and spoiled the pleasure of those who sat on the benches along the square's shady walks.[229]

People certainly appear to be enjoying the grounds, however, in William Birch's two views (see Illustrations 11 and 12) of the State House yard in 1799 and 1800. Birch painted scenes at both the north and south ends which show trees of medium growth clustered near the central walk. Two watch boxes and a bench can be detected, as well as the curved bow of the serpentine walk opposite the east wing. Men (including a Native American), women, children and their dogs stand about on the lawn and two large graceful willow trees--probably the two Vaughan ordered in 1785 from Mahlon Hall-- form a frame for the monumental Walnut Street entranceway. A semblance of the double row of trees and another bench are also in view. Certainly these illustrations suggest that little remained, if anything, of Vaughan's many shrubs and flower beds, but the ambiance he wished to create of a natural spot of rural fancy survived for the enjoyment of the genteel public depicted in these prints.[230]

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[229]The Weekly Magazine July 28, 1798, p. 394.

[230] 2-w: Indep. Square, State Ho. Yard, Work Rolls, 1785, INDE notecard.

Philadelphia As the Nation's Capital

On July 16, 1790, the United States Congress (then seated in New York) finally agreed on a ten-mile square tract along the Potomac River as the site for the nation's capital, and designated Philadelphia as the temporary capital for ten years while federal buildings were under construction in the District of Columbia. The Residency Act set off a phenomenal real estate boom and population explosion in Philadelphia, and brought the State House Square to a new level of importance. During the decade the city and county, state and federal governments all shared the square and its garden, bringing a layering of political authority on one piece of urban real estate never before seen, or ever repeated, in the nation's history.[231]

Beginning December 6, 1790, at the opening of the third session of the First Congress of the United States, the members occupied the new and elegant county courthouse on the State House Square, at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets. The House sat in the refitted courtroom on the ground floor. The Senate climbed the steep stairs to the second floor where the former courtroom and the four large rooms lining the central hall accommodated their sessions, office staff, law books and committee meetings.[232]

The House Chamber with its three rows of semicircular desks, almost immediately felt crowded, even though on any one day some of the 65 members were absent from the Hall. The U.S. census of

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[231]Theodore Sedgwick to wife, Nov. 6, 1791, Theodore Sedgwick Papers, MHS; The Portfolio, April 6, 1805, p.2; According to the census statistics, Philadelphia's population nearly tripled during the decade. Bulletin Almanac for 1972, (Philadelphia), p. 204, gives the city's population growth from 1790-1970.

[232]Historic Philadelphia, 28.

1790 increased the number of Representatives to 106, finally forcing the Pennsylvania Assembly to consider better accommodations. After heated debate whether to build a larger hall for Congress, the contentious Pennsylvania legislature agreed in the Spring of 1793, to enlarge the existing building an additional twenty six feet to the south. The state also constructed a portico or lobby for the legislators between the west wing of the State House and Congress Hall, to connect with the new entrance to the House of Representatives. The Congressmen then could assemble in the Portico before a session and proceed with ceremony into their chamber and down the central aisle to their seats. They could also attend in the House committee meetings upstairs in the west wing without braving the elements.[233]

The 1793 enlargement of Congress Hall provided two doors into the State House yard on either side of an 8-foot bay on the south wall. Many a legislator passed through these doors to stroll the graveled walks in conference, or to find a spot for quiet contemplation on one of the garden benches. Others needed to attend to Nature's calls, or simply retire to rest from the often raucous debates during this decade of heightened political animosities.[234]

The State House, its committee room, and east wing were reserved for Pennsylvania's Assembly, Supreme Executive Council, Supreme Court and state administrative offices. When the new City

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[233]See "Historic Structure Report, (HSR), Part I, on Congress Hall," prepared by Staff, Independence National Historical Park (INDE), May 1959, and "HSR, Part II, Congress Hall," (INDE, February 1960), Chapter IV, for information on the Portico.

[234]Theophilus Bradbury to his daughter, Harriet, as quoted in Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, VIII, (1884), 226.

Hall reached completion in August 1791 on the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, finally culminating the long-desired master plan for the State House Square, the Mayor shared his courtroom with the biannual sessions of the U.S. Supreme Court. The U.S. Circuit and District Courts for the Pennsylvania region met upstairs, in the city and county council chambers and the city surveyor's office.[235]

The addition of Congress and the federal courts crowded the state and city offices so much that the Assembly in April 1793 passed a resolution recommending to the governor several new buildings for the square. Philadelphia historian Thompson Westcott described the plan in his "History of Philadelphia:"

> On the 3d of April a resolution was passed by the Assembly directing that the Governor should have additional buildings erected, adjoining the south side of the wings of the State House, for the accommodation of the Land Office, Rolls Office, and Treasury, and for the safe keeping of records and public papers of the Commonwealth; also, to erect and finish an additional building adjoining the west end of the State House, upon the plan of, or as nearly similar as may be to, the building now used as a committee-room for the House of Representatives, to be appropriated for the accommodation of the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth.[236]

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[235]Dave Kimball, "Independence Hall Historic Structure Report, Part II, Appendices A-I, Independence Hall Room Use, 1732-1792," (1992, still in draft at INDE), p. 5; "Furnishing Plan for the Mayor's Court, Old City Hall," Part B, Historical Narrative, Prepared by Staff, INDE, August 1959; David Kimball, Historical Data, p. 1, "Old City Hall, Historic Structure Report, Part II," INDE, 1961; Sidney Bradford, Jr. and Franklin R. Mullaly, Historical Data, Chapter 2, "Old City Hall, Historic Structure Report, Part I," INDE, 1959; Reeder, "The First Homes," Proceedings 551-3.

[236]Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia, in Three Volumes, 3, 609, at American Philosophical Society (APS). Although this quote could not be verified in the Pennsylvania Archives series because the Assembly did not publish their resolutions for this decade, Westcott's history appears to be based on contemporary documents. Further research at the Pennsylvania Archives may locate

The State Assembly never acted on this resolution, perhaps mindful of the 1736 act that mandated that "no part of the said ground lying southward of the said State House" be built on, but reserved as "a public open greene and walks forever." Conditions thus remained overcrowded on the Square during the decade, which may have prompted frequent outings to the open and stately landscaped yard behind the State House.

Philadelphia, a city of over 40,000, including its suburbs to the north and south, appeared "to be in a constant hurry of business and amusements," Charles Wilson Peale noted early in 1791. People from all parts of the city came to the State House complex to record their real estate and business transactions; to serve on juries or on trial; to see the public improvements and new public gardens; to enjoy Peale museum and art exhibits, to hear lectures or attend meetings at Philosophical Hall; to witness the highly charged political debates at Congress Hall or the State House; to petition Congress; to cast their votes at local elections, or to demonstrate their political views. The square was the center of all political thought, the headquarters for intellectual pursuits and scientific knowledge, a haven for the arts, and the location for the city's only public walks.[237]

Center for Culture and Politics

With the national capital in its midst, Philadelphia experienced an irrepressible burst of growth and development. Real estate speculation and construction saw new heights, and the cost

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confirming information.

[237]Department of Commerce and Labor, Bureau of Census, Heads of Families at the First Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1790. Pennsylvania (Washington, 1908), p. 10. The count includes the three city districts and Southwark along its southern line, and Northern Liberties along its northern line, totaling 44,095. Recent historians consider these census figures for the city conservative because often runaways and poor were not counted.

of housing for all the legislators and other newcomers in town skyrocketed. Turnpike companies formed to connect the city with outlying farm settlements, a canal got underway to connect the Delaware and Schuylkill Rivers, and stage companies expanded to provide regular public transportation between Philadelphia and New York, Trenton, Bristol, Elizabethtown, Princeton, Harrisburg, Lancaster, Reading and Bethlehem. Immigration picked up, placing a burden of additional poor on the city. Philadelphians responded, as Wansey noted in 1794, with a "vast number of charitable organizations."[238]

The State House stood at the hub of the city's busy life. The President lived only a block away, at 190 High (Market) Street, in the former home of Senator Robert Morris. Government offices bordered the square--Treasury Department two blocks east on Chestnut Street, War Department at Carpenters' Court and then at Fifth and Chestnut Streets, and the Secretary of State a short two blocks northwest, on Market Street--and legislators boarded, or rented homes within an easy walk from the square.[239]

All these government participants recognized that the American experiment in republican government was under scrutiny from former allies and enemies looking for the first signs of failure. The tension and excitement that scrutiny generated, combined with the volatile international relations the United States navigated after France declared war on England in the spring of 1793, contributed to a passionate pursuit of knowledge,

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[238]Jeremy, Henry Wansey, 102; Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, 238.

[239]Harold Donaldson Eberlein,"190 High Street (Market Street below Sixth)--The Home of Washington and Adams, 1790-1800," Historic Philadelphia, 161-178.

as well as the often violent, party politics of the decade.[240]

Leading Philadelphians, like many Americans, aspired to see the United States excel in social and political reform, education, the arts and sciences. This was particularly evident in the State House neighborhood during the capital city decade. In 1791 the Library Company of Philadelphia--called by some the City Library and now the oldest subscription library in the country--completed its new building on Fifth Street, across from the State House Square. Shortly after, the Library Company merged with the Loganian Library on Sixth Street. According to the terms of the agreement, James Logans' fine collection of scholarly works, deeded to the city in 1760 as a gift by his heirs, retained its separate identity by being housed in a special room added to Library Hall.[241]

Just down the street on the same block, the University of Pennsylvania completed construction of an "elegant and spacious anatomical theater and chemical elaboratory" in 1791. Here Dr. Shippen lectured on anatomy and surgery in the theater, while across the street, in the newly completed Philosophical Hall on the State House Square, the College of Physicians held courses on "Chemistry, Institutes of Medicine and Clinical Cases, Materia Medica and Practice of Physic."[242]

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[240] For a good study of the politics of the decade, see Richard G. Miller, Philadelphia the Federalist City A Study of Urban Politics, 1789-1801 (Port Washington, NY, 1976).

[241] Historic Philadelphia, 50, 136.

[242] Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser, (Philadelphia) Sept. 24, 1791, p. 3; Nov. 7, '91, p. 1, Nov. 5, 1792; Quote on College of Physicians from Hardie, The Philadelphia Directory ... 1794, 191-2. The College of Physicians, thought to be the nation's most prestigious assemblage of medical seers, rented a room for their meetings on the second floor of Philosophical Hall. Berkowitz, The College of Physicians, vii.

Charles Willson Peale, portrait painter and enthusiastic student of nature, moved his family and novel museum into Philosophical Hall in June 1794, after the American Philosophical Society hired him as their assistant curator, librarian and custodian. Since opening his natural and historical museum at his home at Third and Lombard Streets in 1791, Peale had been struggling to make a success, but finally had agreed with a friend's advise that the "situation on the statehouse square would be much more advantageous" for its future.[243]

Peale's large family must have made quite an impression on the State House Square. After his wife, Rachael Brewer, died in 1790, Peale remarried in May 1791, to Betsy DePeyster, and together they added three more children -- Charles Linnaeus in March 1794, Benjamin Franklin in October 1795, and Sybilla Miriam in October 1797-- while in residence at Philosophical Hall. Peale instructed his older children Raphaelle, 20, Angelica, 18, Rembrandt, 16, Titian, 14, Rubens, 10, and Sophonisba, 8, in the art of painting, and eventually set aside space in their quarters to tutor Charles and Benjamin in the art of taxidermy.[244]

Smitten by "the bewitching study of Nature," and blessed with phenomenal energy and enthusiasm, Peale aimed to make his museum "an instrument for rational pleasure and the instruction of the public." In 1792 he had invited a cadre of the nation's wealthiest and most prominent men--Secretary of State Thomas

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[243]As quoted in Lillian B. Miller, The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and his Family, Three Volumes, 1, (New Haven, 1988), 93. Lillian B. Miller and David C. Ward, eds. New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale (Pittsburgh, 1991), 5-6.

[244]Miller, et.al., eds. Papers of Peale, II, Part 2, xxxviii; Miller, New Perspectives, 5; Charles Coleman Sellers, Charles Willson Peale (New York, 1969), 262; Charles Coleman Sellers, Mr. Peale's Museum, (New York, 1980), 50-51; Charles H. Elam, organizer, The Peale Family Three Generations of American Artists (Detroit, 1967), genealogical chart.

Jefferson, Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton, Attorney General Edmund Randolph, Senator Robert Morris, Congressman John Page, Bishop William White, Governor Thomas Mifflin, among the list of twenty-seven--to advise him on the birth of his visionary national museum. The prospect, which called for state or federal underwriting of the museum, failed to go anywhere.[245]

Although mortified by the lack of support, Peale found comfort in the fact that most of the men, nearly all members of the Philosophical Society, still found his museum worthy of their private backing. In an age when few museums were known or accessible in the western world--the British Museum had opened in 1759 but with very limited public admission, and the Louvre, a newcomer, had opened in 1793 with similar restrictions--Peale's Museum at Philosophical Hall made its wide-ranging collections available to all citizens who could pay the subscription fee. His effort to make the museum a place for popular education was a hundred years ahead of its time.[246]

Situated on the square, Peale's Museum readily drew on the prominent body of legislators and government officials as visitors and subscribers. George Washington led Peale's annual subscription drives, and had so for many years. In 1787 he had contributed two golden pheasants, gifts from General Lafayette, to Peale's collections, and in 1795 he sat for Peale so he could paint the first president's portrait. An inveterate collector, Peale received additions to his museum wherever and whenever he could, from explorers, sea captains, friends and family. Wansey admired the breadth of Peale's exhibits in 1794, naming birds'

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[245]As quoted in Edgar P. Richardson, Brooke Hindle, and Lillian B. Miller, Charles Willson Peale and His World, (New York, 1982), 87; Charles Coleman Sellers, Charles Willson Peale, (New York, 1969), 258.

[246]Jeremy, Wansey, 104.

nests, tiny 4-inch Chinese ladies' slippers, huge Chinese fans six feet tall, and many "curious and rare Birds preserved in their plumage--" such as Manakins, Birds of Paradise, Toucans and Spoon-bills. Wansey marveled even more at the portraits of all the leading men from the "late revolution," which he rightly estimated would "be very valuable in the eyes of posterity."[247]

Other leading Philadelphians continued the effort this decade to bring penal reform to the Walnut Street Prison across from the State House Square. In 1791 a new "penitentiary house" with sixteen cells, each 8 by 6 feet and furnished with flush toilets, was added to the prison grounds. This innovation was designed to provide solitary confinement for inmates so they could find inner reflection and, in turn, personal reform. The concept won universal praise from enlightened visitors, even though in reality the cells never actually served their intent. But real improvements were made in 1794 when the Pennsylvania Assembly abolished the death penalty for all crimes except first-degree murder, marking another revolutionary step toward bringing humanitarian practices to Pennsylvania's penal system. Progress also was made in the improvement of inmates' cleanliness and physical needs, as well as in disseminating the new concepts to other states, so that Philadelphia during the decade garnered a widespread reputation for penal reform. Accounts of the Walnut Street prison once again praised it as "elegant," rather than as a source of alarming social disgrace.[248]

A more self-determined social reform took root in the neighborhood in 1792, when the Free African Society purchased a

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[247]Richardson, Peale, 80-81; Sellers, Peale, 277; Jeremy, Wansey, 105.

[248]Historic Philadelphia, 329-30; Philadelphia Monthly Magazine, June 1798, 338.

lot of ground half a block south of the square, on the west side of Fifth Street, and broke ground on a pioneer black church. The location, only one block from the Potter's field at the city's Southeast Square (today's Washington Square), where their dead long had been buried, must have been an important factor for selecting the site. In 1787 African-American burials in the square had been robbed by Dr. Shippen for his anatomical lectures. Mobs of blacks and whites reacted by storming Shippen's property and retrieving the corpse for reburial, but the practice continued. In 1790 black leaders had petitioned the city to lease part of Southeast Square to enclose their burial ground, but had presumably been turned down. With a church of their own, free blacks could finally put their dead to rest in grounds of their own.[249]

White clergy and city leaders at first stonewalled the Free African Society's plan for their own church. Blacks had always worshipped in the city's established churches, but recently, since the flood of newcomers-- often destitute refugees of slavery, drawn to Philadelphia by Pennsylvania's revolutionary abolition legislation (1780)-- they had experienced indignities, particularly at St. George's Methodist Church, where blacks in 1792 had been relegated to the galleries for worship, prompting Richard Allen and his fellow worshippers to leave en masse.[250]

Through the careful campaigning of Free African Society leaders Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, however, the church effort found supporters among some of the city's most prominent citizens--outstanding among them, Dr. Benjamin Rush and merchant

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[249]Gary B. Nash, Forging Freedom The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community 1720-1840, (Cambridge, 1988), 109.

[250]Nash, Forging Freedom, 119, 133, 137; on p. 143 Nash notes that the African American population more than tripled during the decade, from about 2000 to more than 6000.

John Nicholson--so that the African Episcopal Church of St. Thomas reached completion in 1794. Absalom Jones took the pulpit for this congregation, while the same summer Richard Allen, a former slave and well-known Methodist preacher, founded another church, Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church (today known as Mother Bethel), in a carpenter's shop on land he purchased a few blocks to the south, at Sixth and Lombard Streets. The two churches filled many social needs for the beleaguered black population and their rapidly expanding congregations marked the neighborhood adjoining the State House as a destination for African Americans into the twentieth century.[251]

The Yellow Fever Epidemic of 1793

Richard Allen and Absalom Jones also proved themselves leaders of their community in 1793 during the worst yellow fever epidemic the city had ever seen. In response to Dr. Rush's published appeal to Negroes, who he mistakenly believed immune to yellow fever, to assist with nursing the sick and burying the dead, Jones and Allen pressed members of their community into action, in the face of widespread panic and fear. During the three-month siege, blacks nursed the sick and buried the dead throughout the city. About one third (1,334) of the dead, victims from the city's poor and/or black populations, were buried at the Potter's Field in the Southeast Square. There they were hastily laid to rest, often with only a cloth to cover, first in graves, and then, as the numbers mounted, in trenches. The sight was appalling, the fever relentless. People feared that the infection could be caught by breathing the air, or by contact with the sick and dead, and so there was an urgency to see the bodies covered

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[251]Nash, Forging Freedom, 127-132. Benjamin Rush to John Nicholson, Aug. 12, 1793, Butterfield, ed., The Letters of Benjamin Rush II (1793-1813), 636.

over and out of harm's reach.[252]

Richard Allen and Absalom Jones by their own estimate, "saved the lives of between two and three hundred persons." They had learned from Dr. Rush how to bleed patients and measure the mercury-based calomel and other remedies favored to ease the fever. Allen himself fell seriously ill with the fever, and then went on to co-author an account of the epidemic with Jones. The black community's assistance during the epidemic won them the local support needed to complete their church and adjoining burial ground on Fifth Street.[253]

Richard Allen and Absalom Jones were among the first of several private citizens who volunteered to help Mayor Matthew Clarkson early in September 1793 when he set up an emergency committee at his courtroom in the new City Hall on the State House Square. The Mayor's Committee, the Overseers of the Poor,

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[252]Philadelphia suffered through earlier, but less severe, yellow fever outbreaks in 1693, 1741 and 1762. Drinker, Not So Long Ago , 112, and John Harvey Powell, Bring Out Your Dead The Great Plague of Yellow Fever in Philadelphia in 1793 (New York, 1949), 13-16; Isaac Heston to His Brother Abraham, Sept. 19, 1792, Independence National Historical Park (INDE) Museum Collection; Benjamin Rush, M.D. An Account of the Bilious remitting Yellow Fever as it appeared in the City of Philadelphia in the year 1793. (Philadelphia, 1794),317, 322-3; A[bsalom] Jones and R[ichard] Allen, A Narrative of the Proceedings of the Black People, During the Late Awful Calamity in Philadelphia in the Year 1793 and A Refutation of the Censures, Thrown upon them in some late Publications (Philadelphia, 1794),4; Matthew Carey, A Short Account of the Malignant Fever, Lately Prevalent in Philadelphia: with a statement in Different parts of the United States (Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1793), appendix; Elaine Forman Crane, ed., The Diary of Elizabeth Drinker, Three Volumes, I, (Boston, 1991), 510; Butterfield, ed., The Letters of Benjamin Rush, II, 722; Julie Winch, Philadelphia's Black Elite (Philadelphia, 1988), 16.

[253]Quote from Rush to his wife, Oct. 29, 1793, Butterfield, ed. Letters II, 732; Ibid.,653, 667,683; Matthew Carey, Account, 77; Doctor Benjamin Smith Barton (1766-1815), "Facts, notes, etc. for an account of the yellow fever of Philadelphia," MSS, B.S. Barton Papers, American Philosophical Society (APS).

the College of Physicians, the carters for burying the dead, all made the square headquarters during the crisis. The scene before the State House row took on a repugnant character, as Samuel Breck recalled (in the words of his editor):

> That committee [of health] was in session day and night at the City Hall in Chestnut street...The attendant on the dead stood on the pavement in considerable numbers soliciting jobs, and until employed they were occupied in feeding their horses out of the coffins which they had provided in anticipation of the daily wants. These speculators were useful, and, albeit with little show of feeling, contributed greatly to lessen, by competition, the charges of internment.[254]

The Mayor's committee met for forty-six consecutive days during the epidemic. All other government bodies had either fled or were in recess, so this committee of some 13 men ran the city as an extra-legal body. Their individual courage found many means of expression during the panic. A sub-committee supervised the contagious hospital out at Bush Hill and others organized basic relief to those poor who remained in town. Samuel Benge, a recent emigre from London who just that summer had set up business as an upholsterer and venetian blind maker opposite the State House, took on the odious task as Superintendent of Burials and Removals. One sub-committee took over the old Loganian Library building on Sixth Street, across from the State House yard, as an orphanage for the infants and children whose parents died in the fever.[255]

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[254]Horace Elisha Scudder, Recollections of Samuel Breck with passages from his notebooks (1771-1862) (Philadelphia, 1877),196.

[255]Of the 192 orphans under the committee's care, 27 died, 94 eventually found homes with family or friends, and 71 became permanent wards of the city. Powell, Bring Out Your Dead, 99, 184-86, 192-3; Jeremy, Wansey, 111; Minutes of the Proceedings of the Committee, Appointed on the 14th of September, 1793, to Attend to And Alleviate the Sufferings of the Afflicted with the Malignant Fever, (Philadelphia, 1794 and 1848), 28, 30.

The epidemic of 1793 created the first major crack in the confidence of Philadelphians in their remarkable progress as a capital city. Many thought the epidemic was the destroying angel sent from God to punish the city for its luxury and dissipation, especially since the arrival of the federal government. Yellow fever touched families across all social lines--Samuel Powell, twice the city's mayor, ten doctors, ten ministers, four of the mayor's committee and scores of others among the leading citizens died, contributing to a total death toll of near 5000, almost one fifth the city's estimated population.[256]

Many hard lessons were learned that year, and measures were immediately launched to protect the city from future attacks. Although the doctors could not agree as to the source of yellow fever, the city set about to improve sanitation in case the mysterious disease emanated from the city's filth. They ordered five water carts to clean the streets and designated that sheds be erected to house three of them on the northeast corner of the Southeast Square. The city also closed Southeast Square as a Potter's Field and added two more rows of trees around its perimeter, a measure, it seems, to mask the hideous memory of the mass burials.[257]

Taking their improvements one step further, the city decided to lay out Southeast Square as a public walk. In 1797 Jedidiah Morse anticipated that when the trees grew up and the ground was leveled, the square would be "one of the most pleasant promenades in the vicinity..." Real estate development on the west side of

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[256]Benjamin Johnson, An Account of the Rise, Progress and Termination of the Malignant Fever... (Philadelphia, 1793), 3; Carey, A Short Account, 11; Rush to Mrs. Rush, Sept. 29-30, 1793, Butterfield, ed. Rush Letters II, 686. Powell, Bring Out Your Dead, 234, 255, 301-2.

[257]Westcott, History of Philadelphia, vol. 3, ch. CCCXXIII, 1794; Denise Rabzak, "Washington Square," 3, 7.

the square followed, culminating in 1799 with "Sansom's Row" of stately Federal houses on Walnut above Seventh, designed by prominent Philadelphia architect, Benjamin Henry Latrobe. The advertisement for their rental noted that the houses faced on the public square, and that the site's advantages were " ...obvious, combining vicinity to the trading parts of the city, with a pure air, and an open prospect interspaced with trees and herbage, resembling a country retreat." Although this article logically failed to mention the city's cattle market on Seventh Street from Walnut south to Prune Streets, nor the fact that Seventh Street ran right through the square, the new horticultural improvements to the Southeast Square by the close of the decade gave incentive for developers to expect the interest and investments of the gentried class.[258]

Even with measures to clean up the city, yellow fever reappeared every year, and in 1797 and 1798 the death tolls rose to alarming levels, despite huge tent cities set up for the poor along the banks of the Schuylkill. In 1797 the mayor and his committee once again met the challenge, and "a large and respectable committee of citizens," distributed relief supplies "from the State House on fixed days of the week." Still, the epidemic caused "much suffering in middle and lower classes of the inhabitants," and at the first sign of yellow fever in the next two summers, the federal government moved its offices across the river to Trenton, New Jersey.[259]

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[258]Both citations, as quoted in Rabzak, "Washington Square," 6-7; Dallet, Washington Square, 7.

[259]Figures vary on the number of French West Indian refugees. Martin S. Pernick, "Politics, Parties, and Pestilence: Epidemic Yellow Fever in Philadelphia and the Rise of the First Party System," William and Mary Quarterly 3rd. ser., XXIX (Oct. 1972), 561, notes more than 2000 French refugees arrived from Haiti. Pernick's figures are contradicted by Nash, Forging Freedom, 141, and Mulford Stough, "The Yellow Fever in Philadelphia, 1793," Pennsylvania History 6 (Jan. 1939), 6, who quote only 750.

Arenas of Amusement

Despite such dreaded outbreaks Philadelphians this decade lived in spirited times, full of the bustle of an expanding economy and population. Throughout the State House neighborhood the presence of the French immigrants continued to be very evident. A wave of new emigres began arriving in 1793 after France fell under the Reign of Terror and bloody slave revolts drove out French planters from today's Haiti. France and all things French came into full fashion in clothes, food, education and entertainment. French emigres taught children and adults the language, fencing, and dancing. Through need, talent and preference, these immigrants found social venues and work in the State House neighborhood.

For instance, the French Benevolent Society held meetings at Anatomical Hall in 1792 and French emigres were inducted as members of the American Philosophical Society. Beginning in 1791, Jean Legay secured the contract from the state government to set off fireworks annually for the July 4th celebrations. Then, Jean Blanchard rose from the Walnut Street prison yard in a hot-air balloon in January 1793, creating a spectacle many came to witness. President Washington and members of his government watched from within the prison yard, while "several thousand spectators, many of whom had come from New York, Baltimore, and other distant parts," crowded the streets and windows of the city, filled the Southeast Square, and climbed into the trees in the State House Yard to catch the balloon take to the sky. Another French emigre, Bernard de Saa from Hispaniola, began selling ice cream in the State House Yard in 1797, and Charles Willson Peale selected a Frenchman, Palisot de Beauvios, to publish a catalog of his museum in Philosophical Hall.[260]

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[260]Quote from Benjamin Rush's Jan. 9, 1793 entry in his diary. George W. Corner, ed. The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush

Probably Philadelphia's enthusiasm for the French and French fashion was no where more evident than at Oellers Hotel on Chestnut Street, half a block west of the State House, in the large new Episcopal Academy building which James Oellers purchased in 1791 from the financially-strapped school. The Republicans in government often chose Oellers as the scene for elaborate pro-French political receptions, especially at the arrival of Citizen Genet in the spring of 1793.[261]

Under the care of owner/manager James Oellers, the hotel turned into the foremost political and social gathering place in the city. English traveler, Henry Wansey, wanted to stay there during his 1794 visit, but found it full. Many Congressmen were in residence during their sessions, attracted by its convenience and gracious accommodations. In the heat of summer the hotel served a glass of refreshing cold punch, a specialty made possible by the huge 40-foot thick block of ice in the ice-house behind the kitchen. In April 1792, the Governor gave a dinner at Oellers for the representatives of the Six Nations who were in town to negotiate with the government. Ninety-two people consumed 95 bottles of madeira, 27 bottles of porter, 21 double bowls of punch, five glasses of brandy and smoked 100 cigars at the meal.[262]

...together with his Commonplace Book for 1789-1813 (Westport, CN, 1970), 304; Westcott, A History of Philadelphia, Vol. 3, 609; Nov. 22, 1790, in "Day Book, Nov. 1, 1790-Sept. 30, 1791," Record Group(RG) 24, MSS, State Archives, Harrisburg, INDE notecard. Independent Gazetteer, (Philadelphia) May 25 and June 8, 1793; Powell, Bring Out Your Dead, 1. Richardson, et. al., Peale, 117. Petition of Joseph Marie Thomas, July 2, 1799, State House Papers, Public Records Office, Harrisburg, INDE notecard. Emily V. Smith, "The French in Philadelphia with Especial Reference to the Period 1783 to 1793," Masters Thesis, Teachers College, 1938; Annette H. Emgarth, French Philadelphia Exploring the French Cultural & Historical Presence in the Delaware Valley (Philadelphia, 1991), 1-46.

[261]Westcott, History of Philadelphia, Vol. 3, 604, 606.

Such lavish receptions took place in the Assembly Room which Wansey described as wallpapered "after the French taste," with classical figures, festoons, pillars, all fashion he had lately seen "in the most elegant houses in London." Philadelphia's high society held their exclusive Dancing Assembly balls here as well, and invited many of the legislators as guests.[263]

The neighborhood played host to other amusements geared to please the sophisticated visitors to the nation's capital. In April 1794 the new and elegant Chestnut Street Theater opened its doors across the street from Oellers and immediately was a great success. It was the first theater permitted within the city limits--Quakers' finally had lost their hold--and President Washington was among its most enthusiastic patrons. Birch's print of the theater from the State House Square shows its dignified classical facade and its architectural harmony with the buildings that made up the seat of government across the street.[264]

Scottish equestrian John Bill Ricketts, long a popular attraction at his circus arena at the edge of town, opened the new Pantheon Circus and Amphitheater in 1795 across from the Chestnut Street Theater, at the southwest corner of Sixth and Chestnut. The next year another circus, Laison's, opened a half block south of the State House Yard, on Fifth street, near St.

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[262]Jeremy, Wansey, 103-4; Warrant Book, 1789-92, RG 24, Office of the Register General, Pennsylvania State Archives; Register of Accounts., 1790, p. 255, MSS, Records of Sec. of Commonwealth, Division of Public Records, Harris., in INDE notecards; Massachusetts Spy, Apr. 12, 1792, p. 3; Gazette of the United States June 23, 25, 1798, covers John Marshall's triumphant return as negotiator with the French in 1798, and his social receptions at Oellers.

[263]Jeremy, Wansey, 104.

[264]Public Ledger Almanac, 1874-1880, (Philadelphia, 1880), 1875; Jeremy, Wansey, 101-2; "Congress Hall and New Theatre in Chestnut Street..." by William Birch.

Thomas' African Episcopal Church, but only lasted a year because its dome collapsed. Rickett's, too, suffered a disaster on December 17, 1799, when the building went up in flames, taking with it Oellers Hotel and six new houses on Sixth Street across from the State House square. The fire came at the close of an era, when both the state and federal governments were departing the city, a fact that evidently deterred any initiative to rebuild the popular Rickett's Circus or Oellers Hotel.[265]

Protestors and Admirers Mob the Square

In the center of all this refined amusement, the State House Yard continued to be the scene of mass political meetings and raucous mob rallies. Philadelphia's lower and middling classes turned out in numbers to protest city and federal laws and treaties, and to demand their rights. Political parties had formed by 1793--pro-French Republicans and pro-British Federalists--and it was the Republicans who rallied the masses with cries of liberty and self-determination. Benjamin Franklin's grandson, Benjamin Franklin Bache, publisher of the Aurora, the leading Republican newspaper, led the charge in 1795 when he called his readers to the State House Yard to protest the Assembly's act to outlaw wooden structures in the city. The legislators were trying to prevent the city's many disastrous fires, but Bache wrote, "ALARM!" because he saw the act as unconstitutional and "oppressive to the mechanic and poor man." Such rallies had their impact; the protest won enough support to secure modifications to the legislation in the courts.[266]

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[265]Public Ledger Almanac, 1875; George Thacher to wife, Dec. 17, 1799, Thacher Papers, MHS.

[266]General Advertiser (Philadelphia), May 7, 1795, as recorded by Clifford Lewis for the Mutual Assurance Co. MSS, Mutual Assurance Co. library, Philadelphia. Other examples of turbulent rallies in the yard: George Thacher to John Hobby, Mar. 19, 1794, Thacher Papers, MHS; Gazette of the United States, Mar. 22, 1794,

On July 23 in the same year, a town meeting was called to protest Jay's Treaty negotiated by Chief Justice John Jay with the British government. An estimated 5000 attended and "utterly condemned" the treaty. Dr. William Shippen chaired the event and such prominent Philadelphians as Blair McClenahan, attorney Alexander J. Dallas, merchant John Swanwick, German Republican Society leader Peter Muhlenberg and Pennsylvania's Chief Justice Thomas McKean joined him on the temporary stage set up in the yard behind the State House. The treaty was tossed out to the crowd, who stuck it on a pole, and then a roving crowd of some 300 took it to the French minister's house, then to both the British minister and consul's houses, where the treaty was burned with "hurrahs and acclamations."[267]

This mob action following the State House meeting embarrassed the Republican Party leaders and made critics of other prominent Philadelphians. Charles J.Ingersoll leveled much of his criticism at Blair McClenachan whom he described as an irritable, violent man, badly affected by gout, with a hoarse guttural voice and a "face reddened to fiery purple." Considering the repeated times leading Republicans led rallies, such as the one in 1793 to give welcome to Citizen Genet, the new French Minister, (who in his zeal to persuade Americans to honor the treaty with France in her war against Great Britain, nearly brought the United States to war against France), and the rally

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Assurance Co. library, Philadelphia. Other examples of turbulent rallies in the yard: George Thacher to John Hobby, Mar. 19, 1794, Thacher Papers, MHS; Gazette of the United States, Mar. 22, 1794, p. 3.

[267]John Beckley to DeWitt Clinton, July 24, 1795, Clinton Letters I, 1785-1801, MSS, Columbia University, INDE notecard; Oliver Wolcott to President Washington, July 26, 1795, as quoted in George Gibbons, ed., Memoirs of the Administrations of Washington and John Adams Edited from the Papers of Oliver Wolcott,I, (New York, 1846), 217-218; recollections of Charles Ingersoll in Frank M. Etting, An Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania Now Known as Independence Hall, (Boston, 1876), 197-8.

in behalf of the American sailors in captivity in Algeria, among others, it's a wonder that the State House yard continued to be admired and enjoyed as a public garden.[268]

Anti-government demonstrators were not the only people to assemble in the State House yard during the decade. Great crowds swarmed to the square to watch the inaugurations of Presidents Washington and Adams in March of 1793 and 1797, and on at least one occasion, Governor Mifflin called out militia troops to stand guard the buildings, perhaps anticipating possible damage from political subversives.[269]

In 1798, when the United States was on the brink of war with France, the State House was the destination for young patriotic demonstrators. According to the newspapers, some 10,000-15,000 young men formed a procession and marched to President Adams' house to show their support, and then proceeded before a "vast crowd of admiring, wondering spectators" to the State House Garden where the President's reply was read to those who had followed them into the yard. The very next day, some young men-- "the Butcher's boys," as one observer called them-- mocked the young volunteers by giving their own display in the yard, clearly wearing their tri-color cockades in support of France. Angry members of the youth corps descended on them, a brawl ensued, the

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[268]Ingersoll as quoted in Etting, Independence Hall, 197-8; Gazette of the United States May 22, 1793, p. 4; Hazard's Register III, (Jan. 3, 1829), 3. See also James Hutchinson to Albert Gallatin on Aug. 19, 1792, pp. 2-4, Gallatin Papers, Box 3, 1792-4, N. Y. Historical Society, INDE notecard, and George Thacher to John Hobby, Mar. 19, 1794, Thacher Paper, MHS.

[269]Governor Mifflin to President of the United States, Apr. 14, 1794, Executive Corr., Apr. 8-14, 1794, Secretary of Commonwealth, RG 26, Dept of State Public Rec. Office, Harrisburg; Mifflin to Josiah Harman, Sec. of Commonwealth's Letterbook, Vol. 3, Mar. 10, 1794-Oct. 18, 1799, Pennsylvania Archives, Harrisburg, INDE notecards.

police interceded, and several went to the Walnut Street jail.[270]

More peaceable politics occurred on election days at the State House or when committees met to select candidates for legislative seats. Processions through the city and militia parades regularly commenced at the State House. In 1796 all the nation's abolition societies came together to hold their annual meeting in Philadelphia and met in Common Councils' chambers in City Hall. The State House square and its yard hardly ever had a moment when people were not milling around for one reason or another. It was an interesting place to be, where state and federal governments were fashioning the future and great minds studying the meaning of man and nature. All those participating fed off each other's intensity and excitement, and so it was logical and even inevitable that the square would slide into a decline when Philadelphia closed its decade as the nation's capital in the spring of 1800.[271]

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[270]Procession described in Connecticut Courant, May 14, 1798, p. 3; quote for next day from Henry Tazewell to ?, May 9, 1798, Henry Tazewell Papers, 1796-98, 1 Vol., MSS, Library of Congress; Samuel Sewell to his brother, May 9, 1798, Robie-Sewall Papers, 1790-1829, MHS, INDE notecards; Thacher to his wife, May 12, 1798, Thacher Papers, MHS.

[271]Minutes of Common Council, Dec. 31, 1795, Independence National Historical Park Microfilm Roll XXV. Dunlap's American Daily Advertiser, July 27, 1792, p. 3; Feb. 23, 1793, p.3.

Part II: Nineteenth Century

Philadelphia, 1800-1850: Progress and Social Unrest

By the close of 1800 Philadelphia faced a new future, no longer the capital for the state or the national governments. At the census that year the population stood at 67,787, still the largest city in the nation, followed by New York with 60,489, Boston, 25,000, and Charleston, 20,000. In 1810 New York surpassed Philadelphia in population, and then in trade, after the opening of the Erie Canal in 1825, but Philadelphia continued to be the financial center of the nation. The First and then the Second Bank of the United States as well as the U.S. Mint remained in the city, and by 1824 eight other chartered banks had emmerged. For the first two decades Philadelphia port carried on a thriving commerce; its port dominated the lucrative China Trade in the United States until after the War of 1812. By the 1830s Philadelphia's great ironworks, foundries, machine shops, ship yards and coalyards were transforming the city into the nation's leading industrial center.[1]

From its devastating bouts with yellow fever, the city soon was well on its way to becoming the healthiest urban environment in the country, a distinction it would maintain until mid-century. Streets were kept clean, stoops washed regularly, and by 1801, Philadelphia boasted the nation's first urban water system. The neo-classical pumping station at Center Square immediately

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[1]The population as given in Weigley, Philadelphia, 218, includes the city and its adjoining suburbs. also, 208-214, 241, 255; Lee, Philadelphians and the China Trade, 11, 32. In the latter page, essayist Philip Foster Chadwick Smith points out that "Philadelphia was a significant distribution point for as much as one third of all Chinese imports in the United States from the beginning years of the trade until at least the late 1820s." Nicholas B. Wainwright, Philadelphia in the Romantic Age of Lithography, (Philadelphia, 1958), 5.

became the pride of the city when completed in 1801. Architect Benjamin Henry Latrobe designed the pump house and laid out the square with walks, rows of lombardy poplars, and a fountain. Philadelphians flocked to see these new gardens and pump house on the first city public square to be fully landscaped.

The steam pump, an innovation of its day, however, did not have the capacity to fight fires and supply an expanding population, so that by 1812, the city had begun construction of the Fairmount Water Works on the banks of the Schuylkill River. Frederick Graff's aesthetically pleasing Federal style buildings housing massive engines to pump water up to the three million-gallon reservoir and the adjoining Romantic style public garden presented an admirable example of the city's progressive thinking and technological advances. By the 1840's they stood among the city's major attractions.[2]

But it was also the beginning of a period of "punishing decrease in real wages and a substantial narrowing of employment opportunities" for Philadelphia's new immigrants and poor. The city's traditional philanthropic tradition expanded to meet the rising needs. As Quaker Thomas Cope wrote in 1806 during an especially cold winter, "No city perhaps abounds in so many charitable institutions as Philadelphia...who dispense very largely of their bounty to suffering humanity."[3]

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[2] "footways spacious and always clean," entry for Feb. 14, 1803, in "Pim Nevin's Travels in the United States, 1802-1803," MSS, APS; "There are Public scavengers, who clean the streets at stated times, and the side pavements are generally washed every morning." John Melish, Travels in the United States of America, I, 150; Weigley, Philadelphia, 220, 228-9, including illustrations of both works; Jane Mork Gibson, The Fairmount Waterworks (Philadelphia, 1988), 5-7. Gibson notes that the Water Works became financially lucrative after the engines were converted from steam to water power. Cotter, et.al.The Buried Past, 54-56.

[3]First quote from Nash, Forging Freedom, 143,145. Entries for Sept. 11, 1804 and January 27, 1806, in Eliza Cope Harrison, ed.

As the century opened, Philadelphia's African Americans particularly saw a decline in their demographic numbers and economic opportunity. Waves of refugees escaping slavery heightened local prejudices making it hard to find work and newly-arrived European immigrants often excerpted their jobs. The embargo of 1807 and subsequent Nonintercourse Act against England forced a steady decline in wages, lasting until about 1830, for the many Philadelphia blacks in maritime commerce. Despite an emerging industrial economy, white employers froze out blacks and forced them into inferior positions. In 1837 racial antagonism reached a peak when Pennsylvania's legislature passed a law that disenfranchised African Americans, a discrimination that remained in force for 33 years. Anti-black riots and the mob burning of the abolitionist movement's new Pennsylvania Hall in 1838 underscored the "Negrophobia." It was a bleak era when the growing number of black churches and mutual aid societies helped deflect the rain of contempt.[4]

At the other end of the social spectrum, men of wealth and

The Diary of Thomas Cope, 1800-1850, (South Bend, Ill., 1978), 162, 176; in an essay, "Poverty, Fear and Continuity, An Analysis of the Poor in Late Eighteenth-Century," in Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller, eds, The Peoples of Philadelphia, (Philadelphia, 1973) 15, John K. Alexander pointed out that the great number of charitable institutions reflected in part a great fear among prosperous Philadelphians that one could fall from the pinnacle to the depths of debtor's prison. Robert Morris, probably the wealthiest man of his age, served as an example when he landed in debtors' prison in 1797.

[4]Nash, Forging Freedom, 142-145, 190-199, 210-11, 259-61, 273-75,278. Nash notes, 143, that after the War of 1812, the demographic retreat continued to the close of the century. He points out (190) that blacks fought back through petitions, sermons and letters to the public, but only a few joined in the effort, as most were struggling at subsistence level. He maps (207) the several churches, schools and institutions of the African American population during the years the book spans, 1720-1840. Hershberg, "Free Blacks in Antebellum Philadelphia," in Davis and Haller,eds., Peoples of Philadelphia, 112-113; Weigley, Philadelphia, 156, 254-55.

intellect continued to foster knowledge, education, and the fine arts. Much of the focus of this activity remained in the immediate vicinity of the State House. Philadelphia's Athenaeum was founded in 1814 in a rented room in Philosophical Hall on the State House Square, and by the close of its first year, it counted a membership of 396. Its success as an institution of learning was marked again in 1847 with the construction of a handsome new hall on Washington Square. The Dispensary, founded in 1786 to provide medical care for the poor, moved to a handsome new building on Fifth Street in 1801, just above the University's Anatomical Hall. The American Philosophical Society continued to cultivate men of science and the arts and Charles Willson Peale expanded his museum into the State House and its yard, leaving his fabulous mastadon and ethnographic exhibits in Philosophical Hall.[5]

Philadelphia also entered another period of political turmoil. Landslide victories for Pennsylvania's Republican party in the elections of 1799-1803 represented a revolt against established power, a peaceful one, but momentous. Supporting the party through his newspaper, Aurora, William Duane became the national voice for Republican politics. The vitriolic partisan attacks in the press helped set the stage for the violence and chaos that characterized much of the first half of the century.[6]

Finally, Philadelphia came into the age of lithography, beginning in the 1830's and continuing until photography took over after mid-century. Unlike wood and steelcuts, lithographs

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[5]Ruschenberger, Account of College of Physicians, 8-9; Joseph Jackson, Encyclopedia of Philadelphia II, (Harrisburg, 1931), 589; Arthur M. Kennedy, "The Athenaeum, Some Account of its History from 1814 to 1850," in Historic Philadelphia, 260. The Athenaeum was named for the Greek goddess of Wisdom and Learning. Weigley, Philadelphia, 221; Richardson, et. al. CW Peale and His World, 87;

[6]Weigley, Philadelphia, 222.

could be mass-produced and fashioned in larger sizes, allowing more subtle shading and spontaneity of expression. The speed and large-scale production of lithographs during this era led to the proliferation of trading cards and a market for inexpensive pictures that helped to document the city's appearance in the nineteenth century.[7]

The State House Square and Neighborhood, 1800-1854

During the first half of the nineteenth century, the State House neighborhood saw many improvements, often due to strong advocacy from citizens who lived and worked in the vicinity. Joseph Sansom continued his real estate development west of Sixth Street, in close proximity to Southeast Square, where landscaping and public walks were getting underway. Other developers erected three-story Federal-style brick houses along the State House perimeter. By the 1830s Sixth street above Walnut Street had garnered the name "Lawyer's Row," and later, after the prison came down in 1836, so did the new row that went up during the 1840s south of Walnut, facing out onto Washington Square. In fact, the neighborhood logically became the home for many of the council men and professionals who served city and county government, or practiced in the various courtrooms of the State House Row. With this cadre of affluent and civic-minded professionals came the gradual transformation of the community into the finest residential and commercial neighborhood in the city.[29]

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[7]Wainwright, Philadelphia...Lithography, 1-2. J.C. Wild's panoramic view of the State House, and other lithographs showing Independence Square will be discussed below.

[29] Weigley, Philadelphia, 251; "Sixth and Walnut Streets Forty Years Ago," article by Integrity Trust, n.d., Medium Photos, Penrose Coll., HSP; John Bill, The English party's excursion to Paris, 264, describes a walk down Sixth in 1827, when the writer counted in the immediate vicinity of the State, "the names of no less that thirty three lawyers, engraved or printed upon brass or

Chestnut Street emerged by the 1820s as the avenue of fashion. Just east of Fifth Street, on the north side, the U.S. Hotel held a reputation for its French cuisine, and the best accommodations in town. Across from it, the Second Bank of the United States (1824), (designed by William Strickland, one of Philadelphia's foremost architects,) projected a sense of dignity and financial security and its beauty soon captured the eye of artists and early photographers.[30]

On the block opposite State House Row, prominent attorneys, such as Peter DuPonceau, Jared Ingersoll and James Milnor were in residence during the first years of the century. Handsome new brick dwellings had been constructed in the mid-1790s by Ingersoll, Henry Pepper, and Christian Febiger, which attracted wealthy Philadelphians, such as merchant Jacob Ridgway, widow Margaret Craig (whose daughter married Nicholas Biddle, president in 1819, of the Second Bank), and brewer, Henry Pepper, two of whom remained in residence into the 1840s. In 1814 Febiger's handsome double house was converted for art exhibitions and in 1837, Thomas Sully took over the space as an "Artists' Gallery." Gradually commercial use replaced residential, as prominent families moved west and south.[31]

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tin plates, or boards." INDE notecard. Thomas Kittera, Esq., (1879-1839) "one of the famous old lawyers of that square," lived at 518 Walnut St. Bulletin, Feb. 26, 1910, in Campbell Coll., Vol. 92, Walnut Street, HSP; in 1794 the esteemed attorney Jared Ingersoll constructed a house on Chestnut Street, opposite the State House, and continued there until 1808, when he sold to Margaret Craig. Roach, "Independence Mall,"59 ; Charles J. Ingersoll in 1910 still lived on the borders of the square, at 506 Walnut.

[30]See INDE photograph files for samples of 19th century images of the bank.

[31]Rouch, "Independence Mall," pp. 57-62, 65-66; Caspar Souder, The History of Chestnut Street Philadelphia from the Founding to 1859 (Philadelphia, 1860), 217.

Just beyond Sixth Street the Chestnut Street Theater flourished as the best in the city until 1820, when a fire burned it down. By 1822 the theater was completely reconstructed, a tribute to its popularity. Beyond Seventh, at the west end of Chestnut Street, affluent and prominent Philadelphians had begun to build their homes during the 1790s, and by 1815, this area had become a notable neighborhood of high society families.[32]

Other cultural institutions besides the Chestnut Street Theater opened their doors in the neighborhood during this half-century. In 1824 several "active and influential men of the community" met at the Philosophical Hall and founded the Franklin Institute of the State of Pennsylvania for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts. John Haviland, who had just completed the Presbyterian Church on Southeast Square, designed the building which went into construction in June 1825, half a block north of Chestnut Street, on Seventh. The Franklin Institute opened their facility to the public, regardless of station, to see exhibitions and special investigations.[33]

Many other family entertainments clustered in the vicinity of the Southeast Square, or Washington Square, after its renaming in 1825. At Ninth and Walnut Streets, the predecessor of the Walnut Street Theater, the Circus, began its shows in 1809; the Musical Fund Hall on Locust Street above Eighth opened in 1824; the Winter Theater, or Prune Street Theater on Prune, between Fifth and Sixth Streets, in 1820; Maelzel's Hall, on the west

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[32]Weigley, Philadelphia, 250; Poulson's Daily American Advertiser, Feb. 15, 1815; a chart showing the tax rates of the city's wards in 1820 clearly illustrates the convergence of wealth in the neighborhood around the State House and west along Chestnut Street. Stuart Blumin, "Residential Mobility Within the Nineteenth-Century City," in Davis and Haller, eds. The Peoples of Philadelphia, 42.

[33]As quoted in Historic Philadelphia, 275-6.

side of Fifth above Prune Street, in 1827; the Sansom Street Circus on Sansom above Eighth, in 1837, and all in their day brought life and stimulation to the neighborhood.[34]

The residential buildup around the Southeast Square moved quickly once the city decided to lay it out as a public walk at the turn of the century. Development first hugged the western border of the square, understandably at a distance from the Walnut Street Prison at Sixth and Walnut. Churches followed, with architect John Haviland's First Presbyterian in 1822, and the Friends Meeting House and school (1832) on the south and southwestern end of the square. After the prison's demolition in 1836, four-storied townhouses, the second "Lawyer's Row," went up on the property early in the 1840s. In this gentrified climate Philadelphia's Athenaeum picked a lot for a new headquarters at Sixth and Adelphia Streets, overlooking Washington Square. In 1847 the society moved into their new library, a distinctive Italianate structure designed by architect John Notman.[35]

On the State House Square the American Philosophical Society and the Peale Museum added a strong component of education and science to the neighborhood's character. During the first two decades of the century the Peale museum continued to dazzle visitors with fascinating mysteries collected from all parts of the country and world. Marine shells and sponges from the tropics, Chinese silk shoes and abacus, ivory and buffalo horns from India helped Philadelphians to imagine far-off cultures. From the great American West, live bear cubs, Indian crossbows, pipes, grizzly paw necklaces, beaver bowls, and snowshoes arrived after 1803, sent by the Lewis and Clark and Zebulon Pike expeditions. President Jefferson, also president of

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[34]Public Ledger Almanac 1874-1880, for year 1875, p. 3.

[35]Rabzak, "Washington Square," pp. 7-18.

the American Philosophical Society, kept in close contact with Peale, and entrusted him with the care of these American treasures.[36]

The State House Square resumed its role as a place for occasional militia drills and for town meetings and political rallies when the international or domestic politics heated up to explosive levels. As a preliminary to the War of 1812 against Great Britain, for instance, on July 1, 1807, an estimated 5000 people gathered there, many of them having marched down from Northern Liberties, "colours flying, drums beating and a band of music," to hear resolutions "to make war on Great Britain." This gathering was prompted by the British attack on the American frigate, Chesapeake.[37]

Republican and Federalist politicians clashed in the square at a rowdy town meeting in January 1809 over Jefferson's embargo which brought hardship to sailors and merchants alike. The Republicans supported their president, while Federalists adamantly protested. Both groups called meetings on the same day and ended up fighting over the use of the platform set up by the Republicans. Reportedly, people tore "limbs and branches" off

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[36]Richardson, et. al. CW Peale and His World, 126-142.

[37]First quote from Harrison, ed. Cope Diary, 212; second quote from Mahlon Dickerson Diary, 1801-1809, New Jersey Historical Soc., INDE notecard; "Memoir of Richard Rush," pamphlet, Box 20, Rush Family Papers, Princeton U., INDE notecard. Militia training days were announced in Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, Oct. 8, 1805, p. 3 and Sept. 25, 1809, p. 3. INDE notecard. A petition to City Councils to use the Southeast Square for drilling and for the erection of a brick artillery house in January 1809 explained their appeal was due to "the inconveniences" since the State House yard had been planted with trees and the other public squares had been fenced. "Petition for the use of the Public Square," Jan. 12, 1808, signed by John Connelly, Liet. Col. Artillery, and others, Petitions to the Council of Philadelphia, HSP.

trees as weapons, and chaos ensued.[38]

When war finally did break out in 1812, the square saw activity with militia training and a town meeting in August 1814 called by the committee to "promote and encourage" volunteer companies to form, arm and drill. The square then became the assembly center in September for groups called to work on the fortifications that the Committee of Defense were erecting west of the Schuylkill. The Howard Beneficial Institution, the coopers of the city, the Philanthropic and Pennsylvania Philanthropic Societies, all took their turns.[39]

News of peace arrived in February 1815 and brought great celebration. Bridges, shot towers, houses and public buildings throughout the city were decorated with illuminations and displays. The State House Square and other open spaces in the city received special attention. In front of Peale's Museum, one could see "20 Eagle descending with a scroll of Peace..." and the light display at the upper end of Chestnut Street presented "a galaxy of splendor," particularly at the homes of several prominent families, such as the Harrisons, Mrs. Samuel Powell,

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[38]Quote from John Binns, Recollections, 200-201; Poulson's Daily Amer. Advertiser, Jan. 26, 1809, p. 3; Thomas P. Cope Diaries, 1800-1851, Vol. 4, June 31, 1809, at Haverford College, INDE notecard; Cope on the 13th of January 1809 noted, "Congress have passed another law enforcing the Embargo." and on Mar. 6th wrote, "...the Embargo ...has occasioned great distress to our own country withut having affected any one of the objects for which it was professedly laid. Such an embargo is unprecedented in the annals of history. It took effect on the 22nd Dec. 1807 & is to end, except as to France & England, on the 15th; with respect to those two nations & their dependencies it is still to be in force." Harrison, Cope Diaries, 236, on Feb. 1, 1809 Poulson's describes either the same or another public meeting at the State House which closed with enthusiastic seamen lifting Commodore Truxtun from the stage in his chair, and carrying him to the Coffee House. p. 3.

[39]Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, June 29, p. 2; July 25, p. 1, Aug. 29, p. 2, Sept. 7, p. 3; Sept. 9, p. 3, Sept. 14, p. 1 and 2, Sept. 22, p. 3, 1814, INDE notecards.

Miers Fisher, Mr. Burd Jr, and Major Lenox.[40]

Before and during the war of 1812, Philadelphia's African Americans struggled against a building white hostility aggravated by a fear of how the flood of new arrivals in the city from the West Indies and the slave states to the South would affect the status quo. In 1800, when the schooner Phoebe, a prize of the U.S. ship Ganges, came to port with 118 completely naked blacks, Philadelphians responded generously to the call for contributions from the Health Office at the State House. By 1810, however, the influx of refugees, many of them fleeing slavery with no resources or education, made even the African community's oldest friends reflect on the matter. Dr. Benjamin Rush, an early abolitionist and ally, worried that "this late great increase" added several thousand more than the 9,656 blacks counted in the census that year.[41]

This mounting racial tension contributed to the city's forceful eviction of blacks from the State House Square during the 1812 Fourth of July celebration. Philadelphian William Duane reported to U.S. Secretary of State James Monroe, that the Mayor had kept "colored people" out of the public squares for the patriotic event because "it was expected that there would be some trouble with them." Duane explained that some blacks who had "uttered menaces of Setting the city on fire and of making insurrections on the fourth," had been arrested. Others who had approached a blacksmith to make "several hundred heads of spears or pike blades," were under surveillance. The blacksmith, fearing

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[40]Poulson's Feb. 17, 1815, p. 3. The Illumination is described in detail in the latter source. Damage to the Assembly Room described in Copy of a letter, John Read, Jr. to City Commissioners, Sept. 7, 1816, John Read, Jr. Papers, 1769-1859, Box 5, Ridgway, now Library Company, INDE notecards.

[41]As quoted in Nash, Forging Freedom, 142,; Crane, ed. Drinker Diaries, II Aug. 5, 1800, 1326-7.

reprisal should word reach these blacks that he'd informed the authorities, had appealed for secrecy and protection. Several of the men implicated in the plot, Duane knew worked as waiters in the families of "Gentlemen."[42]

Evidently the city authorities excluded blacks indefinitely from the Fourth of July ceremonies on the State House Square. Even though most black families by 1810 had moved out from the center to the periphery of the city, many still worked in the vicinity of the State House and probably joined in the excitement of the annual patriotic event. James Forten, by then the owner of a successful sailmaking enterprise, bitterly observed in 1813, "Is it not wonderful, that the day set apart for the festival of liberty, should be abused by the advocates of freedom, in endeavoring to sully what they profess to adore?" But Forten's leadership and the persistent advocacy of Richard Allen and Absolom Jones at the two neighborhood black churches, as well as the clergy for the three other recently established black churches, could do little this decade to turn the tide of one of the city's darkest chapters in racism.[43]

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[42]Nash, Ibid., 197; William Duane to James Monroe, July 17, 1812, Monroe Papers, NYPL, INDE notecard. Nash did not have the Duane source and guessed the first exclusion to have occurred in 1805. He describes the incident on p. 177: "For many years it had been customary for city residents of all classes and colors to gather in the square facing Independence Hall...Amid feasting and toasting the city's leaders would harangue the crowd about the blessings of liberty and the prospects of national greatness. In 1805...dozens of white citizens ...suddenly turned on the many free blacks assembled for the festivities and drove them from the square with a torrent of curses."

[43]As quoted in Nash, Ibid., 181. See Nash, 165, for demographics, and 190-202, for church efforts and the establishment of the African Presbyterian and African Baptist churches. Esther M. Douty, Forten the Sailmaker, (Chicago, 1968), 32; James Billington, ed. The Journal of Charlotte Forten A Free Negro in the Slave Era, Introduction, 14-15, talks of Forten's resistance to the proposed ban of free negroes into the state, particularly his publication in 1813 of five letters in pamphlet form, and his passionate work to

By the 1820s, however, through church and civic organizations, hard work and talent, a black upper class had gained respect and a comfortable lifestyle. This was the decade when affluent Philadelphians in the vicinity of the newly laid out Washington Square-- so-named by the city in 1825-- hosted lavish public and private balls, using black entertainers and caterers. Musician Francis Johnson stood in great demand by 1819, and caterers Bogle, Augustine and Baptiste served popular dishes fashioned with ingredients reminiscent of their West Indian and African origins. But this bright spotlight was shadowed the next decade, with the death of Richard Allen in 1831, and the disenfranchisement of free blacks by the Pennsylvania legislature in 1837. In Philadelphia the black population stood near 18,000, but there is no record of how many of that number felt the blow of losing their vote.[44]

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free all enslaved people.

[44]Weigley, Philadelphia, 264; Nash, Forging Freedom, 150-51, 247-8; Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 3, 2117, notes the establishment in 1810 of an African Insurance Company of Philadelphia at 159 Lombard Street (old address). Nash cites the founding of three black Masonic lodges, and many black musical and literary societies during the first three decades of the century. Ibid., 218-19. According to Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, Dictionary of American Negro Biography (New York,), 362, Absolom Jones died in 1818. For information about black caterers and vendors and the food they served, see Mary Anne Hines, Gordon Marshall, William Woys Weaver, The Larder Invaded: Reflections on Three Centuries of Philadelphia Food and Drink (Philadelphia, 1987), 22-3, 65. This source says that the catering began in Philadelphia with the French immigrants of the late 18th century, who in turn trained those who inaugurated "the great black catering families, among them the Augustines." Robert Bogle (1775-1837) trained many caterers. Lithograph of Bogle and ode to him written by Nicholas Biddle on p. 65. The African-American community as a whole suffered constricted job opportunities during the first three decades, in a time when prices in the city were high. In stiff competition with European immigrants arriving in this period, they took jobs as they found them as common laborers along the wharves, as gravediggers, firewood sawers, porters, street vendors, chimney sweeps, etc. Nash, Forging Freedom, 145-6, 197; on the high cost of living, Avrahm Yarmolinsky, Picturesque United States of America, 1811, 1812, 1813; Being a Memoir on Paul Svinin, (New York, 1930),

Elections continued to be held at the State House; this had been one of the conditions of sale of the square to the city in 1816. As early as 1810 the Pennsylvania legislature had debated the idea of selling the State House and its square. City Council in March 1813 sent a memorial to the state to protest the scheme, citing the square's benefits to the health of the city's populous, its use as a place of general elections, its significant historical associations with the American Revolution and the Constitution, and its legal status as "a public open green walk forever."[45]

The petition perhaps was lost in the political and fiscal disruption brought on by the war of 1812, for the legislature went ahead in an act of March 1816 to authorize the sale of the square to finance the construction of a new capitol in Harrisburg. Still smarting from the county's "modernizing" of the Assembly Room in 1815, a remodeling which stripped the hall of its paneling and other historical furnishings, City Councils agreed in December 1816 to buy the State House Square to save it from demolition and development.[46]

That year happened to be a pivotal one in the neighborhood, a year full of promise and change, as well as warnings of decline and trouble. Charles Willson Peale introduced gas lights to his museum in the State House, ushering in a new surge of curious and

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[45]CW Peale to Rubens Peale, c. Feb. 25, 1810, as listed in Sellars, "Calendar of Peale Letterbooks," APS; "The Memorial and Remonstrance of the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia," in Minutes of City Council, Mar. 11, 1813, City Archives, INDE notecard.

[46]John Read, Jr. to City Commissioners, Sept. 7, 1816; Legis. Committees, 1790-1843, RG 2,Recs. of the Office of Secretary of Commerce, Recs of the Dept of State, Vol. 3, 1807-1816, PA State Archives, INDE notecard.

delighted visitors to see this novel scientific devise. After several years of financial panic, the U.S. Congress authorized the establishment of the Second Bank of the United States and located it in Philadelphia, one block from the public walk and State House. Also in 1816, the Prison Society published a pamphlet deploring the overcrowding of the Walnut Street Prison, and stressed "the absolute necessity" for the legislature to fund a state penitentiary with strict solitary confinement in Philadelphia. Across Walnut Street, on the State House Square, John Binns witnessed several hogs do "much mischief" in the State House yard by rooting up the ground, and complained to Councils he wanted to see better security against such vandalism.[47]

Southeast/Washington Square Landscaped, 1816 and 1827

In 1817 City Councils arranged for the removal of the city's carpenter shop and the surrounding rubbish on Locust Street, at the southern end of Southeast Square, in preparation for the square to be laid out as a public garden. George Vaux of Common Council headed the committee who hired engineer and artist, George Bridgport, to draw up a plan to landscape the square.[48]

During its first phase of development under the city commissioners and Bridgport, Southeast Square received over sixty varieties of trees, graveled walks, reflecting lamps, and a white paling fence. George Vaux played an active role, ordering many of the trees from Bartram's Gardens, the old stand-by that had supplied the State House Square over thirty years earlier, and

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[47]Richardson, Peale and His World, 148; Weigley, Philadelphia, 255; Binns quoted in Democratic Press, Oct. 2, 1816, p. 2, INDE notecard.

[48]Barnes, Evolution of Penology, 99-100; Rabzak, "Washington Square,"10-11.

from such distant nurseries as Linnaean Botanic Garden in Flushing, New York. Andrew Gillespie, a professional gardener, supervised the plantings. Grass was seeded and allowed to grow long, like at the State House yard, and seasonally mowed to make hay to sell.[49]

While a pleasant place, Southeast Square remained officially closed to the public until 1825, when it was renamed Washington Square in the first president's honor. In 1827 a second phase of landscaping got underway under the able French gardener, Martien Maclean, who drew up a plan based on Bridgport's earlier drawing of c. 1817. Seats were ordered and John Haviland commissioned to design new gas lamps. In 1830 members of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, a three-year old organization with a strong representation from the neighborhood, came out to make an official record of the new landscape. They found it "all scientifically intersected with very handsome and spacious walks," that took circular and diagonal patterns. The whole provided "a handsome recreative and interesting promenade." The trees were in a "very healthy and thriving condition, and well trained by Mr. Andrew Gillespie, ...a judicious arborist."[50]

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[49]The Washington Square folder in the George Vaux Collection at the Athenaeum contains early papers pertaining to the landscaping of the public squares, including a list of trees proposed for them in 1816. Even more pertinent, a list of trees for the Southeast Square planted under George Vaux's supervision in 1816 and 1817 has survived. Also, there is a bill from the Linnaean Botanic Garden, dated July 29, 1824, "for G. Vaux, Esq" which suggests his continued involvement with the landscaping at that date.

[50]As quoted in Faris, Old Gardens in and About Philadelphia, 34-35. Founding members of the Horticultural Society on November 27, 1827, included prominent Philadelphia lawyer Horace Binney, (president, 1827-1840), Joseph R. Ingersoll, George Vaux, and James Mease, all who lived near the two squares. James Boyd, A History of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, (Philadelphia, 1929), 34.

The fifty varieties of trees--43 native and 7 European--commanded these amateur horticulturalists' attention, because they offered the public "instruction with respect to our own productions" and illustrated which variety of "trees are best adapted to our immediate climate." These "four hundred trees in the midst of a populous and busy city," it appears, had been planted with an arboretum in mind. Nurseryman and landscape architect, Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852), confirmed that their efforts were successful when he remembered Washington Square after seeing it in the early 1840s, as "that really admirable city arboretum of rare trees."[51]

By 1837, Washington Square had emerged as the most elegant public square in the city. The other four squares had also been landscaped by that date, but not so lushly planted with trees. While Washington Square had become "a more fashionable promenade," Independence Square still remained in "the most successful state of cultivation." The former square beckoned the "elegantly dressed ladies" who felt more comfortable removed from the public and commercial elements of Independence Square, where every level of society had to do business in the courts or offices, or where great crowds congregated for rowdy political meetings.[52]

Washington and Independence Squares, however, as one visitor observed from the favorite tourist perch in the newly completed steeple (1828) of the State House, both presented an inviting oasis "with their brownish yellow walks, their verdant grass plots, and their noble trees, whose leaves and blossoms waved in

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[51]First quotes from Ibid; Downing's phrase quoted from his "Rural Essays," in Trina Voux, ""The Four Public Squares of Philadelphia," National Register Form, Feb. 23, 1994.

[52] Quotes from E.T. Coke, Lt. of 45th Regim. A Subaltern's Furlough (London, 1833), in folder 3, Sellers Coll, INDE; Rabzak, Ibid., 17, from Dallet, An Architectural View, 25.

sweet luxuriance," during the hot, torpid Philadelphia summers. A strong sense of civic pride, an affluent residential community, and a city still in an age without trolleys, railroads, and other means of rapid travel, kept these shady spots important places to find "additional freshness to the air" and relief from the busy, often disagreeable features of urban life.[53]

State House Square under Charles W. Peale's Care, 1800-1812

After the federal government's departure in 1800, the U.S. district courts and city courts, as well as city and county offices, remained on the square occupying City Hall and the County Court House. The State House for the first time in 73 years stood vacant. Charles Wilson Peale was granted use of some of its space early in 1802, having finally overcrowded his quarters in Philosophical Hall with the exhibition of one of two massive mastadon skeletons he uncovered in an archeological dig in Newburgh, New York, the year before. In March he took over the entire second floor and the east end of the downstairs, as well as the "the state House Garden, provided that I open the Doors that the citizens may have free ingress & egress to walk in the Garden...and also that the General Elections be held as usual at the State House."[8]

Prior to that, grounds keeper Charles Culnan had evidently

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[53]First quote from "A View of Philadelphia from the State House Steeple," The Register of Pennsylvania, Sept. 1829, copy in Folder 2, Sellers Coll., INDE; second quote from Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, Aug. 21, 1831, copy in folder 3, Sellers Coll., INDE.

[8][Peale] to Common Council, March 11, 1802, C.W. Peale Letter-Books, III, 130, APS; Excerpt from Minutes of the Senate of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Feb. 16, 1802, in Miller, et. al., eds. CW Peale Papers II, Part 1, 400; Richardson, et.al. Peale and His World, 85,123. Richardson points out that Dr. Caspar Wistar, a famous anatomist, and William Rush, a sculptor, worked together to mount the mastadon and fill in places where the bones were missing.

made no changes to the landscape. He had been grounds keeper since 1794 and knew the cycles of trimming, mowing, and dressing the walks that had been annual practices for almost a decade when he first took on the job. Visitors enjoyed the yard's "delightful shade" under its "rows of trees", and still strolled its "handsome gravel walks"[9]

Brimming with enthusiasm, Charles Willson Peale assured Common Council that he planned to improve the yard: "It is my wish to render the Garden desireable place of Ladies and Gentlemen for the exercise of walking and inhaling fresh air, so essential to the health of the Inhabitants of a large city." In his draft letter, Peale deleted a few phrases that indicated that the yard had already fallen on hard times. Had he not scratched out certain words, his text would have read, "to render the Garden a more desireable place of Ladies and Gentlemen that it has been of late..." Very likely he did not want to draw undue attention to the problems, as he already had a mountain of responsibility to get his extensive museum collections set up in the State House.[10]

Long-range, Peale pictured "an ornamental Building" for his museum "to be erected on the South of the State house garden," to be paid for by a state lottery. This dream, however, even with a

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[9] Folder "2M", State House Watchmen Pay vouchers, Indep. Sq. Papers, Div. of Pub. Records, Harrisburg. INDE notecard. Quotes from [Richard L. Bissett], "Journal of a Voyage to N. America, 1801," pp. 179, 180, 184, in INDE Accession # 1036. Bissett was in town from the Madeira Islands settling the estate of his uncle, Henry Hill, and spent much of the time from April to June visiting local sites, including the square and Peale's museum. Cat. 2882 description, INDE Mus. Coll. Moore and Jones called the yard "a neat place, ornamented with rows of trees, and handsome gravel walks, one through the centre, with grass plats on each side." The Traveller's Directory or a Pocket Companion, (1802), 4.

[10]Peale to Councils, Ibid; many period descriptions have survived of Peale's fascinating museum.

completed plan by architect Benjamin Latrobe, never received support. Peale also likely knew about the design for new county offices drawn up by architect Robert Mills in 1811, perhaps the first of the several proposals promoted during the first half of the century.[11]

Despite good intentions for improving the State House yard, Peale evidently was distracted by his efforts to establish a national museum, with the workings of the physiognotrace, with family matters, and a myriad of other interests. Peale saw the birth of another daughter, Elizabeth DePeyster, in April 1802, and the death of his second wife, Betsy, and their newborn baby during child birth in February 1804. With a young family to tend, Peale began a wide-ranging search for a new wife who could also be mother for his children.[12]

Only a month after this tragedy, Peale addressed the Common Councils with his concerns for the public gardens:

> The importance of having public open squares in large cities, where the citzens, especially Invalids and children

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[11]Peale to Thos. Jefferson, [Jan-Feb.], 1802, Peale Letter Book II, p. 112-113, APS; ref. to Latrobe's plan in Horace Sellers, "A List of Addresses in Peale Letterbooks," MSS notebook, APS; Harold Donaldson Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, Diary of Independence Hall, (Philadelphia, 1948), illustrates Robert Mill's rendering of the county office design.

[12]Peale also arranged for his son Raphaelle's trip to the South to exhibit the phsiognotrace and its profiles, he twice became a grandfather, saw his sons Rembrandt and Rubens on their trip to England to try to sell the second mastadon, and settled into a three-year preoccupation with the workings of the physiognotrace, hoping to make it a profitable venture. Also, in 1803, Peale wrote and published a long treatise on health reflecting his concern for President Jefferson's rumored condition as well as his interest in medicine, exercise, bathing, cleanliness and nutrition, typical Enlightenment concerns. On Feb. 19, 1804, he wrote John DePeyster a moving letter describing Betsy's death. Miller, ed. Papers of CWPeale II, Part I, xl-xli, 475, 595, 636, 679.

> may walk to inhale fresh air, and amuse the mind when diseased by too much care, must be obvious to every one of the least observation & therefore I will not intrude on your time by a detail of the great utility of the State House Garden, ...

Since his residency at Philosophical Hall, Peale had "seen many children that were sick restored to perfect health, and whose recovery I am will [well] satisfied had been principally brought about by their being daily led into this Public garden."[13]

To encourage this healthful public recreation, Peale proposed to put the garden in "a better dress." The old benches were "fast falling to pieces,", he explained, and soon would not be fit as "a resting place for the sick to sit." Peale proposed a few new benches and some gravel, so that "with a little expense of labour" the garden once again would become "a delightful spot," where "Ladies of respectability" would come, especially when it became known "that no indecent behav[i]or will be overlooked as heretofore." Importuning the city's support, Peale argued that he would try to "prevent it being the resort of infamous characters for base purposes" by "discouraging vice, and protecting the virtuous from Insults." To enforce this clean up, Peale suggested the formation of a committee to "examine and report what should be done to render the State House Garden useful as well as ornamental to the City of Philadelphia."[14]

Following Peale's lead, Councils appointed a joint committee and filed a report in May 1804 recommending that twelve long benches and four single seats be built for the yard and up to forty loads of gravel be laid on the public walks. Meanwhile, Peale began a series of travels, in part to see the new capital

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[13]Peale to Select & Common Councils, March 18-20, 1804, C.W. Peale Letter-Books, V, 33, APS;

[14]CW Peale to Councils, Mar. 18-20, 1804, Peale Letter-Books V,33.

and to continue wife-hunting. At his return he helped found the Academy of Fine Arts, and, in the spring of 1805, courted and married his third wife, Hannah Moore. Evidently, however, Peale did not make headway with the ongoing problem with unsavory visitors, so that early in 1805 "numbers of citizens" filed a complaint about the "vice & indecorum practiced in the State house Yard." Councils appointed another joint committee to consider "Whether & how far the said Charles W. Peale has complied with the spirit of & conditions " contained in the 1802 agreement with the legislature.[15]

Peale felt it necessary to write a formal defense of his care of the yard. He addressed it to his new family member, his daughter's father-in-law, Nathan Sellers, who, as a councilman was due to attend Councils' deliberations that evening. Although biased, Peale's testimony provides specific information on features and use patterns in the State House yard over the two years of his care:

> ...I knew it to be my duty to render the place inviting to the Citizens as a Promenade. And altho' on a few extraordinary occasions, arising from the destruction of the Trees by Catterpellars & a few other temporary causes, some little inconvenience has arisen. I flatter myself that the exertions I have made in procuring at my own expence additional Gates, in otherwise attending to the accomodations of Company, and in unceasing vigilence to check every species of Impropriety, especially in the conduct of mischievous boys and indecent appearance of Women of loose Character, will be sufficient ground to the Committee to report favourably on the subject of Enquiry.

Part of Peale's "unceasing vigilance" entailed locking the gates after dark. During daylight he felt that the yard had been physically improved by the new gates, benches and trees he had

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[15]Minutes of Common Council, 1803-1813, p. 127-28; Minutes, Select Council of Philadelphia, c. Nov. 13, 1805, in Miller, et.al. Peale Papers II, Part 1, 910; Ibid., xl, 679, 832. Peale met Hannah when she came to the Museum to have her profile drawn. Ibid.,832.

supplied out of his own pocket. And the yard was "infinitely more safe to the morals of Youth" since he had begun to evict "loose women as well as unprincipled men of Intrigue."[16]

The committee found Peale in compliance with his agreement, but the next summer he still was trying to control the type of visitors in the yard. Instead of prostitution, the problem was apparently drink. Peale appealed to the President of the Board of Health to "remoove [sic] the indescreet Persons" who, "under the influence of Strong drink" lay down on the wet ground after a heavy rain or when the grass was wet with dew, and who were also prone to expose their heads to the hot sun. Such behavior, he argued, might lead to sudden death "and thus give alarm to the Citizens."[17]

Peale's preoccupation with health--for those who enjoyed the yard and for those who might be exposed to unsavory people in the yard--characterized the spirit of the times. Chronic summer yellow fever epidemics since 1793 had terrified the populous. An outbreak hit again in 1805 and Peale reported "terror prevents aid being given to the sick, and many are buried alive!" Ever since the first outbreak, the nation's foremost medical community divided bitterly and openly over the cure and the source of the

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[16]Peale to Nathan Sellers, Dec. 4, 1805, Miller, Peale Papers II, Part II, xli, 913-14.; on Sept. 23 Sophonisba Peale married Coleman Sellers (1781-1834), son of Nathan Sellers. Sellers lived on Market Street. No more contemporary information is available on the gates, benches and trees Peale supplied the yard. A visitor in 1807 commented on the "flourishing stock" of Red Birch trees, "more than thirty feet in height," in the State House garden, which perhaps Peale planted. Andrew F. Michaux, North American Sylva,II, 101.In 1854, John Binns recalled that in a political rally in 1809 the Federalists fled through a Sixth Street gate, which may have been a Peale introduction. Binns, Recollections, 201.

[17]Minutes of the Select Council, Book 3, May 27, 1803-Oct. 10, 1807, p. 175; CWP to Dr. Thomas Chalkley James, July 25, 1806, Miller, Peale Papers II, Part 2, 978.

fever. They put out scores of articles and pamphlets arguing their theories. Some called for radical bleeding and purging, others for mild curatives. Some claimed the fever was imported on ships from the West Indies, where yellow fever was endemic, while others, like Dr. Rush, the city's leading medical authority, and Dr. Deveze, the French doctor from the West Indies who gave heroic service in the 1793 epidemic, maintained it arose from vapors emanating from the city's filth, cemeteries, and brick yards. Other summer fevers--identified as "intermittent"--also plagued the city. It was a confusing, unsettling time.[18]

One thing seemed increasingly certain: trees afforded protection from the damaging heat and rays of the sun. This idea had come late for many Philadelphians. Less than a decade earlier, in 1798, French visitor Moreau de St Mery observed that some people considered trees "helpful in hot weather; others believed they prevented the free circulation of air and attracted insects, especially mosquitos." The latter mindset may have been the reason why French visitor, La Rochefoucault Liancourt, found, to his surprise, the country houses in the vicinity of town stood solitary, without a "grove adjoining" or "surrounded with trees."

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[18]Peale to Theodorus Bailsey, Esquire., Sept. 15, 1805, Miller, et. al., Papers II, Part 2, 890; St. Mery in 1794 thought twice about recommending that the Southeast Square be the only city cemetery when he learned that plans were afoot to make it into a public promenade. He consoled himself "reflecting that the emanations from this cemetery were blown over the lawns and gardens of Congress by the southwest winds which prevail in warm weather." American Journey, 343-44; Constantin Francois Volney a few years later noted that "Philadelphia has four vast cemeteries in the handsomest quarter of the city, of the smell of which I was very sensible in summer,..." A View of the Soil and Climate of the United States of America, (Philadelphia, 1804), 322-23; Jean Deveze, An Enquiry into, and Observations Upon the Causes and Effect of the Epidemic Disease, Which Raged in Philadelphia From the Month of August till Towards the Middle of December, 1793, (Philadelphia, 1794), 38-40; Rush, An Account, 25, 140; Benjamin Smith Barton to Thomas Pennant, Apr. 11, 1794: "This fever was, undoubtedly, imported from the West-Indies." Benjamin Smith Barton Papers, APS.

A decade earlier trees had been thought by the Contributionship Insurance Company as fire risks when planted near houses. Gradually, however, public opinion changed and streets were planted with rows of trees, primarily the fast-growing lombardy poplar. By 1806, as traveler John Melish noted, "a walk through the city in a summer morning...[was] delightful."[19]

Most Philadelphians who had the means, however, escaped the city in summertime, to be safe from the danger of noxious vapors. But for those in town, like English visitor, Dr. Fothergill, who made daily walks in the yard during his stay in 1807, the State House Square still enjoyed a certain popularity. Part of the attraction was Peale's Museum and zoological garden tucked in between the State House and its east wing. A Moravian "Sister," Catherine Fritsch, described her visit on June 1, 1810:

> Having come to the State House where the museum is located, we passed through it and into a fine square. Many people were there, either strolling in the walks or lounging on the benches. An angular space formed by the main building and one of its wings, inclosed and entered through a gate, held a large collection of beautiful flowers in pots, or boxes, and also a few living animals. Two great bears amused us exceedingly by their clumsy play, or as they drew from the recesses of their den vegetables--mostly asparagus--and eat them. On the top of the bears' house two parrots, apparently quite contented, chatted together; in the next

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[19]St. Mery, American Journey, 1793-1798, 262; La Rochefoucault Liancourt, Travels Through the United States of America, 3, 3, INDE notecard; entry for Aug. 4, 1804: "many of them [streets] are planted with a row of trees on each side," in Sutcliff, Travels, 27; entry for Feb. 14, 1803, "In most of the streets there are trees planted at the edge of the Causeway, principally of the Lombardy poplar..."in Nevin's "Travels in the U.S., 1802-1803, p. 201; "...Many of the new streets have of late been planted with rows of poplars, whose rapid growth, and spiral form, peculiarly adapt them to shade the avenues of the city in the sultry season of the year." Charles W. Janson, The Stranger in America. 1793-1806, (New York, 1935), 184; John Melish, Travels in the United States of America. I, (Philadelphia, 1812), 150. No one knew until 1901 that mosquitos were the source of yellow fever, but many people during the epidemics complained about their great numbers.

> cage an eagle sat right majestically on his perch--above his head a placard with this petition on it: "Feed me daily for 100 years"; and next to it there was a monkey, who kindly showed us his whole assortment of funny capers and wonderful springs.[20]

The most compelling feature of the State House yard, however, was its salutory landscaped grounds, and by 1811 one prominent Philadelphian was ready to renew pressure to bring such improvements to all the city's public squares. James Mease in his Picture of Philadelphia expressed his impatience: "European nations will hear with astonishment, that out of the five squares, expressly set apart, by the benevolent founder of the city, for the purpose of public walks, and the salutary recreation of future generations, not one has been exclusively appropriated to its destined object!"[21]

The public squares had always served a useful purpose, only not in line with Penn's vision. The Southwest Square had been a dumping ground for street dirt; the Northwest Square a Potter's Field; the Northeast Square, a burial ground for the German Reformed Calvinist Congregation, and the Southeast Square, a

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[20]Peale to Dr. Ramsey, Jr., July 27, 1807, Horace Sellers, "Calendar of Peale Letterbooks," typescript, APS; "Notes of a Visit to Philadelphia, Made by a Moravian Sister in 1810," PMHB 36 (1912), 358-9. Peale received these animals as gifts to the museum. In 1808 President Jefferson sent him two bear cubs he'd received from explorer Zebulon Pike. These are no doubt the two described by the Moravian sister. Richardson, et. al. C.W. Peale and His World, 135; Peale gave this detail about the "slender black" monkey: "...When in health it prefered the erect posture, and would walk round the State-House garden in that manner, with the children that took it out." Peale, "A Walk with a friend to the Philadelphia Museum," MSS, Peale Papers, HSP. One reason why people may have felt free to walk in the square is that the city paid constables extra to patrol in the state house yard on Sundays. Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, Mar. 16, 1807, p. 2.

[21]Mease, Picture of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1811), Preface, xii.

Potter's Field, rental for pasture, and a horse and cattle market. By 1811, at Mease's writing, the operable word for him must have been "exclusively," since Penn's Centre Square, the location of the city's Water Works (1800), had become a local attraction because of the handsome domed, white marble engine house, and the adjoining gardens, graveled walks and the statue by William Rush, "The Nymph of the Schuylkill (1809)." And Southeast Square, in the fashionable neighborhood around the State House, showed promising signs of improvement, with rows of poplars planted around its borders.[22]

A wealthy physician and member of the American Philosophical Society, James Mease stood out as a promoter of agriculture and municipal improvements. As a principal founder and then secretary (1805) of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, he exchanged ideas with leading scientists in Europe. Like many of his peer group, agriculture, rather than horticulture, remained the center of focus. Concentrating on the practical and useful, Mease studied vineyards, cattle breeding, merino sheep raising--reflecting the agricultural craze that swept the country in 1808. But as a doctor and international correspondent, he recognized the healthful benefits of shade trees, and during these first decades of the nineteenth century, was active in the movement to plant trees on the State House Square and the four public squares yet to be landscaped.[23]

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[22] Alice B. Lockwood, ed. Gardens of Colony and State, I, (New York, 1931), 335-6; Rabzak, "Washington Square," 2,8-9; "Report of the Committee of the Select council, on the Bill from the Common Council to prevent internments in the public Squares of the City," Petitions to Council, MSS, HSP; Wolf, Philadelphia, 128.

[23]Simon Baatz, "Venerate the Plough" A History of the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture, 1785-1985, (Philadelphia, 1985), 16-17; Watson and Hazard, Annals I, (1909), 397.Mease also went on to help found Philadelphia's Athenaeum in February 1814. Kennedy, "The Athenaeum," Historic Philadelphia, 260.

In 1811, also, much political churning was in process over the future of the State House Square. In 1808 a rush of activity and planning had followed rumor that the U.S. Congress might consider returning to Philadelphia. As Poulson's American Daily Advertiser reported, "the upper floor of the center building" would be set aside for the Senate, in a large room "looking into the Garden." For the House, the plan proposed building "A Hall...connected with the south front of the State-House," and the wings and other buildings would provide "ample room for libraries, committee chambers and many of the public offices."[24]

When this idea fell through, the state legislators began talking about selling the square. Fearing the loss of his museum, Peale mounted a campaign to have the wing buildings taken down and fireproof offices built in their stead, with the second floors reserved as extensions of his museum. Failing to get support in 1810, Peale submitted another memorial to the Legislature in January 1811, suggesting that the yard be devoted to the creation of a botanic garden. That year the legislature approved the fireproof wings, but chose not to act on the recommendation for the yard. During the process of demolition and reconstruction of the new wings, the brick pavement along Chestnut Street was extended from its six-foot path along the curbside, all the way up to the buildings.[25]

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[24]Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, Feb. 10, 16, 1808, p. 2 and p. 3. According to Horace Sellers, "A List of Addresses in Peale Letterbooks," MSS notebook, APS, architect Benjamin Latrobe completed a plan c. 1810 for "State-House building on south side of State House yard" which may have been part of this planning process.

[25]C.W. Peale to Rubens Peale, c. Feb. 25, 1810, Sellers, "Calendar of Peale Letterbooks", APS; Westcott, History of Philadelphia, vol. 3, p. 990-991; Horace Wells Sellers gives the information about the brick pavement, in Folder 9 of his papers, INDE Mus. Coll.

That year, too, private funds finally were raised to carry out the 1791 act authorizing the city to take down the yard's east and west walls to three feet, cap them with a marble coping, and put up an iron palisade fence to provide "a pleasant, airy, and healthful walk for the recreation of the citizens." A joint committee appointed to determine how to finance the project reported that substantial private subscriptions had come in and that the city had added $1500. Citizens now could see the yard while passing by and could enter and cross the yard from gates on Fifth and Sixth Streets.[26]

In March 1812 the south wall also was lowered to add the palisade fence. The authorizing act also called for suitable folding gates in place of the huge central gate, but evidently this improvement was delayed, because in November, the United States Gazette complained that "the old unseemly portal to the State-House yard still remains."[27]

When the city authorized the work on the south wall, they

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[26]As quoted in Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, I, 558; April 11, Aug. 8, 1811, Minutes of the Common Council, Jan. 1803-May 17, 1813, 446-47; April 12, 16, 1811, Minutes of the Select Council, Mar. 28, 1811-Mar. 24, 1814; City Property Receipt Books, 1810-1814, p. 84, City Archives; notes on City Ordinance of Aug. 8, 1811, Folder 9, Sellers Coll., INDE; Samuel Hazard in his Register of Pennsylvania, I (June 28, 1828), p. 416, published a breakdown of the cost of taking down the wall and erecting the iron railing which specified gates for the east and west walls. Subscriptions from individuals covered the majority of the expense. Dr. William H. Smith served as "Collector of Subscriptions," as noted in City Treasurer General Ledger, 1 Jan 1816-31 Mar. 1824, City Archives; Nathan Sellers' careful survey notes for this project are in the notecard files, from Nathan Sellers Notebook, Survey of State House Yard, etc. (n.d.), Peale-Sellers Collection, APS.

[27]Ordinances of Philadelphia, 1812, p.275 this source also notes the repeal of the legislature's March 17, 1802 resolution directing Charles Willson Peale to carry out the wall project.; Hazard, Register, 416.

also "ordained and enacted" that the city commissioners would "take charge of the state house yard and entrances thereto," leaving Peale once again to give his full attention to other matters, and freeing him from the expense of the yard's care.[28]

Independence Square under City Care, 1812-1854

During the decade under Charles Willson Peale's supervision, the State House Square had suffered a tarnished reputation, with pimps and loose women, drunks and other unsavory characters evident enough to scare off some of the neighborhood's prosperous residents. By ordinance of April 23, 1812, the city commissioners took charge of the yard and gave the city's high constables the "special duty...to prevent all disorderly or improper conduct" there. The city also authorized the final section of the iron palisade fence for the south side of the square.[54]

City Purchase of the Square, 1816-18

The City Councils geared up to fight the State legislature's proposal to cut two twenty-foot wide streets through the square on right angles, and sell the block in lots to raise a total of $250,000 for the new state capitol in Harrisburg. Common and Select Councils' joint committee presented its argument on March 11, 1813. The two-page memorial eloquently summarized the city's commitment to saving the square, and gave the legal defense that half a century later would protect the square from other

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[28]Ordinances... 1812, 271; Peale to Charles Biddle, Mar. 3, 1812, Letterbook 12, p. 55, Peale Papers, APS.

[54]Ordinances of the City of Philadelphia, 1812, p. 271; Minutes of City Council [Select], Mar. 10, 1813, Phila. Archives, and INDE micro. roll IX.

threats.[55]

Foremost in the Councils' reasoning came the issue of public health. "Many and serious evils result from a crowded population," they observed, and such real estate development might "prevent the circulation of free and wholesome air", a condition liable to contribute to the rise of "diseases of the most afflicting kind." The "value and benefits" of this open space, they argued, would be more appreciated as the private lots around the square were developed.

The memorialists also reminded the legislators that the square was "hallowed" ground where "some of the most important public acts," of the nation had taken place. These acts, they emphasized, gave "birth to the only free Republic the world has seen." Finally, the memorial cited several laws passed by the Assembly that protected the square from development, beginning with the act of February 20, 1735 which declared "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 but that the said Grounds shall be enclosed and remain a public open green walk forever."[56]

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[55]Minutes of City Council, Mar. 10, 1813; Faris, Old Gardens, pp. 32-33.

[56]"The Memorial and Remonstrance of the Select and Common Councils of the City of Philadelphia," as found in entry of Mar. 11, 1818, in Minutes of City Council, [Select], Mar. 23, 1811-Mar. 24, 1814, City Archives. The commissioners also cited the act of February 17, 1762, which used similar phrasing when vesting the care of the square to new Trustees; the 1791 legislation which authorized the pallisade fence as a contribution to the embellishment of the Public Walks in the State House Garden and to the health of the city's residents, and the March 10, 1812 legislation which approved the completion of the project. They argued affirmatively that the Assembly's "grant cannot be divested from its original purpose without impairing a Contract made and confirmed by successive Legislatures." More diplomatically, they affirmed that legal precedent was binding: "these learned and respectable bodies

When the legislature deferred the bill to their next session, the city sent "with all reasonable dispatch" suitable appointees to compile in Harrisburg "a full and detailed Statement of the title to the State House Yard" together with copies of all the legal documents pertinent to the case. Philadelphia attorneys had a strong reputation for winning difficult cases beginning with the libel case of John Peter Zenger in New York a century earlier, and this challenge on home turf invited another proof of their talent. Finally, in mid-1816, the legislature voted to sell the square to the City and County of Philadelphia. As a mark of their appreciation for the city's mission, they sold the block for $70,000, about one quarter the price they had originally aimed for in the proposal to sell the property in lots.[57]

Shortly after the contract was signed between the state and city corporation, Poulson's American Daily Advertiser proposed yet another visionary plan for the State House Square which would have radically changed its landscape and use. The editorial concerned the location for the Second National Bank, which, the writer insisted, should be located "in the neigborhood of an open public square." The article proposed that the Walnut Prison site be purchased for the bank so that "the two public squares [could]

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were aware that grants contain in themselves a principle of obligation and that even a legislative body must confine itself within prescribed limits to give efficacy to its Acts."

[57]Minutes of City Council, June 10, 1813; Morris, ed., Encyclopedia of American History, 580. An Act providing for the sale of the state house and state house square in the City of Philadelphia, passed March 11, 1816, PA Archives, 9th Ser., Vol. 6, p. 4445; Message of Governor Snyder to General Assembly, Dec. 5, 1816, Ibid., pp. 4482-4487. Evidently the state still was open to selling the property to private interests when the act was being debated early in 1816, for Mayor Wharton discussed the bill with attorney Thomas Kittera, again citing the legislature's long legal reservation of the ground south of the State House as "a publick walk & green for ever." Wharton to Kittera, Feb. 3, 1816, Mayors of Phila, 1684-1893, Dreer Coll, HSP.

be appropriated to Exchange Walks." "Here would indeed be a delightful retreat for the man of business during the heat of the day," the article defended. Reflecting the cosmopolitan character of Philadelphia's port, the writer envisioned that the two squares would serve as a meeting place for fellow men of commerce, including "the English, the French, the Germans, the New Englanders and the Southern Merchants" who "would all have their respective walks," an arrangement that would "remove entirely, all that inconveniency of finding One's friends, to which we are exposed in a promiscuous crowd."

Cognizant of the legal restriction enjoining construction of buildings south of the State House, the writer noted that a "gentleman learned in the law" maintained that the act of sale did not prohibit buildings South East and South West of the State House. He invited readers to imagine Fifth and Sixth streets embellished by "rows of buildings adapted for the offices of Insurance companies, Notaries, and other Public Agents having an extensive portico in the rear of the whole, adapted for a promenade in bad weather." Although these ideas never took form, the writer's comment that his suggestions were "not original" suggests that others were willing to consider building on the square, thereby introducing more private ownership on this public open space.[58]

While no record turned up to indicate debate on these sweeping proposals, they probably did not sit well with the new owners of the square. City councils had a cadre of vigilant members concerned with the preservation and improvement of the State House and yard. In January 1817 the joint committee appointed to take charge of the State House affairs recommended a committee be appointed to draw up regulations for the property's

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[58]Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, July 2, 1816, p. 3, col. 2.

protection. Both George and Robert Vaux, Quaker reformers and civic improvers, signed the report.[59]

In March 1817 the city set in place regulations which provided for "some suitable person to take the care ...and oversight of the State House Yard, and the gates and other publick entrances thereof." Property security was an important concern. "The large gates to the entrance of the State House Yard situated at the ends of the fireproof offices, and also small iron gates on the east and west ends of the said yard," were to be "kept constantly closed and locked," except for elections and other public occasions determined by the mayor. Access to the yard was confined to the gate at the south end of the yard, the back door of the State House, and the "Publik entrance...from the fireproof offices." Visiting hours were from an hour after sunrise to nine at night from April to November 1, and until an hour after sunset during the remainder of the year.

The rules spelled out consequences for damaging public property: "... if any person shall ride into the said State House Yard, or shall drive or take into the same, any wheelbarrow, horse, cart or carriage---or shall discharge or place any wood, coal, rubbish, carrion or offensive matter---" he would be fined five dollars for each offense. "And if any person shall climb upon trees, palisades or gates of the said yard, or

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[59]"Report of the Com on the subject of the State House with resolutions, Read C.C. Jany 16, 1817 & resolutions adopted," Phila. County of Misc. Papers, 1802-1855, AM. 3841, HSP. This report also considered the city's promise from the county commissioners to remove the paint from the marble work on the front of the State House, no doubt part of the improvements the county authorized in 1815. Roberts Vaux, a "noted Quaker philanthropist," took an interest in prison reform, and George Vaux in 1816 was one of four in charge of the planned improvement of the Southeast Square. Negley K. Teeters, The Cradle of the Penitentiary The Walnut Street Jail at Philadelphia 1773-1835, (Philadelphia, 1955), 6; Rabzak, "Washington Square," 11.

shall in any manner wilfully injure the said trees palisades, or gates,...or dig up the soil, or practice any game or sport therein calculated to injure the herbage and grass...," he would pay a fine of two dollars. The specific listing of possible offenses leaves open to question whether the yard had suffered such abuses during the three years of debate in Harrisburg concerning the future of the square as a public green space.[60]

Landscape Improvements, 1819-1835

With the regulations in place, the city councils authorized physical improvements for the square. In April 1819 councils voted to erect "a permanent Gate...at the Southern entrance" and to have the committee in charge of the yard select a plan for them. That Spring they also ordered 28 new trees for the State House Yard from David Landreth Seed Company. The company's bill itemized 24 Linden Trees, 1 Stophelia, 1 Scarlet Maple and 2 Judas Trees. Lindens had taken the place of Lombardy poplars as the tree of fashion in Philadelphia, because poplar worms had turned the public against the once-acclaimed Lombardy shade trees.[61]

The Landreth order evidently was less than half the total number of trees purchased, for the Committee reported in May that nearly eighty new trees had been supplied and ordered planted.

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[60]Ordinance of March 27, 1817, in Ordinances of the City of Philadelphia, 1817, pp. 79-81.

[61]Minutes of Common Council, April 8, 1819, in Book 4, Vol. 4, Mar. 25, 1819, to Oct. 3, 1823, p. 5, INDE Micro. The Pennsylvania Hospital also received an order from Landreth Co. in 1818 which included 19 Lindens and four other trees. Entries Feb. 24, 1818 and April 1, 1819, in "Brief of "Some Interesting Early Landreth Sales," compiled by D. Landreth Seed Co., Apr. 7, 1958; The Pennsylvania Horticultural Society From Seed to Flower Philadelphia 1681-1876, (Philadelphia, 1976), 21, explained that poplar worms not only were considered damaging vectors, but mistakenly thought to have a poisonous bite.

They hoped that "by planting groups of trees" they could fill in where trees were "gradually decaying from age." The committee made manifest that they had no intention of changing the "general plan and arrangement of the yard." That would be "improper," they told Councils, because, "Time has given...a character of sanctity which forbids that they should be touched."[62]

Oddly enough, the committee then proceeded to suggest a change to the yard's arrangement: "Your Committee further thinks that the gravel walk should be extended round the East side of the yard," a perplexing recommendation, since the serpentine walk presumably had extended there from the outset. Although no plan of the yard has ever surfaced, the Folie map of the city and suburbs for 1794 indicates that its layout focused on the double row of trees along the central walkway, with serpentine paths bordering the tree-lined sides of the square on Walnut, Fifth and Sixth Streets north to the row of buildings on Chestnut.[63]

Also recommending repair of the wall, now close to 50 years old, and the renewal and improvement of "the general face of the yard," the committee outlined an ambitious program for the square. How much actually got done is uncertain. The city fell into a major depression in 1819-20, and funding issues may have become critical. The construction of a new southern gate definitely was delayed, but some plans for it appear to have been completed by William Strickland, presumably in 1821, after Councils authorized the project. An undated ink and watercolor wash drawing of a decorative iron gateway, said to be the south gate of the square and attributed to Strickland, may be his

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[62]Minutes of the Common Council for May 13, 1819, in Book 5, Vol. 5, Mar. 25, 1819, p. 12.

[63]Ibid; A.P. Folie, Engraver, "...Plan of the City and Suburbs of Philadelphia," published in 1794. See Smedley, City of Independence, pp. 184-5, for view, sources, and full citation.

submittal, but City Councils postponed the project until December 1823, when they awarded the contract to another popular Philadelphia architect, John Haviland. By January 1824 the piers had been built and a further contract let with Haviland for the lamps "to be placed on the piers." Decorative iron gates appear in an 1829 watercolor of Independence Hall by John Rubens Smith, but are not the ones that are captured in the 1863 photograph (see illustration 14) of the gate and yard from Walnut Street.[64]

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[64]Minutes, Ibid.; Weigley, Philadelphia, 248; "Historic Grounds Report, Part I," p. 15. Common Council resolved to contract with Strickland to erect the gate "according to the plan and not to exceed the estimate by him submitted," on May 10, 1821, but the next year, after approving the gate on April 3, Councils tabled the motion. Minutes of Common Council, May 10 and 24, 1821, April 3 and 20, 1822, INDE Micro. roll XXV. This watercolor sketch was labeled by hand "Old Gateway Independence Square 5th and 6th Chestnut-Walnut Sts. Philadelphia, Pa." at the New York Historical Society. Southeby's, Americana and Decorative Arts The Property of The New-York Historical Society, Sale 6661. Catalogue for Auction Sunday, January 29, 1995, item 72, p. 86. This labeling was probably done by Miss Estelle A. Philips, who donated the watercolor to the society on June 8, 1933. According to Karie Diethorn, Museum Curator at Independence NHP, who studied and transcribed the labeling of the sketch at the society, a different hand, perhaps the society's cataloger, attributed the drawing to Strickland. The sketch shows only full-grown trees, including a weeping willow, (which appears in Birch's 1800 print of the south gate), in the background, but has no specific features of Independence Hall or other buildings on the square. Strickland was busy all over the city at this time, and if the sketch is his, it was not the selected plan for the south gate. Agnes Addison Gilchrist, William Strickland Architect and Engineer, 1788-1854 (Philadelphia, 1950), 65-67. John Rubens Smith, "Independence Hall", watercolor, 1829. A park historian analyzed the original watercolor in the ownership then of Seymour Adelmann, and noted four steps led up to the gates; the gates were about the size of a man; the piers were dressed with fasces, and the lanterns each had an eagle, with wings spread, on top. The ironwork of the gate had classical rosettes on the side and two lions' heads in the center of each door. (This writer could not distinguish such detail from the copy photo of the painting). A Civil War photograph in the park's collection shows the ironwork of the gate with a wheel-spoke pattern. View of State House Yard, "Camp Independence," 1863, INDE photo. neg. 12,486.

Councils also upgraded the fire protection for the square's row of buildings. In addition to the Pennsylvania Fire Company's new engine house (1816) on Fifth Street, near the corner of Chestnut Street, Councils installed two fire plugs in the yard in 1820. The water for the plugs came by pipe from Fair Mount on the banks of the Schuylkill River, and Frederick Graff, the city's waterworks' engineer, superintended their installation. One or both of these new plugs may have been put to use in 1821 and 1823 to put out the fires that damaged first the roof of Congress Hall, and then Old City Hall. In 1821 Councils also relocated the two pumps on the Chestnut Street walk "near to the curbstone."

That year the Fairmount Water Works converted from steam to water power, after completing a 1,204-foot dam across the Schuylkill River. With the municipal water supply's capacity increased, the city's watering committee in 1827 laid 513 feet of 4-inch iron pipe to supply four additional fire plugs in the State House yard and another 317 feet of 3-inch pipe to extend a plug. Very likely these fire plugs and the pipes laid for them remained in the same locations and appeared on Independence Square in G.H. Jones' 1874 Atlas of Philadelphia, and Ernest Hexemer & Son's 1897 Insurance Maps of the City of Philadelphia. Both maps showed three fire plugs in the yard, one behind each of the Mills wings, and another on the southeast quadrant of the square. Three-inch pipe continued out to the southwest quadrant, probably to supply water for the trees and grass.[65]

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[65]Historic Philadelphia, 142; the location of the fire plugs in 1820 has not been found in the records, but it is unlikely they were moved before 1874. City Treasury, Pub. Works Receipt Book, 1819-29; 1832 Report of Watering Committee, p. 13, APS; Minutes of the Common Council, April 13, 1823, INDE Micro Roll XXV; Souder's History of Chestnut Street, Chapt. 59, MSS, HSP; Gibson, The Fairmount Waterworks, 16-18; G.H. Jones, Atlas of Philadelphia, Vol. 1, 5th, 7th and 8th Wards. Philadelphia, 1874, at City Archives. Jefferson Moak, Archivist, pointed out this atlas is one of the most accurate atlases of the city. Ernest Hexemer & Son,

Trees on the square and along the streets continued to command the attention of both the public and City Councils. In April 1821 Councils approved a citizens' petition to plant a row of Lindens in front of the State House Row. The trees, the Councils specified, were to be planted eight feet from curbstone, "in a range with the fronts of the City Hall and County Court House." Evidently this petition hoped to replace some of the trees, probably Lombardy poplars, already in place, for C.A. Goodrich's c. 1817 guidebook had noted that the brick pavement before the State House had "two elegant rows of trees extending its whole length."[66]

The elms planted by Vaughan in the 1780s, now some 40 years old, had for many years cast a deep and welcome shade for neighborhood visitors. By 1824, however, councils decided to thin their numbers, and Watson's Annals noted that an elbow-chair of elm wood salvaged from the fallen trees was presented that year to the Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture. The loss of some of these giant trees did not deter the editor of the Register of Pennsylvania in 1828 from drawing readers' attention to the "number of very beautiful elm trees" that offered "a delightful defence from the rays of the summer sun."[67]

Insurance Maps of the City of Philadelphia, Vol. 1 Philadelphia, 1897.

[66]Minutes of Common Council, Mar. 17, April 12, and 19, 1821, INDE Micro Roll XXV; C.A. Goodrich, The family tourists, (c. 1817), p. 296, INDE notecard. The trees were probably Lombardy Poplars, the common street trees in Philadelphia until the poplar worm caused their decline. Citizens also complained about the Lombardy poplars as street trees, one guidebook noted, because the roots forced up the pavement. Thomas Wilson, Picture of Philadelphia for 1824 (Philadelphia, 1823), p. 26. Guidebooks in the decade commented on the beautiful tree-lined streets of Philadelphia. An Englishman, Summary View of America (1824), 30; Trollope, Domestic Manners of Americans (c. 1827), 352, INDE notecards.

[67]Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, II, (Philadelphia, 1900), 500; Hazard, Register,I, 416.

Councils this decade also clarified two technicalities regarding property rights on the square. At the request of the American Philosophical Society, they formally acknowledged a small plot of ground which the Society "many years ago" had begun to use under tacit agreement with the Commonwealth. This enclosed strip of ground south of the Philosophical Hall continued in the Society's care but was reaffirmed as property of "The Mayor Aldermen and Citizens of Philadelphia." In 1821 the Councils also took up the problem of an 1815 act of the Assembly which they felt could be construed to give the County Court of Quarter Sessions the right to lay streets and alleys in the public squares and State House yard. Once again Councils confirmed their goal to reserve these public spaces "for the recreation of the inhabitants" and for the promotion of the city's health.[68]

Early in this decade the sidewalk along Walnut Street between Fifth and Sixth Street may have been widened to thirteen feet, as an ordinance was passed to that effect by the city in July 1822. No other record of the work has been located, however. The walks in the earliest available photograph, a pre-1866 view, appear to be close to that width.[69]

A south view drawing of the square in 1828 showed the State House with its new steeple, designed by William Strickland as a "restoration" of the original wooden one. This perspective

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[68]"Declaration that the plot south of Philosophical Hall belongs to Phila. Mar. 21, 23, 1820;" Minutes of the Common Council, Mar. 23, 1820, January 4, 1821, Minutes of the Common Council, , Vol. 5, Mar. 24, 1819-Oct. 3, 1823,pp. 97, 168-9, Phila. Archives.

[69]Minutes of Common Council, July 11, 1822 considered the proposal for the 13-foot sidewalk in a letter from the City Commissioner. Council did not concur, but may have voted again, as Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, July 13, 1822 recorded that the city had passed an ordinance "that the width of the footway on the north side of Walnut street, between Fifth and Sixth streets from Deleware, shall be thirteen feet."

details a line of posts and chains along the central pathway and along the bowed pathways on the northern end of the yard, a landscape feature that also appears in sections of the yard in one of the 1860s photographs of the square.[70]

Strickland's steeple suggested the growing public reverence for the State House as the birthplace of the nation. General Lafayette's visit to Philadelphia in September 1824 had stirred the city's pride in its history and prompted major maintenance for the yard in preparation for the event. A letter to the editor in the National Gazette and Literary Register in September implored Councils not to "overlook the wall that surrounds the yard," for it presented "a very rusty and shabby appearance." The writer suggested that the wall be painted "a handsome stone colour" or have it "rough cast" to give it a new look, and bring it in line with "all the other parts of the yard and buildings" that had been "put in a state of repair and decoration."[71]

During their preparations, Councils had also to deal with damage to the landscape from a large public meeting and random acts of vandalism in the yard. After members from the old guard of the Republican party, Thomas Leiper, Clement Biddle, Jr., and Matthew Carey, addressed an "exceedingly numerous" crowd to lay plans for Lafayette's visit in August 1824, Councils reported "considerable damage...to the grass." Three weeks later, "some evil-disposed persons dirtied and daubed some of the white posts, tore up the grass and otherwise injured the city property in the State House Yard." Whether this related to the high emotions building in expectation of Lafayette's arrival cannot be determined. When Lafayette did come to the square on September 30th, 1824, 4,040 school children passed before him "to behold

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[70] Copy print of "South View of the State House, Philadelphia," 1828, as shown in INDE photo files; source not indicated.

[71] National Gazette & Literary Register, Sept. 18, 1824, p. 2.

the Great Man."[72]

This wave of patriotism crested again in 1825 when by City ordinance the State House Square officially was renamed Independence Square, and in 1826, when a large crowd gathered in the yard in memory of Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, both of whom had remarkably died on the Fourth of July. With the completion of the steeple in 1828 and the restoration of the "Hall of Independence" under John Haviland's direction in 1831, the public increasingly considered the building a "sacred shrine" and its square worthy of their vigilant attention.[73]

At the end of the decade, an unfavorable reaction to statues introduced to the square suggested the conservative nature of the surrounding neighborhood. In September 1829, The Post printed a lengthy protest to two wooden statues representing Wisdom and Justice that had been put on opposite sides of the yard's main walk. The article explained that their location "in the most conspicuous part of the State House Yard" drew the daily attention of "some dozen of boys," who found them amusing. "These figures," the writer explained, "were carved some years ago, we

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[72]U.S. Gazette, Aug. 19, p. 2, col. 1; crowd damage reported in Minutes of Select Council, Sept. 8, 1824, in vol. covering June 16, 1821-Setp. 30, 1830, Phila. Arch.; vandalism reported in Democratic Press, Sept. 9, 1824; Watson, Annals, 2, 473. The white posts presumably are those connected with chains as seen in the 1828 drawing of the square referred to above.

[73]Poulson's Advertiser, Oct. 8, 1831, reports on a visit to the Hall during its restoration to its appearance of July 4, 1776. Sellers Coll., Folder 3, INDE; David Brigham, Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale's Museum and its Audience (Washington, D.C., 1995), 56, quotes Francis Wright's guidebook, Views of Society and Manners in America, (London, 1821), which refers to the Hall as a sacred shrine. My thanks to Dwight Pitcaithley for pointing out this reference. Etting quotes Councilman Tilghman as saying during the debates over the form of the steeple, "If there were a spot on earth on which space might be identified with holiness, it would be the spot on which the old State House stands. It is a sacred spot, a sacred building."Independence Hall, p. 160.

believe, by Mr. Rush, and were originally destined to fill niches at a considerable elevation," and thus had "rough and unshaped" backsides covered with folds of canvas "so puckered as to resemble drapery." The committee in charge of the public squares, the writer continued, had these statues put on pedestals 3 to 4 feet high, with a large sign some 30 to 40 feet in front to give a "caution to tresspassers" to stay their distance. This article, one of "several squibs" calling for the end to the statues, had a positive effect, and "T"'s follow up public letter to the Councils congratulated them for removing "those ridiculous figures...from Independence Square."[74]

Councils for their part were trying to improve all the public squares, and in March of 1829 authorized the hiring of a caretaker for each of them. As Independence and Washington Squares already were "ornamented with fine trees and intersected by gravel walks," in "exquisite taste," making "a scene of almost fascinating beauty," the charge remained to uphold this standard for public enjoyment. By summer 1831 a Mr. Maher, "an experienced horticulturalist," had already proven his worth. As Poulson's Advertiser reported, Maher's "indefatigable attention and scientific skill" had contributed much to enhancing the beauty of the scene. Although the writer thought the square would be improved by "one or more fountains" to "give additional freshness to the air" and make the spot "more attractive and enchanting," he found only praise for the gardener's achievements. Maher had "assuredly evinced not only a superior knowledge of his profession in his treatment of the shrubbery generally, and the preservation of all the young trees, but a judgment and taste eminently conspicuous in the solidity, cleanliness and neatness

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[74]August 29, 1829, in Hazard's Register, IV, 144; The Post Sept. 5, 1829; "One Hundred Years Ago", reprint from U.S. Gazette, Aug. 24, 1829 and Feb. 21, 1830, clippings in Sellers Coll., Folder 2, INDE.

of the walks."[75]

Practical Improvements, 1831-1850

In 1831 a citizens' petition asked for "the removal of the privies from Independence Square." The beautification of the grounds combined with a surge of tourism and an expanded government bureaucracy no doubt had helped bring the issue to head. The most compelling reason for action, however, was the "highly offensive state of the privies on the south side." Councils resolved to remedy the problem by authorizing the commissioners to build privies "below the surface of the ground and arched over," at a site chosen by the committee in charge. They also authorized the construction of an iron palisade fence along the rear of the county offices with as many gates as the committee considered proper, presumably to restrict public access

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[75]Mar. 26, 1829, in Hazard's Register, III, 221; quotes in The Saturday Evening Post, July 17, 1830, p. 3; other testimonials of the beauty of the two squares are found in Trollope, Domestic Manners, 365, INDE notecard; "A View of Philadelphia from the State House Steeple," Hazard's Register of September 1829, in Sellers Coll., folder 2, INDE; and Charles J. Wister's Journal, c. 1830, MSS loaned temporarily to APS in 1967 by Mrs. Joseph Eastwick, of Paoli, PA. Poulson's Advertiser, August 21, 1831, clipping, Sellers Coll., Folder 3, INDE. No other information was found about Maher. Clearly he was appreciated by the newspaper reporter, but may not have been as valued by Bartram's Gardens caretaker who told William Wynne this year that all European gardeners turned to farming when they arrived, leaving him to conclude, "There are no American Gardeners except amateurs." William Wynne, "Some Account of the Nursery Garden and State of Horticulture in the Neighborhood of Philadelphia," Gardener's Magazine 8, No. 38 (London, 1832), 275. A proposal had already been introduced in Councils in July 1831 to consider the expediency of placing fountains in all or any of the squares. Select Council Minutes, July 14, 1831, Micro Roll XXVI, INDE. Independence Square's only fountain display came in July 1847 when a demonstration fountain was rigged up to one of the square's fireplugs with a hose which connected to a revolving three-armed spicket. This "fountain" threw out water many feet "in fantastic forms" and much impressed the Public Ledger reporter. Modern readers might think it was a commonplace sprinkler. Ledger, July 1, 1847, p. 2.

to the new privies.[76]

Once again Councils contracted with John Haviland for the work, which got underway in August 1831. By the following April the foundation for the fence--uncovered during the National Park Service's archeological investigations in the mid-1950s--had been dug, which prompted a reporter to wonder if "the old and peaceable and infirm will be deterred and unable to penetrate the dense mass of voters within the walls." No other reference to this potential crowd problem during elections, however, appeared again.[77]

In 1837 Councils carried out major modifications to the square's original Vaughan plan in order to accommodate changing public use. The seed of the idea came in 1835 with a memorial from "a large body of the Mechanics and Working men" who proposed "the opening of a walk across the Independence Square, from George to Library sts [sic] to facilitate the passage of citizens through the Square." Instead Councils launched a project in the summer of 1837 to provide diagonal paths, with entrances at the Fifth and Sixth Street corners of Walnut Street.[78]

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[76]Minutes of Select Council, April 14, 1831, INDE Micro Roll XXVI; City Commissioners to Councils, July 14, 1831, Hazard's Register, VIII, 56.

[77]Aug. 8 and Oct. 15, John Haviland MSS, Vol. 4, and March 30 to Oct. 23, and Spring of 1832, in Vol. 2, Rare Book Room, University of PA;"Historic Grounds Report," Chapter V, Archeological Data, by Benjamin B. Powell, p. 4; Poulson's Advertiser, Apr. 25, 1832, clipping in Sellers Coll., Folder 3, INDE. According to an article published in the Fall of 1832, access into the yard was through Independence Hall and the gates remained open until 9:00 p.m. Coke, "A Subaltern's Furlough," as copied in Sellers Coll., Folder 3, Ibid.

[78]The July 15, 1835 petition was printed in Hazard's Register XVI (July 1835-Jan. 1836), 41; On June 19 1837 the Committee on City Property requested that the square's new superintendent Mr. Diel "procure a plan for an entrance into Independence Square" at the two corners of Walnut. Minutes of Committee of City Property,

These radical alterations brought instant protest. As James Lambdin recalled in his autobiography, "the venerable John Vaughan" considered it vandalism to remove the fine elm trees at the Walnut Street corners to make room for the new gates. "These trees had been planted by Mr. V's father and were sacred in the eyes of his son." "Many Citizens" signed a letter to the National Gazette in August 1837, during the alterations, with more scathing commentary. They judged the changes a "desecration", and scorned the "mock improvement" that would afford "a short cut to passengers" and provide new corner gates which looked like "exquisite specimens of composite ugliness." Suspecting that these changes would bring the square closer in design with Washington Square across the street, they observed, "If, on this small square, it is intended to produce uniformity with the larger one in its vicinity, ...the privacy of the promenade, heretofore one of its chief advantages, will be wholly destroyed, by the diagonal walks through which the business population hastining to and fro, will pass."[79]

The letter claimed that the city's plan would cut "at least four diagonal paths through the square," and alter the original design by "partially converting it into a street." As no plan of

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1836-38, Vol. B, MSS, Phila City Arch; Sept 14, 1837, in Journal of Select Council, 1836-7, p. 122. On April 25, 1845 the Public Ledger reported "the City Surveyor has laid out two new walks through the Eastern and Western grass plots ...This is done for those desiring to cross directly from the gate opposite George, to that opposite Library street." The gate opposite Library Street was reported in Ibid., June 6 and Sept 30, 1845.

[79]Typescript of Lambdin autobiography, pp. 3-41,32, in James R. Lambdin Papers, Div. of Pub. Records, Harrisburg, INDE notecard. National Gazette, Aug. 17, 1837; The protesters made another interesting allusion to "the expense and combination of granite blocks, part milestone and part tombstone now 'being erected' and intended for the entrance." Presumably this referred to the two new corner entrances to the square, not the main central entrance on Walnut which thirteen years earlier had received Haviland's granite piers and gates.

these proposed changes has turned up in research, it is difficult to determine if and where four diagonal paths and a partial street may have been located. The 1860 Hexamer and Locher map suggests that the alterations as described were only partially executed, for the map shows only short paths diagonally running between the Walnut Street corner entrances and the serpentine path that bordered the square. The map also gives no indication of a partial street.[80]

In September 1837 Councils received another petition for a "gravel walk" across the square to link George and Library Streets, but this cross-walk was delayed until the spring of 1845. When completed the new path provided "more space for the sports of the young, and the promenades of the older folks" but had no gate opposite Library Street. In response to public pressure from "a large number of citizens," an entrance was soon cut through the wall and fence and a gate provided to "open a direct passage through the yard."[81]

Threats of New Construction on the Square, 1835-1850

In the midst of the planning and execution of all these changes, a more critical debate was being waged on the future of Independence Square. Early in 1835 the State legislature began consideration of a proposal to move the capital back to Independence Square. The proposal entailed removing the State House row and replacing them with "suitable buildings" for the government, a proposal the Post reported was "warmly seconded by the people". Two years later, Common Councils received various petitions

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[80]National Gazette, Aug. 17, 1837; [map of Philadelphia], 1860 by Joseph H. Bonsall & Saml L. Smedley, copy in Phila. Historical Commission library.

[81]Sept. 14, 1837, in Journal of Select Council, 1836-7, p. 122, and 1844-45, p. 87; Public Ledger April 25, June 6, and Sept. 30, 1845.

calling for the removal of City Hall to Penn Square at Broad and High Streets and the removal of all buildings on the Square, or all buildings save the State House. Heightening the drama, a writer for the Public Ledger came out in favor of the proposal to take down all the buildings on Independence Square because he wanted to see "others, of white marble or white granite" built to render "that part of our beautiful city superb." City Councils answered this salvo with a proposal to buy out the county's interest in the square so they could look elsewhere for a building site.[82]

The crisis blew over, but the debate continued into the next decade, as the county commissioners pressed for adequate space for the courts and county offices. In 1847 the state legislature passed an act authorizing the construction of two buildings on the square for a new court house and city hall, but City Councils voted it "inexpedient to erect any buildings on the south side of Independence Square." Tensions mounted, as the Grand Jury argued that the exposed condition of the state's records and the "unsafe, unhealthy and unsuitable character" of the square's accommodations required a new court house, and the city countered with a veto on construction. Despite elaborate plans for new buildings and landscape drawn up by architects John Haviland, Thomas U. Walter and N. Le Braun in 1849, and legal opinion in favor of the project from Philadelphia's eminent attorneys, Horace Binney and Thomas M. Petit, the city successfully squelched the momentum to make permanent changes to Independence

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[82]National Gazette, Feb. 12, 1835, clipping in Sellers Coll., Folder 1, INDE; The Sat. Evening Post, July 14, 1835, p. 3; Typed note referring to petition in Common Councils on Jan. 12, 1837, in Sellers Coll., Folder 3, INDE; Journal of Common Council, Jan 12, 14, Feb. 18, 1837; Public Ledger and Daily Transcript, Jan. 20, 1837, photostat #1019, INDE; Ordinance of Jan. 11, 1838, as recorded by Sellers Coll., Folder 3, INDE.

Square.[83]

Maintenance Issues, 1835-50

The Committee of City Property in 1836 hired Lawrence Hart as gardener and Thomas Morrow as Superintendent of Independence Square. The next year they added an assistant gardener to clean, light and extinguish the lamps, wash off the handbills plastered on the front of the public buildings, to clean Fifth Street as needed, to hose down the steps and walk in front of the buildings and the yard behind the Mayor's office--tasks that suggest the battle to keep the square clean in the midst of heavy traffic and use.[84]

Perhaps it was the new staff who prompted the committee to order in October 1836 that all the seats "be removed at once" from the yard, a measure, the Public Ledger explained, had been tried unsuccessfully before, to get rid of the "idlers and tavern resorters," and the "profligate" who made the benches a rendezvous. In 1842 the city purchased two dozen stools for

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[83]Edward Pease Allinson and Boies Penrose, Philadelphia 1681-1887: a history of municipal development, (Philadelphia, 1887), 81, 221; Public Ledger, Nov. 16, 1846, Apr. 30, May 7, June 4, Sept. 7, 1847, Apr. 25, June 6, Dec. 7, 1848, May 1, June 5, June 12, and Sept 21, 28, 1849; INDE notecard dated 1849 identified as John Haviland, "Communs. to the City Comms, City Councils & Cty Bd., on New Public Bldgs. for...Phila., which describes Haviland's design, but no location for this source provided; Opinion of Horace Binney and Thomas M. Petit, Esq'rs. Relative to the Title of the City of Philadelphia to Independence Square and to the Authority of the City Councils to Erect or Consent to the Erection of A Court House, etc. on Said Square, (Philadelphia, 1850), p. 8. Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, , pp. 1772-4, gives a history of the "New City Hall."

[84]Minutes of Comm. on City Property, June 17, 27, Oct. 17, 1836, Vol A,; Mar. 21, 1837, Vol. Jan. 30, 1837-Dec. 24, 1838, MSS, City Arch. The July 11, 1837 entry in these records show that Hart's job still called for having the grass mowed and made into hay to supplement the budget.

Independence Square, but these uncomfortable perches were not long in place before the Ledger editorialized that the yard should have "a few of the new style iron seats" for visitors. No records have been located to indicate the city followed this suggestion, and photographs from the 1860s only show a bleak row of stools along the main walk.[85]

In the next few years Councils also authorized the placement of "Chains and Posts" opposite the southeast and southwest corners of the square near the two new entrances. This measure no doubt served to protect the "grass plots" which suffered damage and, in one instance, were "effectually destroyed" when trampled during large political gatherings. Unspecified paving work was also completed in the square, as bills are on record from 1837-8 for laying 7211 square yards of pavement and purchasing 20,000 paving bricks. Photographs of the 1860s show brick surface drains along both sides of the main walk from Walnut to Independence Hall which may have been introduced at this point.[86]

As business and activity at the square increased, Councils o set aside space near the square for the carriages "intended to be hired for Public Use." In 1834 they proposed that the west side

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[85]Minutes of Comm. of City Property, Apr. 9, 1838 entry in Minutes of Comm. of City Property, Jan. 30, 1837-Dec. 24, 1838, City Arch;bill for stools in Journals of Council, 1842-43, App., Comm. Council, p. 108; Public Ledger, June 11, 1844, July 30, 1846, INDE notecards.

[86] Aug. 8, 1842 entry in Journals of Common Council,1842-43, App., p. 108, refers to the stools. Oct. 24, 1837 and Sept 24, 1839 entries in Journal of Common Council, 1837-8, pp. 93,134, refer to the paving, but give no hint as to the location of this work. Some large rallies were held in the square on May 2, 1845, April 12, 1847, and in June 1848. Thomas Cope Journal, Vol. 7, 5th mo. 2, 1845, MSS, Haverford College; Public Ledger, Apr. 12, 1847, p. 2; June 13, 1848, INDE notecards. Photo of square from Walnut Street, 1866, INDE photo coll., EODC 3957.

of Fifth Street "between the Athenaeum and Walnut Street" and on Sixth Street east side below Chestnut after 10pm be set aside for the carriages. Within ten years the cabs and cabmen who parked on the east and west sides of the square had become "prodigious nuisances," according to one city reporter. They loitered on the steps into the square preventing persons, "ladies particularly," from promenading in the square. They made comments about their ankles and "ribald jests" about those who amused them. As the reporter pointed out, the steps and gates on the sides of the square were "scarcely commodious enough for a common councilman to squeeze through with comfort," so that when obstructed by this "circle of cab-drivers," the inconvenience to the public was "intolerable." The reporter recommended moving the cab stands to some other location, but this research did not identify how Councils handled the problem.[87]

Although views of Chestnut Street in this period show two rows of lush and vigorous trees, and a c. 1841 guidebook admired the promenade before Independence Hall for its "delightful verdure and shade," around 1839 caterpillars began to sap the trees' strength and beauty. By 1842 the Public Ledger reported that the city was trying "all in their power to preserve the row of English Linden in front of the State House from the ravage of worms," by cutting out decayed spots and filling the tree's wounds with a tar composition thought to be an effective deterrent. The writer advised instead that they should "cut them down and supply their places with our native Oak, Hickory or Maple. Either of these kind of trees are much more stately and beautiful than the stunted dwarfs that now flourish there." Councils may have taken this suggestion, for in December 1844 the

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[87]"Committee on the Memorial of Owners of Carriages intended to be hired for Public Use," Nov. 11, 1834, Minutes of Special Committees of Council 1834-1835, City Archives ; The Daily Chronicle & General Advertiser, June 18, 1842, p. 2, INDE notecards.

Lindens were cut down and two months later, five Sugar Maples took their place.[88]

Other diligent maintenance and landscaping continued through the decade. Sod, seed and lime were purchased to freshen the lawn, the walks were regraveled, oak trees planted, other trees pruned, and peacocks introduced to strut around the square. Although no record exists why oak was the species selected, it might have been due to horticultural fashion in mid-century which favored weeping trees, including several species of oak. Other "majestic trees" in Independence Square included silver maple and buttonwood, the latter which trees landscape architect Andrew Jackson Downing specifically mentioned as "superb specimens" after his visit to the square that decade.[89]

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[88]J.C. Buckingham, The Eastern and Western States of America, Three Volumes, II, (London-Paris, 1842), 33; The row of Lindens were planted c. 1821. Jackson Downing in his Landscape Gardening (1844), 145, gave special mention of the European lime, or linden trees before the State House and noted that species had of late "proved particularly vulnerable to insect pests." Based on bills for "labourers at trees" before the State House in 1839, and for "tobacco for use of trees front of State House," in 1840, this writer assumed the problem had been two years in the making before the Ledger's article. Entries for Nov. 25, 1839 and July 13, 1840, City of Phila, Expense Account of Public Works, 1839-1853, MSS; the Public Ledger covered the story of the demise and replacement of the lindens on Apr. 28, 1842, May 29, 1843, Apr. 10, Dec. 11, 1844, Feb. 4, 10, April 17, 1845; also, the loss of two of the street trees, both Ash, from the grub, on Aug. 12, 1847. This exchange of Lindens for Maples evidently was an early example of the next fashion trend which by 1881 had embraced maples, ailanthus, horse chestnut and buttonwoods as Philadelphia's street trees. By that date, too, the caterpillars had been eradicated with the removal of the lindens and the introduction of the English sparrow. Pennsylvania Horticultural Society, From Seed to Flower, 21.

[89]List of supplies in entries for Apr. 24, Nov. 15, Dec. 27, 1842, Apr. 11, 1843, in Journals of Councils, 1842-43, 84, 106, 111, 113; bill for oak trees in April 11, 1843 entry of Ibid., 84; gravel and more trees supplied in May, 14, June 11, 1844, Journals, 1844-45, App. for Common Councils, pp. 86-87; the Public Ledger, Apr. 8, 1847, reported that a large number of school girls had been enjoying "innocent gambles over the newly graveled walk" in the

By mid-century Philadelphia's tree-lined streets and public spaces drew widespread admiration for their "rich and luxuriant foliage" that provided cooling shade in the hot, humid summers. Independence Hall in 1841 stood "so entirely in the centre of the bustle of the town" that no visitor would leave town without seeing it. Even so, Philadelphians, one writer maintained, prided themselves "far more on their waterworks than their State-House." Times were changing and the city was poised for a great burst of growth and development which would change Independence Square's neighborhood forever.[90]

Independence Square Amidst Progress and Patriotism, 1854-1895

Until 1895, when the city and county offices moved into the new City Hall on Penn Square at Broad and Market Streets, Independence Square remained the center of local government. On the eve of the Civil War, Independence Hall stood "nearly in the centre of the great city of Philadelphia." Chestnut Street continued as the city's thriving commercial district, while Washington Square to the south maintained its reputation as "a well developed, sedate and prosperous place to live." The decade

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square; on Feb. 4, 1848 it reported that the lime for the square had been "brought from gas works" and that it gave off "a highly offensive odor." Pruning, Ibid., Feb. 17, 1848. Hedrick, Horticulture in America, 264, notes that between 1850-55 The Magazine of Horticulture listed several species of weeping trees, including oak, elm, beech, willow, ash and some forms of peach, cherry, plum, sophora, laburnum, catalpa and some conifers. "Drooping trees were pensive forms in nature to respond with what at this time was the highly regarded pensive in art," Hedrick explained. Ibid. "Magestic" quote from Jabez Burns, Notes on a tour in the United States, etc., (1847), 84; "fine large silver maple trees" mentioned in Public Ledger, Mar. 30, 1847; Downing, Landscape Gardening, 139, also noted that the Plane or Buttonwood grew "with great vigour in close cities," using those in the square as an example.

[90]In order, the three quotes from, Buckingham, America, II, 223; Buckingham, J.S. America, II, 33; Thomas Hamilton, Men and Manners in America (c. 1840), 194, INDE notecard.

of the 1850s, however, sowed the seed for enormous changes in the city's downtown which would hasten the decline of the neighborhood in the last decades of the century.[91]

At mid-century Philadelphia was the nation's largest industrial city, the leader in textiles and on its way to dominating the manufacture of locomotives, gas light fixtures, and many associated iron products. Railroads and canals brought coal from Pennsylvania's rich coal regions to the north, giving the city's mills and factories cheap fuel for steam power. Steamship lines carried freight to England and ports south, shipyards along the Delaware kept the merchant lines supplied, and the telegraph as of 1846, transformed the speed news traveled between New York, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.[92]

This era of optimistic expansion also brought immigration-- the decade of the 1840s saw a population increase of 58%, mostly foreign-born, in the city and suburbs-- followed by a rise in poverty and overcrowding, especially in the traditionally black neighborhood from Lombard south to Fitzwater, between Fifth to Eighth Streets. Riots and crime between the expanding ethnic and racial communities taxed the capabilities of the city until in 1854, the city and county finally incorporated in an effort to restore public order. This consolidation worked to stabilize the

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[91]First quote from Harpers Weekly, July 3, 1858; second quote Athenaeum, "A House in Washington Square," Annals, III, (March, 1957), 3.

[92]Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, 308-9, 312, 322-27; Fredric M. Miller, Morris J. Vogel, Allen F. Davis, Still Philadelphia A Photographic History, 1890-1940 (Philadelphia, 1983), 3, 5. Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia I, 721, noted that a new police and fire-alarm telegraph system connected Independence Square with points around the city. At the ceremony for the formal opening of the line in April 1856, the speed of communication through the telegraph signal "surprised and delighted" city officials.

government and remove obstacles in the path of progress.[93]

The formation of new banks during the decade of the 1850s also contributed to economic stability and stimulation. Chestnut Street remained the financial district, as the Farmers' and Mechanics National Bank (1853), the Bank of Pennsylvania and Philadelphia National Bank (1857) replaced the Lawrence House and the United States Hotel half a block east of Independence Square, across the street from the defunct Second Bank of the United States. By 1876 six banks lined Chestnut Street in the 400-block, and another ten could be found on or near Chestnut Street east of Fourth.[94]

The city's affluent and prosperous responded to the worsening urban conditions by moving westward to form new and fashionable neighborhoods. Rittenhouse Square won particular popularity among the city's elite once railroad millionaire Joseph Harrison Jr., completed his baronial home (1855) at the corner of Eighteenth and Locust Streets. Rittenhouse Square's new palisade fence (1852) enclosed tree-lined walks and large, dramatic water fountains, the rage of the day. Industrial and political leaders excluded from Philadelphia's high society had begun their own neighborhood of posh homes along North Broad Street. But the city's "fashionable quarter, 'par excellence,'" lay south of Market and west of Seventh Street.[95]

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[93]Weigley, Ibid., 308-9, 335.

[94] Farmers' and Mechanics NB, item # 128, Box 11, Campbell Collection, HSP; Wainwright, Philadelphia, 226, with illustration, 223, claimed that the U.S. Hotel continued to be the city's foremost hotel until 1850. Magee's Centennial Guide of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1876), 75, gives a full list of the banks in the city at that date.

[95]As quoted in Weigley, ed. Philadelphia, 310, 312, 314; Trina Vaux, "The Four Public Squares of Philadelphia," National Register Form, Oct. 13, 1980, p. 4; George B. Tatum, Penn's Great Town, 250 years of Philadelphia Architecture, (Philadelphia, 1961), 185;

Hotels along Chestnut Street's shopping district in mid-century reflected this trend westward. In 1844 the American Hotel with 105 rooms and two bathrooms opened across from Independence Hall as the largest and best hotel in the city. The next year the Washington House opened beyond Seventh. Seven years later the Girard House with room for 1000 guests reached completion at Ninth, and in 1853, La Pierre at Broad Street. The city had moved its center enough west by the next decade that the American Hotel was torn down, overshadowed by the Continental Hotel completed in 1860 at the corner of Ninth, long claimed to be the most magnificent hotel in the nation.[96]

The neighborhood surrounding Independence Square physically transformed with demolition and new construction. In 1849-50 Dr. David Jayne erected the city's first "skyscraper," an 8-story granite building on Chestnut below Third, for his patent medicine headquarters. Nearby at Third and Dock Streets the same year, Penn Mutual Insurance Company completed the city's first entirely cast-iron structure. In 1855 and 1856, the Pennsylvania Bible Society built a four-story brownstone as its publishing house at Washington Square, on the corner of Seventh and Walnut Streets; the new Masonic Hall reached completion on Chestnut west of Seventh; the Chestnut Street Theater came down to make way for

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Wolf, Philadelphia, 201, 222-4; Bobby E. Burke, Otto Sperr, Hugh J. McCauley, Trina Vaux, Historic Rittenhouse A Philadelphia Neighborhood, (Philadelphia, 1985), 15, which also notes that the fountains were soon after removed by Councils, due to the mud they created on the walkways. They also point out p. 10, that "west of Broad" was fashionable to 17th Street in the 1840s, and in the 1850s Rittenhouse Square was settled by well-to-do Philadelphians. p. 13.

[96] Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1, 733-4; Acc. #7277, Mus. Coll., INDE, shows a print of the American House's ruins. The catalogue description notes that the Pennsylvania Company for Insurance on Lives took the place of the American House. Wolf, Philadelphia, 188, notes that John McArthur, Jr. designed both the Girard House and the Continental Hotel. These two large hotels faced each other at Ninth and Chestnut Streets

office buildings, and Jaynes Hall opened on Chestnut Street's north side, between Seventh and Eighth.[97]

A series of devastating fires on Chestnut Street within ember reach of Independence Hall cleared several of downtown's older buildings away. On a frigid night (four degrees above zero) in December 1851, Abram Hart's four-story building on the corner of Sixth and Chestnut, occupied by a hat store, bookbinders, engravers and the local Whig Party, broke into flames. The fire destroyed Hart's and the building to its east, and then leaped Sixth Street to destroy Schenk's medicine store in the old Shakespearean building. This disaster posed quite a threat to the County Court House across the street on Independence Square, especially since all water supplies stood frozen and useless. Typical of the spirit of progress, however, a new five-story building, housing hat, cane and umbrella manufacturers, shortly was built to take the place of Hart's.[98]

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[97]Weigley, Philadelphia, 312; Scharf and Westcott, History, I, 719; Francis Burke Brandt and Henry Volkmar Gummere, Byways and Boulevards In and About Historic Philadelphia, (Philadelphia, 1925), 230; Rabzak, "Washington Square," 18.

[98]; H.G. Miglet [?] to Mrs. Herbert A. Claiborne, Feb. 3, 1852, Mrs. Herbert A. Claiborne file, Claiborne Papers, Virginia Historical Society, INDE notecard; Souder, History of Chestnut Street, 220, HSP; Scharf and Westcott, History, I, 703; lithograph, "New Hat Company, Hats, Caps, Canes, Umbrellas, &C., N.E. Corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets, Philadelphia," dated by INDE as 1855; lithograph of north side Chestnut, Sixth to Seventh, 1851, by Benjamin Ridgway Evans, (illus. in Weigley, Ibid., 282-3); lithograph, "Chestnut Street Theatre and Shakespeare Building,1830," copy in INDE photo file. Other Chestnut Street fires of the decade destroyed Bolivar's Hotel on between Sixth and Seventh on Dec. 17, 1857. Public Ledger Almanac, 1875, p. 3; Barnum's Museum on the southeast corner at Seventh in 1851, at the Public Ledger building at Third, and at James Earle's picture gallery in January and February 1852, and two others beyond Tenth, in 1854. These together must have reminded Philadelphia's officials of the inadequacy of the municipal alarm system introduced in 1828 using Independence Hall's new Strickland tower and Wilbank bell to alert fire companies and citizens of the fire's location. In 1856 City Councils passed an ordinance establishing a new electrical

Some fires were thought to have been arson, set by the very fire companies organized to fight them. The real estate losses put a financial strain on the city's insurance industry and new companies soon organized to meet the demand. The industry grew by leaps and bounds, so that by 1883 there were 259 local and European insurance conveyors, many of which had constructed new buildings or rented space in a district centered on Walnut Street just east of Fifth Street. Around 1856 Mutual Assurance Company moved its offices to Walnut Street across from Independence Square. While these commercial interests spread through the neighborhood, the former residential community continued to relocate in other areas of the rapidly expanding city.[99]

Residential expansion in outlying neighborhoods quickened dramatically with the January 1858 opening of the city's first trolley business along Fifth and Sixth Streets, through the heart of downtown. Horse-drawn omnibuses had been carrying citizens up and down the main arteries since the 1830s, but the ride over rutted or cobblestoned streets had provided a jolting service. The Philadelphia & Delaware Railroad Company laid seven and a half miles of track across the city from Southwark to Frankford, and immediately upon opening found enthusiastic patronage, despite a core group who protested that the streets were too narrow to accommodate them. Horse-drawn trolleys fast became the rage, and in their first year fourteen new companies were

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fire alert system for the city and county. Scharf and Westcott, Ibid., 621, 676,700, 704, 721; Jackson, Encyclopedia, II, Fire Alarms.

[99]Weigley, Ibid., 348; Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, III, 2120-2124, and a chart showing all the insurance companies, their type, and addresses during the three decades to 1883. Building files, Walnut Street, 500 Block file, Philadelphia Historical Commission; Photos of Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Co. at 510 Walnut, and several other insurance companies to the east, in Vol. 69, Walnut Street, Campbell Collection, HSP; Public Ledger Almanac, 1875, n.p.;Philadelphia and Its Environs [1872], 30.

chartered. City councils that year also authorized the market sheds to be taken down on Market Street to make room for trolleys. Within a few short years tracks crisscrossed the entire downtown and were pushing out into undeveloped areas.[100]

With its economy booming, Philadelphia in 1859 was recognized as the nation's model of American prosperity when federal officials selected it to receive the first Japanese delegation to the Western world. The envoy arrived in June 1860 and stayed at the city's newest and largest hotel, the Continental, on Chestnut Street at Ninth. Nearly half a million people crowded into the downtown streets to see the Oriental visitors and share in the moment of civic pride.[101]

Independence Hall also rose to be the nation's foremost national shrine and the Liberty Bell, its sacred icon. In 1851 Philadelphian Albert G. Waterman, Esq., proposed a national monument for Independence Square to be sponsored jointly by the thirteen original states. Although Councils designated a place in the center of the yard for the monument and the governors of most of the states met on the Fourth of July in the Hall to plan the memorial, the states could not reach consensus and the initiative ultimately died. City Councils agreed in 1852 to celebrate every Fourth of July in "Independence Hall" and two years later, purchased more than 100 of Charles Willson Peale's Colonial, Revolutionary and early national portraits when the collection went up for sale. These portraits formed the beginnings of a national museum the city placed in the Assembly Room of Independence Hall and opened to the public in February 1855. Nearby, on Sixth Street, at the "extensive cane factory" (perhaps

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[100]George J. Joyce, ed., Story of Philadelphia, (Philadelphia, 1919), 250; Weigley, Ibid., 316.

[101]Weigley, Ibid., 381-2.

the one at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets), the owner offered for sale beautiful souvenir canes said to be fashioned from pieces of Independence Hall.[102]

Increasingly national figures paid homage to American liberty at Independence Hall--Hungarian patriot Louis Kossuth in December 1851, famed orator Edward Everett on July 4, 1858, and Presidents Fillmore, Pierce and Buchanan during their successive terms of office. Others came to be honored after death--Henry Clay in 1852 and North Pole explorer Elisha Kent Kane in 1857 and President Abraham Lincoln in 1865 --who lay in state in the Assembly Room, while Philadelphians filed by to pay their last respects. Philadelphia and its citizens turned out with enthusiasm for these ceremonies; regularly Independence Square's buildings were illuminated, the city bells tolled, and huge military and civic processions surged down Chestnut Street to Independence Square. As a dignified approach for the caskets of fallen heroes, however, the city procession entered the square at the Walnut Street entrance and solemnly continued up the wide, tree-lined walk to Independence Hall.[103]

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[102]Scharf and Westcott, History, I, 706 and 711; quote from Public Ledger, Dec. 21, 1854; Historic Philadelphia, 35; Belisle, "History of Independence Hall," p. 74; Harper's Weekly, July 3, 1858 noted that while Philadelphians were "far too familiar" with Independence Hall, and thus did not "pay it due respect," the Liberty Bell remained "the chief attraction for the visitor."

[103] Public Ledger, Dec. 10, 22, 1851 recounted preparations for Kossuth's visit, including the construction of a stage "against the southern front of the building [Independence Hall]" where the Governor would address the crowd.; Scharf & Westcott, History, I, 703 (Kossuth), 706 (monument), 724 (Kane); Etting, Independence Hall, 198; Historic Philadelphia, 35; this source quotes from Everett's patriotic speech, including the line, "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." DAB entry for Kane.

Independence Square also continued to be the center for local politics. When Democratic Mayor Richard Vaux came into office in 1856, so many office-seekers arrived one day to see him, that reportedly the Chestnut Street sidewalk was "almost impassable." This may well be the occasion of the busy scene depicted in the 1856 oil by William E. Winner, "The Pie Man at the Corner of 5th and Chestnut Streets," which shows a swarm of people before City Hall. At James Buchanan's nomination that year there were "large and exceedingly enthusiastic meetings in the District Court room" and illuminations at night in his honor. In the square shortly after, a large ratification meeting, with Mayor Vaux presiding, continued the celebration. Politics of these years often flared over the issue of slavery, especially after Philadelphia's infant Republican Party the summer of 1855 launched a platform that hotly denounced the institution. As if in response, Phila-delphians in October voted in a landslide Democratic victory, voicing by ballot their strong anti-black, anti-abolitionist feeling.[104]

Philadelphia's blacks were living in a segregated world, denied access to the new trolleys and public schools and suffering from overcrowded, impoverished residential areas. No city in the nation, prominent black abolitionists William Wells Brown and Frederick Douglass agreed, could compare with Philadelphia's rampant "prejudice against color," its "colorphobia." Congress' Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 added a new level of fear and courage in Philadelphia's black community, while it pressed the city's whites to take sides. Quaker-led Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society and American Anti-Slavery Society never numbered more than 300 members, but they kept the

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[104]Quotes from Scharf and Westcott, History, I, 722; ft. nt. 1, on that page puts "almost impassable" in quotes, probably citing a contemporary newspaper account; Winner oil shown in Hines, et. al., The Larder Invaded, 77, which credits HSP as the source of the painting; Wolf, Philadelphia, 217; Weigley, Philadelphia, 349, 354.

abolitionist movement before the public, and ran the Underground Railroad's Philadelphia stations. At Independence Square the courtrooms were often jammed with anti-slavery men, there to give legal advise and moral support to blacks on trial. One in particular, the defense of the Christiana rioters accused of killing a Maryland slave owner in 1851, won national fame.[105]

During the 1850s blacks only represented about 4% of the city's population, but proportionately large numbers of their 22,000 lived downtown in the community adjoining Independence Square. In the city ward east of Washington Square, running from Chestnut Street south to South Street, blacks represented one fifth of the residents, many of them living as domestics in the homes of the wealthy politicians and professionals who found work in the courts and offices on Independence Square. Their presence in the midst of the affluent raised a level of discomfort in the neighborhood, and possibly helped spawn the racist cartoon published in a London magazine in 1876, showing two black men slouched on a Philadelphia park bench clearly abusing the park anti-loitering rules posted on a nearby sign.[106]

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[105]As quoted in Weigley, ed. Philadelphia, 386; also, 352-4, 388. None of the city's major newspapers supported the abolitionist cause.(388) Elizabeth M. Geffen, the author of the chapter, "Industrial Development and Social Crisis, 1841-1854," provides statistics on the city's black population in mid-century, including the fact that their population concentrated outside the city's original limits, from South to Fitzwater. She points out that blacks were forbidden in the city's public schools from their outset in 1837 until 1881, and despite the fact blacks set up separate schools for their children, the census of 1850 showed that nearly half of the 9000 blacks over 20 were illiterate, and many who could read, did not know how to write. (354).

[106]Weigley, ed. Philadelphia, 385; "At the Park, Restrictions to Freedom," caption in article, "Sketches in Philadelphia, by Our Special Artists," The Illustrated London News, June 17, 1876, 589, in Castner Collection, Reel 5, V. 40-46, Free Library of Philadelphia. The sketch shows a toadstood-style stool in the background, suggesting Independence Square may have been the subject of this cartoon. Black workers during this period were excluded from many

The Civil War

As the nation approached civil war, the political harangues at Independence Square heated up, as did the patriotic rhetoric. In 1859 a history of Independence Hall reminded its readers that it was a "shrine at which millions of American hearts worship and beat with thrilling intensity; it is a Mecca where unrestricted homage is paid." This appeal to national pride, however, did not unite public opinion; when secession seemed closer in December 1860, Councils asked the Mayor to call a public meeting in Independence Square to quell the fear of the union's dissolution. Mayor Henry presided over some 50,000 citizens, in an attempt to provide a conciliatory rally in support of both the Union and the South. Most of the speakers, however, sided with the South's cause and blamed the North for forcing the divisive politics. Another mass rally in January 1861 showed that many of Philadelphia's leading citizens still held abolitionists at fault for bringing on the potential of war.[107]

Councils made a fateful decision the next year by inviting President-elect Lincoln to Philadelphia to help commemorate George Washington's birthday. Lincoln drew a great crowd to Independence Square on February 21-22, 1861, when he stood before the Hall and raised the new 34-star flag (to include Kansas which had only entered the union a month earlier). In his short address Lincoln told the crowd that there was "something in that Declaration giving liberty, not alone to the people of this country, but hope to the world for all future time." He underscored that this meant lifting the weights "from the

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of the mills and factories, limiting drastically their job opportunities. Weigley, Ibid.

[107]Joyce, Philadelphia, 252; Weigley, ed.Philadelphia, 392-3; the city paid $250.45 for the Dec. 13, 1860 public meeting called for by Councils. Controllers Books, p. 270, Police, 1861, Phila. Arch.

shoulders of all men, and that all should have an equal chance."[108]

Perhaps Lincoln's now ironic words that day to show his devotion to the nation's founding principles-- "If this country cannot be saved without giving up that principle [of the Declaration of Independence], I was about to say, I would rather be assassinated on this spot than surrender it," --converted some of the listening audience. Philadelphians went to war in April 1861 with banners flying, and "agitated, earnest young men" crowding the streets, pressing to enlist for the Union. Independence Square throughout the war served as a hub of military and political news.[109]

Some of Philadelphia's women joined the war effort in July 1862 when a number of ladies met in attorney Edward Brady's office across the street from Independence Square, at 135 S. Fifth Street, to organize "The Ladies' Association for Soldiers' Relief." These women served up special dinners at the local army hospitals, and some braved the battlefield at Antietam and Gettysburg to nurse the wounded. Elizabeth Duane Gillespie, "an energetic proto-feminist" and great-granddaughter of Benjamin Franklin, was among such women who dedicated themselves to supporting the Union cause. [110]

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[108]As quoted in Weigley, ed.Philadelphia, 393-4;

[109]Lincoln's speech as quoted in, Etting, Independence Hall, 199; crowd quote from Sidney George Fisher's diary as quoted in Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, 408; 396.

[110]Taylor, Philadelphia in the Civil War, 1861-1865, (Philadelphia, 1913), 307; Mrs. E.D. Gillespie, A Book of Remembrance, (Philadelphia and London, 1901), 7, 15, 87-88, 110-111, 114, 119. According to her own account, Gillespie grew up on Walnut Street, across from Independence Square. My thanks to Doris Fanelli for pointing out this source. Weigley, ed. Philadelphia, 412; Wolfe, Philadelphia, described Mrs. Gillespie as a "proto-feminist", 219; Winifred K. Mackay, "Philadelphia During the Civil War, 1861-1865,"

Independence Square's patriotic associations made it the center for all the city's recruitment in the Fall of 1862, when Philadelphia rushed to raise fresh troops to protect Pennsylvania from a pending invasion by the Confederate Army under General Lee. Posters advertising regimental recruitment stations listed as many as twenty-two within one block of the square, most of them on Walnut and Chestnut Streets, within view of Independence Hall. Probably the most successful recruitment station, however, was on the square itself. On September 8, 1862, twenty-four Sibley tents were put up in rows along the main walk between the Walnut Street entrance and Independence Hall. As Frank Taylor recalled, "That evening the scene presented was one never to be forgotten. Myriad lights were festooned from the beautiful old trees and among the tents. Birgfeld's famous band rendered inspiring patriotic music, but far louder was the roar of the drums calling for recruits." In only three days, Camp Independence recruited 295 young men, and as far as Taylor was concerned, the square had not seen "such a wonderful scene" since the days of the Declaration's reading.[111]

Camp Independence continued into October, maintaining its recruiting levels so high that the Jefferson stations moved their operations to Independence Square, as "no place" in the city was so "advantageous for recruiting purposes." Here, also, workers from Baldwin's locomotive works came, lunch pails in hand, after Governor Curtin's September 11th emmergency call for volunteers to protect Harrisburg from rebel attack. Recruiting became acute

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Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 70 (January 1946), 30.

[111]Taylor, Philadelphia in the Civil War, 247; 302, which gives a list of recruiting stations in the city which Taylor compiled from the Ridgway Library's poster collection. This writer in turn compiled a list of the stations around Independence Square. Public Ledger, Sept. 11, Oct. 23, 1862; See Appendix .Scharf and Westcott, History, I, 802; Mackay, "Philadelphia During the Civil War," 31.

again in the summer of 1863 when Confederate forces once more threatened to invade the state. Frank Leslie's June 1863 sketch of the Mayor's office shows the Old City Hall building plastered with handbills calling for recruits, including "able bodied Colored Men" who were finally called to serve following the Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation in January. Blacks responded to the opportunity, even though they were paid less, made to serve three-year or duration terms, and could not for their own protection, wear the uniform or carry arms while marching past Independence Square on their way to Camp William Penn in Cheltenham Township.[112]

Political party leaders tended not to go to the front lines. Instead, they promoted their platforms, sometimes at public rallies in Independence Square. Democratic Peace Party leaders, many of them like Charles Ingersoll, George W. Biddle, George M. Wharton, and William B. Reed-- members of Philadelphia's first families-- promoted their anti-abolitionist, anti-war crusade throughout most of the war. After the draft act of March 1863 a local diarist noted "These traitors... are growing bolder every day; denouncing our government in the most unmeasured way." Councils five months earlier had proposed that the square no longer be available for political meetings, perhaps in reaction to the Democratic jubilee in Independence Square held a week earlier to celebrate election victories in Pennsylvania and Ohio. By the close of war, the Peace Democrats had lost public support in Philadelphia. Their opposition and skepticism about the Union cause had sullied their reputations, while gaining the Republican

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[112]Quote from Public Ledger, Oct. 23, 1862; Weigley, ed. Philadelphia, 410 cites the diary of George W. Fahnestock who described several hundred ununiformed black recruits marching up Sixth Street to Chestnut and up Chestnut with banners flying to the sounds of a fife and drum corps. Leslie's sketch in Taylor, Philadelphia in the Civil War, 215. Taylor also quotes on p. 188, an appeal to colored recruits which Frederick Douglass, E.D. Bassett, William D.Forten, and several others signed.

Party a foothold in Philadelphia that persisted for nearly a century.[113]

Independence Square also served as ceremonial grounds to celebrate victories on the battle field. When word of General Lee's defeat at Gettysburg arrived on July 5, 1863, the Union League organized a grand patriotic parade down Chestnut Street to Independence Hall, where appropriate speeches were delivered. Two days later, news of the fall of Vicksburg brought on spontaneous cheering and rejoicing from a large crowd gathered before Independence Hall. Another long year and a half passed before the April 3, 1865 news flash that "Richmond is ours," when the city exploded with exuberance. All the courtrooms on the Square emptied, the bell in the steeple rang out, American flags waved over the sidewalks, and crowds packed the streets to celebrate the coming peace. Again, the Union League led a patriotic parade to the Hall, and the Public Ledger anticipated that on the Fourth of July the buildings on the square would be "a blaze of glory" with the gas jets arranged to form stars and the names of distinguished Union generals.[114]

Tragically the city's rejoicing was cut short less than three weeks later with the news of President Lincoln's assassination. Citizens draped the city in black and crowded the streets on April 22nd to watch the long funeral procession bearing Lincoln's casket to Independence Hall. Sergeants marching

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[113]Fahnestock diary as quoted in Weigley, ed. Philadelphia, 407; also, 391-93, 405-7, 412-13; Mackay, "Philadelphia During the Civil War," 34-5; Nov. 6, 1862 entry in Journal of Select Council, July 10, 1862-Jan. 2, 1863, p. 202., which explained that meetings would be banned "in order to avoid defaming the City and to vindicate the sanctity of the Hall of Independence."

[114]As quoted in Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, I, 822 and Wolf, Philadelphia, 221; Mackay, "Philadelphia During the Civil War," 43; Public Ledger, July 4, 1865; Taylor, Philadelphia in the Civil War, 351.

lock-step escorted the catalfque along the main walk from Walnut to the "Declaration Chamber." The first night from 10pm to midnight ticketed guests were invited to pay their respects. The next day the doors opened at 6 AM for the public viewing. People began forming the line by 4:30 AM and eventually it stretched along Chestnut Street past Broad Street. During that long day some 85,000 people passed through Independence Hall to see Lincoln lying in state.[115]

Recovery and Dynamic Urban Growth

At the close of the Civil War Philadelphia moved into a new era of dynamic growth and social change. The city came alive with new construction. Cheap land and 129 miles of trolley and suburban railroad tracks in 1864 led to the spread of the city's gridiron in every direction. By 1893 public rails covered 212 miles and the plethora of new rowhouses had won Philadelphia the name "City of Homes." By that decade, too, Philadelphia stood as one of the world's foremost industrial centers, with more than 20,000 manufacturers. This explosion of technology and urban development after the Civil War left Independence Square in a declining neighborhood when John MacArthur's grand new City Hall building was finally completed in 1895.[116]

The decision to move the city and county offices to Penn Square came in 1870, after the state legislature called for a referendum to choose between Washington or Penn Squares. The vote decidedly fell to the Broad Street location, where already many of the city's institutions stood or were underway--the Union

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[115]Wolfe, Philadelphia, 221, includes photo of the procession in front of the Square, at Fifth and Chestnut Streets; Etting, Independence Hall, 199-200; Joyce, Philadelphia, 265.

[116]Weigley,ed., Philadelphia, 421; Miller, et. al.,Still Philadelphia, xvi.

League (1865), the grand Masonic Hall (1869-73), the Academy of Music (1857), the Academy of Natural Sciences, among them. The referendum was the answer to a strong public opposition to City Councils' appointment of commissioners in December 1868 to design a new municipal center on Independence Square, a plan that called for clearing all the buildings except Independence Hall off the block. The city had just completed a new Court House along Sixth Street south of Congress Hall in 1867, having reinterpreted the legal ban on building in the square, and remained determined to relieve the crowded conditions so long suffered in the old eighteenth century complex.[117]

In 1868 Independence Square still had many inviting features to encourage Councils to adapt the site for its uses. In 1867 the new Public Ledger building--said to be the "most complete, perfect, and beautiful building for newspaper purposes in the nation"-- reached completion on the corner of Chestnut and Sixth. The city's new central Post Office building (1863) stood just below Fifth on Chestnut; the powerful Board of Trade faced the Mayor's Office across Chestnut Street, and the street's many handsome stores and nearby hotels together anchored the neighborhood as the city's business center. Besides, municipal officials could live nearby in the appealing residential section around Washington Square, which as a public square continued to offer welcome shade in an arboretum-like setting.[118]

Philadelphia's social center, however, already "was much farther to the westward" and commerce was steadily relocating there as well. Many of the promoters of the Penn site appreciated

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[117]Wolf, Philadelphia, 222; Weigley, ed. Philadelphia, 422-26; this source also notes that the cornerstone for the new city hall was laid on July 4, 1874.

[118]As quoted in Wolfe, Philadelphia, 212; Philadelphia and Its Environs, (Philadelphia, 1872), 23; "Chestnut Street," Campbell Collection, Box 11, HSP; Rabzak, "Washington Square," 18.

this fact; others favored relocation of city government to protect the historic buildings on Independence Square. Once the public voted in favor of Penn Square, the impetus to maintain Independence Hall as a patriotic shrine grew apace.[119]

Patriotic Plans for Independence Square

Patriotic demonstrations, in fact, had never ceased with the close of war. In July 1866 the city set up an amphitheater seating 5000 just south of the tower door and hung a "garden of banners" in the square for the return of the Pennsylvania flags. An immense crowd, including children orphaned by the war, attended. A military band and chorus sang from the tower, and "tears of patriotic joy" were shed as Major-General Meade handed over 200 flags to Governor Curtin. As a final touch, artillery stationed in Washington Square closed the ceremonies with a cannon salute.[120]

In September 1868 Councils affirmed the square's use for public meetings by "any responsible parties" and the next month granted honorably discharged soldiers and sailors permission to hold a mass meeting there. Two years later the Common Councils also recorded that authorization had been given "to our colored citizens" for an April 1 mass meeting to celebrate the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution, which gave all [male] citizens the right to vote, regardless of race or previous

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[119]Quote from Charles I. Lukens, "Paper on the Erection of Public Buildings in Independence Square read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania," Dec. 13, 1869, MSS, No. 17, Box No. 2, HSP, as cited in INDE notecard.

[120]A bill survived showing that councils authorized $10,000 for the 1866 event. City Controller's Reports, Receiver of Taxes, City Controller, Treasurer Solicitor, Clerks of Councils, Ice Boat, Municipal Archives, p. 199-200, as cited in INDE notecard. Taylor, Philadelphia in the Civil War, 315; Philadelphia Inquirer, July 5, 1866, p. 2 (copy in INDE Mus. coll.)

servitude.[121]

Joseph Leeds in 1870 kicked off local planning for the nation's Centennial by publishing his scheme to transform Independence Square's row of buildings into a major museum of the American Revolution. For the grounds, Leeds proposed a host of patriotic features symbolic of the Revolution. George F. Gordon's plan of 1875 likewise featured patriotic themes, and, like Leeds, the erection of the Independence Monument of the thirteen original states in the center of the square. Both men envisioned removing what they saw as the non-historic structures from the square. In the end, the city used the plan designed by the Commissioner of Markets and City Property, William F. Dixey.[122]

Working together, the city and patriotic-minded citizens saw to the relandscaping of the square and the development of the National Museum in Independence Hall in time for the opening of the Centennial Exposition on the west side of Fairmount Park in the spring of 1876. Independence Square's moment of glory came between July 2 and July 4, when thousands paraded, patriotic music played, cannons fired, the new Independence bell tolled thirteen peals, 10,000 soldiers marched in testimony of the nation's continued strength, and leaders from other states, the nation, and other countries joined in with 50-100,000 spectators to celebrate the nation's Centennial. The program featured the president or vice-president of the United States, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Richard Henry Lee (reading the Declaration of Independence), and chief counsel William M. Evarts, who delivered

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[121]Journal of Common Council, 1868, II, 118, App. 73; 1868, II, 107, App. 61; 1870, I, 264, App. 409;

[122]Joseph Leeds, One Hundredth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, (Philadelphia, 1872), 15-19; George F. Gordon, Centennial Thoughts. Independence Square. A Plan for Its Permanent Improvement, (Philadelphia, 1875), 4; Phila. Inquirer, June 23, July 22, 1875.

the oration. The program closed with Handel's "Messiah," and the Doxology (Psalms 100).

For women, the nation's centennial in Philadelphia inspired both enthusiasm and public protest. Recruited to help promote the event, the local Women's Centennial Committee, under the shrewd leadership of Elizabeth Duane Gillespie, planned for a special exhibit to show women's work. When the Centennial Commission, composed only of men, denied them space in the Main Building, the women raised the needed funds for their own pavilion. By leading a successful nationwide fund-raising campaign, the Committee won the attention of feminists who already were reluctant to celebrate the Centennial while women remained legally and politically enslaved. Leaders in the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), these women intended to publicize to the world "that the women of 1876 know and feel their political degradation no less than did the men of 1776." Thus, they tried repeatedly to secure a place on the Fourth of July program at Independence Square, only to be snubbed. On the day of the celebration, Susan B. Anthony and four other NWSA members, managed to get last minute passes for seats at the event. During the ceremony Anthony stood up, marched down a crowded aisle, climbed up to the stage, and presented the stunned Thomas Ferry, acting United States vice president, with the Woman's Declaration of Rights, signed by the most prominent suffragists of the day.[123]

Despite such protest, the Centennial celebration won Independence Square loyal patriotic volunteers. The Independence Hall restoration committee continued to work on a catalog for the portraits in Independence Hall and the Sons of Temperance received permission to put their ice water fountain from the

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[123]Mary Francis Cordato, "Towards a New Century: Women and the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition, 1876," Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography 108 (Jan. 1983), 116, 130-31.

exposition grounds in the square, and maintain it for the public enjoyment.[124]

For the Constitution's Centennial Jubilee on September 17, 1887, patriotism flared again producing a grand ceremony in the square. Sousa led the Marine Corps band and a chorus of 2000 public school boys sang. An estimated crowd of 20,000 came to hear President Stephen Grover Cleveland and Supreme Court Justice Samuel F. Miller make their addresses from a "vast stage" set up on the south side of Independence Hall. The guests included former President Rutherford B. Hayes and vice-president Hannibal Hamlin. Mrs. Cleveland, cabinet members and wives, senators, congressmen, representatives of the military and the Grand Army of the Republic. The next April, still stirred by patriotic intentions, civic leaders joined forces with the governors of the thirteen states to plan for a "grand National Monument" to commemorate the constitution, to be erected within the city limits.[125]

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[124]S. Edgar Trout, The Story of the Centennial of 1876 Golden Anniversary, (Philadelphia, 1923), 139-144. Trout claimed that 100,000 spectators were "hushed into silence" as the tower's clock approached midnight on July 3rd. At the tolling of the bell at midnight, the crowd greeted the Fourth with "a shout as had never been heard in Philadelphia before." Trout gives a colorful description of each of three days of celebration in the square. Etting, Independence Hall, 202-3;Second Report of the Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, April 20, 1874, Frank M. Etting, Chairman. Pamphlet at HSP; "International Exhibition, 1876. The National Commemoration, July 4, 1876," program, INDE Mus. Coll., #3482, Box 3; The National Centennial Commemoration, "Ceremonies in Independence Square, July 1, 1876" Program in INDE Mus. Coll, #3481, Box 3;. The program listed Brazil's emperor, Dom Pedro II, as a featured guest at the ceremony. Trout, p. 143, added Prince Oscar of Sweden and Lt. Gen. Saigo of Japan.

[125]"Constitutional Centennial Jubilee," Sept. 17, 1887, a program in INDE Mus. Coll., Box 3, #2893; "Historic Grounds Report," 18; Nykamp, "Guide to Chew Collection," 9, lists the 1878 Catalogue of Portraits and furniture of Independence Hall. Select and Common Councils endorsed the constitution monument proposals on June 7, 1888. Common Council Journal, 1888, I, 181, 192, App. p.

While Independence Square retained its popularity as a patriotic shrine, long-time institutional neighbors moved westward. In 1880 the Library Company of Philadelphia, after eighty-eight years on Fifth Street, took possession of their new building on Locust and Juniper Streets. Library Hall, purchased by the Central News Company, lingered until 1887 before being demolished to make room for progress. A parting photograph showed its neglected, forlorn condition.[126]

The American Philosophical Society also wanted to leave Independence Square to move west to a more fashionable address, but their efforts, for various reasons, failed. Resigned to staying, the Society in 1890 added a third floor and mansard roof to give Philosophical Hall's library more space. Angry citizens organized to have Councils banish the Society from Independence Square; they cited among their complaints the fact that the harmony of the historic buildings had been destroyed by the unsightly addition. Councils introduced the resolution, but did not act on it; a warning, however, had gone out-- the guardians of the square's heritage were growing ever more vigilant.[127]

During the 1880s the neighborhood witnessed historic events and several dramatic changes. The Liberty Bell for the first time in its history went on tour (1885), carried by railroad to New

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132, as cited on notecard. This campaign evidently died soon after.

[126]"Demolition of Library Hall," Photo by Marriot C. Morris, Apr. 26, 1887, copy in INDE photo files, #9170. As of 1875 another building boom was in progress, with some 450-600 savings and loans companies active to help potential buyers. Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, 421; Historic Philadelphia, 143-144.

[127]The Philosophical Society in the early 1860s purchased a building lot on Penn Square, with the understanding that the City wanted to take over Philosophical Hall to relieve overcrowding. This deal fell through, as did later attempts to sell the Hall to the city. See Ibid., 52-54. Wolf, Philadelphia, 220; Weigley, Ibid., 54.

Orleans for the World's Industrial and Cotton Exposition, as a gesture to ease the wounds of war and engender a new age of patriotic pride. That same year banker Anthony J. Drexel began his eight-story office building across from Independence Square, on the southeast corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets. It and the Public Ledger building at Sixth and Chestnut Streets, dominated the skyline as the only large-scale buildings on Independence Square. Soon there would be others even larger.[128]

Electricity was introduced to the street lamps along Chestnut Street this decade, and to the first of the street trolleys in December 1892. Within five years all 400 miles of trolley track in the city had been converted. Telegraph (and telephone?) lines crossed over the square, connecting the neighborhood with points westward. The Bell Telephone Company opened an office in 1878 one block east of the square, and by 1884 three competing phone companies had also located on Chestnut Street, two near Tenth, and the other near Bell.[129]

In the decade of the 1890s, the Independence Square neighborhood became more a center for the publishing and insurance industries, while retaining vestiges of its former dominance in commerce and trade. People were able to commute by trolley in less than fifteen minutes from residential neighborhoods beyond Broad Street to offices around Independence Square. As the population moved west, Independence Square lost its value as "the lungs of the city," but gained new advocates

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[128]John C. Paige, and David C. Kimball, "The Liberty Bell of Independence National Historical Park: A Special History Study," (Denver, c. 1985), 31; Historic Philadelphia, 144; Tatum, Penn's Great Town, 185.

[129]Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, 1, 2134-5; Morris, Vogel, and Davis, Still Philadelphia, 171. Two historic photographs of the square during the 1880s show multiple lines crossing over the square. CN 18018-A, INDE Photo files and Mus. Acc. # 7261, Mus. Coll., INDE.

for its preservation and restoration as a shrine of American democracy.[130]

Independence Square Landscape Changes and Plans, 1850-1873

In mid-century two city maps (1849 and 1860) show the layout of the square, with its tree-lined central walk, serpentine paths, corner entrances at Walnut Street, and a path crossing at the middle of the square in a line with Library and George Streets. It was a simple and practical design, little changed from the first landscape laid out by Samuel Vaughan in 1785. Besides the lowering of the wall and the addition of new paths and entrances, the most notable difference was the size of the trees--they had grown majestic and massive.[131]

In 1855 and 1858 the city judged several of the older trees weak and decayed, and for public safety, cut them down. The Controllers Office allocated $500 specifically for their replacement. The new trees, as the Public Ledger pointed out, were to continue the legacy from the Revolutionary era: "The trees of this Square are not only venerable from age, but from association and command the respect of everybody." The Evening Bulletin reported that a variety of trees were selected, including magnolia, dogwood and silver bell, and several named after Founding Father's--the California Washingtonia Gigantia,

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[130]Public Ledger Almanac, 1876, 29, called Philadelphia's city parks the "lungs of the city." Photos from the 1880s show a faint outline of heavy wires--a profile of six or eight adjoining one another-- strung out across the square. See undated photo, Cat. #7261, INDE Mus. Coll., and Photo #9187 INDE Photo files, which originally came from the Joseph Jackson papers.

[131]J. C. Sydney, Civil Engineer and Surveyor, "Map of the City of Philadelphia," (Philadelphia, 1849); there were two 1860 maps, which showed the same basic layout of the square: S.L.Smedley, "Smedley's Atlas of Philadelphia," 1860; Hexamer & Locher, Maps of the City of Philadelphia, I, 1860.

known to grow 300 to 400 feet, and the Franklinia. On another occasion, in the Fall of 1859, Krause and Miller supplied "Walnuts & Shelbarks"--Walnut and hickory trees-- for Independence Square (and Washington and Franklin Squares as well). As D.W. Belisle's History of Independence Square (1859) suggests, these replacement trees made little visual impact on the grove of lofty shade trees which characterized the square:

> two hundred and ten of various kinds, whose ubrageous arms interlock, and form a canopy of verdure, through which numerous squirrels gamboe, and among which the birds twitter, and build their nests. Among these stately sentinels ...there are several varieties, the horse-chestnut, elm, maple, buttonwood, &c., and but one small evergreen.[132]

During the 1860s the old trees on the square were attacked by insects. Councils ordered the Commissioner of City property to "have the trees and railings in and around Independence Square and the other public Squares cleared of cocoons now hanging on the branches of the same." With this directive, they made a special appropriation for tree cleansing and for experiments "to determine a method to destroy the insects injurious to the trees." As the Public Ledger reported, steam engines pumped a "heavy stream of water" on each tree, which effectively cleared

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[132]Public Ledger, Mar. 27, 1855, p. 1; the City Controllers Report for 1858, p. 265, indicates that decayed trees had been removed, but that the Commissioner of City Property had not yet replanted. The Controllers pressed them to proceed, but the record does not confirm it was done. City Controllers Reports, 1854-1859, City Arch. Library Company has in its Philadelphia Miscellaneous Views [Scrapbooks], Vol. 3, p. 4, a lithograph from Independence Hall's steeple that shows the southeast corner of the square through the treetops, and clearly indicates a section of the serpentine walk and corner entrance. Copy Neg. No. EODC 3955, INDE photo files. Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, Friday, November 19, 1858; Belisle, 72-74. An 1862 Civil War photo shows the deep shade created by the interlocking trees.

them of the worms.[133]

Such efforts to upkeep the square probably attracted few new visitors. Wealthy and affluent residents of the neighborhood favored Washington Square across the street, or a visit to the landscaped gardens along the Schuylkill River, at the several grand estates, Laurel Hill Cemetery, or the newly-created Fairmount Park (1855). Many probably would have agreed with politician and publisher, John Binns, who complained in 1854 that Independence Square was "the only unimproved square in Philadelphia," or with George Foster, who reported that he found the square "a pretty well-trodden grass-plot cut up with broad gravel-walks and shaded with venerable trees."[134]

Part of Independence Square's decline in popularity had to do with unsavory "idlers" who for decades had lounged on the seats, making them unavailable for women and children in the square. The city had tried removing the seats and replacing them (1842) with two dozen stools, but the public soon called for the return of seats with backs. City records show that in 1858

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[133]Journal of Select Council, Jan. 5-July 2, 1863, pp. 194, 260; Public Ledger, June 6, 1864.

[134]Binns, "Recollections," p. 194, as quoted in typed note in Sellers Papers, Folder 3, INDE Coll. When completed in 1836, Laurel Hill Cemetery became a fashionable destination for those with carriages. Wolf, Philadelphia, 173, 175; Councils set aside the Fairmount Water Works and Lemon Hill property as the nucleus of Fairmount Park by ordinance dated September 15, 1855. Weigley,ed. Philadelphia, 376; Binns, Recollections, 194. Binns describes the other parks as "enriched with fragrant flowers, shrubs and trees" and the "air purified" with the "sweetest grass, and occasionally mown hay."; George G. Foster, "Philadelphia in Slices," PMHB 93 (Jan. 1969), 72. Foster wrote a series of eleven essays on Philadelphia when he worked as a reporter for the city's North American. This essay on "The Hall of Independence," he dated Feb. 15, 1849. Boyd, A History, 25-28. sketches the popularity of such Schuylkill estates as Belmont, Woodlands, Bush Hill, and the Hills, purchased in 1844 as Lemon Hill, the cornerstone property (1855) of Fairmount Park.

"chairs" were put in Independence and Franklin Squares, but no description of them was given. These tactics didn't change public opinion. As D. W. Belisle concluded, the square's reputation had not improved since its first troubles with "the dissolute and tavern frequenters" who had hung out there at the turn of the century. The city next considered a bill (1862) to introduce "seats with backs," having "an iron frame with oaken slats similar to those in Central Park, New York City." Evidently this proposal did not win Councils' approval, for in 1869 the Inquirer reported that the Superintendent of the Squares had added more stools. As the article put it, they consisted of "a few seats of somewhat novel design" made of "sheet iron tops of a convex form, with a hole drilled through the centre, so that the water cannot accumulate, but runs through to the ground." The reporter whistfully noted, "As long as we are to have toad stools, it seems that these are an improvement."[135]

The city also controlled loiterers and other undesirables by fencing them out. Belisle pointed out that the iron palisades that bordered the square had been built to be "sufficiently massive and high to protect the grass-plats, trees and shrubbery from outside intrusion," and that they were "still objects of admiration." Evidently Belisle spoke for a sector of the public who thought restricted access to the square helped with property security, a notion the city at least tacitly supported. Belisle found eight different gates to gain entrance to the square. The

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[135]Belisle, 31; Public Ledger, July 12, 1849; Journals of Councils, 1842-42, Common Council, Appen., p.108; Public Ledger, July 30, 1846 and Aug. 27, 1847, for public pressure. The latter quotes R. Buist who thought the public squares should have "cast iron settees and tables of Gothic patterns." entry for July 24, 1862, Journal of Select Council, July 10, 1862-Jan. 1, 1863, p. 36, App. p. 38; "chairs" in entry for May 14, 1858, City Controllers Reports, City Property, 1854-1859, p. 261; Public Ledger, April 17, 1862; entry for July 24, 1862, Journal of Select Council, July 10, 1862-Jan. 2, 1863, 36, App. p. 38; toadstool quotes from Philadelphia Inquirer, July 22, 1869.

main entrance through Independence Hall served as one, and on either side of it, through the iron fence behind the Mills Buildings, were two others. Gates also gave access to the square at both Walnut Street corners, in the center of the block on Walnut, and at the center of the Fifth and Sixth Streets sides of the square.[136]

The fencing also proved necessary when the city accepted eight peacocks from a Delaware citizen in 1853 and deposited them in Independence Square. But the same fencing sometimes proved an obstacle for the numerous workers going to and from their jobs across the square. An 1850 petition called for a new gateway in the palisade fence on Sixth Street "near the southwest door of the Court of Quarter Sessions," which likely was carried out, as Belisle recorded a narrow gate south of both Congress Hall and Philosophical Hall. Over the years public opinion grew in favor of removing all the fencing from the city's public squares. A proposal to that effect which came before the City Property Committee in 1872 was voted down, but only two years later, the palisade fence and wall were removed for the Centennial redesign of the square. [137]

In 1852 gas lighting was introduced to accommodate political rallies in the square. Gas lights lit the new platform erected "immediately in the rear of the southern entrance" to the Hall by Jemmy Owens, "the indefagitable caterer for public meetings in Independence Square," (as well as the janitor for the County Courthouse). The new platform stood "in the same position," as

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[136]Belisle, ibid.

[137]Public Ledger, April 14 and 29, 1853, reported that a "gentleman in Delaware" had given a gift of eight peacocks for Washington and Independence Squares. "Diary of Jacob Elfreth," 23, p. 62, MSS, Haverford College, records that he had stopped twice at the square in the spring of that year to see the peacocks. Belisle, 31; Inquirer, May 29, 1872.

earlier ones and was deemed "an ornament to the Square." As the reporter covering the first Whig Party meeting in September observed, the gas lights were set up with "pipes from two trees, on either side of the avenue, and burners attached to each pillar on the stand." This new lighting provided a great improvement over the former use of candles and lamps, which had been "barely sufficient to render darkness visible." Within the year, Councils placed new gas lamps throughout the square, making it convenient to keep the park open until ten o'clock at night during the summer.[138]

Although an 1863 travel book still could compare the square's grass to "the greensward of the Emerald Isle itself," the Civil War years, with its troop encampments and mass meetings, damaged the grounds, giving them more the "appearance of a common," than a public square. In 1865 the Commissioner of City Property sowed grass seed to try to restore its former look, but the heavy flow of pedestrian traffic continued to trample down the lawn. As an 1872 guidebook to the city derisively noted, Independence Square had "lofty and green" trees overhead, but "the ground beneath them" had been "beaten hard by the tread of countless feet crossing it in every direction," leaving the square with "little that is park-like in its appearance."[139]

Maintenance upkeep to the pavements, wall, privies and walks

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[138]Public Ledger, July 1, 28, Sept.3, 28, 1852; July 4, 1853 reported that Councils had decided to have lamps placed in the square. This decision followed a petition to Select Council to keep the square open from sunrise to lamplighting and when the lamps in until 10 o'clock. Ibid., Apr. 15, 1853; "Diary of Jacob Elfreth", 23, p. 215.

[139]Quotes from Horatio P. Batcheler, Jonathan at Home, or, a Stray Shot at the Yankees (1863), 160; and Public Ledger, Mar. 21, 1865; and "Philadelphia and Its Environs," 1872, 31. The heavy traffic through the square no doubt prompted the city to add the diagonal paths evident in the Etting collection photograph cited above.

weighed on the city budget. Bills paid in 1854 for "taking up old pavements, digging & setting flagstones, ...paving" evidently covered "Tearing up and repaving brick pavement in front of the office of Receiver of Taxes," on the Chestnut Street footway. In 1860 the city repaved the footways all around the square with brick. In 1854, and again in 1860, the three privy wells or cesspools were cleaned out and dug deeper. In 1857 they worked on the walks, probably adding more gravel. In 1858 Councils had to make a special appropriation to replace a long section of the south wall and to repair its palisade fence. The wall had collapsed under the weight of numerous spectators who climbed up on it during a large celebration of the successful laying of the Atlantic Cable. Councils also relaid and paved the water course and refreshed the walks with 20 loads of gravel. The next Spring 45 more loads of gravel were hauled in and additional bricklaying accomplished (location unspecified).[140]

Proper drainage for the buildings and grounds also ate into the budget as a recurring maintenance problem. In 1862 the city dug a deep trench the length of the square and laid stone pipes to connect with the Walnut Street culvert. This improvement was intended to carry off drainage from the buildings, as well as the "contents of the water-closets." No doubt it answered complaints that the cesspool behind the east wing had become "offensive and unhealthy," and Councils' inquiry whether the offensive urinal could be removed. Drainage on the Chestnut Street side of the buildings was corrected by the city with two trenches to drain off the water "from roof conductors and hydrants" that flowed

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[140]Public Ledger, Nov. 11, 1854, p. 1; Auditors Bill Book, Oct. 1853-June 1854, p 480, City Archives. The south wall collapse was described in Public Ledger, Aug. 3, 1897, clipping in Scrapbook # 2, INDE micro; Controllers Books, City Property, Dec. 29-30, 1858, between pp. 124-5; Controllers Reports, City Property, 1854-1859, pp. 380-394, City Arch. My appreciation goes to Tina Lecoff, historical landscape architect, who identified Shellbark as a type of hickory tree, latin name Cary a ovata.

over the footway. At the same time, the city resurfaced the Chestnut Street sidewalk with flagstone from the new curb to the public buildings, a project that remained incomplete in June 1871, due to a shortage of funds.[141]

The flagstone sidewalk laid in 1870 came a year after two other improvements on the Chestnut Street frontage. A marble statue of George Washington and two granite drinking fountains were placed there in 1869, gifts from a patriotic group and a newly organized benevolent society. Philadelphia's public school children had begun collecting for the Washington statue in 1860, under the auspices of the Washington Monument Fund, George F. Gordon, President. The funds were used to buy the statue executed by Joseph Alexis Bailey for the U.S. Sanitary Commission Fair in 1864. The statue was placed before Independence Hall on a ten-foot-high Virginia granite pedestal. Carved on the base's north face was the inscription, "Erected by the Washington Monument association of the First School District of Pennsylvania, July 4th, 1869." For the dedication Councils ordered that all the street trees on either side of Washington's statue and in front of it be cut down because they "interfered with" the view of the monument from a distance. (This drastic measure seems not to have taken place, as James Cremer's photographs of the Chestnut Street front in the early 1870s still show good-sized trees.) Later that month they had a four-foot-high palisade fence constructed two feet from the statue's pedestal to protect it from harm.[142]

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[141]March 31, 1870 entry in Journal of Common Council, 1870, I, 265, App. 409-10, and June 22, 1871 entry in Ibid., 1871, I, 569, App. 676, City Arch.;Public Ledger, Apr. 15, July 22, 1870; according to city records, two workers were killed when the trench to Walnut Street caved in on them. Apr. 4 entry, City Controllers Reports, Appropriations, 1860-1862, p. 77.

[142]"Dedication of the Statue of Washington, Presented by the Pupils of the Public Schools to the City of Philadelphia, Monday, July 5, 1869," Program, INDE Mus. Coll. Box 3, # 2696,; according to Penny Balkin Bach in Public Art in Philadelphia (Philadelphia,

The Philadelphia Fountain Society donated the two granite water fountains for "thirsty men and suffering beasts" and the city placed them at either end of the Chestnut Street curb. These ornamented fountains and the statue of Washington made "a very attractive appearance," according to the Inquirer in July 1869, but "the unsightly brick pavement" the reporter thought should be replaced with "slabs of granite or some other kind of stone." Likely this suggestion helped prompt Council to lay flagstone paving the following year.[143]

To remedy the pressing need for more office space after the 1854 consolidation of city and county, two building projects got underway prior to the centennial. In 1862, while working on the drainage lines to the Walnut Street sewer, the city constructed a judge's retirement room on the south side of the County Court House adjoining the Quarter Session courtroom. In 1866 construction finally began on a new courthouse. The two-story structure filled a 60 by 120-foot lot on the Sixth Street side of the square, south of the County Courthouse. Although judged not of "a very imposing appearance" when completed early in 1867, the court house was put to immediate use. The Judges needed to eliminate a case backlog that had accumulated over six months. Prisoners

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1992), 39 & 48, Bailey, a French sculptor living in Philadelphia, submitted twelve commemorative busts to the Sanitary Fair. The marble statue of Washington, which Bach concluded now seems "austere and remote" to modern viewers, was typical of the naturalist style of its day. In 1908 the city moved it to City Hall and replaced the Independence Hall statue with a bronze cast. "Philadelphia and Its Environs," (1872), 31; Philadelphia Inquirer, Mar. 11, May 5, June 26, ("interfered with" quote) July 5, (inscription quoted) July 16, July 20, 1869; See Cremer views in Raymond Hollstein Collection, copy prints, at INDE.

[143]First quote from "Philadelphia and Its Environs," 31; others from Philadelphia Inquirer, July 2, 1869. Photograph from Sixth and Chestnut, 1855, Box 85, Independence Hall, Campbell Coll., HSP, or in Independence Hall file, Print Department, FLP; James Cremer photos of flagstone laying, c.1870, and George Washington statue after flagstone completed, Hollstein Coll., # 33, INDE.

scheduled to appear there were to be taken by van through "the Chestnut street entrance to the square" and unloaded at the building's north door. As the new court house was surrounded by a palisade fence, the van must have passed through a gate to reach its destination. [144]

In 1872 the city added a new public urinal (no location indicated) and about that year filled in the openings between the Mills buildings and the County and City Hall buildings with new office space. Combined with the addition to the south side of Old City Hall in 1845, which closed the gap between it and Philosophical Hall, there remained no breaks in the row of buildings stretching from Fifth to Sixth Streets. Having removed the entrance gate for the police van, this may be the date that the driveway along the north side of the court house was completed, although existing records, including maps and photographs, do not document this conjecture.[145]

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[144]Public Ledger, April 17, May 24, 1862; entry for Jan. 13, 1863, Journal of Common Council, Jan. 5, 1863-July 2, 1863, App. p. 307; At the court house entrance the prisoners went directly into one of the courtroom prisoners' docks by a trap-door. Public Ledger & Transcript, Thurs. Feb. 14, 1867, INDE notecard.

[145]Entry for Jan. 28, 1872, for "erecting an enclosed Urinal in Independence Square," City Controller's Reports, Fire Survey, Board of Revisions, City Property, 1870-1872, p. 540, City Arch. This urinal may be the kiosk-looking structure on the west side of the square, near the new Court House that appears in the c. 1874 Etting Collection photograph discussed above. David A. Kimball, "Independence Hall, Historic Structure Report, Part II, Appendices A-I, Independence Hall Room Use, 1732-1992," draft report, p. 10; Lee H. Nelson, "Independence National Historical Park, Old City Hall, Historic Structure Report, Architectural Data Section," (June 1970), 17; the city also made initial preparations in 1854-6 to buy Philosophical Hall to make more office space, but the deal fell through. Historic Philadelphia, 52. The earliest photograph of the Sixth Street driveway found in this research is dated 1895. See Illustration 20 and its caption for details.

National Monument Campaign, 1851-1869

In 1851 A.G. Waterman, "a noble, patriotic citizen of Philadelphia," launched a campaign to place a national monument with thirteen statues around the square as a joint venture of the original states. After the state representatives changed the plan to one large monument with a base of 60 feet in diameter, the city set aside a location for it in the center of the square, but the monument never was built, despite more than a decade of planning in its behalf.[146]

Measurable opposition to the Waterman project emerged, resulting in a report titled, "Reasons why a monument should not be erected in Independence Square." Quoting the city's 1813 arguments used to fight the state's plan to sell the square, the report argued, "It is the overwhelming sentiment of the inhabitants of the city that Independence Square be retained in its simplicity as a public green." Again citing the 1813 source, the writer argued that "the house and simple grove before it, where the statesmen walked," formed "a dignified and proper monument to the establishment of independence."[147]

Despite this protest, planning for the monument progressed. Joseph Leeds recorded that the committee intended to dedicate a cornerstone on July 4, 1861, but the "war came on," and subsequently Waterman died, and his initiative faltered. No photograph or sketch of this cornerstone has survived, nor any account of its being placed in the square.[148]

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[146]Select Council Journal, 1850-1851, pp. 180-81, 194; Leeds, One Hundredth Anniversary, 18, describes the history of the Waterman statue and provides the quote on Waterman as a patriotic citizen.

[147]The 1813 and 1857 citations as quoted in Faris, Old Gardens in and Around Philadelphia (1932), 32-33.

[148]Leeds, One Hundredth Anniversary, p.18.

At least one other proposal for the monument in the middle of the square came out during the decade. John Sartain made an engraving for a colossal equestrian statue, with fountains designed by a man named Steinhauser. In this case, if pictures could only talk, there would be some record of the story and fate of this grandiose idea, but it's safe to say the it had a short life.[149]

New Offices Proposed for Independence Square

The city also proposed the construction of a new government complex on Independence Square to provide needed offices and courts. Councils appointed commissioners in December 1868 to plan the building project which called for the removal of all the original structures except Independence Hall. For the competition Architect John MacArthur (who later won the contract for today's City Hall), submitted a design that filled every inch of real estate along the four sides of the block, leaving Independence Hall dwarfed between massive French Renaissance architecture. [150]

Passionate opposition to this proposal was mounted by two Philadelphians, Charles I. Lukens and John Nugent. Lukens, speaking to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, reminded his audience that the city's plan "to cover Independence Square with a costly pile" of buildings for the "Halls of Justice and most of

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[149]The Sartain engraving is in the Stauffer Coll., Vol. XVI, folio 1135, HSP. The undated engraving received a c. 1850s date by preceding historians/curators.

[150]Journal of Common Council, May 11-Nov. 13, 1857, p. 437; Weigley, Philadelphia, 425; MacArthur's drawings are at the City Archives, in the Independence Square file for deeds, plans, photographs. MacArthur's Independence Square design looks strikingly the same as the current architecture at Center Square, called "the paragon of the French Renaissance style," the rage for public buildings after the Civil War. Richard Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, (Philadelphia, 1976), 105.

the Public Offices" would destroy the square's "refreshing little preserve of herbage and foliage." This "refreshing verdure," he pointed out, had remained "absolutely open to the sun and air" throughout America's formative years, "keeping doubly green the grateful memory of all the past glories of the land." He warned them that "if the project is not immediately stifled" that workers would soon be on the square "with pick, spade and mattock, removing trees of now many years growth whose lives in the true appreciation of this great community are only less valuable than those of men."[151]

Besides emphasizing the ancient trees, Lukens held up the history of the square itself as a reason not to pervert the "sacred heritage of the nation." He called up the memory of great civic pageants, large mass rallies for the different political parties, the organization and drilling of troops during the Civil War, the receptions to honor great Americans and foreigners, and the solemn honor guards for the "remains of those faithful public servants" brought to Independence Hall to lie in state. He pointed out that the Centennial of the Revolution was "less than seven years" away, and urged they support the plan to place a monument to the original thirteen states (first proposed by Waterman) in the center of the square, to be a fine complement to the "lofty memorial" about to be placed in the adjoining Washington Square. Finally, he advocated locating the public buildings at Penn Square; a ride by trolley from Independence Square's neighborhood only cost "a trivial expenditure of money," and the round-trip would not take more than 20 minutes.[152]

John Nugent's proposal for Independence and Penn Squares

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[151]Charles I. Lukens, Paper on the Erection of Public Buildings in Independence Square, read before the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dec. 13, 1869, MSS, No. 17, Box 2, HSP.

[152]Ibid.

went before Common Council in April 1869. Like Lukens, he wanted Penn Square to be the location for the new municipal buildings, leaving Independence Square as a national treasure. Nugent proposed that only Independence Hall be left to stand on the square; the "mean appearance" of the corner buildings at Fifth and Sixth Streets proved that they "were not intended to remain there." He found the city's plan a "profanation" and urged Councils to make Independence Square a national property. He counted on "the patriotism of the citizens of Philadelphia" to support this idea. This national monument would be designed to have "a majestic railing ...all around the square, with a grand gate on Walnut Street." It would have "an equestrian statue in white Italian marble of the immortal Washington," with the American flag floating over his head, in the center of the square. A national library and a portrait collection "of our American great men" would go in Independence Hall.[153]

At first Councils were not diverted from their construction scheme. On February 14, 1870 the Committee on Contracts met to open bids for clearing and preparing the grounds for the new public buildings and Councils' Finance Committee met and agreed to report a bill for $150,000 for the project. Councils, however, evidently had not made a final vote, and were probably considering Shoemaker's January bill to repeal the ordinance authorizing construction on Independence Square, and replace it with one designating Penn Square. They also must have been aware that a contingent of opposition men had rushed to Harrisburg to get a bill passed by the state that would prohibit the erection of any public buildings on Independence Square.[154]

The objections ultimately prevailed. Pennsylvania called for

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[153]Nugent's plan described in April 29, 1869 entry of Common Council Journal, 1869, I, p. 354 and App., 602-4.

[154]Public Ledger, Jan. 21, Feb. 15, 17, 21, 26, 1870.

a citizens' vote between Washington and Penn Squares as the location for City Hall, and Penn Square won by a wide majority. Independence Square's fate was irrevocably changed. In his Vacation Rambles (1870), Thomas Hughes found the square "charming, with its old trees and turf," and happily noted "the Pennsylvanians are very proud of the place, wont allow it to be touched, are likely to keep it there till it burns..." Little did he know the scramble that had just taken place to rescue the square from development plans![155]

The Centennial Landscape, 1870-1877

When the Select and Common Councils voted in favor of the Franklin Institute's proposal (January 1870) to hold a Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, the city's destiny took an upturn. The exposition, which went international, opened in Fairmount Park in 1876. Ten million people visited the exposition over a six-month period, a triumph for the city. Besides giving a new sense of accomplishment, it returned Philadelphia to national prominence as a leader in technology. It also diverted civic and public resources for six years, from 1870 to 1876, towards creating a dazzling exhibition on 450 acres of West Fairmount Park.[156]

Independence Square had its own advocates and planners for the Centennial, but scarce finances. In 1871 construction got underway for the new City Hall on Center or Penn Square, while Independence Square continued to attract interest as a national shrine where the Centennial celebration would be held on the July

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[155]Weigley, Philadelphia, 426. The vote was 51,623 to 32,825, Penn Square over Washington Square. Thomas Hughes, Vacation Rambles, p. 160.

[156]Weigley, Philadelphia, 460-461; Bach, Public Art in Philadelphia, 51.

4th anniversary.

The Joseph Leeds Centennial Plan

In 1871 Councils approved a proposal from Joseph Leeds, a 74-year old paint manufacturer and patriotic Philadelphian, to make Independence Square a memorial forever to the establishment of the nation. Leeds claimed that he conceived his idea for "a monument of memorials" more than forty years before he actively began promoting the plan in 1870. City Councils published the Leeds plan in their journals for 1872. By that time, Leeds had the endorsement of 113 prominent men from around the country. [157]

Leed's One Hundredth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence furnished the first comprehensive vision for Independence Square on the nation's centennial. Leeds proposed that the square be made a national shrine. Many of his ideas echoed Charles I. Lukens' passionate arguments in 1869 to protect Independence Square from becoming a new municipal complex, especially in his appreciation of trees as a means to tie the

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[157]Weigley, Philadelphia, 426 and 786, which notes that Etting was removed as chairman in July 1876, reportedly due to his rudeness to the press and citizenry; Historic Philadelphia, 38; Ferguson, "'Centennially Yours,'"p. 26; Ferguson researched in eight local repositories turned up little biographical information on Leeds, other than he was a paint manufacturer in the 1870 census. She did find a copy of Leeds' plan as printed by Councils in 1871 in the Etting Papers, HSP. Leeds, One Hundredth Anniversary, 1-2, lists those who endorsed the plan, including President Grant, the governors of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, Minnesota, Mississippi, New Mexico and Wyoming Territory, and local men of influence, like Eli K. Price, James Ross Snowden, Jay Cooke and A.J. Drexel. He sketches the history of his plan in the preface, 5, and notes that "now, November 1872, it is known to prominent men in our country..." The Joseph Leeds file, INDE Mus.Coll., holds a newspaper clipping titled "Memorial to the Fathers" which refers to Leeds as 82, and a copy of an advertisement for a picture Leeds hoped to sell to raise money for his plan which noted he was 83--or, in 1878 and 1879. Ferguson, "Centennially Yours," p.32, points out that Leeds died at 84 in 1880, his plan not realized.

setting to the Founding Fathers. Unlike Lukens, however, Leeds thought that the existing landscape needed major changes to focus visitors' attention on patriotic themes.[158]

Leeds' plan called for Independence Hall restoration and the creation of a National Museum there; in City Hall, a museum on the constitution; and in Congress Hall, museums on the federal government under the First Congress and on the history of the several states. He also called for a committee of men who would see to the "neatness, order, propriety" of the whole.[159]

On the grounds, Leeds proposed statuary, lamps and trees to memorialize the Revolution. At the very center of the square he called for the construction of the Waterman monument to the original thirteen states which had been waylaid by the war. This monument would be the center piece for a patriotic gallery of nine granite statues "of the most fearless and prominent advocates of Independence" before it, and another thirteen to the rear.

On Walnut Street Leeds envisioned a 13-stone "Federal Arch" over the central entrance and a wall around the yard, "surmounted with an iron fence or railing...with suitable gateways." He specifically called for "only as many paths as may be indispensable for public convenience." Along the central walk he proposed placing thirteen lamps, one for each of the original states, and another to surmount the gateway's keystone. On the east side of

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[158]Leeds' full title included much patriotic rhetoric: <u>One Hundredth Anniversary of the Declaration of Independence, and Independence Square in Philadelphia, as a Monument of Memorials sacred and forever,... Dedicated to the City and citizens of Philadelphia, to the State of Pennsylvania, to all the inhabitants of all the country and to the cause of liberty, right and duty, for all mankind</u>.

[159]Leeds, <u>Ibid.</u>, 15-17. Leeds suggested a Signer's portrait gallery and Revolutionary War museum for Independence Hall.

the square south of the buildings, he proposed 56 trees, named for the signers of the Declaration, and on the west side as many trees for "the first full Congress under the Constitution," including the president and his cabinet.

On Chestnut Street, Leeds wanted another thirteen "historical lamps" between the corner buildings, each to bear a name--"Bible, Lord's day, School, Press, Independence, Victory, Peace, Liberty, Constitution, Union, Government, Freedom, Prosperity." Thirteen trees, each enclosed in a fence, would be planted along the curb, along with a sign of the state that donated it. Finally, a tree and a lamp representing each of the other states would be included along the periphery of the grounds south of Independence Hall. As Leeds saw it, all the States would be "as sentinels on the front, the rear, and the flanks, with these lamps, watching their palladium of Liberty."

Leeds called for the removal of the new court house on Sixth Street and the Mills buildings on either side of Independence Hall. He wanted to build an addition of "two corridors of appropriate architecture" between the Fifth and Sixth Street buildings and Independence Hall so that "visitors may pass through without going outside." His plan banned all political meetings and elections, as well as the "sale, gift, or use of intoxicating drinks" on the square,...forever."[160]

The first official meeting to consider the restoration of Independence Hall for the Centennial met in March 1872, at 709 Walnut Street, in the offices of Eli K. Price, Philadelphia attorney and founding member of the Fairmount Park Commission.

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[160]Leeds pictured the Waterman monument as sitting on a base "sixty feet in diameter, having on its center a pedestal of thirteen sides, with the Declaration of Independence in solid stone, surmounted by a tower or shaft of thirteen sides, each to have tablets, &c., from each State." Leeds, Ibid., 14-19.

The committee reviewed the Leeds plan but did not endorse it. Frank Etting, one of the committee members, soon after offered another plan. In May a six-man committee was appointed to plan the centennial at Independence Square. Although Joseph Leeds was not among them, Councils did select his plan the following year. But politics already were shifting Independence Square's destiny towards a very different course.[161]

Frank Mark Etting and the Restoration Committee

Lt.-Col. Frank Marx Etting, 37, a Civil War veteran recently retired from the military, poured his interest and influence into the pending centennial. Appointed chairman of the Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, he spearheaded the centennial plan for the Square. Etting also published pamphlets, reports and a history of Independence Hall to stimulate patriotic interest.[162]

As chairman of the Restoration Committee, Etting's focus

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[161]Ferguson, "'Centennially Yours," p.30, notes that Price, along with former mayor Morton McMichael, President of the Fairmount Park Commission, and James Ross Snowden were the three names who called the initial meeting to discuss the restoration of Independence Hall. The Fairmount Park Commission was established Mar. 26, 1867, by act of General Assembly. Theodore White, Fairmount, Philadelphia's Park: A History (Philadelphia, 1975), 16, 29; Weigley, Philadelphia, p. 427.

[162]Weigley, Philadelphia, 426; several Etting publications on patriotic subjects are in Box 43, Chew Collection, INDE; HSP has the First Report and Second Report of the Committee on Restoration, Frank M. Etting, Chair, 1873 and 1874, respectively; Historic Philadelphia, 38, which cites Journal of Common Council, 1871, I: app. 604-623, as the source of the ordinance vote; Etting was a descendant from an old and prominent Jewish family of Philadelphia and member of the Pennsylvania bar. Lori Ferguson, "'Centennially Yours' The History of Independence Hall's Portrait Collection, 1852-1898," Draft report, 1992, prepared under the Friends of Independence National Historical Park Internship Program, p.31, 33, copy in INDE Museum Office files.

for the centennial lay with Independence Hall. He evidenced little personal interest in the outdoor scheme, except as it related to the safety of the Hall. In his 1873 report to Councils, Etting took credit for arranging with the Chief Engineer of the Water Works for the installation of "two large fire plugs" on "the immediate front" of the Hall, for fire prevention and "keeping the premises in a cleanly condition." Other than that, he recommended that the corner buildings be preserved and reused--the county courthouse for the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's meetings and the city hall for the American Philosophical Society--and that "all the other unsightly structures" be removed from the square. Lastly, Etting proposed "the whole square [be] properly planted and ornamented, in conformity with numerous suggestions already made to Councils."[163]

Centennial Plans Delayed

Little else is on record about the progress of planning for the square's Centennial landscape that year. Presumably the slight record can be explained by the public outcry about local politics and the focus on creating the exposition grounds at Fairmount Park. Philadelphia that year suffered statewide condemnation for its "enormous debt" generated from years of "extravagant expenditures" on "stupendous schemes for public improvements," as well as for its rampant "fraud and pecula

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[163]"Extract from Report of Committee to Councils," in minutes of the Second Meeting of the Board of Managers of National Museum, October 25, 1873, p. 4, Typescript of "Board of Managers of National Museum Minutes, 1873-97, Chew Papers, INDE; Third Report of the Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, (Philadelphia, 1875), p. 17. Etting's History of Independence, published in 1876, features a photograph titled, "Independence Hall, 1876, rear view" which shows the building from the central walk before the relandscaping. Etting did not even bother to have a more current photograph of the new landscaping, suggesting his disinterest in the yard's improvement.

tion."[164]

This criticism evidently impacted the Centennial funding. Although the Fairmount Park Commission already had transformed part of the exposition grounds into an arboretum that compared "favorably with any in the country or abroad," there were indications that a budget cutback was in progress. Having contracted with the New York landscape design firm Olmsted and Vaux (who had just completed the creation of the 776-acre Central Park) to plan the "permanent improvement" of Fairmount Park's east side, the Commission adopted instead the design of Hermann J. Schwarzmann, the park's senior engineer. The next year the commission again selected Schwarzmann's building designs for the Centennial grounds, saving the city considerable architectural fees.[165]

Besides the Fairmount Park Commission, the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society worked intensely on the Centennial grounds. The Society applied for space and put in a Botanic Garden with 80,000 plants, suggesting years of planning and focus. No records suggest, however, that the horticultural society took interest in the relandscaping proposals for Independence Square during the centennial planning.[166]

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[164] Allinson and Penrose, Philadelphia 1681-1887, 262-3. Such items as "magnificent parks, extensive water works, splendid city buildings, wide streets, with new and improved pavements" were cited as examples of the lavish spending.

[165]as quoted in White, Fairmount, p. 30, evidently quoting the new gardener, John Rennie; also pp. 21, 43. White discusses the centennial and engineer Schwarzmann on p 64. Schwarzmann designed two of the principal buildings and several of the small ones on the fair grounds.

[166]White, Fairmount, 33. As an example of the focus on the Centennial as a Fairmount Park event, Trout's The Story of the Centennial makes no mention of Independence Hall's Centennial plans or the re-design for the landscape in its 253-plus pages.

With these factors in mind, it is not surprising that Etting's committee favored a ground plan for Independence Square prepared by City Surveyor Charles Smedley. Etting's report found Smedley's design "consistent with [the square's] past memories," while other "schemes... would turn [the historic grounds] ...into a flower garden." This comment likely referred to George F. Gordon's plan, published in January 1875, but likely in circulation at the time of Etting's report.[167]

George F. Gordon's Centennial Plan

George F. Gordon had long been a presence on Independence Square, having served as Clerk of the Common Council during the Civil War, and afterwards, as president of the Washington Monument Fund, which spearheaded the drive to buy the Baily sculpture for the Chestnut Street walkway (1869).[168]

Gordon's 's plan put considerable emphasis on flower beds and statues. His written plan recommended 56 bronze statues of

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[167]Second Report of the Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, (Philadelphia, April 20, 1874), p. 8.

[168]Weigley, Philadelphia, 301 mentions a Philadelphia lawyer and historian, Thomas F. Gordon, who may be a relative of the plan's George F. Gordon. It's also interesting that a Thomas Gordon was among the early landowners on the square and sold his Walnut Street lot to the trustees to complete the purchase of the square. Unidentified newspaper article, Etting Coll., Roll 482, INDE. George Gordon signed as clerk on a resolution of Councils prepared for a meeting in Independence Square on September 17, 1861. "Resolutions," Acc. #3227, INDE Mus. Coll. George F. Gordon stamped his plan of 1875 with, "from George F. Gordon's Art Studio, N.E. Cor. Arch and Juniper." Copy neg. #19793, City Coll., INDE. Gordon's residence in 1881 was 828 N. Broad, the neighborhood settled by wealthy, but "unfashionable", Philadelphians. Gopsill's Philadelphia City Directory for 1881, (Philadelphia, 1881), 643; Wolfe, Philadelphia, 223.

the signers, the retention of the central path, and the removal of the Sixth Street courthouse, Philosophical Hall, the wing buildings, and the wall and palisade fence. He called for lamps around the perimeter of the square and various patriotic statuary.

Gordon wanted the walks laid out in straight lines from corner to corner, with a "broad platform walk" along each side of the square, perhaps modeled after the layout for Rittenhouse Square. This perimeter walk would allow visitors to pass by the 56 Signers' statues lined up along a low wall around the square. The main walks would be 30-feet wide and paved with "variegated tile" like that laid on the newly-completed Girard Avenue Bridge to the centennial grounds. At the exact center of the square he recommended a circular walk around the "Independence Monument" already authorized by Councils as a project of the 13 original states. Gordon also proposed "Fountains, Vases, statuary and Flower Beds of all varieties;" and anticipated that these would "be forever a crown of clustering beauty; a parlor of art; a joy to all the people; a historic memorial unequaled in the history of man."[169]

Gordon's plan has a graphic version which leaves an impression of a spoked wheel, with its paths crossing through the middle or axle, signified by the monument. The Chestnut Street side stands devoid of trees. Three statues are shown to the left and to the right of the George Washington statue, and five Victorian lamps line the curbside. The lamps also line the Fifth,

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[169] Gordon, Centennial Thoughts, 4; Select Council Journal, 1875, (I), pp. 125, App. 396-398. A pre-1885 photograph of Rittenhouse Square shows a broad path along the palisade fence that enclosed the park. See Charles J. Cohen, Rittenhouse Square Past and Present, (Privately printed, 1922), 4. The Philadelphia Inquirer of January 30, 1875 noted that the national monument movement had first been organized by "a group of New Englanders ...back in 1852."

Walnut and Sixth Street curbs. Only three buildings remain on the square, leaving large open spaces between Independence Hall and the City and County buildings at Fifth and Sixth. What appear to be two fountains stand on either side of the central walk near Walnut Street, with a serpentine path snaking past them between the two diagonal walks that crossed the square from the Walnut Street corners.[170]

Other Plans Considered

Gordon's plan vied with several others that had been proposed in 1874. The Public Ledger noted that a plan had been submitted on July 9th which showed a path connecting the Library and Sansom Street entrances to the square, and straight paths running from the Walnut Street corners to converge at the State House's rear entrance. Paths also were designed to run diagonally across the square from the corners of Walnut to the Sansom and Library Street entrances. This proposal recommended retaining both the central walk and the winding path around the square, and removing a few trees. The anonymous designer clearly wanted a path for every purpose possible. In September Common Council also recorded that a resolution had been proposed to construct a building in Independence Square to house "the old Independence Bell--" a precedent for today's Liberty Bell Pavilion. Evidently the time for this idea was not ripe, for no other reference to it was found in the record.[171]

In December 1874 the city removed the railings enclosing the square, and Councils allocated $17,500 for the improvement of

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[170]"Plan For the Permanent Improvement of Independence Square." Designed by George F. Gordon. Photo #19793, City Coll., INDE.

[171]Public Ledger, July 10, 1874; Common Council Journal, 1874, (II), p. 67, App. 318. Description of the plan described by the Ledger in July was not located in Councils reports.

Independence Square "with flag pavement, centre walk, drainage and resodding," but restricted its expenditure "until a general plan therefor is approved by Councils." The Press criticized Councils for delaying the plan. Less than a month later, a newly-organized citizens' group, the National Commemoration Monument Association, proposed "a huge monument to Liberty in Independence Square." This scheme competed with the approved plan for a monument to the signers of the Declaration in the center of the square. Councils liked the proposal, however, and passed an ordinance in March "to dedicate and set apart a site" in the square for "a monument emblematic of Liberty," provided that $50,000 first be raised to pay for it. Probably at this juncture the Association commissioned prominent Philadelphia sculptor, William Wetmore Story, to design the "Monument to Liberty," a lithograph of which resides in Independence Park's collections.[172]

By March 1875, a year before the centennial, the Committee on City Property still was considering two plans for improving the square. The Public Ledger reported that one called for the removal of all buildings except the Hall and the two corner buildings, and the other planned to leave the buildings as they were, with "improved landscaping." On May 20 Select Council voted in favor of the plan which the City Property committee had

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[172]Inquirer, Jan. 1 and 30, 1875; Journal of Common Council, 1875, I, 200, 213; "The Monument to Liberty to be erected in Independence Square, Philadelphia." Designed and copyright by William Wetmore Story, lithographed by T. Poleni for Thomas Hunter, lithographer, Phila. 1875. Acc. No. 432, Mus. Coll., INDE. This large lithograph also is illustrated and described in Magee's Centennial Guide, 8-9. R. Magee noted that the monument would be erected in the center of the Square, on a spot of ground sixty feet square, especially dedicated to this purpose." Also that it would be "about sixty feet in height, and twenty feet in width at the base." Magee also gave Story credit for the design and noted he was from Boston. Bach, Public Art in Philadelphia, 51, pointed out that Story then was living and working in Italy, and that his work showed that he was "clearly influenced by his Italian designs." Perhaps Story's Italianate style seemed inappropriate for a national monument to American liberty.

recommended and then approved the proposed budget. Common Council followed suit two weeks later, and appropriated $25,000 for its execution.[173]

William F. Dixey Plan Selected

The approved plan was credited to the new Commissioner of Markets and City Property, William F. Dixey. In June 1875, Dixey opened bids for providing the square with a new inclosure. At the same time, word got out that it was "probable" that an additional $5000 would be needed to complete the landscaping because the plan not only called for a new wall, but also specified that the square be "sodded and laid out in walks, and quite a large number of trees cut down." Councils, "after some discussion," requested that the commissioner report to them in a special meeting the next week. Evidently Councils balked at the extra expenditure or the taking down of a "large number" of trees on the square. A compromise soon was reached: by June 29, Black and Co. won the contract with a below-budget bid of $24,800, and the Inquirer specifically reported that the plan "does not call for the removal of any of the trees except about half a dozen on the lines of the paths."[174]

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[173]Public Ledger, Mar. 24, 1875; Inquirer, Apr. 28, 1875; May 20, 1875 entry in Journal of Common Council, 1875, I, 501. Also in May Colonel Jones introduced an ordinance to place improved lamps around the square, which was referred to the trustees of the gas works. Inquirer, May 22, 1875.

[174]Inquirer, June 23, July 22, 1875. In January 1875 the Third Report of the Committee on Restoration, p. 20, listed J.H. Pugh as Commissioner of City Property. Nothing to date has been learned about commissioner Dixey. This writer thinks Dixey's plan may have been really the plan, or a version of it, designed by his employee, city surveyor, Charles Smedley. That plan was commended by Etting, but not described, in 1873. The July 6, 1875 entry in Journal of Common Council, 1875, II, 54, App. 34-35, specified that it was Joseph R. Black and Robert Campbell trading as J.R. Black & Co., and that they were to furnish "materials and labor."

The contract got underway on July 20th for the "laying of drain pipe and bricks, the removal of trees and the laying of granite coping and steps." The Philadelphia Inquirer two days later reported that the initial survey (by city surveyor Smedley) had been completed and described "the plan, submitted by Mr. Wm. F. Dixey, Commissioner of City Property," as follows:

> There will be a wall one foot high with a course of coping. A path of twenty feet in width runs from the centre of the Walnut Street side to Independence Hall; one of the same width from Library street to Sansom, and another around the statue which will be placed in the centre of the square. The remaining paths are fifteen feet in width. Mr. Dixey will make all the paths of flagstone.
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> The entrances to the square will be by two large flights of steps thirty feet in width, of a circular form, at the corner of Fifth and Walnut streets and Sixth and Walnut streets. On the Walnut street side will be a flight of steps in the centre of the square twenty feet wide, and two flights nearer the corners, fifteen feet in width. On the Fifth street side there will be one flight of steps near the corner of Walnut, fifteen feet wide; one opposite Library street, twenty feet in width, and one in the rear of the yard fence ten feet wide. On Sixth street there will be one flight near Walnut street, fifteen feet wide, and one opposite Sansom street, twenty feet in width. All these steps are to be ornamented with two gas lamps on the top of each.
>
> The arrangement of paths and steps leading thereto is such that it will render the square as a thoroughfare all that can be desired.
>
> The grass plots [sic], as well as the terrace, are to be covered with new sodding, the edges of the same to be protected by a flagstone border. The pedestal for the proposed statue is to be placed at the intersection of the main paths, bringing it on a line with Library and Sansom streets. The walks are all to be provided with underground drainage to sewers, which will allow them to be free at all times, either from the accumulation of water or from using the sidewalks for surface drainage as at present. This plan does not call for the removal of any of the trees except about half a dozen on the lines of the paths. The coping will be of Pennsylvania blue marble.[175]

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[175]Inquirer, July 22, 1875; the Public Ledger, July 22, 1875, gave a more condensed version of the plan, with exactly the same information. The former article also explained, "The survey of

The Inquirer admired the plan for its combination of "utility, simplicity and beauty." Certainly Dixey came up with a design that addressed the practical issues--drainage and accessibility--while keeping the square free of the scores of patriot statues proposed in the Leeds and Gordon plans. The four new entrances to the square and new paths leading from them increased the pedestrian thoroughfares, while addressing a complaint of 1872, that "countless feet" crossing the square "in every direction" had left the ground with little that was park-like. Flagstone walks, kept dry with the underground drainage, encouraged pedestrians to stay on the paths, and new sodding restored the beauty of the grass.[176]

The Dixey plan remained silent about the fate of the square's buildings. Etting, Leeds and Gordon all called for drastic demolition, leaving only the Hall and its two principal annexes on the square. Even the 1870 Act of the General Assembly that rescued Independence Square from radical redevelopment, provided that all the buildings except Independence Hall be removed at the completion of the new municipal complex. The city's plan for the centennial, by its noncommittal stance regarding the buildings, held the status quo until a new wave of patriotism in the 1890s saw to the repeal of the provision and the preservation of all the structures on the square, save the Mills buildings and Sixth Street courthouse.[177]

Notably, the Dixey plan also said nothing about the Chestnut Street walkway. By its silence, the plan opted for retaining the

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Independence Square... was made yesterday. The work would have been begun some time ago had it not been for the inability of the City Surveyor, on account of an accident and sickness in his family, to furnish the lines."

[176]Inquirer, Ibid.; "Philadelphia and Its Environs," 1872, 31.

[177]Historic Philadelphia, 39.

area in its improved state as of 1871, with the new flagstone walk, George Washington statue, and the two ornamental drinking fountains on either end of the curb line. Based on a centennial lithograph, it also retained the double row of trees before the buildings, as well as the curbside lamps near the corner of Fifth and Sixth Streets.[178]

Laying Out the Centennial Landscape

In late October the Ledger announced that the work on Independence Square would be done by the end of November. "The steps are to be begun, the two lamps at each entrance to be of bronze and they have paneled bases," the reporter explained. Each of the lamp bases would receive "a name of one of the thirteen states" and be surmounted with an "Old Liberty Bell."[179]

In November the Select Council passed an ordinance extending the contract time. The walks had been paved with flagstone, many of the new lamps erected, and the palisade fence torn down, but the city still needed to grade the earth down to the walls, and put a granite coping on them. The next month Councils considered but excluded an appropriation of $3000 in the 1876 budget "for the completion of the improvement of Independence Square," and another $1500 for general repairs to the buildings flanking the

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[178]"Independence Hall,Philadelphia, 1876," lithograph, Photo copy # 6706, INDE Photo Coll., from Print Coll., Mass. Hist. Soc. Although this litho does not show the Sixth St. corner, an 1855 photo from beyond Sixth Street verifies that a similar lamp stood near the corner at that end of the block. Photo in Independence Hall file, Campbell Coll., Box 85, HSP. A snowy, winter scene of the Chestnut Street walkway from Sixth Street, in Edward Strahan, A Century after: picturesque Glimpses of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, (Philadelphia, 1875), 13, shows mature trees in a double row, three visible in the back row west of the George Washington statue, and one beyond the fountain, curbside. The ones beyond the statue are too blurred to discern clearly.

[179]Ledger, Oct. 30, 1875.

Hall on Chestnut Street.[180]

The Press promptly took Councils to task: "Councils everyday demonstrate their unfitness to discharge the higher functions of their office," the writer accused. "The last emphatic exhibition of incapacity was given on Monday, when ...a motion prevailed cutting out from the appropriation bill an item of $3000 for the completion of the work of restoration."[181]

The Centennial year arrived and still the relandscaping remained unfinished. Part of the problem was fundraising for the national monument--it had bogged down, due to depressed business conditions and the numerous other monument fund drives simultaneously soliciting in the city. In June the National Commemorative Monument Association (for the Liberty Monument) asked Councils to release them from the requirement that $50,000 be raised before the ordinance setting aside the space in the square could go into effect. Even though Councils agreed to the request, the monument effort evidently dissolved, as no other mention was made of it.[182]

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[180]Dec. 8, 1875, Journal of Common Council, 1875,II, 301, 333; Public Ledger, Nov. 26, 1875. While digging in the yard in August, workers turned up "coins lead, as well as a coffin which contained what appeared to be human bones." Ledger, Aug. 12, 1875.

[181]Clipping from The Press dated only Dec. 29th in Independence Hall Scrapbook, Etting Collection, HSP.It is not clear where the funds came from to complete the landscape work for the yard before the Centennial ceremonies.

[182]Inquirer Mar. 2, 1876. Although the July 22, 1875 Inquirer had reported optimistically that the pedestal for the proposed monument would be placed at the intersection of the main paths, there is no evidence that this preliminary step was taken. Bach, Public Art in Philadelphia, 50, discusses efforts to raise money for memorials to Lincoln and General George Gordon Meade at this time. The records also fail to give the fate of the other monument group originally organized by Waterman and taken up by Leeds. Presumably it had been replaced by the Liberty Monument group which, as Magee's Centennial Guide noted, was scheduled to place

In March of 1876 the new lamps were in place and the square finally ready for the centennial. A lithograph of the ceremony on July 4th shows the vast crowd that filled the square surrounding a large pavilion in the yard, but gives scant evidence of the landscape design.[183]

A few centennial landscape elements were added in 1877. Early that year the sidewalks around the square were laid in flagstone with a granite curb. This project may have been postponed until after the centennial due to a funding shortage. That Spring the Grand Division Sons of Temperance received permission from Councils to place their ice water fountain from the exposition in the square, on the condition that the city would have "full control" of it, "at no expense for ice, erection and upkeep." The Sons had the fountain in operation by June 1, after having had a pit dug along the southeast diagonal path to provide a chamber for the large ice cakes. The fountain used 1.5 tons of ice a day, and public contributions helped defray the cost.[184]

Photographic and Atlas Evidence of the Centennial Plan

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its statue by William Wetmore Story in the center of the square.

[183]The lithograph, "American Centennial Festival celebration at Independence Hall on July 4, 1876, is depicted in contemporary engraving," is in the Independence Square file, Ref. Coll, Print Room, FPL.

[184]Journal of Common Council, 1877, I, 521, items 58-60; entry for March 1, 20, 22, in Ibid., p. 158, 174, 187-188, 195, App. pp. 277-278. "Ordinance to locate an Ice Water Fountain, Independence Square," Mar. 27, 1877; Public Ledger Sept. 8, 1877; several notecard references to undated Public Ledger articles and a letter about the Temperance Fountain reveal that General Louis Wagner, chairman of the committee in charge of the fountain, provided an endowment to maintain the fountain. During the Exposition the Society provided free ice water to all visitors--to over 1200 per day, according to "repeated counts"-- and continued to serve the public after being moved to Independence Square.

Although no plan has been found for the centennial landscape, photographs of the square from the Walnut Street entrance before and after the plan's execution provide solid evidence of the changes made. Frederich Gutekunst's image of 1878 compared with James Cremer's c. 1866 photograph confirms that the city narrowed the central walk. Dixey's plan called for a 20-foot width, ten feet less than in the original plan. (The two stone steps that spanned Vaughan's central walk measured 30 feet.) The Gutekunst photograph suggests that five feet on either side of the original walk were returned to grass. In the Cremer photograph, the inner row of trees along the walk stood within a brick apron for surface drainage. In the centennial landscape these same trees stood well within grass plots. The earlier landscape also had graveled paths on either side of the central path, between the double row of trees. These paths and, it appears, all or most of the outer row of trees, were removed in the new landscape.[185]

The c. 1866 and 1878 photographs also underscore the new, open perspective achieved in the centennial landscape. The new central walk proceeds in a sharp, clean line to Independence Hall, in contrast to the visual break in the earlier landscape made by the two stone steps set back from the Walnut Street entrance. In the first landscape the serpentine paths merged with the central path just inside the entrance gates and interrupted the flow of the eye to the north. The Centennial's new lowered wall (one foot) opened up the view of the yard and Independence Hall from the street. The new entrance, with six rounded steps in

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[185]An excellent pre-1866 (new courthouse construction) photo of the square is in the Sellers Coll., INDE; another excellent pre-centennial photo with the new courthouse, is in the Etting Coll., and for this report, seen only on microfilm. INDE micro 482. "Independence Square from Walnut Street," Photo by F. Gutekunst, 1878, photo copy #39,011, in INDE photo file. Bills for the 30-foot stone steps survived in the state's records of the first landscape (1785). See landscape section above.

its staircase, flowed into the square, whereas the earlier entrance had four steps in a narrower, "boxey" design.

Unfortunately, no photograph or other graphic survived to show the Walnut Street corner entrances designed in 1837. Certainly, it is very unlikely that they resembled the corner entrances as redesigned for the centennial, which had sweeping 30-foot widths "of a circular form." A photograph of the Sixth Street entrance taken from the middle of the intersection between 1902 and 1912, gives the best view of the corner entrance before the 1915 landscape project changed the wall again.[186]

Probably the most noticeable change of the Centennial landscape was the introduction of a web of paths crossing the square. The 1874 atlas by G.H. Jones & Co., said to be among the more accurate of the city's land records, shows that even before the Centennial plan was launched, diagonal paths led from the Walnut Street corner entrances to the central walk, just below where the Library-Sansom path crossed it. These diagonal paths were extensions of short paths introduced in 1837 to connect the Walnut Street entrances to the serpentine path. Evidently the centennial plan retained these diagonals and paved them with flagstone.[187]

Photographs and later atlas plans show that the centennial design with its spoked-wheel format, had two circular paths, rather than just one, as described in the Dixey plan. The inner

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[186]Photo 1654, INDE photo files.

[187]G.H. Jones & Co., Atlas of Philadelphia, Vol. 1, 5th, 7th, 8th Wards (Philadelphia, 1874), at City Archives. Archivist Jefferson Moak provided the incite that this atlas had a reputation as an accurate one. Jones' offices were nearly across the street from the square, at 118 South Sixth Street. This atlas also shows the fire plugs or hydrants that surrounded the square. There were three in the yard, in the two northern and the southeast quadrants, and water pipes extended out to the southwest quadrant.

circle, reserved originally for the patriotic monument, by 1878 had been seeded with what appears to be grass, and, perhaps, low-rising flowers.[188]

Post-Centennial Transitions, 1878-1895

Tree Plantings and Electric Lamps

Ulysses S. Grant, retired president of the United States, planted an elm tree behind Independence Hall during his visit on December 18, 1879. This single gesture highlighted the interrelationship between patriotic reverence for the Square and the trees planted there. The elm underscored a symbolic link with the city's glorious history. The legendary Treaty elm that marked the site where William Penn made peace with the local Native Americans already had popular recognition. Elms also retained their special meaning as reminders of the Revolutionary War era, when these trees were chosen as the key component of the design.[189]

For Chestnut Street the city selected tree types more on

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[188]G.Wm. Baist, Baists Property Atlas of the City and County of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1895), shows the layout of the square from the centennial, as does Ernest Hexamer & Son, Insurance Maps of the City of Philadelphia, Surveyed and Drawn by Ernest Hexamer & Son, Civil Engineers & Surveyors, Vol. 1, (Philadelphia, 1897), a tracing kindly provided by Paul Inashima, NPS; Gutekunst photo of 1878, #39,011, City Coll, INDE.

[189]Public Ledger, Dec. 18, 1879, Mar. 25, 1880. President Grant was on his return from a round-the-world trip. His visit attracted 300,000 spectators and 40,000 participated in a parade in his honor. Wolf, Philadelphia, 262. An 1848 history of the Pennsylvania Hospital noted that "A cutting from the Treaty Elm under which tradition states William Penn signed his famous treaty with the Indians was planted on the [Hospital] ground ...," Packard, Some Account, 19; Magee's Centennial Guide, 39, related that a small obelisk known as the Penn Treaty Monument marked the site where the "Old Elm Tree" -- "the sacred and sturdy old elm"--had been blown down in 1809.

their survival capacity. In the spring of 1880, a new row of North Carolina poplars replaced those that had "withered and died" since the slate pavement was laid a decade earlier. As the Ledger noted, the city figured that the slate had been placed too close to the trunks, "so that little or no rain water could drench their roots." The new trees were given a space of six feet in diameter around them to avoid future problems.[190]

The next year the walkway received new street lights, when the Brush Electric Light Company installed, free of cost to the city, 47 arc lights along the length of Chestnut Street to advertise their technological innovation. Although this novelty was no match for the news six weeks later that President James Garfield had been gunned down and died, (the second president assassinated in twenty years), Philadelphia continued to lead the advance on electricity. After hosting the world's first international exposition on electricity in 1884, the city was well on its way to being wired. Independence Square at first lagged behind, however, receiving in 1886 Siemen's Regenerative lamps from the Philadelphia Gas Works. In November 1888 Councils passed an ordinance that alerted the Department of Public Works to replace these lamps with electric lights as soon as the money was appropriated. Indicative of the growing neglect of the east end of town, the funding was decades away.[191]

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[190]Public Ledger, Mar. 25, 1880.

[191]Jackson, Encyclopedia of Philadelphia,3, 621, 639-40; Entry for Feb. 11, 1886, Journal of Common Council, Oct. 1, 1885-Apr. 1, 1886, p. 298, App. 566; entry for Nov. 15, 1888, Ibid., Oct. 4, 1888- Mar. 28, 1889, p. 114, App. 163-165.

Washington Square Redesigned, 1881

Less than a decade after designing Independence Square's centennial landscape, Commissioner of City Property, William F. Dixey, put another feather in his cap when Councils approved his plan (1881) to redesign Washington Square next door. With a bold stroke, the square lost its 1849 ground plan featuring circular walks connected to entrances at the corners and mid-block. The new design laid out a busy "geometric web," with walks crossing the square and entering the square in several directions--evidently patterned after the centennial plan's accommodation to pedestrian traffic. Like Independence Square, the corners had three entrances, one directly on the street intersection, and the other two on the adjoining streets. Also like Independence Square, Washington Square's palisade fence and wall were replaced with a low granite coping (9 inches for Washington; 1 foot for Independence), and its walks were laid with flagstone. Dixey remained consistent with his centennial plan in his choice of a 20-foot width for the main diagonal thoroughfare, but narrowed other walks to 18 and 12 feet.[192]

During this period Independence and Washington Squares were treated as one in many of the Department of Public Works decisions for improvements and maintenance. Thus in 1883, Councils resolved to place benches round the center of both squares. This was the first time in decades Independence Square would have seats with backs. The novelty evidently was appreciated by visitors, for an undated photograph of the square shows the benches (which lined the outer circle) filled with men enjoying a moment in the park. Evidently, however, the city once again judged the benches in Independence Square a problem, for only nine months after resolving to install them, Councils voted to have them removed. A lithograph (by Frank H. Taylor) drawn after

[192]Rabzak, "Washington Square," 21.

1892, however, shows a bench in Washington Square diagonally across from Independence Square, which suggests that the city never removed the benches, or that they returned them once again to both squares.[193]

Independence Square Faces Slow Decline

In 1886 a city guide book described Independence Square as an open space of about four acres "tastefully laid out in flowers and lawns, with spacious and well-shaded walks." This is one of the first mentions this decade of flowers in the landscape. In 1884 William G. Armstrong noted that "Hermosa is the Rose in Independence Square," but most of his few other plant references were to trees. In April of that year he noted that "Acer Platanoides" (Norway Maples) were coming out on the square near the new court house, two in the southwest quadrant, two near the Temperance Fountain, and one near the library. His diary also mentioned in passing a Buckeye (Horse Chestnut) and "the Cypress."[194]

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[193]Entry for Dec. 20, 1883, Journal of Common Council, Oct. 4, 1883-Apr. 3, 1884, p. 214; entry for Sept. 4, 1884, Ibid., Apr. 7-Sept. 25, 2884, p. 292, App. 299; photo in INDE Mus. Coll., Cat. #7261. Frank H. Taylor, Ever Changing Philadelphia Twenty-Four Drawings with Descriptive Text (Philadelphia, 1915), p. 11. This rare collection was at the Philadelphia Horticultural Society. At least two photographs and a lithograph, dated 1880 and 1884, show the square from Fifth Street without a bench in sight. The undated lithograph with a bench includes an electric trolley, introduced in 1892. See Neg. # 265, CN 18018-A, 11, 585, INDE photo files.

[194]Anon., A Visit to the States (1886), 116; "Diary of Wm. G. Armstrong 1884," MSS, HSP. A decade later William Smith published a guidebook that used the very same wording in the anonymous quote given here. A Yorkshireman's trip to the United States and Canada, (1891), 166. Michael A. Dirr, "Manual of Woody Landscape Plants: Their Identification, Ornamental Characteristics, Culture, Propagation and Uses, (Champaign, Ill, 1990), 59, 83. Norway Maples, Dirr explains, tolerate urban conditions and polluted atmosphere, which the late 19th century industrial age Philadelphia would have had in abundance. The Buckeye Dirr recommends for parks and large areas, as did the person who planted this horse chestnut.

The 1886 guidebook also alluded to the shabby condition of the row buildings on the Square, suggesting the municipal government's period of transition. Construction on the new City Hall at Penn Square was well underway and as space became available, offices moved into them. Beginning in 1878, when District Court and Mayor's Court officials moved uptown, Independence Square gradually lost its role as the center of government. The "rows of dingy low buildings...occupied by city officials" on either side of the Hall, were of "modern construction," and did the "locality little credit." The writer proposed that they should "be removed."[195]

Centennial of the U.S. Constitution and Beyond

The centennial of the U.S. Constitution in 1887 revived the patriotic impulse for a national monument at Independence Square. On September 8th, nine days before the official event, Councils' Joint Special Committee on the centennial and a "Committee of Citizens" resolved that a convention of the governors of the 13 original states be called to decide whether the monument "should be erected in Independence Square." The following April thirteen governors, meeting in Carpenters' Hall, agreed that a petition should be started to have the federal government underwrite the monument. Although that effort failed, the group in 1889 decided to place the monument in Fairmount Park, not Independence Square. The city's fashionable western park had once again stolen the Square's thunder.[196]

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[195]Anon., A Visit to the States, p. 116; Kimball, "Independence Hall, Room Use," p. 10.

[196]Entry for Sept. 8, 1887, Journal of Common Council, 1887, (I) pp. 285, 311, 315, App. pp. 331-33. Councils also planned to consider raising monuments in the four corner city squares, at no cost to the city. Entry for June 7, 1888, Ibid., 1888,(I) pp. 181, 192, App. p. 132; December 1889 entry, Ibid., 1889, (II) App. pp.

The Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati, the local branch of an organization of descendants of Continental Army officers, proposed in 1891 that a George Washington monument be placed in the square (a monument that had been in the works for over 50 years). Councils passed an ordinance recommending it, but staunch public resistance quickly formed. First, the City Parks Association, followed by the Colonial Dames, the Fairmount Park Art Association, the Knights of Labor and the United Labor League, each objected to the proposal. Councils repealed the ordinance on June 1, 1893, evidently mindful that the Fairmount Park Art Association wanted the monument in Fairmount Park.[197]

Independence Square by 1893 had only two more years as a city government center. Independence Hall and its museum collections were under the care of local patriotic societies--the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames. Chief Eisenhower of the Bureau of City Property remained in charge of the grounds. Under his care floral designs in patriotic patterns brightened the south yard, and four new poplar trees were planted on the Chestnut Street walkway.[198]

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[197]Journal of Select Council 1891 (I), pp. 68, 106, 123, 129, 166, App. pp. 59-60; Ibid. (II), pp. 253, 273-274, 284, 296, App. p. 158; Ibid. 1892, (I), 26; Ibid., 1893, (I), pp. 77, 100, 126, 151; App. pp. 132-133; Journal of Common Council, 1892, (I), p. 32. The Fairmount Park Art Association wanted the monument to go in Fairmount Park. According to Joseph Jackson, this association was formed in 1871 by a group of "public-spirited and wealthy citizens" who wanted to beautify Fairmount Park with statuary, fountains and other artistic expressions. Encyclopedia of Philadelphia, 3, 641. Their influence evidently won out. The monumental equestrian statue of George Washington by German sculptor, Rudolph Siemering, was dedicated in Fairmount Park in 1897. At the completion of the parkway, the statue was moved to its current location before the Art Museum. Bach, Public Art in Philadelphia, 44, 123-4.

[198] Briesacher, "America's Sacred Portraits," Draft, INDE Mus. Files, p. 2; Evening Telegraph, Apr. 21, 1894, Scrapbook #2, Public Property, 1894-1898, INHP Micro. 504.

New Prospects for Independence Square, 1895-1901

The year 1895 was an eventful one for Independence Square. City Councils finally vacated Independence Hall in March, ending 160 years of government use. In July the legislature recognized the historic significance of the other buildings on the row by formally repealing the 1870 act that had required the removal of all structures except Independence Hall at the completion of the new City Hall. And in December, Councils passed an ordinance to restore Independence Square to its appearance during the Revolution.[199]

At this juncture several patriotic groups had a stake in the square. The Grand Army of the Revolution (G.A.R.), the Boy Scouts of America, the Philadelphia Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution (D.A.R.), and the Pennsylvania Chapters of the Colonial Dames and Sons of the American Revolution all rented space or held meetings there. After the Sons relinquished their keys to Independence Hall in 1896, the city agreed to allow the D.A.R. to take charge of its restoration. With Mrs. Charles Custis Harrison as chair, a D.A.R. committee went to work to "procure accurate data" for their architect, T. Mellon Rogers.[200]

Independence Square remained under the administrative control of the Bureau of City Property, whose Chief, Alfred L. Eisenhower, was an early proponent of restoration. In his annual

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[199]Ordinance cited from Journal of Select Council, Oct. 2, 1895-Apr. 2, 1896, app. 2: 78, in Historic Philadelphia, 39.

[200]Briesacher, "America's Sacred Portraits," 1; quote from "Revolutionary Sons Beat A Retreat," Evening Bulletin, Mar. 17, 1896; Inquirer, Feb. 20, 1897, Scrapbook #2, Micro 504, INDE; Nelson, "Historic Structure Report, Old City Hall," 18; John D.R. Platt, et. al., "Historic Structure Report, Part II, Historical Data, Independence Hall," (Independence National Historical Park, 1962), 114-15. The Colonial Dames had already set a good example by spearheading restoration in Congress Hall. (115)

report for 1894 he allowed that "the Public mind is already concerned with the disposition of our 'Nation's Birthplace,'" and suggested that funds be appropriated to restore the buildings to their "primitive appearance." [201]

As restoration got underway, Philadelphia was into its third year of a major depression, said to be the "most severe that the nation had ever experienced." Immigration this decade also surged. So many newcomers from Europe and Eastern Europe had arrived that immigrant families made up half the city's population. Physically, however, Philadelphia remained compact, with only 25 of 130 square miles of the city's real estate in urban development. The "city of homes," with some 200,000 row houses, still circled downtown within a two-mile radius of City Hall.[202]

The influx of immigrants brought serious overcrowding in the older neighborhoods, as well as a rise in crime, class conflict, and misery. A Quaker-based group calling itself the Octavia Hill Association (1888) organized to combat this social crisis. They set out to investigate and improve housing conditions, especially in the district three blocks south of Independence Square. The traditionally black neighborhood at Sixth and Lombard became the center of much of the reform movement in the city.[203]

At the same time, Councils, prompted by the Civic Parks Association (1888), also took action. In 1894 they authorized the

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[201]Quote from Annual Report, Bureau of City Property, as quoted in Philadelphia Inquirer, Jan. 25, 1895, Scrapbook #2, Micro Roll 504.

[202]Miller, Vogel, and Davis, Still Philadelphia, xvi, 7, 123, 147. According to this source, the Depression began in 1893 and lasted most of the decade.(7) Also, perhaps nine out of ten Philadelphians lived within the city's built-up area.(3)

[203]Ibid.

creation of a series of small squares and parks in the midst of the row house neighborhoods. At first the funds to care for these new properties were not appropriated, but Chief of City Property Eisenhower recommended that the city hire a professional arborist for the Bureau to oversee the planting of shade trees in these new community parks, and to maintain the trees in the older squares. As he pointed out to Councils, "preserving the shade trees in the city is worthy of public attention." Besides shade trees, the city furnished benches and walks in the parks, in the hope that they would assure a safe place for children to play and a healthful retreat with fresh air for working families on their day off. (Most factories still worked a six-day week).[204]

The city's economic distress and rising labor force during the 1890s brought on a sharp increase in unemployment. Estimates suggest that as many as one quarter of the population were out of work. With so many unemployed, the homeless rate apparently soared, and the city parks suffered. Indications of this trend were apparent on July 14, 1896, when the Philadelphia Inquirer reported a police raid at Independence and Washington Squares. Forty policemen collared forty-seven men sleeping there at 3:00 A.M. This round-up of "bums" aimed to "cure the wave of petty robberies" in the squares. The article reported that "people who either will not work or are unable to get employment" frequented the squares by day. The police had dubbed Independence Square, "the Senate Chamber because of the evident age of the regulars," and Washington Square, the House of Representatives, "because the arguments become more heated, and the crowd is larger." At night,

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[204]Morris, et. al., Ibid., 147; As quoted from Annual Report of Bureau of City Property, in Phila. Inquirer, Jan. 25, 1895, Scrapbook #2, Micro 504. As the Phila. Times of July 27, 1896 pointed out, Sunday afternoons in Franklin, Independence and Washington Squares, were popular, when there was "no school for the children and no work for their elders." Scrapbook #2, Ibid. Further research will clarify how this civic association fit into the national playground movement.

the park users were younger and known to steal from all in sight.[205]

The 1896 police raid evidently did not remedy the problem, for at least one other newspaper article in June 1899 complained about the "bums and drunks" who congregated in the parks, especially at Independence Square. Apparently they lounged on the park benches, making people nervous and uncomfortable. The North American suggested that the police drive the vagrants out so that visitors once again could stroll in safety and enjoy the use of a park bench.[206]

As "one of the world's preeminent industrial centers," however, Philadelphia also boasted enormous wealth. Scores of wharves lined the Delaware River port, while the commercial, insurance and banking districts still hovered around Independence Square. In 1891 George E. Bartol founded the Philadelphia Bourse Co., the nation's first commodities exchange, and in 1893-95 built the imposing Philadelphia Bourse building on Fifth Street, half a block north of Independence Square. This colossal structure, one of the first steel-framed buildings in the country, took up the entire mid-block from Fourth to Fifth Streets. Its presence, along with the "handsome modern structure" (1900) built as the Independence National Bank, next to the Drexel Building at Fifth and Chestnut Streets, reinforced the neighborhood's strong commercial and banking tradition.[207]

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[205]Phila. Inquirer, July 14, 1896, Scrapbook 2, INDE Micro 504; Morris, et. al. Still Philadelphia, 7.

[206]Philadelphia North American, June 29, 1899, Scrapbook 3, INDE Micro. 504.

[207]Quote from Miller, et. al., Still Philadelphia, xvi; also, 201. The company motto was "Buy, sell, ship via Philadelphia." For many years the Bourse served as the nation's grain exchange, until it moved to Chicago after the turn of the century. Information from plaque and historical exhibit in Bourse building. Bank citation

Transportation lines to the suburbs provided the impetus during the 1890s for the growth of large "bedroom" communities along the Main Line and at Chestnut Hill. Independence Square's neighborhood saw a continuing drain of its wealthy residents and its ongoing transformation from residential to commercial. Closer to the Delaware River, immigrant families crowded into the old Georgian row houses of Society Hill and Old City.[208]

Philadelphia was a city of neighborhoods, racially and ethnically divided. The trolley companies contributed to this phenomenon, as it was easier to go downtown on the street cars than it was to get to another nearby community. By January 1897 the traction companies finished repaving or paving the streets with Belgian block to upgrade the trolley system to electric power. Philadelphians then could more readily arrive at their shrine of independence to celebrate patriotic holidays or make political statements. Independence Square, with its Hall and Liberty Bell, continued to offer the public an opportunity to strengthen civic pride and a sense of national identity.[209]

Restoration, Caterpillars and Floral Displays

Restoration on Independence Square got underway in the spring of 1896. The Sunday Press reported that the Daughters of the American Revolution already had appropriated $5000 towards

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from Campbell Coll., Box 11, HSP)

[208]"Chestnut Hill in the Camera's Eye, Photographs from the John Samuel Naylor Collection, " exhibit at Chestnut Hill Historical Society, October 1995. Morris, et. al. Still Philadelphia, 7, point out that the old city was losing population from the Civil War forward.

[209]Morris, et. al. Still Philadelphia, 5 and 171, which notes that Philadelphia's first electric trolley line began operating along Catherine and Bainbridge Streets in December 1892. It was modeled after Boston's.

the restoration of the "Old State House" and that several buildings would be torn down. The new Court House on Sixth Street was on the list, but its lease to the University of Pennsylvania Law School stood in the way of its immediate removal. Other "modern extrusions"--the Judge's retiring room at the south end of Congress Hall, the 1872 additions to the row along Chestnut Street, and the "Landscape Gardeners Lodge" behind the Sheriff's Office-- were more readily deleted. The last named building looked reasonably quaint in its illustration, but the reporter labeled it an "unsightly addition of modern growth."[210]

After considerable planning and controversy, the demolition of the 1813 Mills buildings finally got underway in November 1897. Architect T. Mellon Rogers designed replicas of the original wing buildings and arcades to replace them. These structures went up in 1898, after an advisory committee from the local chapter of the American Institute of Architecture (A.I.A.) contributed their ideas. Although according to city ordinance the Sixth Street Court House also was to be demolished in June 1898, this building survived until 1901.[211]

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[210]Press, May 17, 1896, Scrapbook #2, Micro 502, INDE. The Public Ledger, June 24, 1896, reported that workmen had begun to build a fence around the demolition site and referred to T. Mellon's design for the restoration.

[211]"The Restoration Addition Made in 1813 now being Removed," Public Ledger, Dec. 4, 1897, Public Ledger July 1, 1898, Scrapbook 2, Micro 504; "Historic Structure Report, Part II, Independence Hall," 125. Criticism of Rogers' work for the Mills' buildings, as well as the restorations within Independence Hall, finally led to his withdrawal from the project in 1898. The A.I.A. argued in favor of redoing his second floor restoration, but the City chose to spend its money elsewhere. Ibid., 128, and ft.nt. 151. Historic Architect Charles Peterson also gives a brief analysis of the restoration in Part I, Chapter III of the "Historic Structure Report." Ordinances of the City of Philadelphia, January 1-December 31, 1896, 301-2. Penn's law school remained on the Square, using the courthouse and Congress Hall, until December 1900. Several architects and city officials also investigated the cracked wall on

Meanwhile, the city hired a professional arborist in February 1896, with the advise of Councilman Meehan-- "who is a good deal of a tree expert himself," the Times observed-- and Professor McFarland at the University of Pennsylvania. John C. Lewis proved to be a zealous Chief Forester. He lectured in behalf of urban trees before civic groups, promoted more enduring species for city parks, and supervised the eradication of voracious caterpillars that threatened to defoliate the shade trees in the squares.[212]

Caterpillars began ravaging the trees on Independence Square in 1895 and made an annual appearance every summer through the close of the century. Headlines like, "The Caterpillar War," "War on Caterpillars continues" suggests the annual attack City Forester Lewis waged with his spray of Paris Green diluted with water. Many newspapers covered the story over the five-year span, until Lewis proudly told the press in August 1900 that the

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the southwest corner of the main building in February 1898, to see if the old well uncovered near the wall was responsible for the wall settling and cracking. This well presumably was the 16-foot-deep well directly to the rear of the tower which Director Riter showed to Independence Square visitors in October 1897. Philadelphia Press, Oct. 9, 1897 and Philadelphia Times, Feb. 9, 1898.

[212]Phila. Times, Feb. 27, 1896, Scrapbook #2, Micro 504; The Meehan family long had been operating one of the city's largest nurseries. Councilman Meehan probably was Thomas Meehan who came from England as a gardener in 1848 at the age of 22. In 1853 he opened his nurseries near Philadelphia and soon became famous as an expert on American plants, especially native trees. He won notoriety as a plant explorer in the Far West and Alaska, edited The Gardener's Monthly for 30 years, and founded Meehan's Monthly in 1891. In 1896 he would have been 70 years old and very knowledgeable. Hedrick, A History of Horticulture in America to 1860, 248. Joseph McFarland (1868-1945) was assistant to the professor of pathology at the University of Pennsylvania in February 1896 and lecturer on bacteriology. Public Ledger, June 23, 1896, clip file on Joseph McFarland, as provided by Mark Lloyd, Archivist, University of Pennsylvania Archives, Oct. 17, 1995.

caterpillar likely would become extinct.[213]

City Forester's first year on the job was a busy one, particularly at Independence Square. While contractors were razing buildings and additions and commencing the restoration inside Independence Hall, the city launched major repairs to the wall and flagstone walks. Contractor McHenry caused controversy in June by not paying his men for their progress with removing the coping, clamping the ashlars, and resetting or replacing the flagstones in the walks and entrance steps. The city resolved the problem by hiring J. Walter Maxwell to complete the job.[214]

At the outset Lewis made a good impression. The Philadelphia Times commended him for his selection of a wide variety of long-lasting and durable trees for the new public squares. That Fall Lewis told the Philadelphia Civic Club that he planned to replace the poplar trees fronting Independence Hall with a row of elms which would be set along the street in a raised grass plot about twelve feet wide on either side of the Washington statue. Lewis argued that his plan would leave 25 feet for the sidewalk, "a space amply sufficient for the ordinary traffic." The elms, being historic trees, would add to the general character of Independence Hall. Probably influenced by letters to the press

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[213]North American, Aug. 16, 1900, Scrapbook #3, Micro 504. This scrapbook and #2, provide at least ten articles written in the summers 1895-1900 on the eradication procedures throughout the city to rid shade trees of the caterpillars. On July 8, 1895 the Evening Telegraph reported that workers were raking and scraping the trees in the public squares and cremating the caterpillars. At that point, concern about the safety of Paris Green prevented its use. City Property was looking for a "cow black bird" to control the problem, as the current methods did not kill the eggs, and the caterpillars rehatched regularly. By July 11 Paris Green had been adopted in a diluted solution. Ibid., July 11, 1895.

[214]Phila. Telegraph, June 15, 1896, Scrapbook #2, Micro 504; Agreement: City of Phila. & J. Walter Maxwell, July 29, 1896, Files of Mrs. Branch, INDE.

calling attention to the Square's beautiful elms and castigating Carolina Poplars as samples of a "whole brood of cheap and nasty trees," Lewis proceeded to cut down the eight poplars on Chestnut Street (1897). The four at the east end were said to be about six years old, and the four on the west end, about 12 years old. The press reported that these "short-lived and brittle" trees would be replaced by elms, probably the following Spring. The elms and their grass plots, however, never materialized. Presumably these introductions were deemed controversial. Photographs dated 1900 and 1905 show the walkway denuded of trees. No record has been located to explain the failure of Lewis' plan.[215]

Not every letter to the press praised Lewis' progress at Independence Square. In September 1896 an editorial began, "It would be somewhat difficult to find a stretch of grass and trees presenting a forlorner and more bedraggled aspect than is afforded to the Philadelphian at the present time by Independence Square." In June 1898 the same newspaper noted that for several years the grounds had been "an eyesore and reproach to the

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[215]Sunday Press, May 16, 1896, Philadelphia Times, June 3, Nov. 18, 30, 1896, Scrapbook #2, Micro 504. The writer especially commended his use of the sugar maple, the "most beautiful and most desirable of all the maples," as well as pin and red oaks, elm, Oriental plane and tulip trees. The writer found silver maples and Carolina poplars unacceptable trees. Perhaps he was the same writer to the Times on June 3, who labeled these trees examples of a "whole brood of cheap and nasty trees," and marveled at the beautiful elms. See photo of Congress Hall and New District Court, 1900, taken on the last day the Law Department occupied the buildings. It is a snow covered setting, with a clear view of the walkway. Photo #1629, INDE Photo files, copy courtesy of University of PA; Chestnut Street front dated 1905. Acc. #8251, Chew Coll., INDE. Lewis' boss, in March 1894, had announced his intention of planting four replacement poplars on the Chestnut Street walkway, after gas had killed off two of the poplars. This article would suggest that he never fulfilled his intention, as all the poplars removed were older than three years. The Item, Mar. 20, 1894, Scrapbook 2, Micro 504. Lewis may also have chosen elm because they had not been damaged during the caterpillar blight of 1895. Phila. Times, July 18, 1895, Scrapbook 2, Ibid.

community." After the Centennial, maintenance for the city squares had started to fall off, and for the last three or four years, Independence Square had taken on a particularly bad appearance: "the bare ground, untidy, innocent of grass in many parts of the Square, strewn with litter, spotted with tobacco squirtings, and filled with loafers." Its condition had aroused "contempt of visitors and the amusement of residents." The writer acknowledged, however, that as the restoration's completion approached, the city had begun to show "some disposition to put the square back of the State House in something like order."[216]

The reporter offered his opinion that the Square's "thin crop of grass" was due to the heavy shade. If "some of the too thickly planted trees cannot be removed," he admonished, more food and manure was needed. This Inquirer writer wanted the Square handed over to an "intelligent person who knows how to make the best of the conditions." The very next day, the North American, as if to give some balance, noted that the bare spots had been filled in with new turf, the "unsightly fence around the flower beds" had been replaced with "a neat railing," all the walks had been prepared, and, best of all, that the trees were in "splendid condition." Presumably referring to the construction site for the wings and arcades, he concluded that "when the piles of debris have been removed from the square there will be nothing to mar the beauty of the spot."[217]

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[216]Inquirer, Sept. 17, 1896, Scrapbook #2, Micro 504. Evening Inquirer, June 28, 1898, Scrapbook #3, Ibid.

[217]Phila. Inquirer, June 28, 29, 1898; North American June 29, 1898, Scrapbook 3, Micro 504. At some point during the year, Forester Lewis removed four decayed or damaged trees--a Maple, Linden and Poplar and Wild Cherry. Lewis submitted a blueprint to Bureau Chief A. Eisenhower on Jan. 9, 1899, locating the removed dead or damaged trees. City Coll., INDE. The "unsightly fence" removed probably was the four-foot high iron fence Chief Eisenhower told the press he intended to put in to protect the flowers in 1894.

Forester Lewis focused his attention on the care of the trees and flower beds. As his 1898 annual report simply stated, Independence Square had been re-sodded where needed and Standard Altheas conifers added in new grass plots "to give a furnished effect." Lewis also noted that "the display of bulbous bloom in the Spring was very fine indeed...in design more elaborate than heretofore." Other signs indicated Lewis felt confident of his horticultural abilities. Hired as forester in 1896, he signed January 1899 memo as "arborist" and "landscape gardener."[218]

Perhaps it's a coincidence, but that same month and year, eleven charter members organized the American Society of Landscape Architects (ASLA). While already forty years old, landscape architecture had remained a small and disorganized profession. In the last decades of the century, however, the Olmsted firm had produced inspired designs for a series of public parks and the Chicago Worlds Fair Exposition in Chicago. At Frederick Law Olmsted's retirement in 1895, the firm continued to promote the profession and its reputation under Olmsted's sons, Frederick Law Jr. and John Charles Olmsted, who were founding members of the ASLA. Although it's not known whether John Lewis joined the new society, it appears that he aspired to join the growing ranks of professionals in the field.[219]

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[218]John C. Lewis, City Forester, to Alfred S. Eisenhower, Chief of Bureau of City Property, Annual Report, 1898, City Archives; Lewis to Eisenhower, Jan. 9, 1899, City Coll., Mrs. Files, INDE. Lewis' plan gave the locations of trees removed because of storms or decay, and trees suffering decay, which he felt assured could be restored through annual pruning. He listed removed one maple blown down in a storm, a dangerously decayed linden, a wild cherry "injuring a better tree," and a dead poplar. Three maple and two elms were listed as ones not dangerously decayed, that annual pruning could revive.

[219] Norman T. Newton, Design on the Land, The Development of Landscape Architecture, (Cambridge, 1971), 385-87; Olmsted information, Dictionary of American Biography. John C. Olmsted actually was a step-son, born to Frederick's brother who died and Frederick married his widow. During Frederick's last years of

It was not Lewis, however, but his chief, Alfred Eisenhower, who first introduced patriotic flower beds to Independence Square. In April 1894 workers set out red, white and blue hyacinths in beds "somewhat like a heart" on either side of the tower door. The large circular plot in the middle of the square also was filled with hyacinths, while tulips defined the American ensign, as well as the dates 1776 and 1894-- the former date in yellow and latter in white.[220]

Presumably Forester Lewis carried on this tradition in 1896 when he joined the service, although the scrapbook did not record the spring flowers. In April 1897, however, the square's patriotic displays were "attracting attention," with 20,000 tulips, daffodils and hyacinths in bloom. Despite concerns voiced by the press that the 1898 spring bulbs would not be affordable because of a sharp rise in tulip prices, the Philadelphia Record proclaimed that season's show the finest ever. Once again red, white and blue were the prevailing colors, but crimson tulips and golden narcissus were added, as were new designs. Stars, a flag, shield, Maltese Cross, Liberty Bell, and the dates 1776 and 1898, made up the floral patterns. After the bulbs faded, the beds were replenished with roses, geraniums, pansies, and other summer flowers, and again fashioned into patriotic designs. In the fall new bulbs were set, and this annual display pattern continued at

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active work, he designed the grounds of George W. Vanderbilt's "Biltmore," in Asheville, NC, public parks in Boston, Hartford, and Louisville, and, perhaps his most outstanding achievement, the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago.

[220]Evening Telegraph Apr. 21, 1894; this article noted that Eisenhower planned to enclose the circle with a four-foot iron fence to keep people from stealing the flowers. Although no photos bear out that this was put in, an article later referred to removing the "unsightly fence" around the circular bed. North American, June 29, 1898, Scrapbook 3.

least until 1901, when the scrapbook record ends.[221]

The exceptional flower display in 1898 probably was planned to coordinate with the completion of the restorations. On October 29 rededication ceremonies at Independence Square hailed the restoration of Independence Hall and its wings. Some 3200 school children sang the "national anthems" (the Star Spangled Banner and Yankee Doodle) for this Civic Day Jubilee, and provided part of the audience for Mayor Warwick's speech, which referred to the recent war with Spain and reviewed the "glorious history" of the Hall. For the occasion a gigantic grandstand stretched across the Chestnut Street walkway. The Public Ledger's sketchs showed people crammed into seats up to the second story windows the length of the sidewalk. Other spectators lined both sides of Chestnut Street to view the parade and ceremonies. Still others filled "every inch of space within two squares," there to "do honor to the structure where liberty that is liberty was born." It was a day when the "Vast Crowd" felt "proud of the Fact That They Were Americans."[222]

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[221] Phila. Times Apr. 10, 1897; Ledger and Inquirer, Sept. 14, 1897; Phila. Record, Apr. 16, 1898, also noted that Lewis had seen to the planting of 63,500 bulbs in all the city's squares; Phila. Times, May 23, 1898, Scrapbook 2; "Vast Beds of Gorgeous Tulips Nod Greetings in City Parks, Independence Square and All Other Municipal Oases Thronged With People From Every Rank of Life, Drawn Thence by the Fine Floral Exhibit of Belated Spring," North American, April 27, 1900; "Blooms Draw Throng to Independence Square, Tulip Beds Are Now Budding Forth in Variegated Designs and Crowds Come to See Them," Phila. Inquirer, Apr. 29, 1901, Scrapbook 3, Micro 504. The 1901 article specified that there were five separate flower beds that the gardener had "woven... into star-shaped, heart-shaped and octagonal."

[222] Public Ledger, Oct. 28, 1898, Scrapbook 2, Micro 504. Governor Hastings also spoke, tieing the return of Independence Hall's walls to their "pristine simplicity and beauty," to the "magnificent achievements of the last war", praying that "the recent stirring events" help restore the people "to that simplicity and beauty of national life which was contemplated by our fathers, and a peace that is founded upon an unshaken national devotion..." The Phila. Inquirer for June 2 noted that the restoration was due

Subsequent patriotic ceremonies were more subdued. On July 4, 1899, about 500 showed to hear Mayor Ashbridge honor the holiday in Independence Square. That September the National Encampment of the Grand Army of the Republic (G.A.R.) gathered in Philadelphia. For the occasion a "double row of electric lights" were strung from the Hall to the Walnut Street center entrance. In Washington Square, 173 veterans of Lyle Post 28 set up an encampment of twenty-seven tents. The Inquirer enthused that this spectacle "right in the business district," only "a step from the main thoroughfare," would be a major city attraction.[223]

Independence Square still was in the center of downtown by this account, but with two railroad terminals, the new City Hall, Wanamaker's and cultural institutions at or near Broad and Market Streets, center city was drifting ever-more westward. Meanwhile, restoration efforts continued. Councils adopted a resolution from the Historical and Colonial Societies of Pennsylvania to remove "all buildings not historic," and by December 1900 the University of Pennsylvania had moved out of their leased quarters. Shortly thereafter, the new Court House on Sixth Street was demolished.[224]

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to end that month. Ibid.

[223]Phila.Times, July 5, 1899; Public Ledger Sept. 5, 1899, Scrapbook 3, Micro 504. In 1898 the Washington Grays monument had been placed in the center of Washington Square, to honor the service of the militia unit of that name which had organized in 1822 and fought in the Civil War. Rabzak, "Washington Square," 20. Perhaps the encampment of Lyle Post also related to the Civil War; the brief news article did not say, but did give a sketch of the tents from the corner of Sixth and Walnut.

[224] See INHP Acc. No.3687 for the park's copy of the Atwater Kent's 1990 exhibit on the Alfred Percival Smith Photograph Collection. The collection has a range of Independence Square shots, including the only known views of the interior of the Court House before its demolition. Miller, et. al., Still Philadelphia, 5; entry for Dec. 7, 1899, Journal of Common Council, Oct. 4, 1899-Mar. 29, 1900, p. 141; John Wanamaker's Philadelphia A Guide, (Philadelphia, 1917), 23-4; Phila. Inquirer, Sept. 1, 1899, Scrapbook 3, INDE Micro 534.

Part III: Twentieth Century

Changes to Independence Square's Neighborhood, 1901-15

In the wake of the city government's relocation to Broad and Market Streets at the turn of the century, many of the buildings around Independence Square stood empty and neglected. The publishing and insurance industries, already heavily invested in the neighborhood, filled much of the vacuum and helped restore the area's vitality. The drop in real estate prices invited big business, and the plan for an expanded rapid transportation by subway on Locust and Eighth Streets, promised that the east end of town would be only minutes away from center city. As new and powerful companies invested in the future of the area, they also showed an appreciation for the long and significant history associated with Independence and Washington Squares.[1]

Between 1907 and 1912 Washington Square transformed into a lively publishing district. Lippincott & Co., an old (1792) and prestigious publishing firm, constructed a new building in the colonial style facing Washington Square in 1907. (The building still stands at the corner of South Sixth and Locust Streets.) That year also, the Curtis Publishing Company bought up and began demolition of the properties along the north side of Walnut from Sixth to Seventh Streets, to build a massive new corporate headquarters. The first section of the Curtis building (facing Independence Square), as it neared completion in 1910 at a cost

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[1]City of Philadelphia, Department of City Transit, 1914, "Plans and Profiles for Reconstruction of Sewers for Rapid Transit Development," City Collection, Sewers, INDE. Record, Nov. 6, 1910; The North American of July 3, 1910 described the new publishing district, and noted the older publishing houses, the Catholic Standard & Times at 211 South Sixth, the Central News Company at 214 South Sixth, and the David McKay Co. at 610 South Washington Square. Clippings, "Society Hill Washington Square, 1909-1960," Old Town Historical Society, Box 1/1, Athenaeum of Phila.

of near $3,000,000, received advance acclaim as the finest publishing house in the world.[2]

Cyrus K. Curtis, publisher of the Ladies Home Journal and Saturday Evening Post, not only had financial success, he had vision. In contrast to the "robber barons" of the day, he spared no expense to make the building serve his employees' "wants and conveniences". He lined the entrance hallway with the most costly imported marble, commissioned artist Maxfield Parrish to paint "Dream Garden" depicting a timeless, trouble-free world, and had Louis C.Tiffany translate the painting into a fifty-foot mosaic mural of favrile glass. The building also included employee dining rooms, rest rooms, and even a temporary hospital. To offer the staff a safe, pleasant recreation space, Curtis transformed the building's massive roof into a garden. It was an age when parks and gardens were thought essential for the health of urban dwellers.[3]

Walter Burns Saunders & Company, medical book publishers, were simultaneously constructing a seven-story corporate headquarters on the west side of Washington Square, at the corner of Seventh and Locust Streets. The following year Wilmer A. Atkinson Co., publishers of Farm Journal and Country Gentleman, hired architects Morgan Bunting and Arthur Shrigley to design a new headquarters on the site of the old Orange Street Friends Meetinghouse, at the southwest corner of the square. The house still operates from this building, and its publication has become

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[2]Rabzak, "Washington Square," 20-1.

[3] Unidentified clipping, Walnut Street, Campbell Coll., Vol. 92, HSP. Caroll Frey, The Independence Square Neighborhood (Philadelphia, 1916), 55; Chilton's 1994 Guide to Historic Society Hill, (Philadelphia, 1994), no. 47.

the largest farm journal in the world.[4]

These four new buildings on Washington Square preceded the construction, beginning in 1914, of Penn Mutual Insurance Company's massive white granite ten-story, Beaux Arts and Classical Revival headquarters at Sixth and Walnut Streets, diagonally across from the Curtis Building. Leaders in their fields, Curtis and Penn Mutual made similar statements in their building projects. They both tore down a Lawyers' Row for new high-rise office buildings, used the same architect, Edgar V. Seeler, the same builder, Doyle & Company, and associated their location with Philadelphia's early history. Their substantial structures overlooking two of the city's oldest public squares even seemed to alter the neighborhood's climate. As a writer in 1916 noted, the corner buildings formed "a canyon-pass through which blow the winds of Independence Square into Washington Square."[5]

While the publishing and insurance industries dominated the south end of Independence Square, banking and commerce continued to hold strong on the Chestnut Street side. In 1907 Stephen Girard's estate tore down the old "Brown's Iron building" and the Peoples Bank, or Girard Building, at the northeast corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets, to construct the 10-story office building they named the Lafayette. The construction of such a sizeable commercial space suggested the estate's confidence in the financial future of the neighborhood, and its exploitation,

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[4]Chilton's Guide, nos. 50-51; Frey, Independence Square, 56; "Society Hill Washington Square," clipping, no date, [c.1912], Old Town H.S. Box 1, Athenaeum.

[5]Quote from Frey, Independence Square, 49; "Petition to Save buildings 500-506 Walnut Street", Walnut Street 500 Block file, Philadelphia Historical Commission (PHC); Public Ledger May 25, 1915, clipping in "Society Hill," Old Town Historical Soc., Box 1, Athenaeum.

like Curtis and others, of the depressed real estate market.[6]

As the transformation of the neighborhood proceeded, a few community leaders entered into the patriotic/civic spirit which dominated the restoration effort at Independence Square. Almost simultaneous with a city ordinance of November 1912 which reserved the use of Independence Square for patriotic meetings or celebrations, Charles F. Jenkins, editor of the Farm Journal, contacted the Director of Public Works, Hon. Llewellyn Cooke. He spoke for a "number of gentlemen, whose places of business surround Independence and Washington Squares." They hoped to "aid the City Forester, the Bureau of City Property and the Department of Public Works in making these two squares more beautiful and effective." The group wanted to "cooperate with regularly constituted authorities" to "rouse and maintain public interest" in the project. Jenkins also noted that they might want to "employ some expert advisers to suggest what is best to be done," as both squares then looked "'run down at the heels.'"[7]

Relandscaping at Washington Square

Four days later Director Moore replied, "...your very

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[6]Tatum, Penn's Great Town, 195; Extract from Report of Board of Directors of City Trusts, 1906, and 1907, as provided in Nov. 1995 by Jack Lee, Girard Trust, Philadelphia. The latter report noted that "Lafayette" had been selected as the name for the 116,000 square foot office building, evidently in reference to Girard's French roots, and to the American Revolutionary hero. The building remained in Girard Estate ownership until Dec. 12, 1954, when it was sold to Jane Gibbs, trading as Town Investors Co.,Inc.

[7]Nov. 27, 1912 entry of Select Council Journal 1912 (II), pp. 104, 130-31, 176, App. p. 49, INDE notecard; Jenkins to Cooke, Nov. 14, 1912, "Society Hill," Old Town Historical Soc. Coll., Box 1/1, Athenaeum. Cooke was an industrial engineer and student of scientific management. Under reformer Mayor Rudolph Blankenburg (1912-15), Moore made the department of public works "a model of efficiency and incorruptibility." He was probably the Mayor's ablest man. Weigley, ed., Philadelphia, 553-4, 556.

generous offer is gladly and gratefully accepted." Soon after the business group organized into the Washington Square Improvement Association with Cyrus K. Curtis as chair, and Charles F. Jenkins secretary. Working directly with city officials, the Association hired the noteable Olmsted Brothers of Boston to redesign Washington Square's walkways so that pedestrian traffic would follow "along the lines of least resistance," to restore the trampled lawns.[8]

In the initial contact with Olmsted Brothers on January 22, 1913, Jenkins made clear that the Association intended to furnish a new landscape plan for Washington Square for the city to execute. He enclosed with his letter "a little booklet" on Washington Square he had authored "some time ago" outlining its "historical interest," especially considering its association with the adjoining Independence Square. Following up on this concept in April, William F. Dreer from the Association and Percival Gallagher from Olmsted Brothers discussed the future landscape plans for Washington Square with Horace Wells Sellers, the man in charge of the American Institute of Architects' (A.I.A) committee of restoration for Independence Square. That month another civic-minded group, the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution, contacted the Association with a plan to place a memorial to General Anthony Wayne either in Independence or

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[8] M.L. Cooke to Charles F. Jenkins, Washington Square, Nov. 18, 1912; the first meeting was held on Jan. 9, 1913 in the Curtis Building, as recorded by Charles F. Jenkins in the Association minutes for that date; the Association's leaders were listed in the Evening Telegraph of January 16, 1913: Cyrus H.K. Curtis, George K. Johnson, Morris Stroud, William R. Dreer (seeds), C.J. Jenkins, and G. Colesberry Purves. "Society Hill," Old Town Historical Soc., Box 1, Athenaeum; W.H. Ball to Percival Gallagher, Care Messrs. Olmsted Brothers, Jan. 10, 1913 "The Records of the Olmsted Associates," MS, Microfilm Roll 228, Library of Congress, (copy made for INDE research files); the quote describing the design comes from Rabzak, "Washington Square," 21, based on, "Historic Washington Square Being Made into Park Combining Beauty and Utility," Public Ledger, Dec. 26, 1915, p. 8, Free Public Library.

Washington Square, using $15,000 the group had already raised. While Gallagher found the idea inappropriate for Washington Square, which he considered a neighborhood park, the proposal suggested how historic associations and patriotic sentiments were bringing the two squares together in the minds of the volunteer planners.[9]

The Washington Square Improvement Association made good their offer to help the city upgrade the park's landscape. They appointed committees to raise money and hire a "competent landscape architect," and actively participated in the planning and arrangements for the project. The Olmsted Brothers inspected the square and submitted a detailed report with recommendations. At the close of the year the Public Works Department observed that the Association had "materially helped" the bureau by providing a new plan from "one of the best landscape gardening firms in the country." The annual report also noted that the Art Jury, (recently established by the city), had approved the plan. In January 1914 a sub-committee was appointed to raise $10,000 from the square's property owners and, when enough pledges had come in, to lobby councilmen for an appropriation of $25,000 to complete the project. At the same time William F. Dreer, a subcommittee member, took the lead in assessing the condition of the square. President of the old and reputable Dreer Company seed, bulb, and plant suppliers, then at 714 Chestnut Street, Dreer was considered an "expert horticulturalist." With Raymond Pond, the new City Forester, he examined all the trees, identified 116

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[9] Charles F. Jenkins to Olmsted Brothers, Jan. 22, 1913; Horace Wells Sellars to Percival Gallagher, Apr. 22, 1913; Gallagher to Sellars, May 2, 1913, Olmsted Assocs. Records, Micro. 228, Cont. B 220, Lib. of Cong. In the latter letter Gallagher suggested to Sellers that Independence Square would be the most appropriate place for such a monument and proposed lining the central walk with two rows of memorial statues.

varieties, and specified which ones should be removed. [10]

During the summer of 1915 Italian workers began excavating along the west side of Washington Square for a sewer relocation project. Human bones and two skulls turned up as they dug, thought to be remnants from the burial of Revolutionary soldiers. (Most of the bodies, the Public Ledger assumed, had long ago been reinterred in West Philadelphia.)[11]

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[10]The committee consisted of Mssrs. Bok, Purves and Dreer. Minutes of meetings, Jan. 16, 1914, Washington Square Association Collection, Box 1, Athenaeum. The 15-page Olmsted report of Apr.22, 1913, discussed the condition of the existing trees, pavements, curbs, and lampposts, and described the square's traffic patterns, uses as public open space, its design and soil improvement. It tallied 308 trees, of an "unusual assortment," particularly ones well suited to "the trying conditions of the city." The American Elm, the Plane, the Silver Maple, the Catalpa, the Ash and two varieties of Oak dominated the list. Olmsted correspondence indicates that Eli K. Price, a member of the Fairmount Park Commission, strongly objected to certain elements of the Olmsted plan. The Art Jury called in the prominent Philadelphia architect, Paul Cret, who was then deeply involved with planning the city's boulevards, for his opinion. Cret strongly advocated for the Olmsted plan. Revisions were made by November, reflecting Art Jury recommendations, one of which included four monuments in the square. See ? to Andrew Wright Crawford, Assistant Secretary, Art Jury, June 28, 1913, "Washington Square," a memo to files, July 17, 1913, ? to Charles F. Jenkins, Nov. 1, 1913, Micro 228, Olmsted Associates Coll., Lib. of Congress. The latter letter spells out the Olmsted firm's objections to the Art Jury's recommendations. Eli K. Price was elected the Association's superintendent of the project in June 1915. Edward T. Biddle, minutes of meeting of Washington Square Improvement Association, June 21, 1915, Old Town Historical Soc. Box 1, Athenaeum. Washington Square to be Beautified by New Trees," Public Ledger, Dec. 22, 1915, Rabzak, 22. Letterhead of Dreer Company, William Dreer to Gallagher, Feb. 12, 1913, Micro 228, Olmsted Assocs. Coll, Lib. of Cong. Dreer evidently moved his business to Washington Square at around this time. The Public Ledger of July 13, 1924 recorded H.A. Dreer Inc.'s sale of a property on the square to Charles F. Jenkins, owner of the Farm Journal, and noted Dreer had built the six-story building about ten years earlier. Old Town Historical Soc., Box 1, Athenaeum.

[11]""Human Bones Exumed in Washington Square," Public Ledger, June 9, 1915, p. 1, as cited in Rabzak, "Washington Square," 22.

Despite the disruptive trenching work, the city proceeded with its landscape project. The walks were rerouted "in planned directions," trees and shrubbery were added, pre-selected trees removed, and the soil was treated. Money evidently ran out before the changes were completed, however, for the Bureau of City Property's 1915 annual report projected that "a modern convenience station" would be built, the ground retrenched and large trees planted when Councils appropriated more funds. Nonetheless the major landscape design had been laid, and remains in place today.[12]

Critics of Independence Square's Setting

Just prior to these improvements, the Public Ledger in November 1914 headlined, "Shameful Neglect of Washington and Independence Squares," as a lead to point out how the decline in the neighborhood marred the jewel-like character of these two public spaces. To improve "the dingy setting" the state legislature considered a proposal sponsored by "art associations and historical societies" in the city, and state legislator, Isadore Stern, to purchase the block across Chestnut Street "Fronting [the] Liberty Bell," as a "proper setting" for Independence Hall.[13]

The Ledger reporter's assumption that the burials were reinterred has not yet been verified in city records.

[12]As quoted in Rabzak, "Washington Square," 21; Dallet, An Architectural View, as cited in Ibid., 22; Annual Report of Bureau of City Property, p. 9, RG 68, City Archives. Olmsteds recommended retaining the flagstone walks which they found "in excellent condition." The report also recommended an underground comfort station in the middle of the square. Gallagher to Jenkins, Apr. 22, 1913, pp. 5 & 14, Micro 268, Olmsted Assoc. Coll., Lib. of Congress. The Grays Monument at the center of the square was moved to the Seventh Street side in 1917. Rabzak, Ibid., 23.

[13]Public Ledger Nov. 21, 1914; "New Independence Square Plan Placed Before House. Bill to Enlarge State House Setting Is Introduced." Unidentified newspaper, [Feb. 2, 1915], as cited in

The legislature had already appointed a commission to consider a $2,400,000 plan to buy the block across from Independence Hall north to Ludlow Street (also called Minor Street), and clear away the 19th century buildings. A.I.A. architects Albert Kelsey and David Knickerbacker Boyd submitted a design for the half-block that created a reviewing area bordered by a memorial colonnade to provide a dignified ceremonial space for patriotic observances, while reducing the danger that huge spectator crowds posed for the historic buildings. The demolition of the old buildings on the north side of Chestnut Street also aimed to protect Independence Hall and its row from fire.[14]

Earlier, in 1912, another scheme had been launched to improve Independence Square's southern approach. The Philadelphia Board of Trade, through its committee on municipal affairs, was promoting a plan to clean up the "City's Worst Slum District" just west of Washington Square by widening Locust Street to 150

INDE notecard file. "Washington Wanted to Enlarge Square," unidentified newspaper clipping, [April 1915], Horace Wells Sellers Collection, INDE. This article quotes Representative Stern as saying that he had discovered that George Washington proposed that the park be enlarged 125 years ago, or in 1790.

[14]"Vista for Old State House," Philadelphia Record, May 2, 1915," clipping, Sellers Coll., INDE; "State May Buy Block Fronting Liberty Bell" and "Letters to Representative Stern Favor...Enlarge Park," unidentified newspaper clippings, April 29, 1915, and undated, INDE notecard. Deirdre Gibson, Mary Whelchel Konieczny, Kathy Schlegel, Anna Coxe Toogood, "Cultural Landscape Report, Independence Mall," National Park Service, June 1994, pp. 22-24. Kelsey and Boyd were concerned that the two-story grandstands set up against Independence Hall during patriotic events posed a fire hazard to the building. The governor appointed a commission to consider Isadore Stern's proposal. Patriotic organizations all over the country rallied in support. It was a period of rising expectations for enhancing the square's setting, expectations which bogged down, presumably, with the outbreak of World War I. The proposal divided the A.I.A. Philadelphia chapter, while Eli K. Price, who sat on the Art Jury and Fairmount Park Commission, urged its passage. Philadelphia Record, May 1, 1915, and Unidentified clipping, same page, Sellers Coll., INDE.

feet between Seventh and Sixteenth Streets as "a parkway approach to Independence Hall by way of Washington Square." While it never came to pass, the Board of Trade's plan and the other improvement efforts reflected the spirit of the City Beautiful movement then sweeping the country, a by-product of architect Daniel Burnham's designs at the 1893 Chicago World Exposition.[15]

The same impulse to beautify Philadelphia with parkways was then being carried forward with plans to connect Fairmount Park and the new city hall at the west end of town, and the city with New Jersey by a new bridge across the Delaware River. The Benjamin Franklin Parkway and Delaware River Bridge reached completion for the 1926 Sesquicentennial, when Independence Square again was the location for patriotic ceremonies honoring the nation's founding.[16]

During the period of planning for the Benjamin Franklin Parkway (1902-1926), the Fairmount Park Commission gained influence. In 1915 the city voted to turn control of the five original city squares over to the Commission. The Bureau of City Property for the meantime, however, remained in authority at Independence Square.[17]

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[15]Quote from headlines in the Philadelphia Record, Apr. 15, 1912, which also noted that the project's name was "Locust Gardens." clipping in "Society Hill," Old Town Historical Soc. coll., Box 1/1, Athenaeum.

[16] A Parkway Association organized in 1902, with John H. Converse of the Fairmount Park Art Association as President, and the next year the parkway was put on the city plan. A plan for the parkway was prepared by a commission of architects in 1907. White, Fairmount, 113.

[17]Rabzak, "Washington Square,"p. 23, citing Public Ledger, July 7, 1916. The article pointed out that Councils passed the ordinance on May 21, 1914, over the veto of Mayor Blankenburg. Councils maintained that recent legislation had set the policy giving the Commissioners control over all public squares, parks and boulevards.

Lean Years and The A.I.A. Relandscaping of 1915-16

While high-powered business executives were driving the renovation of Washington Square, prominent Philadelphia architects representing the Philadelphia Chapter, American Institute of Architects (A.I.A.), were putting in many volunteer hours to make Independence Square's restoration an accurate and professional one. They labored on the several projects without salary off and on from the turn of the century into the 1920s.

The original A.I.A."Committee of Architects" that advised T. Mellon Rogers on the reconstruction of the wing buildings in 1897-99 -- Frank Miles Day, Walker Cope, Wilson Eyre, Jr., Edgar V. Seeler and George Mason -- also made an extensive study of Congress Hall and submitted a report (March 1, 1901) for its restoration, which failed to get Council's financial backing. Eventually the A.I.A. dropped the project, leaving the square's future with the Bureau of City Property under the Department of Public Works.[18]

With the Bureau of City Property in charge, Independence Square received little attention during the century's first decade. The records suggest it was a period of routine maintenance, limited budget and minimal improvement. According to a custodian's recollection, several of the large old trees blew over during storms. One fell on Independence Hall around 1909, shattering all the windows of the Assembly Room and barely missing Franklin's portrait. A 1913 photograph shows one of the old trees along the central path drastically pruned and looking more dead than alive. Other photographs with the trees and

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[18]Ziegler to Alfred Bendiner, President, Philadelphia Chapter, A.I.A., Nov. 1, 1950, Ziegler Papers, location unknown. This reference is based on a research notecard, INDE. A copy of the 5-page report dated Mar. 1, 1901 is in Congress Hall Restoration, 1895-1912, City Coll., INDE.

flowers in full bloom, on the other hand, make the square look peaceful and orderly.[19]

A photograph along the Chestnut Street side shows a row of five or six young trees curbside, before the Curtis Building reached completion in 1910. Although the city records did not refer to their planting, two photographs of the streetscape, the first dated 1905 showing no trees, and the other dated 1906 showing a line of new trees along the curb, suggest the year they were put in the ground.[20]

Photographs of the yard record the spiraled iron Victorian lamp posts (presumably from the Centennial) and the low iron railing enclosing the center grass plot. One shot in 1913 also details heavy rounded concrete posts along one of the circle's outer grass plots and a December one shows a magnificent two-story Christmas tree lighted in the plaza south of the tower.[21]

In a patriotic gesture the Friendly Sons of St. Patrick in 1907 donated a bronze statue of Revolutionary War naval hero, Commodore John Barry, by sculptor Samuel Murray. The Barry

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[19]The tree that fell on Independence Hall, and custodian report as reported in Philadelphia Evening Bulletin, n.d., as cited in INDE notecard file. For a variety of stereopticons, several hand colored, showing Independence Square in flower at this time, see Box 37, Museum Collections, INDE. Brandt & Gummere, Byways and Boulevards, 176. An undated photograph (opposite the title page) in this source, taken prior to the 1907 Barry statue, shows the large, truncated trees.

[20]The Chestnut Street trees are readily seen in the c. 1910 photograph published in Brandt & Gummere, Byways and Boulevards, 176. The 1905 view of Chestnut Street front, Accession #8251, Chew Coll., INDE; the 1906 view, #144, Box 11, Campbell Coll., HSP.

[21]See photo sent by Dr. Robert H. Nones, Jr. of Independence Hall and the circle planted and fenced, c. 1907, and photo no. 6526, showing a lamp post and, across Sixth Street, the Curtis Building almost completed. INDE Photo files.

statue, atop a stepped granite pedestal, was placed at the center of the square (where the city long had planned a monument), on the main walk south of the Hall. A low iron chain railing, connected by stout concrete bollards, enclosed the statue's grass plot until 1910, when it was stolen and never replaced. That year Samuel Murray also furnished a copy of the George Washington statue on the Chestnut Street walkway to replace the original, which was moved to City Hall at Broad Street.[22]

Search for 1769 Observatory Site

Patriotism also motivated members of the site staff, particularly Wilfred Jordan, Independence Hall's curator, who over more than two decades (1908-31) mounted several campaigns to improve the historic collections, buildings and setting. Soon after joining the staff, Jordan got interested in the site of the 1769 observatory where he believed the Declaration of Independence had first been read to the public. Reporting to Henry Darrach in 1911, Jordan admitted he had excavated in the yard to try to pinpoint the observatory's site, and found "original" sandstone foundations. He felt his research and findings established "beyond a doubt the authenticity" of the building. Jordan sent a report to the Mayor recommending the observatory's reconstruction, or at least the site's identification with a granite marker.[23]

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[22]Photo of Barry statue with text which gave date of dedication as March 16th, 1907. Acc. #1633, Chew Coll., INDE; Federal Writers' Project, Works Progress Administration, Philadelphia A Guide to the Nation's Birthplace, (Philadelphia, 1937), 320, gave the detail about the fence being stolen. A photograph dated July 21, 1914 from the Hall's tower shows the center circle bollards without the chain links. Phila. Electric Co. Photo, Photo files. National Register Form, Independence National Historical Park, (1987), p. 20.

[23]Jordan to Henry Darrach, Esq., Dec. 6, 1911, in which Jordan said he had located the site "sometime ago" about forty feet due west of the Philosophical Society building and south of the wing building. Observatory, 1911-26, City Coll., INDE. Doris Fanelli's

Getting no results, Jordan in 1914 again requested that the City Property Bureau assist in a search for the observatory site. Excavations began on June 24th 55 feet south of the east wing. Jordan also sent out press releases to publicize the site. Only two days later, Chief Ball of City Property claimed that some of the foundations had been found and notified the Fourth of July Celebration Committee that a temporary wooden marker would be placed at the site for the event. President Woodrow Wilson attended and unveiled the marker with some ceremony.[24]

Jordan then sought support for a permanent marker for the observatory from the square's several patriotic societies. The Pennsylvania Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution took an interest. Jordan consulted with the American Philosophical Society for the marker's inscription, and kept excavations going in the square to locate the site. Through the City Property offices, a design for the tablet was submitted to the Art Jury.[25]

The Art Jury in turn asked the A.I.A.'s Philadelphia Chapter in 1915 to investigate and report the observatory's "precise" location in order to place the marker. Horace Wells Sellers, as chair of the committee on the preservation of historic monuments, had several trenches dug down to the original soil line--3 1/2 to 4 feet deep--and probed deeper, to look for evidence of the site. Sellers' investigations provided no clues. His committee made a survey drawing of the trenches excavated (not located by this writer), and noted that the dig had not included the west side of

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research indicates Jordan and his father both were active in the Pennsylvania SAR. Darrach lived right across from the square, at 625 Walnut St. He appears as a lawyer in the 1881 Gospill's Directory of the city on S. Sixth St., and thus may have been a member of the Independence Square neighborhood for thirty years.

[24]Annual Report of the Bureau of City Property, 1914, p. 15, City Archives.

[25]Bedini, "'That Awfull Stage,'" p. 26-27.

the main walk as planned, because the Fairmount Park Commission took over management of the square and did not find the project a priority. Sellers also consulted with knowledgeable people at the University of Pennsylvania, as well as every known historical record on the observatory. At the end, he could do nothing to confirm the observatory's site, and without any firm evidence, the Art Jury dropped the project.[26]

Undaunted, Jordan obstinately persevered. On Sept. 14, 1915, he wrote the Chief of the Bureau of City Property "I do not believe that the matter of marking the tablet in Independence Square should be permitted to be dropped." He suggested a committee be formed to go over the considerable evidence which "in no way" had been mentioned in Seller's report. Armed with the committee approval, Jordan expected that the city could "overthrow any objection that the Art Jury might make" with the proposal. Jordan's efforts, however, failed to rouse further interest.[27]

Jordan, like his superintendent, often found that the line of authority for the historic square could be confusing and a barrier to progress. City councils, municipal bureaucracy, the Advisory Commission set up for the portrait collection, the city's new appointed Art Jury, the Fairmount Park Commission, and the A.I.A. committee on the preservation of historic monuments, all had a stake in the future of the shrine, and they didn't

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[26]Sellers to William H. Ball, Chief Bureau of City Property, July 21, 1915, and to Andrew Wright Crawford, Secretary of the Art Jury, July 2, 1915, Observatory, City Collection, INDE. For a fuller account of this tablet episode, see Bedini, "'That Awful Stage,'" pp. 25-33.

[27]Jordan to Chief [no name given], Sept. 14, 1915, City Coll., Observatory, 1911-1926, INDE.

always agree on how to proceed at the square.[28]

Mounting a Restoration Project, 1908-1911

The city's plan to replace Independence Square's lamps with new ones in 1910 evidently helped revitalize the A.I.A.'s commitment to Independence Square, and to their Congress Hall restoration project. According to the recollection of Carl A. Ziegler, who became chair of the A.I.A.'s newly formed committee on the preservation of historic monuments in January 1910, the city's lamp design was "horrible." The A.I.A. produced another design "more in keeping with the character of Independence Square." As Ziegler recalled, "the lamps provided the opening wedge" for the A.I.A. to talk to the Mayor about resuming Congress Hall's restoration.[29]

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[28] Jordan campaigned unsuccessfully for a dignified entrance driveway to the door of the Hall, for the reconstruction of the observatory thought to be where the Declaration first was read, for getting rid of the square's souvenir, newspaper and food stands along and adjoining the Chestnut Street sidewalk, and for "No Parking" signs in front of the Hall on Chestnut Street so that out-of-state visitors could stop at the nation's shrine of liberty. His efforts are well documented in the city collection.

[29]Ziegler to Bendiner, Ibid. Ziegler cites several letters early in 1910 which made him chair (Arnold Moses to Ziegler, Jan. 10) of the committee on historic monuments' and launched the effort to "obtain a satisfactory and proper design for the new lamps proposed for Independence Square." (Arnold Moses, Sec., A.I.A. Phila. Chapter, to Ziegler, Mar. 18, 1910). As Ziegler noted, the city was about to let a contract for the lamps when the A.I.A. interjected. Horace Wells Sellers later recalled that the "Electrical Bureau" had proposed to give the square a special feature by "introducing lamp posts of ornamental design, each of which would be inscribed as a memorial to a Signer of the Declaration of Independence." A full-scale model of their design was found "entirely out of harmony with the buildings," by the A.I.A., thus starting the committee's study of 18th century lamp posts. Sellers to Walter T. Karcher, Secretary, Phila. Chapter, A.I.A., Dec. 15, 1927, Docs. Relating to the Physical History of Independence Hall, 1921-1930, Horace Wells Sellers Coll., INDE.

Even prior to the lamp issue, however, others had been pressing for the revival of the Congress Hall restoration proposal. A.I.A. architect E.L. Stewardson, of Cope and Stewardson near Third and Walnut Streets, early in 1908 began a correspondence with Alfred S. Eisenhower, Chief of the Bureau of City Property, to arrange for laborers to help with further investigation of the building. The letters indicate that Eisenhower had in fact been a staunch supporter of the project. By his own testimony, he annually had requested $25,000 for its funding from 1905 forward.[30]

T. Mellon Rogers, although replaced by the A.I.A. volunteers, continued to advocate for the Square's improvement. He recognized Eisenhower as a friend and ally in the restoration effort. Late in 1909 he wrote encouraging him to keep the pressure on, and to remember, "You are fighting a good fight and working for a good cause." He also coaxed Eisenhower, "You have the position, the influence, the vested Right and the Knowledge, and you alone of every man under the roof of City Hall--and you know it..."[31]

Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, famous American neurologist and novelist, may also have helped get the city moving on the revived restoration proposal. Late in 1909 he alerted Eisenhower of Congress Hall's "utter neglect." As a prominent and influential

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[30]Eisenhower to Henry Clay, Director, Department of Public Safety, Feb. 10, 1908; Eisenhower to Stewardson, Feb. 14, Ap. 15, July 21, 1908; Eisenhower to Mitchell, Dec. 5, 1909, explaining his long-term campaign to get restoration funding; Stewardson to Eisenhower, April 14, 15, July 23, 1908, Congress Hall Restoration, 1895-1912, City Coll., INDE.

[31] T. Mellon Rogers to Eisenhower, Dec. 19, 1909, Congress Hall Restoration, 1895-1912, City Coll., INDE. T. Mellon Rogers later praised Eisenhower's role in bringing the restoration to reality: "...you of all the city officials, wanted to complete the work..." Rogers to Eisenhower, June 29, 1911, Cong. Hall Restor., Ibid.

Philadelphian, and active member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Mitchell's attention to such problems likely had an impact. Although Eisenhower's reply gave no hint of any plan to remedy the condition, the chair of the A.I.A.'s historic monuments committee only a month later informed Eisenhower that he understood that the city planned to include the Congress Hall restoration and lamp project in a new Loan Bill. Duhring explained that if the bill passed, he wanted to be sure the A.I.A. work was not lost and that it be used "to secure an intelligent restoration of the building."[32]

But passing a funding bill in Philadelphia was predictably a lengthy process. Impatient to get started, architect Ziegler, acting as chair of the A.I.A. committee on the preservation of historic monuments, wrote Eisenhower in January 1910 to offer the committee's work for free. Eisenhower thanked him for his "very generous and patriotic proposition" but had to put him off until funds were available. The Loan Bill won approval from the voters in May, in a public election. It allocated $60,000 for the restoration of Congress Hall and for designing new lamp posts for Independence Square.[33]

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[32]Mitchell to Eisenhower, Dec. 3, 1909, Eisenhower to Mitchell, Dec. 5, 1909,(in which Eisenhower tells Mitchell he is "extremely grateful" for Mitchell's letter), H.L. Durhring, Jr., Chair, Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments, Phila. Chapter of A.I.A., to Eisenhower, Jan. 26, 1910, Congress Hall Restoration, 1895-1912, City Coll., INDE; Weigley, ed. Philadelphia, 512, 535, 537, 539. According to Briesacher, "America's Sacred Portraits," 16, Mitchell also led the Historical Society of Pennsylvania's inquiry into the Independence Hall portrait forgery scandal in 1913.

[33]Common Councils Journal 1910 (I), p. 52, App. 5052; Eisenhower to Ziegler, Feb. 2, 1910 (refers to Jan. 10 letter from Ziegler); For background on Ziegler's persistent efforts to get the preliminary work underway, see Ziegler to Eisenhower, Apr. 15, 1910; T. Mellon Rogers to Eisenhower, May 12, 1910; Chief Eisenhower to Rogers, May 13, 1910, where he confesses he doesn't know how the question of electric lighting had been injected into the bill. Congress Hall Restor., 1895-1912, City Coll., INDE.

In a city notorious for its contentious and corrupt government, and with a conservative public who "fostered an abiding resistance to the expansion of government programs," the proposed Independence Square restoration projects represented a period breakthrough. Patriotic fervor appears to have finally moved Councils to action. As T. Mellon Rogers told Eisenhower in December 1909, "simply tell Councils, if they have not enough pride and patriotism, you will appeal to the Colonial Dames, D.A.R.--Society of Cincinnati, sons of Revol. Sons of Colonial Wars and the whole Philadelphia Press & the people of the State." An editorial a few months later supporting the A.I.A.'s renewed interest in the restoration of Independence Square reminded Philadelphians, "We are, as it were, merely stewards of the nation at large in the control of a shrine of priceless character and worth, and there can be no qualification as to our supreme duties in the premises." Such lofty sentiments carried the busy, sometimes reluctant, volunteer architects through another decade of restoration on the square.[34]

The Restorations and Improvements Go Forward, 1911-1916

Another year went by before the mayor in May 1911, authorized the A.I.A. committee to proceed with preparing plans and superintending the restoration of Congress Hall. Two years later, the restoration was dedicated.[35]

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[34]First quote from Weigley, Philadelphia, 547; Rogers to Eisenhower, Dec. 19, 1909, Congress Hall Restor., 1895-1912, City Coll., INDE; Unidentified newspaper clipping, c. 1915-16, based on place in collection, folder 6, Horace Wells Sellers Coll., INDE.

[35]Mayor John A. Rayburn to C.A.Ziegler, May 4, 1911, Eisenhower to Ziegler, Oct. 6, 1911, as quoted in Ziegler to Bendiner, Nov. 1, 1950, Ziegler Papers. A copy of the contract between the city and A.I.A. Phila. chapter is in Congress Hall Restoration, 1895-1912, City Coll., INDE; the dedication was on Oct. 26, 1913. Historic Philadelphia, 40.

The mayor in 1911 also authorized the A.I.A. to design new lamps for the square, but the project quickly bogged down. As the committee minutes relate, "Mayor Reyburn and Chief McLaughlin of the Electrical Bureau insist[ed] upon having a lamp for every signer of the Declaration (i.e. 56,)" a concept the committee found problematic. To try to accommodate so many lamps, the committee felt it needed "the simplest design." When the architects were asked to submit a design, only five responded. When they finally showed a sample design to the Chief, "he refused to approve it because of its simplicity." Another more elaborate design with a full-sized model followed, but was rejected by the committee, who then called on University of Pennsylvania's Paul Cret to submit a few sketches. Cret offered a design and suggested plot plan for the lamps, but the committee remained undecided. The team of architects were looking for a lamp that "would bear repetition 56 times in such a restricted area."[36]

The A.I.A. committee in 1911 also doubted that "the amount appropriated is sufficient for both the lamps and the restoration." Before they had time to give it any more detailed focus, however, there was a "change in the City Administration" that "resulted in the Committee being requested to submit a complete scheme for the improvement of the square" to make it "an appropriate setting for the buildings." With a much larger format before them, the A.I.A. volunteers (praised as "public spirited gentlemen" in the Record) began to lay out ideas for the landscape redesign. Their careful planning and record keeping makes this last major modification to Independence Square the best documented of the three (1785, 1875, 1915-16).[37]

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[36] Contract, ibid.; Report of the "Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments of the Philadelphia Chapter A.I.A., for the year 1911," A.I.A. Papers, Athenaeum, and INDE Micro. XCI, Congress Hall Papers.

[37] Record, Mar 31, 1914, clipping, folder 6, Sellers Coll.; Sellers makes note of the city's shift of plan in his typed notes,

Contracts and Specifications, 1913-1915

The A.I.A. and the city signed a contract on July 1, 1913, that provided for the Philadelphia Chapter to "supervise the preparation of drawings and specifications" for the improvement of Independence Square, provided that the city pay for the drafting of the plans, not to exceed $500. The A.I.A. submitted preliminary drawings in October, which the Director of Public Works approved. Revisions to this original plan and an alternative plan design were transmitted to the Art Jury through Chief of City Property William H. Ball, on March 17, 1914, along with five other drawings showing specific details of the design. The final plot plan with proposed improvements for the entire square is dated December 1, 1914, revised August 11, 1915, and approved by the Art Jury on December 24, 1915. Since the wall passed review in the Art Jury's first meeting, the city contracted with Patrick J. Hurley on December 31, 1914 to complete that element of the plan. Thomas M. Kellogg (replacing first listed, E. L. Stewardson), served as "executive officer" or "Architect" for the project. The contract provided for a hired inspector on all-day duty when directed by the Architect.[38]

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folder 26, Sellers Coll., INDE. The 1915-16 A.I.A. papers are kept at the Athenaeum of Philadelphia. Copies of these records are on microfilm, photograph, and scanned paper image in the park's library and architects' files. The City Property and Art Jury records at the City Archives, and the City Photograph Collection and Independence Square records kept by the superintendent and curator at the square, now on loan to INDE, contain other pieces of the complex story of landscape modifications in 1915-16.

[38]Horace Wells Sellers to William H. Ball, Chief, Bureau of City Property, Mar. 4, 1914, and Meeting of the Committee on Submission No. 163, Mar. 25, 1914, Art Jury reading file for submission #162. The separate plan file for Submiss. 162 includes the 1913 proposed plan and six sheets of drawings dated March 1914: 1A plot plan, 1b modified plot plan, 2,3,and 4, retaining walls and entrance steps, and 5, proposed lamp posts and lanterns. Laid side-by-side, the 1913 and approved 1914 plot plans only show slight differences: the earlier plan called for a brick wall to the south of Philosophical Hall to replace the wooden fence; the gravel paths

During 1915 contracts were awarded for the remaining elements of the plan, save the lamp posts. In May Councils designated $12,000 for the "Plan to Beautify Independence Square," and the Public Ledger approvingly reported that "After years of neglect the famous square is to be made one of the finest in the city and a fit setting for venerable Independence Hall." [39]

On the eve of construction, a local newspaper provided the following succinct description of the proposed improvements:

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south of the Barry statue were not indicated; there are no grass plots bordering Congress Hall; and it doesn't show the extraneous features of the 1914 plan, like "existing drains", fire, trolley lamps and trees. Art Jury Records, City Archives. Emlen Stewardson, originally appointed Architect for the wall construction, earlier had completed some of the drawings and specifications for the restoration of Congress Hall. Ziegler to Bendiner, Nov. 1, 1950, Ziegler Papers, INDE notecard. Patrick Hurley's contract is Contract #5074, Obsolete Contracts 1706, City Archives; another copy is in the file, "Congress Hall Restoration Contracts, 1911-1913," City Coll., INDE. The wall specifications gave the Architect the power to "reject any work not in accordance with the detail drawings, whether it conforms to the general drawings and specifications or not." He also had the final say in any cases where there was doubt or a difference of opinion. "Specifications Improvements to Independence Square," (Wall Only), 1914; these specs were later modified by the committee (cost under $500), as related in a letter of Mar. 5, 1915 from Horace Wells Sellers, secretary, to Chief William H. Ball, and accepted by contractor Hurley on April 7, at an additional cost of $498.00. Hurley to Thomas M. Kellogg, Esq. Box 12, Independence Square, A.I.A. Collection, Athenaeum.

[39] Public Ledger May 7, 1915, clipping in Folder 6, Horace Wells Sellers Coll., INDE. The appropriations may have been helped through Councils by positive press coverage. The Ledger of April 12, 1914 argued in favor of the improvements by noting that Independence Hall had the highest annual visitation of all the public institutions in America--962,000, to the Metropolitan Museum's 816,938 --and by quoting the A.I.A. Philadelphia Chapter's view that it would be "a public calamity" if the new loan bill failed to include appropriations for Independence Square improvements. Clipping in "Independence Square Improvements, 1913-14," City Coll., INDE.

> The present copings are to be removed, as well as the cast iron lamp posts which stand on the walls. The present entrances at the corners of 5th and Walnut Streets and 6th and Walnut Streets, are to be retained, as is the present central entrance on Walnut Street. The two entrances on either side of the square which parallel the main entrance from 5th to 6th Streets, will be removed. The driveway which now enters the square from 6th Street will be bordered by a low brick wall, which will be mounted with cast iron posts, carrying chains. Each side of the entrance to the cartway will be ornamented with square brick columns upon the tops of which will be stone caps. The walls will extend eighty feet into the square.[40]

The undated specifications for this work, titled "Improvements to Independence Hall," listed Thomas M. Kellogg as Architect (again replacing E.L. Stewardson, whose name was scratched out), and covered all the remaining features except the lamps, which finally were contracted and completed the next year.[41]

Horace Wells Sellers and the Design Concepts

Horace Wells Sellers (1857-1933) joined the A.I.A. committee on the preservation of historic monuments in 1911, and from that date seems to have been central to the design plan and decisions. During the period of landscape restoration he served as secretary of the A.I.A.'s Philadelphia Chapter(1914), chair and secretary of their committee on the preservation of Historic Monuments, and, as of January 1917, president of the Philadelphia Chapter. Sellers spearheaded the research, drafted the committee's report to accompany the drawings, and published newspaper articles to promote the plans. When the first set of six drawings were

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[40] Unidentified clipping, c. 1915, [based on opening line, "Announcement was made today that bids would be received next Tuesday for the improvement of Independence Square."], Independence Square, INDE notecard file.

[41] These specifications are in RG 68.14, City Property, Building Specifications, City Archives, and "Independence Square" file, City Coll., INDE.

submitted through Chief of City Property to the Art Jury on March 17, 1914, Sellers was the contact point. At the Art Jury committee's first meeting, he was the man they telephoned for consultation; according to their minutes, he came at once and "explained the plans at length." When depicting the new lamps in December 1916, the Public Ledger credited him as the person responsible for recommending the design, and when all the A.I.A. restorations on Independence Square were completed in 1922, the paper singled out Sellers alone, of all the architects who volunteered countless hours to the projects, for his "patient enthusiasm and his faithful research and study" which resulted in "a gift to the city that the entire Nation should recognize."[42]

After extensive research and study, the A.I.A. committee decided on a practical solution for the landscape. "In the general layout of the square no attempt will be made to restore it to the exact conditions existing in the 18th century," Sellers explained to the Public Ledger in January 1915, "not only because full knowledge of these conditions in detail is wanting, but for the reason that modern requirements of traffic would make such a restoration inexpedient." Thus the committee discarded the option of reconstructing the original high brick wall or the iron palisade fence, and, chose instead "to return to a low wall of brick with marble copings," in accordance with colonial practice. The architects, Sellers added, believed that such a treatment would "bring the square into closer architectural relation to the ancient structures and produce the harmonious effect now so

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[42]Quotes from Biographical Dictionary of Philadelphia Architects. Sellers' titles are evident in his correspondence. (Public Ledger, as quoted in Cristin Moody, "Horace Wells Sellers,"[c. 1992], Typescript, Sellers Coll., INDE. Minutes of the Art Jury committee, Mar. 19, 1914, Art Jury Records, City Arch.; Public Ledger Dec. 20, 1916, clipping, Horace Wells Sellers Coll., INDE. Sellers' research notes and sketches, his drafts of articles and explanations for the 1915-16 landscape changes are in this collection.

conspicuously absent."[43]

Sellers' Ledger article probably relied on his draft explanation of the plan (undated), where he described the committee's decisions in a more revealing manner. In reference to the new wall, for instance, he noted that the committee "proposed to replace the present unsightly and modern walls," suggesting his own taste. Born in 1857 and raised in Philadelphia, Sellers had grown up with the pre-Centennial iron palisade fence on the cut-down original brick wall, and he probably had strong impressions of what the square might look like without the foot-high stone wall of the Centennial design. His views aside, the architects' plan, as Sellers drafted it, called for a new wall to be built "of molded brick similar to that used, for example, on the yard walls of St. Peter's Church and the other old walls existing in the City." They recommended the walls be built "in detail strictly in accord with the practice in the 18th century," so they would serve "the object in view" -- to bring "the Square in close harmony with the buildings and create the impression of unity between the Square and the buildings."[44]

The committee also intended to simplify the Square's landscape design. As a press clipping in 1914 pointed out, the Square "does not look inviting or restful even as a place of rendezvous or public recreation. It is now so laid out as if the paramount purpose were simply to let the public pass through it from one street to another along the shorter lines of movement."

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[43]Horace Wells Sellers, "Franklin's Lamps for Independence Square," Public Ledger Jan. 6, 1915, Sellers Coll, INDE. In a letter to Fiske Kimball, May 31, 1924, Sellers explained that reconstruction of the original wall "was impossible under present day police regulations." Folder 14, Sellers coll., INDE.

[44]"Independence Square," p. 3, undated, unsigned typescript, with typed notation above title, "Gen'l. reference to improvements to Square By H.W.S. for Public Information," and "Improvements to Independence Square," p. 3, Sellers Coll., INDE.

After "careful consideration," the committee decided to retain the flagstone paths on the main axes and diagonals, but to eliminate the "superfluous intermediate entrances and paths" on Fifth and Sixth Streets. The desired affect would provide "a simpler arrangement with large grass surfaces for cultivation and planting." The plan also eliminated the small grass plots just south of Independence Hall-- pedestrians "frequently crossed" them because they lay in the "line of traffic." By filling in the plots with flagstone, the plan would "give a broader and more interesting setting for the State House." To "offset the loss" of the grass plots behind Independence Hall, the plan proposed new planting surfaces "on each side of the tower" and "at the south front of Congress Hall and the northwest corner of Philosophical Hall." Chain and post fencing then would enclose the tower grass plots.[45]

Brick paving was to replace flagstone around the buildings, Sellers explained, because in the Committee's judgment it was typical of the historic period and "more appropriate and attractive paving material when brought in direct relation with the base of the old buildings." The brick paving on the Chestnut Street side between Congress Hall and Old City Hall was to extend about 20 feet north of the Hall, and where it met the flagstone sidewalk the committee wanted to set a line of low round posts to suggest the bollards that had once been closer to the street, and to "give a slight sense of enclosure without disturbing the main line of traffic from which they will in a sense separate the buildings." On the south side of the buildings the plan called for a similar use of bollards to mark the line between the brick

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[45]Clipping dated Mar. 23, 1914, in reading file, Submission 162, Art Jury, City Archives. Remaining quotes from Public Ledger, Jan. 6, 1915, clipping; Sellers' typescript, "Independence Square," pp. 1-2, and "Improvements to Independence Square According to the Accompanying Plans and Detail Drawings Submitted by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects," p. 4, in Sellers Coll., INDE, and in Art Jury Submission 162, City Archives.

and flagstone paving.[46]

The plan called for the retention of the Sixth Street driveway "for hauling coal to the buildings and for similar traffic into the square as occasion" required. Cobblestones were specified to replace its surface, with red brick gutters along its border and a new retaining wall lined with a chain and post fence on either side. The plan also retained the path and entrance to the south of Philosophical Hall, because it appeared to be "a convenience to traffic," and the wooden fence enclosing the Hall's yard.[47]

The Committee clearly stated, "No attempt has been made ...to suggest improvements in the planting," except for two recommendations-- to replace unnecessary paths with grass plots, and to restore the line of trees along Chestnut Street to relieve "the present baldness of the unshaded side walk." (At this writing, there already was a line of trees along the curbside.) Besides aesthetics, the committee thought that the inner line of trees "that formerly existed on the frontage" would help create "a feeling of separation from the traffic of the street," which the committee believed "so venerable a structure as the State House" deserved.[48]

The A.I.A. perhaps chose to leave the horticultural matters to the City Forester, Raymond Pond. Certainly he was the man consulted by architect in charge, Thomas Kellogg, when matters concerning trees needed resolution. In January 1916 Kellogg pointed out that he needed to discuss with Pond "the proper

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[46]Sellers, "Independence Square," 2, Sellers Coll., INDE.

[47]"Improvements to Independence Square," [March 1914], p. 5, Sellers Coll., INDE.

[48]"Improvements on Independence Square," p. 6, Sellers Coll., INDE.

treatment of the trees" that stood in the line of the new gravel paths. These trees, he stressed, "are of considerable importance" and the contractor who was laying the gravel border needed to know how to proceed. Kellogg also wanted action from the city on a tree standing in the flagstone pavement south of the tower which he understood the city intended to remove. While stressing that the A.I.A. committee wanted to assume no responsibility for tree removal on the square, Kellogg urged Pond "to definitely settle which of these trees you desire ordered removed at this time," to avoid delaying the contractor's work.[49]

Pond referred this matter to Eli K. Price of the Fairmount Park Commission. The city was on the verge of deciding to transfer Independence Square from the Public Works Department to the care of the Commission, and Pond evidently looked to that authority for an answer. Pond's reply to Kellogg made clear that he and the Commission were to be in charge of the horticultural elements, and that he intended to protect and augment the trees on the square during these relandscaping years.[50]

In their initial explanation to the Art Jury, the A.I.A. committee discussed two alternatives for the south end of the square. Plan 1-A retained the paths as they were, only omitting the "intermediate paths" that intersected the diagonals, while alternative 1-B widened the approach between Walnut Street and the Barry Statue by adding gravel borders on either side of the main walk "where benches would be placed in the shade of the trees, thus restoring the conditions which existed for many years when the wide central path leading to the State House was a

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[49]Kellogg to Pond, Jan. 5 and 6, 1915, "Independence Square Improvements, 1916," City Coll, INDE.

[50]Raymond Pond, Landscape Gardener, to Kellogg, Jan. 20, 1916, Ibid.

striking feature of the square."[51]

The committee especially commended alternative B for its proposal to make a "slight change in the direction of the diagonal paths" from the corners of Fifth and Sixth Streets at Walnut, so that they would lead "directly towards the State House and its flanking arcades avoiding the statue and making the State House the objective point." The State House, the committee argued, was "in fact the chief point of interest, a fact that should be emphasized in the layout of the square." The B scheme also took care to retain the larger trees in the line of the relocated paths, and to move the smaller ones.[52]

The Art Jury's secretary, Andrew Wright Crawford, immediately identified a potential conflict between the A.I.A.'s preferred option and the plans simultaneously being considered for Washington Square. As he pointed out, the Jury committee on Washington Square then had under review a suggestion that by aligning the diagonal paths from Washington Square to Independence Square in a continuous line, "a charming effect could be ultimately secured." Because the A.I.A.'s preferred alternative relocated Independence Square's diagonal and thus stood to "interfere with the other suggestion," Crawford recommended that the same Art Jury committee evaluate both plans.[53]

Crawford's suggestion was adopted, and the four men on the Washington Square committee--Joseph E. Widener, H.M. Breckenridge, Eli K. Price and Paul M. Cret-- were also assigned to

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[51]"Improvements to Independence Square, p. 5, Sellers Coll., INDE.

[52]Ibid.

[53]Crawford to Harrison, Mar. 17, 1914, Submission 162, Art Jury Records, City Arch.

consider the Independence Square submission. In their meeting of March 25, 1914, the Jury committee selected plan A, which retained the diagonals' direction, but also approved plan B's gravel border south of the Barry statue, should the A.I.A. committee adopt that element of the design. The Art Jury committee also specified that the cobblestone for the Sixth Street driveway "be small and of uniform size," and introduced a new design recommendation-- the elimination of the grass plot and posts around the Barry statue.[54]

Lamps, Barry Statue and Landscape Construction, 1915-6

By September 1914 the architects had resolved all the design issues except the gravel border and lamps. Within the year the committee of architects added the gravel borders to the design. The detail drawings and 30-page specifications of September 1915 listed separate items: the modification of the Barry statue by "rearranging the lowest members of the base;" completion of the plumbing for the drainage system; reconstruction of the Sixth Street driveway (leaving in place "the brick piers and caps at the entrance"); the setting of iron posts and chain; the laying of new flagstone pavings and gravel borders; the removal of grass areas; and a new wooden fence for Philosophical Hall. On October 18th the A.I.A. committee recommended Francis B. Markland as lowest bidder on the contract. The work began in December and continued to July of 1916, with a few remaining items that

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[54]"Meeting of the Committee on Submission No. 162, March 25, 1914," p. 1; the minutes also note in attendance City Forester Pond, Grafly, and Art Jury secretary Crawford. Secretary Crawford to Wm. H. Ball, May 15, 1914, Submission No. 162, Art Jury Records, City Archives. The Art Jury files always refer to the members by their surname only. The Mayor's list of Art Jury members submitted to Councils for approval, however, gives the names as cited here. Select Council Journal, 1911, (III), pp. 302-303, App. p. 114, and Ibid., 1911-12, (I), p. 315.

dragged on until September 1917.[55]

A location plan for the lamp posts, however, posed a greater problem. The plan had been delayed by the failure of the city's lighting experts to provide their analysis of the necessary illumination for the square. The city had also changed their original plan to wire the square for electric lamps, and decided instead to return to gas, but then reconsidered going with electric light. The lamps designed by the A.I.A. were "adaptable to electricity as well as gas," but until the city could make up its mind, the committee could not prepare and submit a plan for

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[55]Chief Ball to Secretary Andrew Wright Crawford, Sept. 2, 1914; Chief Ball to Art Jury, Sept. 28, 1915, Transmitting plan for rearranging base of Barry statue; "Part Elevation and Base of Barry Statue, Independence Square, Approved by Art Jury Oct. 1, 1915," Submission No. 162, Art Jury Records, City Arch.; the 30-page specifications were prepared by the A.I.A., and accompanied with four drawings--the Dec. 1, 1914 plot plan, the June 22, 1915 plan showing brick paving and incidental work directly adjoining the buildings on the Chestnut Street front, the September 7, 1915 detail of walls and driveway, iron posts and chain, and gutter and drains, and the Sept. 27, 1915 full size detail of iron posts. The index lists 21 subjects. Schedule of Bids, Oct. 18, 1915, "Independence Square, Improvements, 1915," City Coll., INDE, and Submission 162, Art Jury Records, City Arch. Thomas M. Kellogg, Architect for the project, spelled out to Chief of Bureau of City Property on Nov. 13, 1917, the seven remaining items of the contract that still needed completion: repair and resetting of defective flagstones; replacement of the broken marble neck molding under the ball of the pier cap at the driveway entrance; grouting a section of the cobblestone driveway; finishing the brick pavement around the coal hole covers and new step at the entrance to Congress Hall; removal of defective bricks and replacement with proper quality bricks; setting of iron posts and chains, and the painting of the posts and chains. "Independence Square Improvements, 1896, 1917, 1920, 1924," City Coll., INDE. The specially-made bricks were by Sayre and Fisher. Chief of Bureau to Messrs. Sayre & Fisher, Sept. 19, 1916, "Paving, 1909-1942," City Coll., INDE. A letter from Kellogg to the Chief of the Bureau of City Property on Dec. 20, 1915 recommended changes in the construction of the gravel walks and a new retaining wall for the wooden fence adjoining Philosophical Hall. "Independence Square Improvements, 1916," City Coll., INDE.

their location.[56]

The A.I.A. gave "much research and thought" to the lamps, and made public their source of inspiration--the Birch and other 18th century prints, an 1838 engraving of Seventh Street by Benton, Benjamin Franklin's autobiography, period newspapers, and state and city records. From these they concluded that it was "fairly certain" that a common type of lamp, invented by Benjamin Franklin, was in use throughout the colonial city, and proposed to reproduce it for the square. Exact dimensions were carefully copied from a surviving lamp head--part of the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania-- that had once hung on the front of Independence Hall.[57]

Even while adapting 18th century models, the A.I.A. kept their lamp design practical. Although "following the original

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[56]W.H. Ball to Andrew Wright Crawford, Sept. 2, 1914, Submiss. No. 162, Art Jury, City Archives. E.P. Kingsbury, in his article, "The Historical Lighting of Independence Square, Philadelphia," (A paper prepared for the 1916-17 Correspondence Convention of the Illuminating Engineering Society), Transactions of the Illuminating Engineering Society XII (Dec. 31, 1917) p. 2, gave three reasons for choosing gas lighting: "Under the lease agreement existing between the gas company and the city, the latter could maintain the lights very cheaply. Also, the cost of new piping would be less than conduits. It was agreed by all concerned that the same illuminating effects could be obtained with gas as with electricity, so there was no choice in this respect." A copy of this article is in "Independence Square Improvements, 1913-1914," City Coll., and in Sellers Coll., INDE.

[57]First quote from "Improvements to Independence Square," p. 7, Sellers Coll.; second from Kingsbury, "Lighting of Independence Square," p. 2. Sellers, "Franklin's Lamps," Public Ledger Jan. 15, 1915, folder 10, Sellers Coll., INDE. Franklin recommended two important changes adopted for city street lamps--the replacement of the globe with four flat panes to decrease breakage expenses, and the addition of a long funnel above the lamp to draw smoke up and out, and crevices below to let air in, to keep the panes from smoke-blackening. Kingsbury, p. 5. Folder 10, Sellers Collection, has sketches of the lantern. The lamps turned out to be the most documented aspect of the 1915-16 A.I.A. landscape project.

lines," the lantern had to "be adapted to the modern system of illumination." Instead of using wood, as in period posts, the A.I.A. specified iron to accommodate gas illumination, and made its design "as small in diameter and as simple as possible," to allow for the large number of lamps planned for the square.[58]

Finally, in late January 1916, the A.I.A. committee completed a revised plot plan for lamp posts and was ready to go out for bids. By that date also, the Pennsylvania Globe Gas Light Company had made a working model for the United Gas Improvement Company as a means of further study, and the latter company had submitted a bid to lay the gas piping. In February the mayor signed a contract with George Clopp to make the lamp posts.[59]

Throughout the process Horace Wells Sellers, then President of the Philadelphia Chapter of the A.I.A., continued to be the principal spokesman for the lantern design and construction. Late in 1915 he pressed the city to limit the lamp contracts to "selected bidders who would be particularly qualified," and the City Solicitor soon after provided the legal grounds for the city to accept his choice for laying the gas piping, the United Gas Improvement Co. At the same time, Sellers pressed the city to protect the lantern's design from random use elsewhere without the city's consent.[60]

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[58]Wm. Ball, Chief of Bureau of City Property, to Andrew Wright Crawford, Secretary of Art Jury, Sept. 2, 1914, provided the Art Jury with a written explanation of "the evidence and design and material of the ancient posts." Submiss. No. 162, Art Jury Records, City Arch.

[59]"Submission No. 162, Development of Independence Square, Plot plan showing proposed locations of Gas Lamp Posts. Rec'd by Art Jury December 14, 1915, Approved by Art Jury December 27, 1915," in "Independence Square Improvements, 1916," City Coll., INDE.

[60]Sellers as quoted in Michael J. Ryan, City Solicitor, to Morris L. Cooke, Esq., Dir., Dept. of Pub. Works, Dec. 31, 1915, "Independence Square Improvements, 1916", City Coll., INDE. Sellers

Sellers on March 24, 1916, penned a detailed explanation of the committee's rational for changes in the original design and assured the jury the design still followed "very closely in appearance the original lantern." The Art Jury finally approved the lamps in May, and that month the Pennsylvania Globe Gas Light Co. was awarded the contract to make them.[61]

In July 1916, Sellers tested the working model in Independence Square and made "a few slight changes in the dimensions and details" of the lanterns "to improve the appearance and effectiveness of the design." The next month, the United Gas Improvement Co. received authorization to install the gas piping.[62]

At completion, Independence Square received 62 lamps--56 on lamp posts in the square and along the sidewalks, four on brackets on the buildings, and two on drop brackets on the ceiling of the east and west arcades. Of the 56, 36 stood in the square, and 26 lined the adjoining sidewalks. The city's original goal to have one lamp for every signer thus did get realized,

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later explained that he had aimed to limit the use of Independence Square's lamp design "to distinguish it from the treatment of other squares that do not possess the same historical interest." Sellers to Walter T. Karcher, Sec., Phila. Chapter, A.I.A., Dec. 15, 1927, Docs. Rel. to Indep. Hall, 1921-1930, Sellers Coll., INDE.

[61]Sellers to Crawford, Mar 24, 1916, and bid acceptance in Crawford to F.J. Cummisky, May 4, 1916, Submission 162, Art Jury Records, City Arch.

[62] Sellers to George B. Clopp, August 1, 1916. Sellers here notes all posts will be 9ft. 10 inches high. On Aug. 5, he specified that the lamps be set 15" inside the flagstone curb, except the two posts on each side of the tower. Sellers to Mr. Serrill, Engineer of Distribution, United Gas Improvement Co., "Independence Square Improvements, July-Dec., 1916, City Coll., INDE. Sellers' almost daily involvement in the lamp project is well documented in these City Coll. correspondence files, particularly in the three for 1916 titled, "Independence Square Improvements," (Jan.-June; July-Dec.; and 1916).

although, ironically, the symbolic meaning did not appear in the press coverage. As described by Kingsbury (1917):

> The lamps average about 75 ft. (23m.)center to center. The lighting is designed to give a uniform, moderately high illumination in most parts of the Square and a somewhat higher illumination at the street corners, in the middle of the Square, and in the plaza near the tower. The units had to be arranged so as to interfere as little as possible with trees and tree roots and at the same time to be symmetrical. Two are hung in the arcades to the State House and four bracket lamps are on the southerly corners of the wings. Entirely new gas piping was laid throughout the Square.[63]

While the lamps were being installed, the A.I.A. Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments also were removing the seven electric arc lights in the square and supervising the repairs to the brick pavement, which the original contractor had in places laid with defective brick, as well as the repairs to the newly-laid flagstone damaged by the contractor.[64]

Sellers also met with Eli K. Price to discuss the Fairmount Park Commission's proposal to erect signboards in the square, which the committee deemed "inappropriate to the location." He also inquired about relocating the police and fire boxes which stood "in the way of traffic" and were "detrimental to the appearance of the Square, and especially directly south of the

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[63]Sellers to Robert C. Hicks, Acting Chief, Bur. of City Property, July 14, 1916, "Independence Square Improvements, July - Dec., 1916," City Coll., INDE; Kingsbury, "Lighting of Independence Square," 8.

[64]Locations of arc lights given in Acting Chief of the Bureau of City Property to Sellers, Aug. 8, 1916, and response, Sellers to Hicks, Acting Chief, Aug. 10, 1916, "Indep. Square Improvements, July-Dec. 1916", City Coll., INDE.; Typed copy,"Appendix to the Journal of the Common Council," Appen. 216, Nov. 22, 1916, in "Improvs. to Indep. Square, July-Dec.", City Coll. Sellers to Frank J. Cummisky, Sept. 29, 1916, transmitting minutes of the committee, dated Sept. 28, 1916. "Wing Buildings, 1914-16," City Coll., INDE.

entrance to the State House."[65]

The committee recommended the sinking of Revolutionary War cannon at the upper entrance of the Sixth Street driveway to serve as wheel guards. They suggested that reproductions be made, if originals could not be purchased at a reasonable cost. Chief of the Bureau of City Property Cummiskey concurred with this idea, and suggested that it be paid for out of the allowance for extra work in the existing contract with Markland. Markland, however, died before the cannon contract went forward, and the subsequent problems with settling the bills through his estate apparently put the idea on hold.[66]

Two photographs in the park files indicate that the cannon finally were set in the ground in the Fall of 1919. Recent research has identified the two cannon as authentic Civil War cannon, rather than Revolutionary War models. Research indicates they are very rare Tredegar foundry (Richmond, Virginia) cast-iron 12-pounder Confederate field howitzers.[67]

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[65]Ibid.; Sellers was both president of the Philadelphia chapter and secretary of the historic monuments committee at this point. Sellers to W.L. McPherson, Agent, Sayre & Fisher Co., Sept. 29, 1916, "Independence Square Improvements, July-Dec., 1916," City Coll., INDE.

[66]The A.I.A. collected information for the purchase of reproduction cannon from a company in Gettysburg before the project died in 1916. Evidently the research material, which included photographs of reproduction 3-pounder and 6-pounder cannon used by the Continental Army, was generated by city employee Winifred Jordan. Curator, Independence Hall [Winifred Jordan] to F.J. Cummiskey, Chief, Bureau of City Property, October 18, 1916. Sellers reported to Cummisky that his committee decided on the purchase of four 6-pounders for the driveway. Sellers to Cummisky, Oct. 25, 1916. Independence Square, vols. 1-4, vol. 4, Oct. 1916 to Nov. 1916, A.I.A. Collection, Athenaeum.

[67]The Sixth Street driveway still had no cannon in a photograph dated March 1919; another one, dated October 1919 (but possibly misdated), clearly shows the cannon in the ground. My thanks to the research of Bob Giannini, INDE, and Joseph Crystal, DSC, in this

These were close-out details of the plan. Independence Square then glowed with new and refurbished landscape features. It was ready for the next big patriotic event--the Sesquicentennial of the American Revolution.

World War I and the Sesquicentennial, 1917-1926

Near the completion of Independence Square's relandscaping, in April 1917, the United States entered World War I. During the year and a half of war status, the city managed to complete the A.I.A.'s proposed changes to the square's walks, using funds from loan 160-E, and appropriated $2000 in 1918 to prepare accurate measured drawings for Independence Hall. Funds for basic maintenance, however, were beginning to dry up with a stalled economy.[68]

World War I gave rise to a surge of appreciation for Independence Square's symbolic value as a "shrine of liberty." Independence Hall became the "Mecca for all patriotic activities," according to the City Property Bureau. An estimated 100,000 people gathered on Washington and Independence Squares for a patriotic rally in March 1917, Korean Commissioners signed their Declaration of Independence in the Assembly Room in August

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citation. See James C. Hazlett, Field Artillery Weapons of the Civil War, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, c. 1988), 82-83, 293-4. Giannini scanned local newspapers looking for articles in 1919 to explain the appearance of Civil War cannon at Independence Square, but with no success. This writer has searched the City Collection at INDE with similar results. Jefferson Moak at the City Archives could come up with no new ideas as to sources.

[68]Superintendent's Daily Record, April 6, 1917, Mus. Coll., INDE. The entry for March 28 notes that at the Superintendent's recommendation and with the mayor's permission, the U.S. Navy opened a recruiting station in the Supreme Court Room of Independence Hall.; Annual Report of the Bureau of City Property, 1917, Appendix 3, p 22.

1918, and two days later some 50,000 members of fraternal organizations convened on the square.[69]

As the prospects for peace came into view, a conference of Mid-European Slavic Nations met in Independence Hall to map their political future. A 2500-pound liberty bell cast for the occasion by the Meneely Bell Co. of Troy, N.Y., (the founders for the Centennial Bell), arrived on October 25th, and the next day the papers announced "New Liberty Bell to Sound Freedom for Slavics Today." The eleven countries crafted a "Declaration of Common Aims of the Independent Mid-European Nations" which suggested in wording and style the U.S. Declaration. [70]

On November 7, Armistice Day, and November 11, when news arrived of allied victory, Philadelphians converged on Independence Square. On the former date the superintendent recorded, "extraordinary excitement in the streets and square, huge crowds surrounding the old shrine--mostly foreigners, wanting to kiss the Liberty Bell...," and on the latter, that an estimated 60,000-70,000 marched with the mayor and city officials past the Hall, while city bells continuously pealed.[71]

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[69]"Shrine of liberty" from Chas. W. Neeld, Chief of Bureau, to Honorable W. Freeland Kendrick, Mayor, Aug. 11, 1916, Visitation, 1913-1942, City Coll., INDE; Mecca quote from Annual Report of the Bureau of City Property, 1917, p. 4, RG 68, Philadelphia City Archives. Entries for Mar. 31, May 9, 1917 (includes a newspaper clip with the headline, "Multitude at Liberty's Shrine Shows Delight"); Aug. 20, 27, Oct. 25, Nov. 7, 11, 1918, Superintendent's Daily Record, INDE mus. coll. The specific reasons for the 1917 patriotic gatherings has not been determined for this report.

[70]Unident. newspaper clippings, Oct. 26, 1918, as noted in INDE notecard file Independence Hall, World Heritage Site form, prepared by James Charlton, October 1979, p.28. Entries for Mar. 31, May 9, 1917 (includes a newspaper clip with the headline, "Multitude at Liberty's Shrine Shows Delight").

[71]An unidentified newspaper article transcribed in the notecard file's Independence Square section and dated 1918, gives a long and

The following year the city made an elaborate plan to celebrate the troops' homecoming on the new Benjamin Franklin Parkway, at the west end of town. Anxious to make "this old shrine" the destination for the homecoming, Independence Square's curator and superintendent mobilized to redirect the event's plan. With the aid of a large watercolor drawing and written proposal, followed up with an oil painting and detailed plan, Superintendent Carpenter proved successful in relocating the celebration to Independence Square. The May homecoming for the Iron and Keystone Division went off with great fanfare. The Liberty Bell was brought out onto the Chestnut Street plaza, next to the George Washington statue, which had been lowered from its bronze base (to receive a new white marble one) and laid with wreaths of flowers. Two-story grand stands lined the sidewalk for the festive parade, and again later, that Fall, for the rededication of the statue by the visiting Belgian King and Queen.[72]

The homecoming was preceded by a tense encounter with "socialists and radicals" who had been denied a permit to hold any meetings or parade at the Square. Ten policemen were called in to extract several suspicious characters from the Hall, and a larger force stood at alert nearby. In June a bomb found in Washington Square again added extra police protection at

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colorful description of the scene at Independence Square when the news arrived that the war had been won.

[72]May 15, 1919, Superintendent's Diary, 1917-46, INDE mus. coll.; Curator Jordan to Hon. James M. Beck, Feb. 19, 1920, explaining the history of the Washington statue, City Coll., INDE, as cited in notecard file. Antiquarian and illustrator, Joseph Pennell, responded with indignity to the grandstands, especially when he heard the mayor's announcement that they would remain through the summer to accommodate other parades. Pennell published an alarm in the New York Times on May 31, 1919, accusing the Mayor and citizens of Philadelphia of endangering Independence Hall, "our greatest national monument." The grand stands were "a national peril, as well as an act of treason to art and history." Clipping in Horace Wells Sellers Coll., INDE.

Independence Square. These unnerving incidents no doubt prompted the mayor's policy decision in January 1920, to deny future requests for public meetings in Independence Hall, to protect its "rich heritage" against any potential danger.[73]

Even though the city could boast that Independence Hall attracted more visitors than any other museum in the nation, the Bureau of City Property deferred extensive grounds maintenance because prices had risen so high. The soil consequently remained "so depleted that even healthy grass" could not grow and the trees were "starving." Tree pruning also was postponed, but the bureau chief reminded the administration that although "costly," --because it was dangerous --this work would "save many times its cost in results," if done promptly. On a more positive note, two projects reached completion--the new marble base for the George Washington statue and the architectural survey of Independence Hall.[74]

While the Bureau of City Property had a limited budget, the Fairmount Park Commission, then in charge of the grounds, had the means to plant six trees along the Chestnut Street plaza to restore the double row. Three trees were placed on either side of the George Washington statue, 15 feet back from those already along the curbline, and about 25 feet apart. On the south side of Independence Hall, an older tree was felled in June between the southeast corner and Philosophical Hall. Perhaps this tree was the one planted at a special ceremony in September, when General Pershing came to be honored. At the close of his speech the general personally planted what the city named "the Pershing

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[73]Quotes from unidentified newspaper clip, Jan. 23, 1920, INDE notecard file; May 1 and 15, June 7, 1919 Superintendent's Daily Record, 1917-1946, INDE mus. coll.

[74]Annual Report of the Bureau of City Property, 1919, pp.9-10, 13, RG 68, City Archives. As early as 1916 the Bureau reported that its visitation exceeded all other museums.

Tree," about 10 yards from the tower door. After filling the hole with a shiney new brass shovel, General Pershing took hold of the slender trunk and declared quietly, "May you live long and prosper!"[75]

Historic photographs, rather than the written record, indicate that the city in the Fall of 1919 sank two cannon at the east end of the Sixth Street driveway, in accord with the A.I.A.'s earlier proposal. Two photographs taken in October and November also show a long shed extending from the tower into the yard, as well as considerable litter and disarray on the grounds, in an article titled, "Delapidated First Home of U.S. Supreme Court."[76]

Three lantern slides from 1919 also furnish concrete landscape information. One of Congress Hall from the southeast shows the grass border along the building, a feature proposed in the A.I.A. relandscaping, and an electric arc light set in the paving several yards southeast of Congress Hall, between it and the west wing. Another of the Chestnut Street side of Congress Hall shows the water fountain, a tree and fire hydrant curbside, but no sign yet of the inner row of trees planted by the

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[75]April 11, 23, June 4, 1919, Superintendent's Daily Record, INDE mus. coll.; Pershing Tree reported in Public Ledger, Sept. 12, 1919, INDE notecard; John E. Arthur, Chief of Bureau of City Property to George E. Datesman, Director, Department of Public Works, Apr. 17, 1919, Independence Square Improvements, 1896, 1917, 1920, 1924, City Coll., INDE.

[76]Cannon research provided by Robert Giannini, Associate Curator, INDE, in memorandum to Hobart G. Cawood, Superintendent, Independence National Historical Park, Jan. 29, 1989, and in photographs which show the driveway in May 1919 without cannon and in October with the sunken cannon. Both photos of the yard in Oct.-Nov. 1919 come from Box 259, Urban Archives, Temple U. Copies in park files. There is some speculation that the dating is wrong on the later photograph. The shed in the newspaper photo appears to be attached to the tower wall, but may well have been a construction shed for the Old City Hall restoration project.

Fairmount Park Commission that summer. A third lantern slide of Congress Hall from the south shows the brick paving from the A.I.A. design and what looks like a cobblestone paving on a line with the break between the wing and Congress Hall. This detail suggests that cobblestone had been laid for motor vehicle entry from Chestnut Street, despite the Sixth Street cobble driveway. Such was the approach on October 23, 1921, when the bodies of six soldiers arrived on caissons for a memorial service in Independence Square. As the superintendent recorded, they turned off Chestnut Street and entered the square "through arches at west end Independence Hall." [77]

In 1920 the Justice Bell, a replica of the Liberty Bell, went on display in Independence Square as the centerpiece for the local celebration of the Constitution's Nineteenth Amendment giving women the vote. Pennsylvania suffragist Katharine Ruschenberger commissioned the Justice Bell in 1915 for her statewide campaign in favor of the amendment. At the exercises on September 20, 1920 the Justice Bell finally had its clapper released and rung. The governor, mayor, and other city officials were in attendance to see a pageant and hear speakers. The Justice Bell remained on the plaza, 100 feet south of Independence Hall's tower, for over a year. The superintendent was glad to see it finally removed, as "much criticism" had been leveled at the staff by concerned visitors who, taking it for the Liberty Bell, had assumed it was exposed to danger sitting out in the Square.[78]

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[77]Three 1919 lantern slides in INDE 764-791, Mus. Coll., INDE; Oct. 23, 1921, Superintendent's Daily Record, Mus. Coll., INDE. See earlier in this section for references on tree planting on the Chestnut Street plaza in 1919.

[78]Paige, "The Liberty Bell," 92; Sept 21 and 25, 1920, Feb. 23, 1921, Superintendent's Daily Record, INDE mus. coll. The Sept. 21 entry noted the arrival of the suffrage bell and the last date, its removal.

The working relationship between the Bureau of City Property and the Fairmount Park Commission seems to have frayed in 1920, as suggested by a letter from the bureau chief to the commissioners complaining about the Virginia creeper planted at the intersection of the tower and the main building of Independence Hall. "This work has been done without any knowledge of this bureau and we consider it detrimental to the structure to permit any clinging vines to grow," the chief wrote, pointing out also that the Philadelphia Chapter of the A.I.A. had alerted him to the problem and requested the ivy's removal. Any such tension soon was relieved when Councils authorized the transfer of Independence Square back to the care of the Bureau of City Property that year, so that "various improvements could proceed."[79]

Independence Hall's superintendent reported a different set of management concerns to the new Chief of City Property in 1920. By letter he objected to the sightseeing cabs that used the Chestnut Street plaza as a place to solicit and sell Independence Hall souvenirs, and complained about the fruit and news stand of "Blind Al" on the Fifth Street walk outside Old City Hall. Although Chief Baxter evidently agreed with Carpenter, "Blind Al" continued on at his newsstand and in January 1922 was seen as a "nuisance of long standing" who littered up the sidewalk with boxes and packages, making it dangerous for pedestrians. Such enduring problems may have wearied Carpenter, as probably did the "lack of cooperation from City Hall," which he noted in 1923 had made his job -- to bring "this revered old place to where it should be"-- "an up hill fight" for years. According to one researcher, Carpenter succumbed to pervasive apathy during his

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[79]First quote from Chief of Bureau to Commissioners of Fairmount Park, Aug. 19, 1920, Independence Square Improvements, 1896, 1917, 1920, 1924, City Coll., INDE; second quote in Annual Report, Bureau of City Property, 1921, p. 18, Ibid; Journal of Common Council 1920, Vol. II, pp. 474.

remaining tenure at Independence Hall, which lasted until his death at 89, in May 1947.[80]

Superintendent Carpenter kept a daily record of events and changes at Independence Square during his long presence there. He noted in January 1921, the visit of Wilt Draftsman from City Property's Forestry Division to consult on landscape improvements. Draftsman expressed a particular interest in restoring the "old time Watchman boxes... at once." He evidently appreciated the historic setting and wanted the grounds to reflect the 18th century. Patriotic and historic sentiment may also have prompted Common Council to request permission from the U.S. Secretary of War for "the burial of one of American unknown dead in Independence Square." Although the secretary granted permission, the records give no indication that this burial ever took place.[81]

Perhaps Draftsman also recommended the extensive tree planting project that got underway in February 1921. Superintendent Carpenter recorded that he and curator Jordan surveyed the Square to locate 49 trees, one for every state, along the three sides of the grounds. At the same time, according to instructions from the Chief of City Property, they looked for places to put beds of flowers and plants. By March 30 trees had been set in the ground along the perimeter, while the rest had been scattered about in the middle. Most were 20-foot high or higher elms, but at least one horse-chestnut was included, as well a small pink flowering tree at each of the four corners of

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[80]July 16, 1920, Jan. 18, 1922, May 26, 1923, Superintendent's Daily Record, 1917-1946, INDE Mus. Coll.; Briesacher, "America's Sacred Portraits," p. 61.

[81]Jan. 4, 6, 1921, Superintendent's Daily Record, 1917-1946, INDE mus. coll.; Journal of Common Council, 1921, Vol. I, pp. 109, 116, and Vol.II, p. 133, as cited in notecard file, INDE.

the grass plots on the east and west side of the tower. On April 8, Arbor Day, yet another elm tree was planted at the southeast entrance of Congress Hall. According to Carpenter, U.S. service men shoveled in dirt from 67 counties in Pennsylvania. On May 18th Mrs. Blanche Bellak, the "War Mother," joined the mayor for Mother's Day exercises on the square, when yet another tree received a ceremonial planting.[82]

In the summer of 1921 the A.I.A. and city launched the restoration of Old City Hall. A fence enclosed the building and a tool shed. The contractors tore down the connection between Old City Hall and Philosophical Hall, and excavated at the southeast corner of the east wing to install a steam boiler for Independence Hall. In the process they found "old" foundation walls a few feet below the surface near the wing's basement door. They also searched for historic artifacts, but only turned up one cannon ball in Independence Hall's east wall. All this destructive work did not seem to interfere with the large ceremony in October on the tower plaza to honor six dead soldiers. "War Mothers" and the American Legion attended and the Mayor served as speaker. That Fall other military figures from Europe received official receptions at Independence Square -- Italian General Diaz and France's Marshall Foch-- accompanied by large crowds. When Old City Hall's restoration reached completion the following spring, the city invited Chief Justice Taft as special guest for its May 3rd dedication.[83]

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[82] Feb. 14, Mar. 23, and Apr. 8, 1921, Superintendent's Diary, 1917-46, INDE mus. coll.; Annual Report, Bureau of City Property, 1921, City Coll., INDE.

[83]July 17, 22, 25, Oct. 23, Nov. 7, 15, Dec. 12, 14, 21, 1921, May 2, 1922, Superintendent's Daily Record, INDE mus. coll. The entry for Jan. 24 noted that consulting engineer Braemear had come to survey for the contemplated changes and improvements to the heating and sprinkler systems.

Three photographs taken in 1921 reveal that at least four electric arc lights remained on the square--two on the plaza, on either side of the tower, to the south of the wing buildings, one on the west side of the main walk south of the tower, and a fourth on the west side of the diagonal walk to the corner of Fifth and Walnut, opposite the Sons of Temperance fountain. These photos and others in the decade show stretches of park benches along the various paths that intersected the square, and along both sides of the circular walk. A newspaper photo caption of 1923 describes a well uncovered behind the tower entrance, with benches placed around it to avoid accidents. Research did not turn up specific information from the written record on these features, perhaps because they were practical resource protection and visitor services components of the landscape.[84]

The Revolution's Sesquicentennial, 1920-24

At a meeting of prominent businessmen in October 1916 John Wanamaker made the first formal proposal to celebrate the American Revolution's sesquicentennial with an international exposition hosted by the city of Philadelphia. World War I and post-war recovery, however, put the idea on hold until Mayor J. Hampton Moore revived it in 1920, after Councils empowered him to appoint a committee of 100 to make a plan. The committee, chaired by Wanamaker, chartered the "Sesqui-Centennial Exposition Association" in February 1921, after which Councils pledged $50,000 for the project and the Pennsylvania legislature formally backed the idea. The following year President Harding asked Congress to endorse the exposition, and city councils pledged $5 million more

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[84]Photo. no. 17236-1, Mar. 16, 1921, no. 17236-3, Mar. 21, 1921, City Coll. Photos, INDE. Undated c. 1925 photo taken from rooftop on east side of square, in Independence Square ref. file, FLP; Undated c. 1916-1920 photo of Independence Hall, Sellers Coll., INDE, with copy in INDE photo files; Photo with caption dated June 9, 1923, Box 259, Urban Archives, Temple University.

towards its planning.[85]

With funding in hand, the city commissioned Jacques Greber, prominent French landscape architect and principal planner for the Benjamin Franklin Parkway, to prepare a new design for Independence Square and the block to its north. Since the initial design proposal for the block north of the square in 1915 by A.I.A. architects Knickerbacker Boyd and Albert Kelsey, public opinion had begun to gel in favor of clearing off the buildings on the north side of Chestnut Street to protect Independence Hall from fire and create a dignified setting for the patriotic shrine. Jacques Greber's 1924 plan, however, alarmed many of his peers and local civic leaders by proposing to remove the Liberty Bell from Independence Hall and set it across the street in an "Altar" with thirteen steps, at the center of a plaza named "National Memorial Court of Independence." His redesign for Independence Square also provoked controversy. Colonnades with pavilions, rotundas, and statues, called "Galleries of the States," were to connect with the south ends of the corner buildings and run down the Fifth and Sixth Streets sides of the square. The strong public opposition to altering Independence Square and to moving the Bell soon reduced Greber's plan to an historical footnote.[86]

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[85]E.L. Austin, Director-in-Chief, and Odell Hauser, Director of Publicity, The Sesqui-Centennial International Exposition A Record Based on Official Data and Departmental Reports, (Philadelphia, 1929), 27-31. Austin and Hauser note that Wanamaker won the title,"the Father of the Sesqui-Centennial" from his recommendation.

[86]Cook, pp. 29-30. This writer assumed the city contracted with Greber in 1923 based on the fact that one of Greber's design sketches is dated January 1924. J. Greber, "City of Philadelphia, Independence Square with Addition of the Gallery of the States," Paris, January 1924, Independence Square Reference File, Print Room, Free Library of Philadelphia. Gibson, et. al., "Independence Mall," 26.

Greber's design did ironically coalesce opinion against the idea of making major changes to Independence Square's landscape. The public and city bureaucracy seemed firmly in favor of retaining and improving the green space. In the year of Greber's commission the city's new trees on the Chestnut Street plaza, planted over a 4-year span, added "greatly to the beauty and dignity of the entire group."[87]

Maintenance and Improvements, 1924-25

The records suggest that bureau of city property officials and Independence Square's staff were more focused in 1924-5 on the longstanding problem of broken flagstone sidewalks, rundown landscape features, and other practical matters, than on new proposed designs for the sesquicentennial. Forty-six square yards of flagstone paving were lifted and relaid on Fifth Street late in 1924, but within months delivery trucks had broken more flagstone in the plaza south of the tower. In the spring of 1925 the chief of City Property proposed that a new concrete pavement be laid on the sidewalks around the square, "to make it uniform and more up to date in construction," and to obviate the chronic flagstone repair.[88]

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[87]"Architects Want Square Unaltered," Evening Public Ledger, May 26, 1924, Independence Hall Association Scrapbook, Vol. 1, INDE; Gibson, et. al., ibid., p. 26; Annual Report of the Bureau of City Property, 1923, City Coll, INDE.

[88]Broken flagstone walks presented a "menace to the public" in all the city parks, according to the Annual Report of the Bureau of City Property, 1918, p. 5; Inspector to Chief, Mar 24, 1924, Superintendent to Chief, Bureau of City Property, Feb. 11, 1925, Chief, to Supt. Chas. W. Weld, May 7, 1925, Paving, 1909-42, City Coll., INDE. The rundown features may have prompted the acerbic unnamed newspaper article from the 1920s in the notecard file, which found Independence Hall in a "decadent environment." The writer facetiously proposed moving the Hall and Bell to New York or Washington, to protect them from the average Philadelphian's "appaling ignorance" which brought on the city's "incompetent leadership and civic shame."

According to the superintendent's records, new electric poles were set out in March 1924 on the southeast and southwest corners of Independence Hall's tower, presumably for added lighting to protect the buildings and illuminate any night-time events. (Whether these replaced the arc lights that show up in the 1921 photos described above cannot be determined.) The following Spring superintendent Carpenter recommended that the removal of the two drinking fountains for horses on the east and west ends of the Chestnut Street curb. They suffered from "noticeable neglect" and were "practically a useless obstruction." Carpenter also recommended the construction of a semicircular driveway to the front door of Independence Hall. This, he assured the Chief, would make "a very decided improvement" and be "appropriate in following early conditions." He suggested surfacing the drive in concrete, simulated to look like the existing flagstone, because concrete would reduce the maintenance headaches flagstone presented. This proposal, however, did not win approval, and the city continued to patch up the flagstone walks to avoid accidents from its sagging and breaking.[89]

Ceremonies in Independence Square in June 1924 officially launched the sesquicentennial plans. The Fourth of July attracted an "unusually large crowd" and a September 25 parade to honor the First Continental Congress' meeting in Carpenter's Hall required grand stands in the square to seat about 900 people. For Christmas eve that year stands again were set up to accommodate carolers scheduled to sing under the south plaza lights.[90]

By late in 1925 the exposition grounds for the sesquicenten-

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[89]Memo, supt. to chief, April 22, May 12, 1925, Paving, City Coll., INDE.

[90]June 28, July 4, Sept. 25, Dec. 24, 1924, Supt.'s Daily Record, INDE mus. coll.

nial had been selected on south Broad Street, near the Navy yard, but construction had barely gotten underway. Fears that the exposition could not be ready for the designated opening day led several to propose the entire celebration be rescheduled for 1927, or that it be extended another year. On January 20, 1926, the National Advisory Commission meeting in Independence Hall decided to stick to the original plan and opening date, May 31. Austin and Hauser's history of the celebration marveled at the "almost miraculous achievement" of the city's contractors and engineers, who completed the fair grounds in six months, in about one fifth the time taken for other expositions. At the opening ceremonies, many exhibits still remained under construction. Mounting criticism and cynicism marked the exposition until July 15th, when "The Rainbow City", so named because of its many-hued structures, reached its final completion. During the remaining months until the exposition closed on November 20th, nearly 6.5 million visitors paid admission to celebrate the 150th anniversary of American independence.[91]

In December 1925, while the exposition was under construction, the Philadelphia Electric Company offered to install new electric light standards at the square. Horace Wells Sellers, who researched and designed the 1916 reproduction gas lamps, mobilized to ward off the replacement proposal. In letters to the A.I.A.'s Philadelphia chapter secretary and to the city architect, Sellers reviewed his argument that the lamps were designed to be adapted either to gas or electricity, as part of an appropriate setting for the buildings. The lanterns also helped to "distinguish it [the square] from the treatment of other squares that do not possess the historical interest," and thus were appropriate and appealing features for Philadelphia's

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[91]Austin and Hauser, The Sesqui-Centennial, 9, 19, 21, 37, 45. The exposition showed off the nations' progress in art, science, industry, trade, and commerce, and in the development of products from earth, air, mines, forests and seas.

sesquicentennial exposition.[92]

Within a month the lamp crisis had evaporated. As Sellers explained to the chapter's secretary, the published statements had misrepresented the city's intent, which was simply to replace the arc lights already in the square with incandescent ones. Sellers appreciated, however, the contacts he had made with architect Zantzinger, city architect Molitor, and the Art Jury's Eli K. Price. With their input and support, he felt more confidant that the A.I.A. could fend off future attempts to replace the lamps. The incident, moreover, once again reinforced the influence the A.I.A. Philadelphia Chapter maintained on Independence Square. Had the Chief of City Property consulted with them first, "as had been the practice in all matters relating to the Independence Square buildings under previous City Administrations," Sellers believed his action in this case may not have been necessary.[93]

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[92]Clipping, Dec. 13, 1925, folder 10, Horace Wells Sellers Coll., INDE; Nov. 6, 1925, Curator's Daily Record, INDE mus. coll.; Sellers to Walter T. Karcher, Sec., Phila. Chapter, A.I.A., Dec. 15, 1925, and to John Molitor, City Architect, Jan. 15, 1926, Documents Relating to the Physical History of Independence Hall 1921 to 1930, Sellers Coll., INDE, as given in notecard file, INDE. The lights may have been prompted by a memo the superintendent sent to the Chief on Sept. 14, 1925 that listed numerous maintenance jobs and upgrades needed for the square, among them "that two lamp posts, with electrical lights, be installed at the five entrances to the Square, at the top of the steps at the intersection of the two retaining walls respectively." He also recommended that three additional lamps similar to the existing design, be added to the central walk south of the Barry statue, as the two that were there left an "unbalanced stretch." It is not clear whether these recommendations were carried out. Paving, City Coll., INDE.

[93]Sellers to Karcher, Jan. 15, 1926, Documents Relating to the Physical History of Independence Hall, 1920-1930, folder 10, Horace Wells Sellers Coll., INDE. A photo of one of the replaced lamps appears in an unidentified clipping of Dec. 13, 1925, in the same folder. Sellers remained the contact point on the lamps, and gave another explanation of their history to H.L. Cheesman on Mar. 1, 1927, in response to an inquiry by Judge Lewis, presumably Edwin O. Lewis, who later led the movement to create Independence National

Flagpole and Trees Mark Celebration, 1926

The city launched the sesquicentennial in February 1926, by erecting a 75-foot flag pole to mark the site of the 1769 observatory south of the east wing, said to be where the Declaration of Independence first was read to the public. The same month Colonel Collier, director of the Sesquicentennial Association, and his staff moved into Old City Hall with their office equipment. The association, however, evidently ran afoul of the city, for they moved to new offices across the street in July, "leaving filth and disorder" in their wake. A few months later superintendent Carpenter noted that two officers of the sesquicentennial event had resigned and the association's mission had been redefined, to carry out a "more restricted and modest but worthy celebration."[94]

As part of the celebration, Independence Square received 15 new trees. On April 27th a Black Pin Oak presented by Mrs. Bellak, "War Mother," in memory of her son, was planted near the tower. In October, the sesquicentennial's women's committee arranged with the National Gardeners' Association to plant 13 red oaks to commemorate the original states. They invited the Girl Scouts of America to sing at the ceremony which the governors and representatives of the 13 states attended, along with Mrs. Grace L.H. Brosseau, President General of the Daughters of the American Revolution. These trees were planted along Sixth Street side of the square, beginning in the grass plot southeast of Congress

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Historical Park. Ibid., Sellers Coll., INDE.

[94]Annual Report, Bureau of City Property, 1926, INDE mus. coll.; quotes: "filth" in July 20, 1925, and "worthy celebration" on Nov. 2, 1925, Superintendent's Daily Record, INDE mus. coll. This writer found no mention of Collier in Austin and Hauser's history of the sesquicentennial, even though scores of people are listed as contributors on various committees in the appendix at the back of the book, pp. 462-480.

Hall and running down to Walnut Street. They were planted in the order that the states ratified the Constitution, except that Pennsylvania's oak took first place and Delaware's second, just behind Congress Hall. As the article further explained,

> Each tree has about its roots some of the native soil of the state which it represents. The Virginia red oak is planted in earth from Fredericksburg, taken from beneath the last of the thirteen trees planted there by George Washington after the Revolution, in memory of his devoted comrades. This tree gave Congressman Davey the idea for the planting of these thirteen memorial trees in Philadelphia, and he donated the small bronze tablets to mark the trees, in memory of his father, John Davey, America's first tree surgeon.[95]

On October 22 one more commemorative tree, another red oak, was added as part of the ceremony for Pan-American Day. Representatives from 21 nations placed a wreath on the Liberty Bell, and assisted the tree planting by shoveling in some dirt and placing a bronze marker for each tree to commemorate their visit. A month later two decayed trees on the plaza south of the tower were removed, which gave the square, in the opinion of the

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[95]Annual Report, Bureau of City Property, 1926, City Coll., INDE. Quote from unidentified newspaper article, April 11, 1927, as copied in INDE notecard file. This article gave the Maryland and Massachusetts soil stories, and noted that the Governors of the 13 states each turned a spadeful of earth over the roots of his state's tree. Austin and Hauser, The Sesqui-Centennial, 155, 179. Possibly some of these trees survive: two pin oaks are on the square (nos. 7,88)-- Mrs. Bellak's may be the one behind the east wing--and six red maple (nos. 6, 57, 64, 70, 86, 87) stand along Sixth St. and Walnut St., beginning behind the West Wing. This writer has not yet tracked down the National Gardeners' Association, or checked period magazines, newspapers, etc. for information on this ceremony. Elva B. Crawford, Archivist/Historian, The National Society Daughters of the American Revolution checked for 1926-29 and found no additional information on the tree planting, except that it was preceded by a luncheon at the Bellevue and a ceremonial wreath laying at the Washington statue on Chestnut Street. Crawford to Toogood, Mar.1, 1996, Toogood files, INDE.

bureau, a "much needed wider space for holding meetings."[96]

It is noteworthy that the sesquicentennial tree of choice was red oak, not the elm so often favored at Independence Square since the first landscaping in 1785. The Dutch Elm disease did not begin its relentless spread through the area's many elm groves for another decade, so the ladies were not forced to exclude elm from their list. Evidently, then, the red oak was the preferred species for this ceremony.[97]

Tree planting as the feature patriotic gesture at Independence Square during the sesquicentennial may have been encouraged by Pennsylvania's governor Gifford Pinchot. Pinchot had served as the chief of the U.S. Bureau of Forestry in 1898, and as chief of the U.S. Forest Service under Theodore Roosevelt. The Sesquicentennial fell at the end of his four-year term as governor, so he was in office during the principal planning years for Philadelphia's international exposition, and was the presiding official at the October 11th tree-planting ceremony.[98]

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[96]Oct. 22, 1926, Superintendent's Daily Record, INDE mus. coll.; quote from Annual Report, 1926, City Coll., INDE; Austin and Hauser, Ibid., 202-3. The plaza with and without the trees can be seen in the city's photographs for 1925 (CN-22064) and 1929 (CN-2661), an aerial which shows other trees remaining in the flagstone plaza south of the wings.

[97]The Dutch Elm disease originated from Connecticutt in 1937 and made its way south to Virginia and as far west as Indiana. Information kindly provided by William Graham, Morris Arboretum, University of Pennsylvania, Feb. 7, 1996.

[98]Oct. 11, 1926, Superintendent's Daily Record, INDE; Wayland F. Dunaway, The History of Pennsylvania (New York, 1935, 1948), 487. This writer did not have time to search the governor's papers, and no reference in the sources consulted made any suggestion he participated in the planning, but it seems his long career in tree husbandry would make itself known in any significant landscapes such as Independence Square. Perhaps it had a wider application: President-General Brosseau's annual report for the DAR noted that trees were also planted for the Sesquicentennial in Camden, NJ, at a ceremony President Coolidge attended. Proceedings of the Thirty-

While the tree plantings had momentary attention towards the end of the exposition, the focus of the 6-month commemoration at the Square remained Independence Hall, where 400 women's committee members and their friends-- from the D.A.R., Colonial Dames, Germantown Women's Club, and the Shakespeare-Hathaway Club-- took turns hosting visitors to "the most sacred shrine of our nation." As today, the Liberty Bell drew much attention. Two Marine Guards stood by it from 9:00 A.M. to 8 P.M. seven days a week. "Vendors of alleged souvenirs of the Old Shrine" hawked their wares in front of Independence Hall, annoying visitors and prompting complaints. Superintendent Carpenter made sure the guards kept "these men with their trinkets" moving, and at the curb. It was a disturbing aspect of his job, and "unfortunate in the proper upkeep" of Independence Square.[99]

Post-Sesquicentennial, 1927-1939

As if the patriotic stopper had popped, public reverence for Independence Square as a shrine seemed to evaporate the year after the sesquicentennial. No special ceremonies were held for Lincoln's birthday or Memorial Day, and on the Fourth of July, the mayor permitted the Public Ledger to put amplifiers in the square to cover the Dempsey-Sharkey prize fights. This "disgraceful affair," concluded the superintendent, attracted to overflowing "the kind of a crowd such affairs naturally draw."[100]

Sixth Continental Congress of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution (Washington, 1927), 40.

[99]There were 500,000 recorded visitors to Independence Square during the sesquicentennial year. Austin and Hauser, Ibid., 157. Charles W. Neeld, Chief of Bureau to Honorable W. Freeland Kendrick, Mayor, Aug. 11, 1926, and Supt. to Chief, Bur. of City Property, June 25, 1926, Visitation, Hours & Stats., 1913-42, City Coll., INDE.

[100]Feb. 12, May 30, July 4, 1927, Superintendent's daily record, INDE mus. coll. Despite this setback of 1927, the following Spring the 13 trees planted during the sesquicentennial received

Renewed Effort to Improve the Square's Setting

Despite this lapse, or perhaps, on account of it, patriotic individuals and groups renewed efforts to improve Independence Hall's setting. The Daughters of the American Revolution or Colonial Dames commissioned architect Paul Cret to design a plaza on the north side of Chestnut Street. Cret submitted two plans labeled "Design for Extension of Independence Square" which reinforced the growing sentiment to have a ceremonial, landscaped plaza facing the historic complex of buildings.

Around the same time, a University of Pennsylvania professor in medicine, Dr. Seneca Egbert, proposed clearing three blocks north of Independence Hall to design a proper approach to the shrine. Not long after, the city planning commission again hired Jacques Greber to submit a revised scheme for the block north of Independence Square as part of their 50 Year Plan. In both his 1924 and c. 1930 schemes Greber envisioned Independence Square without Philosophical Hall, because the American Philosophical Society had made public its longstanding expectation of moving the institution's headquarters to the new Benjamin Franklin Parkway.[101]

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inscription placards indicating their state. May 17, 1928, Superintendent's Daily Record, INDE.

[101]The Cret, Egbert, and Greber plans are discussed in Cook, "The Creation," pp. 28-9; Gibson, et. al. "Cultural Landscape Report," pp. 27, 34, 194-5; As William E. Lingelbach explained in his essay on Philosophical Hall, the American Philosophical Society rented the building out to the city for offices and courts until 1891, when it finished a complete remodeling and began attracting more profitable rent from investment and insurance brokers. The tide had turned downward in the neighborhood by 1911, however, when the city invited, and the American Philosophical Society agreed, to exchange their building on the square for a new site on the Benjamin Franklin Parkway. By 1930, the Society anticipated it would be in its new building within a year. Before the plan could be executed, however, Dr. Richard A.F. Penrose, Jr. bequeathed the society (1934) enough to allow it to stay in on the square, without

Perhaps prompted by these proposals, David Knickerbacker Boyd and Albert Kelsey in 1929 revived their 1915 plan. The Public Ledger published it with Kelsey's comments which outlined two urgent problems the design aimed to address--the severe traffic congestion during civic ceremonies and the fire hazard from "some of the old buildings across Chestnut Street," and from the occasional reviewing stands set up along the face of Independence Hall. Their plan covered only the southern third of the block, creating a "dignified space...large enough for the drawing up of troops, without interfering with the circulation of traffic on Chestnut Street." The fact that the plan would help relieve the "parched and ugly" character of this declining section of town was only a secondary consideration.[102]

Even while the neighborhood had been in decline for several years, the Public Ledger completed a large new office building (1925) facing Independence Square, on the site of its earlier (1867-1914) offices, at the southwest corner of Chestnut and Sixth Streets. Designed by Horace Trumbauer, one of the nation's most prominent architects, it returned Philadelphia's largest local newspaper --the predecessor of today's Inquirer--to the historic district, helping to stimulate the community. Trumbauer was respectful of the historic setting, giving the facade a "grandiose Georgian Revival style," on its first story, while retaining the general form of the Curtis Building immediately adjoining to the south. The same year on Washington Square, Lea and Febiger, the nation's oldest continuous publishing house, completed their building on the Sixth Street corner. Four years later, N.W. Ayer & Sons, the city's leading advertising firm,

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the need to rent out space. Historic Philadelphia, 56 and 59; Jordan, Curator, Independence Hall to Chief of Bureau, May 2, 1929, and Superintendent to Chief, Bureau of City Property, Apr. 25, 1930, American Philosophical Society, City Coll., INDE.

[102]As quoted in Cook, "The Creation," p. 27, from Kelsey's undated and untitled statement in INDE archives.

added a 14-story office headquarters on Seventh Street, facing Washington Square. The art deco design by architect Ralph Bencker added a bright spot in the otherwise declining section of town.[103]

The Depression Prompts Landscape Improvements

This new commercial presence, however, did not slow the steady slide in the neighborhood. By 1930 the population of the city between Vine and Chestnut Streets had dropped by more than half its 1910 numbers. By the mid-1930s numerous buildings stood vacant, others were only partially occupied, and the value of real estate was on the decline. Crime evidently was a concern, for a 1930 movement to beautify Independence Square prompted the Director of Public Safety to call for "policemen in the square day and night" to protect the improvements from vandalism. The Depression had set in, leaving many of the city's small parks, including the square, looking "barren and neglected." That spring no flowers had been planted, and Independence Square's many "Keep off the Grass" signs fairly mocked visitors who viewed "large patches of grassless ground."[104]

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[103]Independence Hall photo, Jan. 1925, by Philip B. Wallace, INDE photo files; C. Doebley, the Clio Group, a brief write up on the Ledger building. Building Files: 600-632 Chestnut, Phila. Hist. Commission; Rabzak, "Washington Square," 23-4, from Dallet, An Architectural View, 16, 29. According to Robert F. Looney, Old Philadelphia in Early Photographs, 1834-1914, (New York, 1976), 128, the earlier Public Ledger building was sold in 1914. Webster, Philadelphia Preserved, 50; quote from John Gallery, ed., Philadelphia Architecture, A Guide to the City (Cambridge: 1984), 101.

[104]Miller, et. al., Still Philadelphia, 197. Not only its residential, but Philadelphia's industrial base began to move out of the city during the 1930s, due to the Depression, and the improvements in transportation and communications. Ibid., p. xvi. Unidentified newspaper, April 30, 1930, INDE notecard file. George Nitzche, a University of Pennsylvania professor with a civic-minded interest in the protection and beautification of Independence Square, felt that a foreign visitor to the Hall could not help but get a bad impression from the "hideously ugly and dilapidated buildings" on the three blocks that now form Independence Mall. As

The bad press and many "unfavorable comments" directed at the city evidently prompted some improvements. The Public Ledger ran a headline, "City Beautifying Park at Shrine," and in August 1930 reported that those who "enjoyed sitting under the trees" in the square would be accommodated with 12 new boulevard-style benches sunk in concrete. These green, oak-slatted benches measured about 14 feet long, and were to be placed along the main pathways, to replace some of the "smaller, older-type" of metal and wood. That summer, too, repairs were made to the flagstone pavement around Independence Hall, thanks to the vestry at Gloria Dei Church on Christian Street, who agreed to provide some of their old flagstone when the city failed to find a supply. Only months later, however, an inspector from the Highway Department responded to complaints about broken and sunken flags on Sixth Street, and noted the need to reset others on the Chestnut Street walkway. It was a familiar, ongoing maintenance theme.[105]

Only two years elapsed before the press again printed "many critical notes" about what the superintendent agreed was the square's "unfortunate condition." Despite work crews raking, mowing and fertilizing the grass plots, the newspapers continued to denounce the conditions on the square "Independence Square should of course be the most attractive spot in the City," the superintendent recorded, "instead of an absolute eye-sore as it

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quoted in Gibson, et. al., "Independence Mall," p. 36. In a 1942 real estate inventory for the Independence Hall Association, he reported that a 28% drop in property value had occurred over an 8-year period. Ibid., 48. The city's photographs for March 1929 (see illustrations) show the grounds looking particularly clean and serene (CN-26607).

[105]Evening Public Ledger, Aug. 9, 1930, INDE notecard file; Chief of Bureau Chas. W. Neeld, to Harry C. Dick, July 3, 1930, Superintendent to Chief, Bureau of City Property, Oct. 10, 1930, Paving, City Coll., INDE. The benches appear in city collection photo # CN-34136, dated Oct 11, 1933, INDE.

is at present."[106]

Once more the press coverage seemed to bring results. In April 1932 the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution planted an elm tree south of the tower along the main walk and the Stephen Girard Club planted a white oak tree at a ceremony with children in attendance. In May, an Army and Navy group held a ceremony to plant a Pin-Oak, and in June "a number of young trees" were added by "interested associations." The Public Ledger raved that the square's grounds and buildings had never before received such attention and that their "well-groomed and well-cared-for condition" evoked daily comments from out-of town visitors on the "pride which Philadelphians must take in a spot so beautiful and so well-preserved." While "a small army" of workmen tended the buildings, another group sowed grass seed in profusion and set in new bushes and trees.[107]

Ceremonial tree plantings during the decade apparently were also common elsewhere. In 1931 William J. Kleinheintz, president of the Philadelphia branch of the National Association of Gardeners, officiated at a memorial tree planting in Washington Square, in honor of George Washington, the nation's "Father." At Valley Forge State Park in April 1937, a tree that traced its lineage to the "Cambridge Elm" under which Washington took command of the Continental Army, was dedicated at its planting on the park

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[106]April 24, 26 and 27, 1932, Superintendent's Daily Record, p. 249, INDE mus. coll.

[107]April 17, April 27, May 14, June 23, and July 4,1932, Supt.'s Daily Record, 1917-42, INDE mus. coll.; The April 27 entry noted that Mrs. Horace M. Jones, Regent, and Mrs. Joseph M. Coxey, Vice President of the National Society, D.A.R., as well as a group of Boy Scouts with mouth organs were present at the elm's planting. The June entry also recorded the planting of bushes and grounds maintenance, but gave no particulars.

headquarter's lawn.[108]

Historic trees especially had come into fashion. Probably at some point during the summer of 1932 local residents made a study of Independence Square's trees. The Conservation Department of the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women, working with the Conservation Committee of the New Century Club of Philadelphia, had started a survey of Pennsylvania's historic and notable trees the year before. Governor Martin's William Penn Tercentenary Committee's subcommittee on schools simultaneously launched a search for Penn trees which happily resulted in a combined publication, Penn's Woods. This little book listed and photographed a giant cypress in Independence Square as the only tree surviving from the Revolutionary period. A photograph showed the tall, sparsely limbed evergreen in the grass plot southeast of the tower, opposite the east end of Independence Hall. To the west of it in the plot stood several young trees, no doubt some of the ones planted that summer. A city photograph taken a year later, looking south on the east side of the square, showed several other young trees along the main path, and a generally well-kept appearance.[109]

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[108]Photo with Caption, 1931, Box 687, Philadelphia Photos, Urban Archives, Temple University; Minutes of the Valley Forge Park Commission, May 26, 1937, RG 46, State Archives. Copy provided by Valley Forge NHP historian, Lee Boyle.

[109]Edward E. Wildman, Penn's Woods (Philadelphia 1933, 1944), title page, 18, 124, 133, 134. The Tercentary Committee was sponsored by the public, private and parochial schools of the Delaware Valley Watershed.(18) The State Federation of Pennsylvania Women's President was Mrs. Richard J. Hamilton, and Southeastern District Chair, Mrs. Lynwood R. Holmes.(124) Dr. Wildman was the retired director of science education for the Philadelphia public schools, a member of the Tercentenary Committee, and chair of the Schools Committee on Penn Memorials. Curator Jordan in 1931 told the press that the cypress was said to be the last of the Vaughan landscape, but gave no source. The cypress shows up in a photo with caption, Independence Square file, Box 259, Urban Archives, Temple U., and in CN-37029-A, Independence Hall from south, Dec. 19, 1938; photo CN-34135, Independence Square, Oct. 11, 1933, City Coll.,

Besides trees, Independence Square received a Revolutionary War cannon for the Fourth of July, 1932. The Assistant Secretary of the Navy joined the Mayor in the unveiling of the cannon which the Transit Company had dredged from the Schuylkill River and donated as a permanent feature for the square. A modern electric lamp post behind the Barry Statue was relocated to the south side of the statue, so that the cannon could be put in its place. This impressive relic lasted in the square for only three years before Councils passed a resolution authorizing it's loan for the new General Post Office at 30th and Market Streets. As of 1969 the cannon remained at the post office and may still be there today.[110]

The positive press coverage again went sour in 1934 over the "drab and neglected appearance of Independence Square." Protests from "business men in the neighborhood, patriotic organizations and public-spirited residents" cited the city's lack of care which left the square looking like "another vacant lot." The Pennsylvania Sons of the Colonial Governors decried the conditions while meeting in Philadelphia and unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that the city take "immediate action to plant and landscape the historic plot." Earlier a large contingent of neighborhood business executives had personally visited Director Frank H. Craven, of the Public Works Department, to advocate a spring planting, but had been disappointed to find their suggestion "pigeonholed." C.B. Smith, representing the

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[110]Charles C. Davis, Director, Department of City Transit, to Hon. Frank H. Caven, Director, Department of Public Works, June 19, 1932, Chas. W. Neeld, Chief of Bureau to Frank H. Caven, Dir. of Public Works, Dec. 10, 1935, and Evening Ledger, Dec. 13, 1935, SN 57,100, INDE. The newspaper clip provides a photo of the cannon. A short summary history on the cannon, thought to be from the Warwick furnace, can be found in this file. See city photo CN-26607 (1929) of the main walk for location of the electric lamp before its relocation.

Anthony J. Drexel estate, followed up with another visit a few months later. Craven seemed cooperative, but by early April no signs of action were evident. The local executives then signed a written proposal offering to pay for four florists to plant the twelve flower beds in the square. The only condition from the business men was the right to place "small brass markers" on the edge of the beds crediting the florist and/or company who contributed the display. Craven consulted with the mayor and gave a negative--the city objected to the advertising feature.[111]

The press came out in favor of Independence Square's transfer back to the Fairmount Park Commission. Ever since the city took charge (1920), the grounds had looked neglected. The commission already maintained other city squares, like Logan Circle and Washington Square, and did a better face lifting in the spring. That year the Bureau of City Property only had a budget of $3000 to "sod, fertilize, plant and seed 295,247 acres of public parks and squares", figuring about $9.66 for every acre under its direction. With "hundreds of civil works employes available," the press did not see why city officials refused to buy grass seed, or take up the business community's offer to finance the beautification.[112]

Perhaps the "civil works" employees alluded to by the press were from the Civilian Conservation Corps, a federal New Deal program then active in the national, state and local parks. In

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[111]Two unidentified newspaper articles transcribed for the park's notecard file, one undated and the other dated April 19, 1934, cover this controversy. Presumably these articles were found in a scrapbook, but the source is not given. One article suggested that the bronze markers would identify the florists, while the dated one said they would identify "the firms doing the work," which I took to mean the firms paying for the work. Independence Square, INDE notecard file.

[112]Ibid., from the undated article.

1933, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt launched his New Deal, he also transferred under the Park Service's care a wide range of historic monuments, battlefields and sites which strengthened the presence and influence of the Service nationwide. Probably responding to the passage of the Historic Sites Act of 1935, which gave the National Park Service wide authority in the preservation field, Philadelphian George Nitzche proposed a "United States National Park of Independence Hall." He wanted its boundaries to include Independence Square and the three blocks to its north, in order to design a dignified approach from the Delaware bridge and a proper setting for Independence Hall.[113]

Nitzche's federal proposal went nowhere, but in January 1936 the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) approved 10 projects in the city, one of which funded the renovation of the five buildings in the Independence Hall group. The improvements, according to the Evening Bulletin, would beautify the city for the Democratic Convention. Although no money apparently had been earmarked for the square's grounds, the expectation that some of it would spill over, probably was understood by the officials in charge.[114]

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[113]Gibson, et. al., "Independence Mall," 36-7, 195. Since before the 1920's the National Park Service's first director, Stephen T. Mather, had been promoting state and local park development, but the economic disaster of the early 1930s brought the greatest opportunity for assistance. President Roosevelt's New Deal put the National Park Service in charge of emergency conservation work carried out by the Civilian Conservation Corps in federal, state and local parks. Ethan Carr, Landscape Architect, Park Historic Architecture Division, "The Role of the Historical Context in the NHL Theme Study of Park Service Landscape Architecture,"pp. 7-8, and Linda Flint McClelland, "Gateway to the Past: Establishing a Landscape's Context for the National Register," May 1993 paper delivered at the Wave Hill Symposium. Both papers furnished at the NPS Cultural Landscape Preservation Course, June 1994.

[114]Evening Bulletin , Jan. 29, 1936, I.H.A. Scrapbook, Vol. 1, INDE archives.

Improvement of the whole neighborhood was also the theme of several other civic-minded and real estate groups during the decade. The Board of Trade published a pamphlet that laid out proposals of the mayor's advisory committee, first to protect the "acres of diamonds," the preeminent historic sites of the old city, from fire, and to rejuvenate the area's declining property values. They envisioned the first block north of Independence Square laid out as "Constitution Gardens." Struthers Burt, Charles Abbell Murphy, architects Albert Kelsey, David K. Boyd, Paul Cret, Jacques Greber, Roy F. Larson and William Stanton, as well as the Chestnut Street (business men's) Association and the A.I.A.'s historic monuments committee, also turned out plans for the area's improvement.[115]

Public donations of trees continued to be the source of patriotic expression. The D.A.R. planted a tree in May 1937, with soil from the burial sites of unknown soldiers at Valley Forge State Park, and in November the Gold Star (?) Mothers planted two trees at the Walnut Street entrance. The following May two other trees were set along the Fifth Street side, by the Sansom Street steps for Memorial Day, and in 1939 the Talley Tree Club of Peoria, Illinois, requested some seed or tree specimen from the square to transplant in their Historic Tree grove. In return, they offered to send an historic tree to plant in the Square.[116]

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[115]Report of the Philadelphia Board of Trade Planning Committee, Sept. 15, 1936, pamphlet, IHA Gen. Corresp., Box 3, IHA Papers, INDE. Gibson, et. al., "Independence Mall," 32-40 ; Public Ledger, May 8, 1930, and "Liberty Square Park Proposed," [Board of Trade plan], unidentified clip, Jan. (?) 20, 1940, Independence Hall Association(IHA) Scrapbook, Vol. 1, INDE archives. The Philadelphia Chapter A.I.A. started a survey of 18th century houses still standing in old Philadelphia in 1932. The survey recorded 56 houses and put several jobless draftsmen to work during the Depression. Ithaca Journal News, Feb. 1, 1932, and a Texas newspaper clip dated Nov. 10, 1932, IHA Scrapbook Vol. 1, INDE.

[116]Records of the Valley Forge Park Commission, Record Group 46, PA Department of Archives and Manuscripts. A copy of this document was sent by Valley Forge historian Lee Boyle, from microfilm copy. Nov. 21, 1935, May 15, Nov. 13, 1937, May 27, 28,

The decade also saw some minor improvements and repairs. Plans were drawn up to replace the wooden fence that had long been the southern boundary of the Philosophical Hall lot, with a retaining wall, but the records did not confirm that this work was carried out. Occasional flagstone resetting and renewal was completed to keep the square's walkways safe. The fountains before Congress Hall and City Hall along the Chestnut Street curb were also refurbished because trucks trying to negotiate in the crowded and narrow roadway tended to hit them.[117]

Public Gatherings at the Square in 1930s

During the 1930s Independence Square continued to serve the community as a ceremonial space. The superintendent recorded a notable increase in events during 1937, the Constitution's sesquicentennial. African Americans gathered twice in October, to commemorate their freedom and to attend a "Negro Congress" where the delegates to a "Constitution Convention" in Independence Hall, tapped the Liberty Bell 13 times. The Sons of Italy also gathered in the square some 10,000-15,000 strong, after a parade down Chestnut Street. So did a large crowd for services at the Barry statue to commemorate that Irishman's contributions to America. The Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania and the Rebekah Assembly, together with the Past Grands Association of Southeastern Pennsylvania Independent Order of Odd Fellows also attended a Combined Annual Memorial Service in the square.[118]

1938, Aug. 8, 1939, Superintendent's Daily Record, 1917-42, INDE mus. coll. This writer could not determine whether the Peoria tree ever was sent and planted.

[117]Superintendent Carpenter to Chief, Bureau of City Property, May 28, 1934, Paving, City Coll., INDE; Cavanaugh to Chief, Aug. 31, 1935, Fountains, Ibid.; Apr. 14, 1936, Feb. 16, Mar. 18, Apr.1, 9, 1937, Supt.'s Daily Record, 1917-42, INDE.

[118]June 9, Aug. 1, 29, Sept 12, Oct. 15, 1937, Supt. Daily Record, INDE mus. coll.

World War II Revives National Park Advocacy

In 1939 World War II broke out in Europe, marking the beginning of a slow economic recovery in this country. During the first four years of war, federal work programs funded improvements to Independence Square's setting. W.P.A. workers shoveled snow, filled holes, repointed bricks, reshingled roofs, reset flagstone and stone steps, and laid concrete in place of the flagstone pavement at the Sixth Street driveway entrance to the square. For the American Philosophical Society, they also put in a new drainage system, laid steps and graded the ground on the square side of Philosophical Hall.[119]

The United States remained neutral until December 7, 1941, when Japan attacked at Pearl Harbor. Patriotic fervor flared in Philadelphia. Early in 1942 a large group of civic-minded individuals organized the Independence Hall Association, with Judge Edwin O. Lewis at its head. Lewis had long taken an interest in Independence Square. He had attended law school there at the turn of the century and had kept up his interest through participation in several national patriotic organizations. As president of the Pennsylvania Society of the Sons of the Revolution in 1942, he established a committee on protection of historic buildings to consider the threat world war posed to Independence Hall and the Liberty Bell. It was this committee, chaired by David K. Boyd, that called the meeting which launched the Independence Hall Association in the summer of 1942.[120]

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[119]Jan. 23, Feb. 24, Mar 4, 1941, July 14, Sept. 28, 1942, Jan. 8, 1943, Supt.'s Daily Record, 1917-42, INDE mus. coll. W.P.A. photo dated 1939, given to the park courtesy of the Public Ledger. Photo of American Philosophical Society, noting the W.P.A. work completed. INDE photo coll. "Sketch Showing Areas of Uncompleted Work Item Covering Relaying of Flagstone Side Walks, W.P.A. Project No. 28569, Terminated April 1, 1943," Photostat #10,019, INDE.

[120]Gibson, et. al., "Cultural Landscape Report," pp. 42-5.

The Independence Hall Association

The Independence Hall Association (IHA) drew together the key players who had long been scheming to improve the square's setting and appearance. Judge Lewis had city-wide political connections and his social credentials opened many doors. Architects David Knickerbacker Boyd and Roy F. Larson, long-standing A.I.A. contributors to the restorations and planning on the square, served as officers and key promoters of the association. Altogether 52 civic and professional organizations joined the group. Together they set their sights on protecting the Hall and Bell from attack and on promoting the establishment of a national park in Philadelphia through the bill already in Congress, H.R. 6425, introduced in January 1942 by Pennsylvania representative, Leon Sacks. The Sacks bill, reflecting a plan from the mid-1930s, only proposed the three blocks to the east of Independence Square as a national park. The association soon amended the bill to add the three blocks to the north of the square.[121]

While working on political angles, the IHA also took charge of a scheme launched in 1942 by the Sons of the Revolution to build an underground bomb shelter adjoining the Hall's tower, to protect the Liberty Bell in case of enemy attack. A test excavation had been made on the tower's west side, but the project could not be carried forward because of war-time restrictions on steel. Even though a collective appeal from more than 100 civic and patriotic societies led the War Production Board to lift the ban and authorize the estimated two tons of steel needed, the project never went beyond test borings which drilled 30-foot holes on either side of the tower.[122]

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[121]Gibson, et. al., "Independence Mall," pp.41-45.

[122]Feb. 18, May 14, 1942, Supt.'s Daily Record, INDE; Annual Report, Bureau of City Property, 1942 and 1944, City Coll, INDE. "Vault Tests for Liberty Bell," Bulletin, Mar. 8, 1944. This

Resistance to the plan for a mall north of Independence Square also surfaced during the war years, based on its projected impact on Independence Hall and Square. In 1943, for instance, Leiscester B. Holland from the Library of Congress protested to founding member of IHA, David K.Boyd, that he had noted "with dismay" the revival of the mall concept. "Independence Hall was not built as part of a park layout, in the American-Beaux Arts manner of a city center, but as an English city hall, with its front on a busy street and its open gardens in the rear." He concluded, "To sacrifice Independence Hall on the altar of real-estate development and rehabilitation of property values would be a crime." A year later an editorial commented that the mall would make Independence Hall look like "a Tee on a Golf Course," and also accused its advocates of being perpetrators of a "huge real estate promotion scheme." Such protests made little headway against the powerful alliance the IHA had put together.[123]

Within months of organizing the IHA announced a plan to have the federal government designate Independence Hall group as a national historic site. In January 1943 President Roosevelt made the formal designation as an exception to a ban he had placed on such activities during war time. The IHA also began planning a major exhibit to feature a model of their proposed national park and tell the history of the square. The displays drew record visitors to Congress Hall and the square during the exhibit's

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article reported that historians from Williamsburg, the University of Pennsylvania and the Historical Society of Pennsylvania would be present at the borings to sift through the soil for historic relics.

[123]Leicester B. Holland, Division of Fine Arts, Library of Congress, to D. Knickerbacker Boyd, Jan 13, 1943, David Boyd Collection, INDE; editorial quoted in Cook, "The Creation," pp. 111-12, from "The Shrine of Liberty," Philadelphia Journal (Philadelphia: A.A. Christie) Vol. I, No. 8, Feb. 2, 1944, pp. 1-2.

four-month run in the Spring of 1943.[124]

Simultaneously, the reorganized (1942) Philadelphia City Planning Commission (PPC) aimed to incorporate good design into future schemes for the post-war urban setting. By 1944 the PPC had adopted the IHA's preferred plan for a national park, anticipating the demolition of nearly six blocks of urban fabric to the north and east of Independence Square. At the close of war in 1945, Congress passed legislation creating the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority and provided the funding for it. The framework was in place for a city-wide design.[125]

City Maintenance and Security Plans

While the IHA and PPC were busy with long range plans, the Bureau of City Property focused on maintenance and protection of Independence Square. War-time concerns in 1942 led Councils and Mayor Samuel to authorize the construction of an emergency water reservoir, with a 30,000-gallon capacity, as a back-up fire protection for the Hall. (Presumably this is the reservoir now under the Chestnut Street sidewalk of the First Block of Independence Mall, built in the 1950s.) The Bureau again tackled familiar problems. Flagstone was relayed and the northern column at the head of the Sixth Street driveway was rebuilt, after a truck knocked it over. The bricklayers stayed on to repair the Chestnut Street footway, a response to a critical report from the

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[124]Philadelphia Inquirer, July 5, 1942, and Bulletin, Aug. 19, 1942, Record, and Public Ledger, Jan. 12, 1943, I.H.A. scrapbook, vol. 1, I.H.A. Papers, INDE. Edmund N. Bacon, "A Case Study in Urban Design," Journal of the American Institute of Planners (c. 1960), p. 227. Bacon's article was kindly provided by Carol Cook, city planner, Philadelphia City Planning Commission.

[125]Bacon, "A Case Study," 224-26, 229; Gibson, et. al., "Cultural Landscape Report," 196.

Highway Bureau.[126]

During this decade the city hosted numerous visiting dignitaries at Independence Square, as well as regular patriotic and ceremonial events -- Washington's Birthday, Memorial Day, Flag Day, The Fourth of July, Bastille Day, John Barry and Constitution Day, all were standard celebrations. As World War II came to a close, several new observances were introduced. In May 1944 National Maritime Day was held in tribute to the men who served on the supply ships at the fighting fronts. In 1945 the city observed V[ictory] E[urope] Day, American Day and Pulaski Day. Patriotic exuberance carried the day.[127]

Such gatherings had long been a tradition, and would continue to be acceptable. The city, however, also had the authority to deny use of the square by an ordinance passed in January 1913. In 1948 a federal court found this ordinance unconstitutional, after the city refused eight anti-conscription groups permission to gather there. The federal court urged the city to amend the ordinance to state specifically what groups could or could not hold rallies. The city conceded the point, and planned to enumerate the specific holidays and patriotic or civic groups the city would sponsor. Applicants not on the official list would have to receive individual consideration, and if accepted, the city would have to sponsor the rally. Thus the city

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[126]Evening Bulletin June 12, 1942, specified the reservoir would be un-reinforced concrete or brick, and would be a supplemental water source in the event that a bombing or fire interrupted the regular water main system for the Hall. Annual Report, Bureau of City Property, 1943, and 1944, Annual Reports, 1920-1945, City Coll., INDE.

[127]Annual Report, Bureau of City Property, 1944, and 1948, Annual Reports, 1920-1945, City Coll., INDE. The latter report lists "many notables," from the President and Governor, to Dwight D. Eisenhower, Arctic explorer Sir Hubert Wilkens, scientist Madame Curie, and foreigner officials from Italy, Argentina, and Palestine.

reinforced its rules of decorum for the national shrine to exclude any groups that suggested the once-bawdy and controversial public meetings that marked the history of Independence Square.[128]

State and Federal Approval of Park Plans

The IHA campaigned hard with Congress during the war to pass legislation creating a national park commission, but realized little actual progress. In January 1945 Judge Lewis, impatient with the process, courted Pennsylvania's governor, who agreed to make the northern three blocks Independence Mall State Park. The following year Congress finally passed PL 711 which created the seven-man Philadelphia National Shrines Park Commission. Judge Lewis sat as chair at its first meeting on November 15, 1946.[129]

The next year the PPC incorporated the IHA designs for the mall and national park as a basic part of their Better Philadelphia Exhibition. In over an acre of floor space at Gimbel's department store, a large-scale model by architect Oscar Stonorov laid out the proposed improvements of the 5-year plan. Included in the long list of objectives was the creation of a setting for Independence Hall.[130]

In 1948 the Shrines Commission presented its two-year study of the proposed national park to Congress. The Final Report cited specific historic structures on Independence Square and its neighboring blocks that were "the core of our spiritual heritage,

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[128]"City Drafting New Bill To Curb Shrine Rallies," Bulletin, Jan. 18, 1948, clipping in notecard file, INDE.

[129]Gibson, et. al., "Cultural Landscape Report," pp. 57, 63;

[130]Bacon, "A Case Study," p. 224; "Exciting Vistas of the Philadelphia of Tomorrow," Real Estate Bulletin of Albert M. Greenfield & Co., Jan. 1948, pp. 8-9, copy in INDE Archives.

representing now the hope of the entire world because of their significance in history and in ideology." Congress authorized the bill and the president signed it, (P.L. 80-795), on June 28, 1948, thereby creating Independence National Historical Park. Funding for the park, however, remained an issue until 1949, when Congress earmarked billions of dollars for the reconstruction of American cities with the passage of the Federal Housing Act.[131]

Independence Mall's development got launched that year when the city and state signed a cooperative agreement defining the roles for the construction phases. Demolition of the first block north of Independence Square began in 1950. The city also signed a cooperative agreement with the National Park Service that year which transferred the management of Independence Square to the federal government, thereby closing nearly a century and a half of municipal control.[132]

Independence National Historical Park, 1950-1995

Post-War Neighborhood Redevelopment

Independence National Historical Park developed in an astonishing period of change in Old City. Pennsylvania's pioneering legislation (1945) to rebuild its decaying urban centers set in motion a decade of post-war redevelopment in Philadelphia. The neighborhood south of Independence Square became the

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[131]Final Report as quoted in Bernie Goodman, "Basic Operations Declaration, Independence National Historical Park," draft, Dec. 28, 1981, p. 2; Cook, "Creation," p. 142.

[132]"Exciting Vistas of the Philadelphia of Tomorrow," Real Estate Bulletin of Albert M. Greenfield & Co. (Jan. 1948), 8-9, copy in Press Clips, Box 8, INDE Archives; Bacon, "A Case Study," p. 224; Gibson, et. al., 196. The Park Service maintained an office in Philadelphia to handle Independence NHP land issues as of Oct. 1, 1949. Newton B. Drury to Edmund N. Bacon, Exec. Dir., City Planning Commission, Sept. 26, 1949, Arch. Files, INDE Archives.

Washington Square East Urban Renewal Area, and to the north, the Independence Mall Urban Renewal Area. Architects Vincent Kling, Oscar Stonorov, and Roy E. Larson provided the city planning commission a redevelopment plan and model for Old City in 1957, which included a Delaware Expressway along the river and a Crosstown Expressway down South Street. The Old Philadelphia Development Corporation, represented by top leaders in the city, organized at this time to help guide the redevelopment process.[133]

City Councils in 1954 also passed a significant ordinance to protect Independence National Historical Park and Mall's setting. Section 14-2005, "Independence Mall and Independence National Historical Park," of the zoning and planning code was written

> to promote the public welfare, to preserve the historical character of the Independence Hall structures, Independence Mall, and Independence National Historical Park, to prevent the impairment of, or injury to their architectural and cultural value to the community and to the nation, and to provide that a reasonable degree of control may be exercised over the architectural design, construction, alteration and repair of buildings, signs, or other advertising structures erected in the areas abutting thereon in order that they may be in harmony with the style and spirit of this national shrine.

This section, as well as one for Washington Square, governed the

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[133]In 1945 Pennsylvania's legislature passed the Urban Redevelopment Act to "promote elimination of blight," the next year the city set up the Philadelphia Redevelopment Authority, and in 1947 the city planning commission designated the area bounded by Seventh, Vine, Lombard and the Delaware River the Old City Redevelopment Area. In 1949 the Federal Housing Act provided the funds needed through federal loans and matching grants, to proceed with residential clearance and rebuilding. According to Cook, urban renewal in the decade meant clearance of slums, a process that proceeded redevelopment of a neighborhood. Cook, "The Creation," pp.141-2; Bacon, "A Case Study," pp. 229-30. The Pennsylvania State Redevelopment Law of 1945 anticipated the 1949 federal legislation by several years. The emphasis on redevelopment area planning continued from 1947 to 1955. David A. Wallace,"Renaissancemanship," Journal of the American Institute of Planners (1960), 159. Article provided by Carol Cook, Phila. City Planning Commission. The two urban renewal areas later were retitled redevelopment areas.

permissible signage in the neighborhood. It, and ordinance 14-2007, (which was amended several times after its first adoption in 1956), put restrictions on the height of buildings facing park lands. The city clearly intended to do its part to support the state and national park efforts in Old City.[134]

Park Master Planning and Demolition, 1950s

The National Park Service struggled during the decade to complete its master plan for Independence National Historical Park. Conflicting opinion on the park's physical outcome forestalled its completion, but a drastic transformation of the urban environment east of the square looked assured. Scarce post-war funding left the Park Service with few action options until Director Conrad Wirth, dismayed at the declining condition of the national parks, proposed a ten-year program he labeled Mission 66, to upgrade the parks for the agency's 50th anniversary. Congress responded to Wirth's idea enthusiastically. With funding on the horizon and a preliminary master plan approved in 1957, demolition got underway to clear the structures not pertinent to the historic period (1776-1800) and replace them with a greenway or mall east to Third Street.[135]

During the decade manifestations of this urban planning were everywhere. Beginning in 1953, the park conducted several archeological investigations in Independence Square, as well as exploratory digs in other park areas. Reconstruction of Library Hall on Fifth Street opposite the square in 1957 followed the demolition of the Drexel Building of the 1880s. Aerial views of

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[134]Mary Anne Bauer from the Chief Clerk's Office, Philadelphia City Council, kindly sent a copy of S.14-2005.

[135]Constance Greiff, Independence The Creation of a National Park, (Philadelphia, 1987), 79-101. See Mission 66 Prospectus, Box 26, History Office, INDE Archives.

the park show vast stretches of barren landscape. In the late 1950s restoration got underway at Congress Hall, Independence Hall, and the Merchants Exchange, and park landscaping resulted in a Tribute garden and plantings around Carpenters Hall.[136]

For Independence Mall, the city and state, working with the architectural firm Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson (H2L2), completed the design on the first block (1954) and the southern third of the second block (1957), and continued demolition on the third block. As a major part of the plan, Chestnut Street was widened 13 feet on the north side opposite Independence Hall, to allow a loading lane and more space for parades and ceremonial observances. Fifth and Sixth Streets were also widened to four lanes the length of the mall to improve traffic flow and give Independence Square a dignified approach.[137]

Washington Square Improvements, 1953-57

As a direct reaction to the progress being made at Independence Park and Mall, the business community around Washington

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[136]Joseph H. Hall, IV, and Helen Schenck, "Synthesis of Archeological Data, Independence National Historical Park," (Dec. 1979); The park has 400 feet of color film of the 1956 demolition of the Drexel building and thousands of feet more on demolitions between 1957 and 1959, including the controversial razing of the Jayne and General Accident buildings. Historical Film Collection Index, INDE; Aerials, Photo files, INDE; The Role of the General Federation of Women's Clubs in the Restoration and Refurnishing of Independence Hall, 1953-1963 (National Park Service, c. 1963), n.p., pamphlet, notes that more than 100 non-historic buildings were torn down within park boundaries. Today the definition of non-historic would be considerably different from the 1950's focus on 18th century criteria.

[137]Gibson, et. al. "Cultural Landscape Report," 64-81, which gives the mall's planning and construction history. By 1960 the third block design had been completed by Dan Kiley, landscape architect. Street widening plans related in, Resident Architect Charles E. Peterson to Acting Superintendent, Nov. 17, 1950, Box 6, Architect's Files, INDE Archives.

Square organized to rehabilitate their park. A sub-committee surveyed the square's needs and completed extensive research on its history. Fundraising brought in the funds needed to contract the work. In December 1953 the new Fairmount Park Art Association appointed the "Washington Square Planning Committee" to spearhead the project. Aiming to create a national shrine or memorial to the Unknown Soldiers of the American Revolution, the planning committee contracted with architect G. Edwin Brumbaugh, noted for his knowledge of colonial designs, to give the square an appropriate look.[138]

With a mind to unify "Historic Washington Square" with the national and state parks, Brumbaugh's plan recommended a new colonial wall and 54 Benjamin Franklin-style gas lamps patterned after Independence Square's 1916 A.I.A. improvements. Brumbaugh also installed 14 flag poles, a memorial sarcophagus and a fountain for the central plaza of the square. As a feature of the memorial, the Philadelphia Art Museum transferred a life-sized copy of a George Washington statue by French sculptor Houdon. To fill the sarchophogus, the committee hired Lt. Col. Duncan Campbell, archeologist and consultant to the State Museum, to probe in the square for a burial of a Revolutionary War soldier. The archeology turned up a skeleton in the northwest corner of the square, at about six feet depth. Based on a comparison of its burial remains with contemporary descriptions, the professionals

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[138]Quote from a press release from N.W. Ayer & Son, Inc., Washington Square file, Box 687, Urban Archives, Temple U. "The Two Sides of Washington Square," and Dedication of the Memorial program, The Old Town Historical Society Collection, Athenaeum; The Washington Square Planning Committee consisted of representatives from the Curtis Publishing Co, N.W. Ayer, the Farm Journal, Penn Mutual Life Insurance Company, and Rohm and Haas Co. Harry Batten, from Ayer, chaired the committee. Washington Square Association Papers, Box 1 of 2, Athenaeum; "Minutes of Meeting, Washington Square Planning Committee, Apr. 27, 1954," and "Washington Square Made National Shrine," Penn Mutual News Letter, Vol. XLII, No. 5, (1957), in Box 26, History Office Files, INDE Archives.

concluded they had found what they needed.[139]

For horticultural concerns the planning committee contracted with Thomas W. Sears, landscape architect. The committee had determined from a careful survey that Washington Square had some very rare tree specimens and that much of the plant life badly needed attention. Sears drew up a plan which recommended the removal of 36 of the 255 trees, and the planting of 4 new trees, as well as extensive shrubs and flowers. Part of the plan provided for a grove of Japanese Hollies and the planting of numerous dogwoods. Conservation measures and fertilization of the grounds completed the landscape work, and the improvements were dedicated at a ceremony on June 28, 1957.[140]

The community anticipated other major changes and

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[139]Edwin Brumbaugh Collection finding aid, the Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Museum, Garden and Library; Washington Square photos, INDE library; The George Washington statue was donated to the Art Museum in 1926 by the estate of John D. McIlhenny, its former president. "Washington Square," anonymous, undated history, Fairmount Park History office files. One aspect of the plan as it stood in December 1954 did not come to pass: the transfer of the Letitia House from Fairmount Park to Washington Square. Reference to this element made by Judge Lewis in an Advisory Commission meeting, Minutes, Dec. 13, 1954, Advisory Commission, Box 1, INDE Archives; "Diggers Uncover Soldiers' Bones from Revolution," Inquirer, Nov. 21, 1956. Copies of the work contracts and specifications, and a list of the principal contributors to the square's renovations can be found in a file, "Washington Square Association, 1956-58," Box 2, Washington Square Association Collection, Athenaeum.

[140]"Minutes, Washington Square Planning Committee, Apr. 27, 1954,"Box 26, History Office, INDE Archives; "The Two Sides of Washington Square," Old Town Historical Society Papers, Athenaeum; Bills for planting Japanese Hollies, Ilex bullata seedlings, Washington Square, 1956-58, Box 2, Washington Square Association Coll., Box 2, Athenaeum; "Washington Square," anonymous, undated essay, Washington Square file, Historian's office, FPC.

improvements. In 1957 private investors purchased a site on Washington Square's Locust Street border for a 14-story apartment building--today's Hopkinson House. A federal planning grant the next year allowed the city to contract with Preston Andrade, of Wright, Andrade and Amenta, to develop the bidding for Washington Square East. Competing firms spent some $260,000 for proposals to redevelop that section south of Independence Hall historically known as Society Hill. High-rise apartment complexes and greenways aimed to restore the residential qualities of the declining neighborhood and revitalize center city. Influential business leaders accepted the challenge to judge the contest and expectations ran high that the entire area would be transformed.[141]

City Preservation Assistance, 1954-55

Philadelphia in 1955 also benefited by creating the nation's first historic preservation commission with a citywide jurisdiction, and by reorganizing its city planning commission to put an emphasis on comprehensive planning. The Advisory Commission on Historic Buildings (titled very similarly to the Advisory Commission for the national park then still active under Judge Lewis' leadership) had the power to certify historic structures and to work with the Department of Licences & Inspections on building renovations. Together these new perspectives in city planning helped provide more protection for the many 18th century rowhouses in Old City, especially in Washington Square East Urban Renewal Area, considered by many planners as the most historically significant district in the city, after the Independence Square neighborhood.[142]

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[141]Bacon, "A Case Study," 224, 230-47.Clipping, Evening Bulletin, Nov. 7, 1957, Box 1, Old Town Historical Soc. Coll., Athenaeum.

[142]An Ordinance (Bill No. 318), Dec. 1984, cites the 1955 ordinance creating the commission. Copy provided by Carol Cook, CPC. Program notes, Preservation Coalition Program, October 1995;

According to the cooperative agreements, the National Park Service and Pennsylvania needed the city's approval to make physical changes at Independence Park and Mall. Beginning in 1955 the Philadelphia Art Commission and Bureau of City Property provided this review role. The Art Commission's 1957 annual report indicated that review time focused on signage in the park area, based on the 1954 ordinance regulating the architectural design and construction of buildings and signs abutting Independence Square and Mall.[143]

Archeology and Landscaping on the Square, 1953-1995

Independence Square's landscape received intense study during the park's first decade. A broad historical research program complemented archeological investigations. The park photographically documented the progress of this archeology, especially after 1958, when William A. McCullough joined the staff. Initially, the program aimed to find evidence of Samuel Vaughan's 1780s landscape for a proposed restoration of the grounds. The numerous trenches gave sufficient evidence to project the path of the serpentine and central walk, and to locate the 1770 wall. The digs also indicated the original grades location of two 18th century privies near the tower, one octagonally-shaped (1953; NHP-INDE 2175). In 1959 the Historic Grounds Report, prepared by park historian James R. Sullivan, recommended that the Vaughan landscape be restored. Superintendent Anderson noted this would require completely renovating the square, with the exception of the trees. The proposal included replacement of the flagstone sidewalks around the square with brick ones, as well as the restoration of other features on the Chestnut Street

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Cook, "Independence Mall," 143.

[143]Art Commission, Forty-Fifth Annual Report, 1955, 17. Art Commission, ...Annual Report, 1954, 13; 1957, 19. Copies of these annual reports in pamphlet file, INDE library.

walkway dating to the construction of Congress Hall and Old City Hall, based on contemporary views in Birch prints. Objections to rebuilding the seven foot wall that had enclosed the yard, however, successfully tabled the National Park Service's direction regarding the square's landscape treatment on the south side of the Hall.[144]

The archeology on Independence Square turned up a wide range of 18th to mid-20th century artifacts, including many wasters used as ground fill, hauled to the square during the first half of the 18th century from the nearby Duche stoneware kiln off Chestnut Street, half a block away. The digs also exposed foundations for two early 18th century houses, outbuildings and a well (John Bird's and Charles Townsend's) at the southern end of the square; 19th century privies; the Portico (erected 1794) that connected the west wing and Congress Hall; the 1832 palisade fence along the south side of the building row; the judges' retiring room addition to Congress Hall; the District Court building (1861-1900), and entry steps into the square along Fifth Street, slightly north of the current ones, for the 1812-1875 cross-walk. A specific search for the 1769 observatory possibly turned up evidence of mortar and brick from its foundations.[145]

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[144]Archeology in the park was directed by an archeological excavation map prepared in 1953. See Drawing no. 2175, Photostat, 10,007, INDE; Hall and Schenck, "Synthesis of Archeological Data," 11; Photo 1185 of octagonal wall near Bell Tower by P.J.F. Schumacher, Oct. 13, 1953, Photo files, INDE; M.O. Anderson, Administrative Data Section, pp. 1-2, "Historic Grounds Report, Part I, on State House Yard, Independence National Historical Park," June 1959. Greiff, Independence, 175, and 191, notes the restoration of the square lasted nearly a decade longer. N.P.S. Director Hartzog, in a master plan meeting Oct. 3, 1968, voiced his opposition to the restoration proposal.

[145] "Historic Material is Discovered in Independence Park Construction," Inquirer, Oct. 4, 1954, clip file, INDE library; Hall and Schenck, "Synthesis of Archeological Data," 10-12, which summarizes Jackson W. Moore's 1959 report on the findings at the site of the Portico, the connecting building between the west wing

Regional Archeologist John Cotter drafted a short history of the archeology at Independence Park in 1970 which evidently never got beyond the files. Cotter explained that the park archeologist, Paul J.F. Schumacher, worked with Bruce Powell and his partner, Jackson W. Moore, "from time to time" during the decade, beginning in October 1953. In lieu of trying to dig the full course of the Vaughan landscape walks, the men excavated test trenches across the lines of the serpentine paths, "an expedient not favored as ideal archaeological technique," Cotter concluded.[146]

Small changes to Independence Square's landscape features

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and Congress Hall. Moore concluded he had determined the location, width and dimensions of the portico. Jackson W. Moore, Jr., Archeologist, "Excavation of the Portico Site, Archeological Project No. 9-q," Independence National Historical Park, August, 1959; Archeologist Schumacher excavated grass plots 1 and 2 in 1953-5, and plots 3-7 in 1955-6, and wrote up Archeological Field Notes, but evidently never completed a formal report. In 1957 Bruce Powell dug plots 7 to 17, and investigated the excavation for the sprinkler system in the square. In 1958 he reported on the excavations for the water main south of Congress Hall and the construction south of the west wing and east of Old City Hall. In 1959, he contributed the summary findings for the Historic Grounds Report (1959). D.H. Wallace, "Archeology at Independence NHP, A Guide to the Artifacts and Records of Excavations, 1952-1967," July 26, 1968, and Hall and Schenck, "Archeological Survey," 10. See Photo no. 4782 for well and surrounding brick paving uncovered in trench 1, grass plot 17. See Photo No. 4066-A&B, recording excavation by Phila. Gas Works on footway and street in front of Congress Hall in Oct. 1956; excavation for new sprinkler system in March 1957; stairs leading to public privy exposed during waterproofing contract south of east wing in July 1958. Photo no. 5782, 5403 and 5404, INDE Photo files. Cotter, Roberts and Parrington, The Buried Past, pp. 114-119, gives an excellent summary of the square's archeology, noting that the excavations turned up a total of 30,577 artifacts. They cite (115) a "vast quantity of bones from fowl, mostly chicken," iron cannonballs, lead musket balls, gunflints, military buttons and a sword came out of the trench survey of the yard.

[146]"Archaeology at Independence Hall: Real and Ideal," pp. 1-7. Cotter initialed ("JRC"), dated "9/21/70," and wrote "1st draft" in the corner of his report. Mus. Files, INDE.

were also carried out during the decade. In 1958, the park moved the flagpole from south of the east wing to the Chestnut Street walkway. This decade probably saw the refitting of the lamps from gas to electric. In 1951 resident architect, Charles Peterson, gave the superintendent his opinion on how to improve the lighting on the square. He commented on seven electric lights that had been added recently (year unstated) to supplement the early gas lighting, and suggested that some of the old gas lamps from the A.I.A. restoration be electrified to further step up the foot-candles needed. Presumably this proposal was followed, although the records of the work have not yet been found.[147]

The park also contracted with Savage & McCullough to identify all the trees on Independence Square and to guide the tree removal and care. Although this research did not find written records on the landscape proposals, park photographs confirm that tree removal, trimming and ground fertilization were carried out in the summer of 1953. In the years subsequent to this plan, it is not clear how the park managed the horticultural aspects of the square's landscape. Charles Smith, the current park horticulturalist, maintains a ground plan and records the addition of new trees and removal of decayed ones. He has only been in his position, however, since February 1989. Prior to his appointment there appear to be no park files that indicate the methodology or history of the landscape care. Park photographs occasionally record tree care, but beyond that, this research cannot document tree maintenance on the square.[148]

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[147]The park film collection includes 800 feet of 16mm. color film showing the flagpole being moved. Index, Historical Film Collection, INDE library. Peterson to Superintendent, Sept. 10, 1951, INDE notecard file. William McCullough also photographed the pole's removal on Mar. 17, 1958, photo no. 5227, INDE photo file.

[148]"Plan of Independence Square, revised to field notes of March 19,1952, by Savage & McCullough. Revised to field notes of April 7, 1952, Trees Recommended for Removal in Accordance with Acting Regional Director Lisle's memorandum, Date April 7, 1952,"

Archeology on Independence Square continued into the 1960s, largely prompted by the need to interpret features uncovered during the ongoing restorations and maintenance of the buildings. After archeologist Schumacher was transferred to the Washington office in 1962 and not replaced, the park had to bring in NPS archeologists from other locations to carry out and write up these projects. Bruce Powell, called on site during an equipment installation south of the west wing, salvaged two pieces of dressed stone steps from the 1811 underground rest rooms. Powell also led the dig in the basement of Old City Hall, to locate the 1769 American Philosophical Society observatory and an octagonal structure that appeared on a 1783 plan of the square. In 1963 Regional Archeologist John Cotter reported on a brick vault catchment, cistern no. 2, exposed while repairing a water pipe under the cement floor in the basement of Old City Hall. The next year, he recorded the dig at the East Wing's basement sub-floor walls uncovered by maintenance crews during an excavation. In 1964, staff historic architect Lee Nelson worked with Cotter to interpret digs at the north and south Independence Hall entrances and on the sidewalk in front of the east wing. The latter site required salvage archeology preceding the excavation of a large underground room to house Independence Hall's air conditioning equipment. Leland Abel, archeologist at Hopewell Village, recorded that year his salvage in the cellar under the Assembly Room, prior to the installation of atmospheric control units, and in the basement under the (PA) Supreme Court room. Charles I. Wilson reported in 1967 on salvage of a well exposed in utility excavations in Independence Hall's entranceway, and Elizabeth Ann

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Photostat 10,013, INDE library; interview with Charles Smith, horticulturist, INDE, 1995. Photo no. 2580 records a tree uprooted by Hurricane Hazel. Oct. 18, 1954; a tree shown in the grass plot behind the East Wing in 1950, Photo no. 87, evidently was removed during the restoration of Congress Hall, as seen in photo no. 6860, on 11/16/60, showing the restoration shops taking over that site. Tree Damage, July 1979, Photo no. 11,639. INDE Photo files; interview, Toogood with Smith, June 1995 and Feb. 1996.

Morris Gell submitted a preliminary report that year on the excavation of two privies discovered in a utility trench under an alley between Old City Hall and the American Philosophical Society.[149]

The findings for this archeology often pertained to 19th century changes on the square. Abel determined that the brick and ash remains uncovered in the basement of Independence Hall belonged to 19th century features. Cotter concluded that cistern no. 2 dated to the 19th century, as did the herringbone pattern brick cellar floor and mortar-laid stone wall in the East Wing dig. Gell surmised that the two privies under Old City Hall, one on top of the other, were constructed sequentially, beginning sometime in the 1790s. Wilson found that the fill in the well under Independence Hall's entrance hall contained only late 19th and early 20th artifacts; he concluded, however, that the well

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[149]Hall and Schenck, "Synthesis," pp.7-13; Cotter in, "Archeology at Independence Hall," p. 11, explained that Dr. Gell used her archeology students from Temple U. to complete her contract. He also noted Schumacher's departure, p.7, and Leland Abel's dig, pp. 9-10. See Photo 8796 A-E for archeology north side of Independence Hall, Sept. 24, 1965. INDE photo files. Leland J. Abel, Archeologist, National Park Service, "Excavations at Independence Hall," June 1964, pp. 1-4; Cotter, et. al., The Buried Past, p. 116 notes that the well in Independence Hall's north entrance foyer was uncovered in 1967, and dates Gell's dig to 1968. The description of Dr. Gell's unusual and difficult investigation with the assistance of 20 Temple students covers three pages (116-19), suggesting its relative importance among the many digs on the square. Wallace's list of excavations includes a 1962 dig south of the west wing and a 1965 dig in grass plots 10, 12, and 15, all done by Bruce Powell, which appear to have no accompanying report of findings. "Archeology at Independence", n.p. According to accession no. 792 Powell salvaged 2 pieces of dressed stone from the steps of the 1811 underground rest rooms south of the west wing during the Lumadrama installation excavations in April 1962. INDE mus. acces. files. A guide to the accessions can be found in Steven Edward Patrick, Museum Intern, "'Deposited in this City': The Archeological Evidence of Philadelphia, the Capital City, 1790 to 1800," Independence National Historical Park, August 1987, pp. 91-3. Patrick's guide did not reference Powell's 1965 excavations cited in Wallace.

itself was dug for a house that predated Independence Hall, built in 1690-1696 by David Powell. (Hall and Schenk question Wilson's conclusion here.)[150]

Two important features investigated through archeology did turn out to be of 18th century construction--the privy uncovered under Old City Hall and the remains of the well on the Chestnut Street walk. Powell concluded that the circular brick privy was the one that maintenance vouchers record as built in 1778. Its vaulted cap, he conjectured, was added for the construction of Old City Hall in 1790. Cotter and Nelson's investigation of the sidewalk in front of the east wing revealed a dry-laid brick well with vaulted cover which they surmised was one of two built along the Chestnut Street frontage in 1773, and closed in 1821. The gravel walk they uncovered at this time Cotter and Nelson thought to be from the early 19th century, based only on artifacts retrieved at the site.[151]

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[150]Hall and Schenck, Ibid. See p. 13 for the questions raised by Wilson's report. In his analysis of the entranceway well, Cotter reported that the park had hired "a young and agile" archeologist who would fit through the 14-inch square opening in the vault. Cotter also explained that under the brick vault there was a pit 16 feet deep which was dug another four feet down. Artifacts found in the nearly-clean fill suggested that the well had been filled at the close of the 19th century. The neatly bricked shaft had no floor, indicating that it had been dug as a well; its completely dry bottom showed that it had been in use during the city's early history, when the water level was much higher, before underground sewers allowed groundwater to run off to the river. Cotter, "Synthesis," p. 11. Abel, "Excavations," 1-4.

[151]Hall and Schenck, "Synthesis," pp. 8-9, 11-12. Cotter added that the Chief of Archeological Research was called in for consultation for the well investigation--presumably referring to himself. Cotter noted that construction funds and engineering expertise were available for the dig, allowing them to do the job the safe way, by driving a shaft down the length of the well's exterior before removing the well's fill, to prevent the dry brickwork from caving in and trapping the excavator. At the bottom of the well Cotter recorded that "pieces of the octagonally-trimmed log which had been hollowed as a water pipe and inserted into the well" still were in place. Cotter, "Archeology at Independence

It remained to William D. Hershey in 1974 to complete salvage for the Chestnut Street sidewalk in preparation for its restoration that year. Park historian Miriam Blimm's 1961 study of 18th century paving had recommended the restoration of brick footways around the square. Hershey's discovery of a herringbone pattern in the ground under the flagstone surface guided the restoration of the brick walkway, while Lee H. Nelson and B. Bruce Powell's 1965-66 report that had identified pebblestone paving surfaces south of the brick walk, and on either side of Independence Hall's entrance, was the basis for the pebblestone restorations. Hershey also uncovered the brick vault and drain for the 18th century well pump at the west end of the Chestnut street side walk. Although the park left the well unexcavated for future archeologists to study, its location and drain details provided the final evidence needed for the reconstruction of the two 1773 pumps that year.[152]

The restoration work in the summer of 1974 did not go smoothly. Hershey's archeology was hampered by "the most destructive and the least co-operative and reliable contractor" he had ever had the "misfortune to work with." The contractor thwarted the study of the historic fabric by "cutting corners, bullying the archaeologist and crew with threats of work stoppage, crude

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Hall," p. 9.

[152]7Hall and Schenck, "Synthesis," pp. 8-9; Miriam Quinn, "Paving of the Footways Around the State House Yard," Independence National Historical Park, June 1961; Hershey, "Excavations North of the State House, Old City Hall and Congress Hall," 1975, pp. 1, 4, 11. Cotter pointed out that the west well "was sealed, unexcavated, for the 'Tricentennial.'" Cotter, Regional Archeologist, Mid-Atlantic Region, "Archeology in Old Philadelphia: An Update," July 7, 1976, p. 2; Cotter, et. al., The Buried Past, 115-116 includes photographs of the wooden pump parts and the brick arch over the unexcavated west well.Paul G. Sifton, "Supplement I, Historic Grounds Report, State House Yard," Independence National Historical Park, 1965, summarizes the documentation for the 18th century features on the Chestnut St. walkway.

insults, and virtually constant harassment." The accuracy of the restoration, as well as some of the salvage material, suffered from this unfortunate relationship. To Hershey, giving such "a sensitive job" to this contractor, who failed to show even "the slightest interest in historic accuracy," proved the lamentable inappropriateness of government's lowest bidder system.[153]

Around the same time, the park hired Daniel G. Crozier, archeologist from Temple University, to investigate several sites, among them the trench run along Independence Hall's foundation to waterproof the building in preparation for the Bicentennial. In September 1976 Regional Archeologist Cotter carried out salvage work during planting of a tree south of Philosophical Hall, in Grass Plot 2. That year Cotter conjectured that, barring unforeseen projects, "most of the archeological investigations at the Park have been completed." Three years later an archeological base map, completed for the park from a compilation of 47 separate maps, marked and dated the various digs from the previous twenty years.[154]

John Cotter's summary of the park's archeology over the years in The Buried Past (1992) pointed out that "no other place in the city have archeologists noted so many privies replaced, renovated, obliterated, and displaced as in Independence Square." Again, in 1994, Cotter gave insights to the square's archeology when responding to researcher Silvio Bedini, who asked him to

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[153]Hershey, "Excavations," p. 2.

[154]Crozier's work referred to in Cotter, "Archeology," p. 2.Crozier evidently filed no report; he likely only monitored for salvage materials. He did complete reports on work at City Tavern and Area F in 1977. Patrick, "'Deposited in this City,'" p. 100. Patrick listed Accession 3158, as Cotter's 1976 salvage, but did not list what "artifacts" were salvaged. He also listed all the archaeolgy site reports in his bibliography, pp. 100-2. Hall and Schenck, "Synthesis," pp. 1-2; "Archeological Base Map, Independence Square," Drawing no. 3339:2, checked 11/1/79, INDE.

comment on the park's search for the elusive observatory constructed in 1769 by the American Philosophical Society. Cotter assured Bedini that the park archeologists had "long hoped to locate the foundation traces" of the observatory. Independence Square, however, had been "much restricted" to archeologists, so that they "never found the trace sought." Cotter went on to explain that the grass plots had been frequently disturbed by the laying of utility lines, that archeology was limited by the "broad walkways and interspersed trees that could not be disturbed," and that the large flagstoned area around Barry's statue was "sacrosanct," and not open to archeological investigation. Cotter's best guess for the observatory's location was right where the statue stood.[155]

While archeology and restoration simultaneously proceeded, the park removed landscape features no longer needed or wanted on the square. By 1958 the colonial lamps that had been placed along the square's sidewalks during the A.I.A. redesign, still evident in 1947 and 1957 photographs, were removed. Between May and July 1962, the electric lamp south of Barry statue (moved there in 1932 so that the cannon could be placed on the north side of the statue) was removed, presumably along with the other electric lights that early park photographs depict. In 1968 the park finally removed the Centennial Temperance fountain from the southeast quadrant of the square, because the city's Public Health Department long had questioned its sanitation.[156]

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[155]John L. Cotter, Curator Emeritus American Historical Archaeology, The University Museum, to Silvio A. Bedini, Feb. 10, 1994, in files of Robert Giannini, Museum Curator, INDE.

[156]C.E. Peterson's 1947 photos (nos. 2075 and 2141) of Congress Hall and Fifth Street and a park shot taken 5/28/57 at Fifth and Walnut Streets (no. 4401) show colonial lamps along the outer edge of the Fifth and Sixth Street sidewalks; another of Congress Hall(no. 5276), 4/21/58, looks down Sixth Street, clearly indicating no lamps. Photo no. 9518 A-B, May 1968, documents the Sons of Temperance fountain before removal. INDE photo files. In 1961 Paul

In 1957, Mission 66 improvements got underway. New bathrooms were added to the basement of the west wing, and the cobblestone on the Sixth Street driveway was reset. New benches were made and placed in the square in 1961-2. A photograph at Sixth and Walnut Streets (1962) suggests that the park that year replaced the flagstone side walks on Walnut and the numbered streets with herringbone-patterned brick ones. In 1964, the City of Philadelphia placed a 36 by 33-inch bronze plaque in the Chestnut Street sidewalk, ten feet east of the Washington statue, to commemorate President John F. Kennedy's 1962 visit, one year before his assassination. A park photograph (1964) of a reconstructed watchbox on the southwest corner of the tower plaza suggests that the park had recently placed it on the square. That year photographs document the square's manicured appearance; Mission 66 had helped bring the landscape to a standard the National Park Service could feel proud to administer.[157]

Resnick, Sanitation Specialist for the U.S. Public Health Service, labeled the fountain a public health hazard, and recommended its removal. The park's superintendent disclaimed it as a hazard, explaining that "modern and sanitary bubbler heads" had been installed and recommended its continued use. Resnick and Sanitary Engineer inspected it again in August 1962, reporting that they had discussed the maintenance with a Sons of Temperance representative, who had told them that the 900-pound ice blocks were dragged through the streets and over the park walks during delivery, and when lowered into the 8-foot deep tank, caused the water to overflow, most of which found its way back into the drinking water. At this juncture Superintendent Anderson agreed to discontinue the fountain's use. Another six years passed before the fountain's removal from the square. Resnick, Sanitation Specialist, U.S. Public Health Service, "Report on Environmental Health Survey Independence National Historical Park Project, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania,"; Memo, Supt. to Reg. Dir., Region Five, Aug. 30, 1961; Resnick and Leroy G. Martin, Sanitary Engineer, "Report on Environmental Health Survey, INHP Project," Phila. PA, Aug. 22, 1962, INDE notecard file.

[157]Photo no. 4411, Mission 66 public restroom installation, 6/6/57; photo no. 6758 A-B, resetting cobbles, 10/4/60; photo no. 8069 A-L, Sixth and Walnut, 11/9/62; photo nos. 7902 A-F, 7/11/62, and 8189 A-F, benches, 2/25/63; brick side walk, 10/22/63, photo no. 8344 A-F, watchbox, 9/17/64, photo no. 8636, INDE photo files;

Specific changes to Independence Square's landscape since the 1970s have not been well documented. The careful photography of the developing years dwindled after the Bicentennial and McCullough's departure. The relocation of most public gatherings to Independence Mall served to protect the grass, trees and other features from trampling, scarring, and other damage. Benign crowds still gather on the Square, however, prior to touring the buildings. In April 1989 the park's horticulturalist proposed a landscape modification to remedy the "unsightly appearance" of the grass along the walkway edges behind the East Wing, due to crowd spill over on the lawn while waiting in line. The park followed his proposal to plant a low growing, unobtrusive hedge and to place benches along the path where visitors wait.[158]

More recently (1994), the park has completed informal surveys of the square's retaining wall and flagpole. The wall shows definite structural problems brought on by inadequate drainage. The flag pole's base seemed to be rusted; an inspection resulted in more positive news--there was no need for action.

Currently (1996), the Chestnut Street trees are in poor condition. Two English elms at either end and two American elms are all that survive of the double row of trees planted early in the century, replacements in a long-time pattern of keeping the Independence Hall plaza in shade. Last year one of the American elms died from Dutch Elm's disease and another is expected to go this summer. As they have died, the park has not replaced them, filling their holes with pebblestone or brick according to their location on the walkway.[159]

Item No. 29, National Register form, Independence NHP, 1984.

[158]Charles Smith, Horticulturalist, to Superintendent, INDE, Apr. 10, 1989, Horticulturalist's files, INDE.

[159]Charles L. Smith, Acting Chief of Maintenance, to Utility Improvement Project Coordinator, Aug. 2, 1994, Smith files, INDE;

A Revived Old City Community

From the outset, Independence National Historical Park made a photographic record of the events and physical changes in the park from which one can piece together the evolution of the square and its neighborhood. Interpretive tours of the Independence Hall group of buildings began as early as May 1952. A free-standing wooden sign in front of Independence Hall proclaimed "Independence Hall Birthplace of the United States of America." Another in the square announced the archaeological research. In 1966 a sign greeted visitors approaching the square from Fifth street, inviting them to attend a "Sound and Light Spectacle," called "The American Bell." The program cost adult visitors 50c and children, half that.

Other 1950s photos show the Chestnut, Walnut and Fifth Street sides of the square lined with buses, a worrisome problem for the park, one the city had also grappled with over the years. Patriotic observances continued to be the principal gatherings on the square. Park management also permitted a political rally of 3000 protesters of the Vietnam War in 1965. The archeology of the 1950s and 60s likely also drew a crowd in the square, to peer into the long, six-foot deep trenches diagonally crossing the grass plots, or to view the deep pits opened for structural maintenance and upgrade.[160]

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interviews, Toogood with Smith, Feb. 27, Mar., 6, 1996. Smith can find no record to document the contract inspection of the flagpole.

[160]See photograph section of report. Photos of the square for this decade have been filed according to subject. Thus for this study I plumbed Independence Square, Independence Hall, Congress Hall, Supreme Court [Old City Hall] building, the East and West Wings, American Philosophical Society Hall, Fifth Street, Sixth Street, Chestnut and Walnut Streets, Interpretation, and Special Events, to piece together this summary of developments on the square. Interpretation photos, sub-group Tours, is where the unnumbered May 1952 photo of the NPS guide is found, and photo no. 6211, of the Hall's sign, 8/28/59, and no. 3183 on archeology,

Special events brought important visitors to Independence Square -- President Truman came in 1962 for the Constitution's 175th anniversary, and the same year, President John F. Kennedy for the Fourth of July. Vice-President Johnson came in 1963, and Secretary of State Dean Rusk in 1964, each requiring considerable park staff time. Freedom Week, Fire Prevention Week, Flag Week, Franklin's Birthday, the First Reading of the Declaration of Independence, were typical annual observations. At least for such special events, the square's grounds likely were well maintained.[161]

During the 1960s and '70s, the Independence Square neighborhood continued to be transformed. Demolition of non-historic houses on Locust Street and around St. Joseph's church (1961-2); the restoration of Congress Hall (1961-2), and Independence Hall; the construction of the Rohm and Haas headquarters on Sixth Street (1964) and the Penn Mutual tower (1971) on Walnut Street opposite the square; the reconstruction of the Pemberton House (1967) on Chestnut Street, east of Fourth, and the razing of the Irvin Building (1974) at Walnut and Fourth proceeded to completion. By 1967 much of the area's redevelopment planning was in place. Independence Mall that year complemented the progress at Independence park and Society Hill. In the opinion of one Bulletin writer, the Mall had come to symbolize "a

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11/22/55. Patriotic display on the tower plaza shown in photo no. 659, July 1952, and no. 5416, A & B, 6/12/58, INDE photo files. McCullough documented park changes from c. 1958 to as late as 1974. Greiff, Independence, 184, discusses the sound and light program.

[161]Index, Historical Film Collection, INDE library; photo files under Special Events. On Franklin's birthday in 1955 Philadelphia's Poor Richard's Club invited the U.S. Marine Honor Guard to the celebration. Photo 2729, INDE photo files; Greiff, Independence, 185-6. Research has been collected but not included in this report, concerning the first gay liberation demonstration at Independence Hall in the 1960s.

striking renascence of Old Philadelphia."[162]

The park's presence in the city had been pivotal to the redevelopment process. As the 1971 master plan put it,

> The park has also acted as a catalyst in the massive revitalization of Philadelphia's Center City area. In this respect, the park (considered broadly to include also Independence Mall) is a key element of the Philadelphia City Plan, first as a pilot project in one of the Nation's earliest, most massive and most successful urban renewal programs, ..."

Put another way, the national park and state mall represented "the first stage of Philadelphia's imaginative program to revitalize and re-orient the entire downtown area of the city." The park, having acted as "a stimulus to the highly successful Society Hill redevelopment," now stood poised to do the same for the area to its north. In fact, the future of the city's comprehensive plan hinged to "a considerable extent" on the effectiveness of the Independence park development program.[163]

If the park was significant to the city, Independence Square remained the heart of the park. As the master plan phrased it, the square was "the Nation's best-loved historic shrine." But there were undecided issues with its care that the plan spelled out: "1) how far should the restoration of the buildings and grounds be carried; 2) where should the Liberty Bell be displayed; and 3) what restrictions should be placed on the use of the buildings and grounds." On the first point, the plan recommended a postponement on decisions regarding the restoration of

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[162]Index, Historical Film Collection, INDE library;"Finishing the Mall," The Evening Bulletin, Jan. 10, 1967, clipping, INDE Archives.

[163]United States Department of Interior, "Master Plan, Independence National Historical Park, 1971, Pennsylvania," pp. 7, 32.

the State House garden to its Vaughan period, and the reconstruction of the Committee Room, Wing buildings and Portico, "until the more urgently needed developments" be completed.[164]

The Liberty Bell's location in the tower hallway of Independence Hall had already created a problem of "congestion, noise and unregulated flow," which often frustrated park visitors. The park anticipated that the Bicentennial of the Revolution would bring much larger crowds, thus aggravating the problem and stressing the historic building. The master plan laid out six proposals for relocationg the bell. One suggested the middle of Independence Square, which required the relocation of the Barry statue. Another proposed "a depressed site adjacent to Walnut Street but within the square." The other four sites were at various spots around the park and mall.[165]

Independence Square was a choice long advocated by Judge Lewis, the park's most influential citizen advocate. He envisioned the Bell out on the plaza, in a glass structure, "so tourists can go around it." After careful consideration, however, the park ruled out the square as the Liberty Bell's new home. The central plaza was turned down because it required moving the Barry statue. Two of the park's advisory commission members, James Byrnes and Michael J. Bradley, were of Irish descent and adamantly opposed to displacing the commodore, said to be the father of the U.S. Navy. Instead, the city, state and national park officials agreed on building a Liberty Bell pavilion on the first block of the Mall, where the state deeded an acre of land for its construction. On New Year's eve at midnight, 1975, as a kick-off for the nation's Bicentennial, the Liberty Bell left its home on the square for its new permanent glass and stone shelter

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[164]"Master Plan," p. 42.

[165]Ibid., p. 42; Greiff, Independence, 210.

on the Mall.[166]

The agreement to move the Liberty Bell to Independence Mall probably resurrected the long-standing proposal to transfer the entire mall to the national park. The 1971 master plan had considered the possibility of the takeover, pointing out that Independence Square's use "as a public gathering place for patriotic observances and political meetings," as well as for demonstrations, entertainments, television programs, advertising and publicity photographs, were "noninterpretive" activities more appropriately conducted elsewhere. Considering the "overriding importance" of the square's historic buildings, the plan advised, "It should be clearly the Service's policy, as official custodian of this property, that preservation and interpretation of these structures come first." With the transfer, the Mall's middle block could be "a continuing center of lively varied activity not compatible with Independence Square."[167]

In 1974, Pennsylvania deeded the 15.44-acre Independence Mall to the Park Service, contingent on the payment of bonds that come due in 1998. Independence's management of the mall from that date not only has reinforced the trend to discourage the tradi-

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[166]Greiff, Independence, 210, and 228-9, notes that the park anticipated 20 million visitors for the Bicentennial. "Moving the Liberty Bell." Evening Bulletin, Jan. 1, 1976, p. 1, clip file, INDE Archives. Judge Lewis in 1970, four years before his death, told an interviewer, "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..." He saw it as a "bulletproof glass structure out there back of Independence Hall, and the tourists can go around it and see it and not clog up the stairway there at Independence Hall." Gibson, et. al.,"Cultural Landscape Report,"p. 94, and "Independence Park, Edwin O. Lewis, Judge," Interview of Jan. 16, 1970, by Oral History Research Office, Columbia University, 1973, INDE Archives. "Master Plan," pp. 42-3. The master plan also advised (43) that the park should work with the city, as owner of the land, to come up with rules for the square's use.

[167]Ibid., pp. 12, 35, 46.

tional use of Independence Square as a public gathering place, but it has strained the maintenance staff's ability to keep up with all the park's landscape needs.[168]

Another issue of the 1971 master plan pertained to Independence Square's decades-old problem with busses and general traffic congestion. "Independence Square receives the full impact of all motor-borne visitation, precisely the location where it is least desirable in terms of interpretation and where it is most nearly impossible to provide parking," the plan recorded. After dismissing several alternatives that would reduce the available parking near the square, the plan concluded, "only a well-integrated access and circulation system, such as that proposed in the City's comprehensive plan can hope to meet the needs of tomorrow." A parking garage in Area F between Front and Second Streets, the planned tunnel linking railway, subway and buslines, and the Chestnut Street pedestrian mall were projected solutions for improving Independence Square's setting. All three features have since come into active use, but in themselves did not solve the problem of bus parking which remains an issue in the current proposed general management plan.[169]

The 1971 master plan forecasted that as physical development ceased to dominate the park scene, "interpretation of the events and ideas that made these buildings historic" would ascend as the park's primary concern. The Bicentennial year provided the launching pad for this new direction. Some 2000 special events took place in the park in 1976. On the Fourth of July President Ford came to speak and Marian Anderson to sing. The crowds

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[168]Gibson, et. al., "Cultural Landscape Report," 4. Both the 1969 draft plan and the 1971 master plan named the transfer as a possible park option. Ibid., 92.

[169]"Master Plan," p. 32. The park identified the need for an additional 92,000 parking spaces to serve a projected 365,000 vehicles by the year 1985. Ibid., 33.

swarmed around Independence Square, like every Fourth of July since 1777. Two days later Queen Elizabeth and Prince Phillip paid a visit. The park staff had been preparing for this celebration for eight years to provide the projected 20 million visitors the best possible experience. Although only six million came, the park had never looked better; the physical development had finally reached a level that preservation and interpretation of this "crown jewel" had become the foremost goal.[170]

In the past two and a half decades the park's community has rallied to protect what's left of Independence Square's urban context. When Penn Mutual Insurance Company planned to demolish two 19th century buildings to construct its tower in 1971, petitions were filed with the city against destroying historic context. Penn Mutual ultimately cooperated by restoring the Egyptian Revival facade of one of the razed buildings, 510 Walnut, which had been constructed in 1839 to house the Pennsylvania Fire Insurance Co.[171]

In November 1991 Penn Mutual set up scaffolding to demolish four more structures at the corner of Fifth and Walnut Streets. Community activists and city, federal and local preservation communities mobilized to save 504-506 Walnut, the two oldest buildings, both listed as contributing features in the city's proposed Society Hill Historic District. Barbara Kaplan, director of the City Planning Commission, reminded Mayor Goode that Philadelphia wanted the best possible setting for Independence

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[170]Greiff, Independence, 239-40, 249-53. Another event associated with the Fourth of July is the annual public reading of the Declaration on July 8th, on the anniversary of the first time that document was released to the public.

[171]A photo caption dated May 28, 1974, documents that Mitchell Giorgyola, architects, fashioned the reconstruction of the Egyptian Revival facade. Photo of the Walnut Street block prior to 1916, #45130 Public Property, Walnut Street, 500 Block, Building Files, Phila. Hist. Commiss.

Square. After studies of the buildings had been made, Independence Park requested that Penn Mutual raze only the two buildings on the corner, and leave 504-6 standing "to preserve the existing scale of the streetscape of Independence Square, with particular regard for visually supporting the scale of the Egyptian Revival facade office building that stands in the middle of the block." The park also advocated their preservation on account of their historical value.[172]

Although the negotiations managed to postpone the demolition for over six months, the effort came too late. The 500-02 Walnut buildings were found to be structurally unsound by Nicholas Gianopulos, of Keast and Hood, structural engineers, while 504-6 were judged to have lost their historical integrity by John Milner Associates, one of the city's most respected preservation firms.[173]

With the National Park Service and city taking the lead, negotiations with Penn Mutual next considered the appearance of the site after demolition. Penn Mutual had planned "to fence off from view the empty parcel of land" until times were more ripe for new construction. The National Park Service, city and local activists objected. A series of meetings resulted in an important compromise to create an open landscaped site at the east end of

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[172] "Penn Mutual Demolition Plan Our Historic District Takes another Hit!" East Philadelphia Sun, Nov. 5, 1991; quotes from "Penn Mutual to Raze Buildings," Ibid., May 5, 1992. Barbara Kaplan to Mayor W. Wilson Goode, Nov. 26, 1991. The park's superintendent, Martha B. Aikens, also requested in writing on Nov. 5, 1991, that the mayor intercede in behalf of 504-506 Walnut Streets. Walnut Street, 500 Block, building files, Philadelphia Historical Commission. (PHC)

[173] East Philadelphia Sun, May 5, 1992 quotes directly from the Milner Associates' assessment of the buildings.

the block.[174]

With the improvement of Independence Square's setting in mind, U.S. Representative Foglietta, working with the Washington Square community, introduced a bill (H.R. 2768) in 1983 that proposed that Washington Square be included as part of Independence National Historical Park. By 1986 residents of the Washington Square neighborhood had organized to promote needed improvements. The square's flagstones had become dangerous and homeless were sleeping in the park. In 1987 Foglietta introduced another bill in the House (H.R. 3145), and Senator Heinz in the Senate (S 1513), again proposing the transfer. The issue remains unresolved, although it is now accepted that the National Park Service will assume control of Washington Square, once certain improvements are completed by the city.[175]

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[174]Quote from East Philadelphia Sun, May 5, 1992; telephone conversation, Richard Tyler, Director, PHC, and Toogood, Feb. 27, 1996.

[175]Copies of the Washington Square bills in Congress found in the History Office files, Fairmount Park Commission; South Star, Oct. 23, 1986, clipping in "Additional Sources," Rabzak files, INDE Archives. This article cited Roger Moss and his wife, Gail Winkler, Hopkinson House residents, as long-time and active advocates for the square.

Epilogue

Independence Square has been landscaped with shade trees since the original ground plan of 1785. Trees and paths, in fact, were anticipated at the yard's inception, a half century earlier. As construction got underway on the State House in 1732, the Provincial Assembly called for walks to be laid out and trees planted to make the yard "more beautiful and commodious." In 1736 the Assembly enacted a law that set aside the ground south of the State House for public use. The Statute called for the yard to be "enclosed and remain a public open green and Walks forever." Internal politics and the Revolution delayed the execution of this vision until 1785, but once landscaped and opened to the public, the State House Yard won acclaim for its novelty, beauty and accessibility. New York City was the only other American city at that date to have laid out grounds specifically for public recreation and health.

By the close of the 18th century Philadelphians of influence valued shade trees as an important means to protect the health of the city. During the hot and muggy summers epidemics regularly ravaged the population. Thomas Jefferson made the point in a letter to Philadelphia's William Hamilton, by observing that trees were more important to the American landscape than in England's "sunless climate." He stressed, "shade is our Elysium." After the devastating yellow fever epidemic of 1793 and subsequent outbreaks each summer, the city laid out Southeast (Washington) Square with trees and closed the burial grounds. Soon thereafter, a prosperous and cultured residential community grew up around the two adjoining public squares.[1]

By 1828, Washington and Independence Square's trees were

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[1]As quoted in Maccubbin and Martin, British and American Gardens, 182.

valued because they offered "additional freshness to the air," and an oasis of welcome shade in the confines of a built-up urban neighborhood. After the Civil War, Independence Square's shade trees were the rallying point to fight the city's proposal to enlarge the government center by building new structures around the perimeter of the square. Protestors cited the yard's association with the Revolution, the value of the trees to the city's health, and the Provincial Assembly's 1731 act that preserved the grounds south of the State House as a public open green forever. In response, the citizens of Philadelphia voted to move the government buildings to Center Square.

Independence Square's traditional shade tree canopy gradually became associated with the Revolutionary era. After the Civil War, this association was reinforced by planting trees in the square at patriotic celebrations. For the Centennial of the Revolution, one of the proposed landscape plans recommended a new tree for each of the signers of the Declaration. While this plan did not get approved, the concept to plant trees in the square as a patriotic gesture took root and continued into this century.

A number of Independence Square's existing trees likely remain from ceremonial plantings. Park horticulturalist Charles Smith maintains that the Square's 95 trees probably are not older than 80 years, which would date them post-1915. On Arbor Day 1921, 30-odd trees, mostly Elm, were planted, including an Elm (now gone), at the southeast entrance of Congress Hall. The list of trees included at least one Horse Chestnut, perhaps the large Horse Chestnut (no. 11) on the flagstone plaza to the southwest of the tower. For the Sesquicentennial in 1926, the Daughters of the American Revolution and the original colonies planted 13 Red Oak along the Sixth Street side of the square, six of which (nos. 6, 57, 64, 70, 86, 87, 88) appear to have survived. That year, too, for Pan American Day, another Red Oak was added, and the War Mother, Mrs. Bellak, presented a Black Pin Oak in her son's

memory, which was planted near the tower, and perhaps is the Pin Oak (no.7), or a replacement of it, now standing in the grass plot south of the east wing.[2]

Within recent history, trees have occasionally been planted in recognition of individuals associated with Independence park or the city. In 1989, the Friends of Independence National Historical Park planted a Kentucky coffee tree on the Sixth Street side of the square in memory of Dorothy W. (Mrs. F. Otto) Haas. In the spring of 1991, Drinker, Biddle and Reath arranged with the park to honor Tony Auth, Pulitzer Prize winning editorial cartoonist for the Philadelphia Inquirer, by adopting tree no. 95, a "Patmore" Green Ash, in the northwest quadrant of the square. Auth evidently was so touched by the gesture he brought his family to see it, and the law firm's representative, Stewart Dalzell, hastened to advise the park horticulturalist that they would cover any cost of tree care or replacement should the Auth tree need it.[3]

In the Fall of 1995, during this study's writing, the family of Harry Shuttleworth, long-time park volunteer, donated funds to plant a tree in Independence Square in his memory. The park demurred, based on the long tradition that tree-planting ceremonies have traditionally been for national and patriotic purposes, and that the recent individual memorials were inappropriate. The

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[2]This writer compiled and separated the tree species on the square to help identify patterns from the documentation given above in the section, "World War I and the Sesquicentennial." See Plot Plan for tree numbers.

[3]Drinker, Biddle and Reath donated $250 through the Friends of Independence to purchase a tree for this Auth memorial. When the plan was changed to adopt a tree on Independence Square, the firm released the funds to purchase a tree elsewhere in the park. Phone interview, Charles Smith with Toogood, Mar. 5, 1996; Stewart Dalzell to Pearl Griko, Apr. 26, 1991; to Charles Smith, Apr. 26, June 27, 1991; Smith to Dalzell, May 11, 1991, Horticulturalist's files, INDE.

Shuttleworth memorial trees were planted elsewhere within the park.[4]

A comparison of two tree surveys, one in 1952, at the National Park Service's takeover of Independence Square, and the other in 1995, by Charles Smith, indicates that many new trees have been planted, and probably many removed, under the federal government's care. The park's policy has not always been to replace in kind. For difficult areas of the square, like the southwest corner, the park has selected trees that will survive wind, light and pollution conditions. Typically, the park selects trees historically grown in this region. In a sense, this policy reflects Vaughan's experience with the square's first landscape plan, when he set out to plant one of every tree species in the new nation, but soon settled for those varieties that prospered in local conditions.[5]

Trees thus represent a continuum as the key element of the square's landscape during its various transformations (1785, 1876, 1915-16). The elm, oak and sycamore that dominate the ground scheme all are species represented on the square since Vaughan's 1785 plan. Public awareness of this tree legacy continues to prompt community involvement. In 1987 the National Arborist Association sponsored a program launched by sixteen companies to revitalize Independence Square's trees in time for

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[4]Luisa Miller, [Executive Director, Friends of INDE], to Coxey Toogood, July 21, 1995; Doris Fanelli, Chief, CRM, INDE, to Charles Smith, July 11, 1995.

[5]See the 1952 and 1995 ground plan of trees in illustrations. Interview, Smith with Toogood, Mar. 6, 1996. Smith noted that he recently had planted two sugar maples at the southwest corner because they best could survive that areas harsh environment. These are not yet plotted on his plan. Vaughan, as mentioned earlier in this text (p. 106), told George Clymer he had collected as many as 80 different kinds of trees, but that bad weather had killed off many of them. Now there are 26 different kinds of trees on the square.

the bicentennial of the Constitution. With volunteer time and donated equipment, an army of arborists and horticulturalists worked with park staff to fertilize and prune or remove trees as needed, to give the grass sunlight. In commemoration of the bicentennial, the volunteers inquired whether they could dedicate a 200-year old tree. As no tree then was older than the 97-year old elm in the southwest corner, their proposal could not be met.[6]

In July 1995, the Friends of Independence began a program to label the park trees and shrubs, beginning with Independence Square. This initiative honored F. Otto Haas, long-time neighbor (Rohm and Haas Corporation) and benefactor of the park. Elizabeth P. McLean, program speaker and garden historian, referred to Haas' love of trees, a love she pointed out the square's planners and early appreciators also enjoyed: "It is hard today for us to realize how basic trees were to the experience of our founding fathers--in their own lives, as well as here, around what is now Independence Hall. Theirs was an experience that was aesthetic as well as practical."[7]

While trees have always been Independence Square's single most enduring and admired landscape characteristic, controversy has typically surrounded the man-made features. Privies, no longer on the landscape, once were an important, oft-criticized aspect of the building complex until abandoned with modern plumbing. The 18th century gravel walks needed routine renewal and rolling and the brick walks needed resetting, to maintain a pleasing affect. When flagstone paving was introduced just prior

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[6]Inquirer, Sun. Apr. 19, 1987, clipping in Smith's files.

[7]Charles Smith, interview with writer, April 25, 1995; Elizabeth P. McLean, "Tribute to Otto Haas, July 22, 1995, Independence National Historical Park," p. 1. The program for the tree labeling ceremony is dated July 11, 1995, and gives McLean's title as garden historian.

to the Centennial, managers soon complained about its dangerous tendency to heave and chip, making walking hazardous. Upkeep has always depended on an unpredictable and limited city budget. Nevertheless, the A.I.A. chose to retain the flagstone and repair it as part of an appropriate setting for the historic buildings. This design feature left the city with decades of problems trying to keep the walks safe for the visiting public, and the issue is all too familiar to today's park management. In 1968 the Park Service repaved the perimeter sidewalks in brick, and, in 1974, restored the Chestnut Street plaza with brick and simulated pebblestone paving, thereby cutting down some of the maintenance problem.[8]

Independence Square's walks have traditionally provided pleasant and convenient pedestrian throughways for public use. The wide central walk between Walnut Street and Independence Hall survives from the original landscape, whereas the paths connecting side and corner entrances to the central circle represent design modifications for public convenience.

Beginning in the early 19th century, the city worked closely with the neighboring residents to improve both Independence and Washington Squares. From that period the two squares showed an increasing interconnectedness. By the 1830s both had entrances at the Sixth and Walnut Street corners, and in the 1880s, diagonal flagstone walks from the corner entrances visually connected the

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[8]The park has also chosen to retain the flagstone. When a red oak needed to be removed from the flagstone plaza south of the tower in 1994, the park completed a triple-x form to evaluate the impact to the national register setting. The park chose not to replace the tree and to fill its circular bed with slate. The form specified to take care "to mach pattern and color for smooth blending." This was the last tree remaining on the flagstone plaza, survivors of the 1915 landscape modifications. INDE #94-157, Tree removal, was approved by memo from J. Keith Everett, Chief, Park Historic Preservation Division, to Superintendent, INDE, June 1, 1994. Copy of memo and form in Smith files.

two squares. Recognizing the proximity and interrelationship between Independence and Washington Squares, Philadelphia's Art Jury in 1915 appointed the same committee to consider the two separate relandscaping plans submitted for their approval.

In this century the two squares have often been designed with the other in mind. Independence Square's initial high brick wall was cut down in 1811-12 to three feet, as the base for a palisade fence; the city in 1837 enclosed Washington Square with a similar palisade fence. For the Centennial, the city removed Independence Square's palisade fence and cut down the wall to a foot height; a decade later like modifications were made at Washington Square. Independence Square's current four-foot brick wall and lamp posts of the 1915-16 A.I.A. design were intended to be reminiscent of colonial features to restore the context of the Revolutionary era. For Washington Square's renovation in the 1950s, architect Brumbaugh applied a similar treatment to give both squares the same historical context.

The Centennial design for Independence Square, as well as the later A.I.A. landscape plan, maintained the original elevated surface of the grounds, requiring steps to enter the yard south of the buildings. Such an approach might have been retained to accentuate the shrine-like character Independence Hall had acquired for these early landscape planners.

Statues in both Independence and Washington Squares also have perpetuated more than a century of memorializing the Revolution. The Washington statue on Chestnut Street (1869) and the Barry statue (1907) at the center of Independence Square have been the only two statues erected. In the mid-19th century several groups worked together to arrange for the placement of a patriotic monument at the center of the square, but the plan failed, due to funding, politics and to some extent, public resistance to such an alteration to the original concept for the

square. Promotion of a patriotic monument in the center of Washington Square came earlier and met with less resistance. The first one, planned in the 1830s, honored President Washington for whom the square was named in 1825. The existing memorial statue is also of Washington, placed there in the 1950s, along with the Tomb to the Unknown Soldier.

Except for the Barry statue, the grounds behind Independence Hall retain key character-defining features from the original landscape concept -- a canopy of trees and walks. The current general management plan proposes to retain the existing landscape, and reinforces thereby, the Pennsylvania Assembly's act of February 1, 1736, which banned the construction of buildings south of the State House and mandated that the grounds be kept as "a public open green and Walks forever."[9]

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[9]"Draft General Management Plan, Environmental Impact Statement, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, August, 1995," pp. 80-85.

Recommendations for Further Research

Thomas Penn Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, have voluminous correspondence concerning the Assembly and its plans for today's Independence Square. During this research a conversation with Joseph Hammond, who was reading the papers chronologically, turned up interesting insights on Penn's attitude toward the state house project. Penn scorned the cost of buying the entire square; the Assembly didn't care, and went on with their plans. I imagine other insights would be gleaned with a survey of these papers.

A careful search of 19th century magazines, especially on the subject of horticulture/landscape architecture, may provide new insights. Local scrapbooks provided pertinent clippings covering the major landscape changes on the square, but a thorough search of extant newspapers may turn up more references.

Having had a conversation with archivist Jefferson Moak at the City Archives, I am reasonably confident that the potential sources on the landscape have been looked at. No plan has yet surfaced for the city's Centennial design and it is still my hope that one exists, but has not yet surfaced. The records of the City Property Bureau, which took credit for the plan, seem not to include the desired drawings.

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APPENDIX A

CHRONOLOGY OF THE LANDSCAPE

[Pre-1730], Archeology indicates original topsoil "dipped markedly from north to south" (Schumacher, 1959; HSG, ChV, sect.2, 9)

1730-32 Purchase of the north half of the block, the Chestnut Street frontage south 255 feet.

1732 Assembly moves that "the Ground...be levelled, and enclosed with a Board Fence, in order that Walks may be laid out, and Trees planted, to render the same more beautiful and commodious." State House construction begins

1734 Assembly moves into one of old houses on Chestnut Street, adjoining construction site

1735 Demolition of old houses on Chestnut Street; Assembly meets for first time in unfinished State House

1736 Assembly votes 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 thereupon, but that the said ground shall be enclosed and remain a public open green and walks forever."

1736 Wing buildings for offices completed

1737-8 Earth (478 1/2 yards) hauled from "the south side of the Western office of the state house."

1739 Library Co. of Philadelphia moves to second floor of west wing

1739 Assembly orders "that Materials be prepared for encompassing the Ground with a Wall in the ensuing Spring"

1741 Assembly investigates slow progress on the State House and wall; they recommend a board fence between the wall and office buildings, to be "as high as the wall" and to have doors fitted in the wall adjoining the offices "to inclose the whole," and a shingled cornice be built on each side of the wall to carry the water a small distance away.

1743 Piazzas built to connect office buildings with State House; piazzas have solid wall on south side, preventing entry through them to the yard.

1750-53 Tower, steeple and committee room added to State House

1752 Nicholas Scull, Surveyor General of PA, and George Heap publish a Map of Philadelphia and Parts Adjacent, which notes State House yard to be "laid out in walks with Rows of Trees"

1755 Indian delegation in Philadelphia lodged on the State House grounds (exact site unknown).

1756 First recorded military display in State House yard

1759 Assembly votes to build Indians a "small house" for their lodging outside the wall, on a Walnut Street lot owned by the state. No record that location used. (One or both of the sheds on the Fifth and Sixth Street corners of Chestnut Street shown in Peale's drawing of the square in 1778

presumed to be the structures used for Indian lodgings up to the Revolution.)

1761 Protest against "erecting of public gardens at Philadelphia" complains about the movement to build "public gardens, with baths or bagnios" in the city, citing the fact that "the State-house Green or Garden, by a law of the province" was already set aside as a "public place of Walking"

1762 Assembly authorizes purchase of the rest of the block

1763 Assembly orders the Superintendents to "prepare a Plan for laying out the Square behind the same in proper Walks, to be planted with suitable trees for Shade, and that the said Plan be laid before the Assembly at their next meeting."

1768 City agrees to pay street commissioners to put up posts and make a gutter and pavement before the City Hall lot, east of the State House

1769 Assembly completes purchase of remaining lots on the south end of the block and authorizes sale of old houses to help pay for needed repairs on State House and for extending the wall around the yard.

1769 Construction of observatory in the State House yard for the American Philosophical Society, to observe the Transit of Venus over the sun on June 3.

1770 Wall completed around the entire square

1771-72 Earth hauled into State House yard

1772 Two pumps with well curbs placed before the State House for fire protection

1773 Cedar posts set along footway in front of State House

1778 New privy built in yard

1785 American Philosophical Society granted lot on square; Samuel Vaughan begins landscaping the State House yard

1785-87 Yard being landscaped with gravel walks, rows of elm trees, flowers, shrubs, artificial mounds; monumental gate on south end; two steps across south end of wide central walk; barracks building constructed for Invalids, pensioners from the Revolution

1791 Fifth Street footways built when Fifth Street paved

1793 Walnut Street footway requires four new stone steps into yard at south gate

1794 Folie map of Philadelphia shows serpentine walks and central walk in State House yard

1802-12 Charles Willson Peale in charge of State House yard: new seats added--12 long benches, 4 single seats; new gates: Peale not specific, but Binns recalls (1854) a Sixth St. gate; problems with indecent visitors

1811-12 Wall lowered to 3 feet, capped with marble coping, and mounted with iron palisade fence; gates added on east and west sides of yard; new fireproof offices, designed by architect Robert Mills, replace wings; brick pavement on Chestnut Street extended from its 6-foot curbside path, all the way to the buildings.

1812 Caterpillars that used to "destroy the Elm in the state house yard are now nearly passed away"

1812 City ordinance gives charge of State House yard to City Commissioners to keep "in proper order"
1813 City Councils send memorial to State legislature to protest bill directing sale of State House Square to help finance a new capital in Harrisburg. They cite the benefit to the health of citizens, the square's use for elections, its historic associations and previous laws which provided that the yard would remain a "green walk forever" as reasons not to proceed with the plan.
1816 Mr. Binns complains about several hogs that did "much mischief" in the yard by rooting up the ground
1816 City agrees to buy State House Square for $70,000
1817 City begins landscaping of Southeast [Washington] Square, under care of George Bridgport, artist and engineer
1818 Purchase of State House Square completed
1819 Councils authorize a permanent Walnut Street gate
1819 Committee for improvement of State House Yard recommends that "any interference with the general plan and arrangement of the yard would be improper; Time has given to them a character of sanctity which forbids that they should be touched..." They order 80 trees to fill in where some have died. They recommend gravel walk be extended to east side of yard, that the wall be repaired, and yard "renewed and improved"
1819 Trees ordered and planted from Landreth Seed Co: 24 linden, 1 strophelia, 1 scarlet maple; 2 judas
1820 Two fire plugs placed in State House yard (Chestnut Street Theater burned in 1820)
1821 Councils appoint committee to stop PA Assembly's act authorizing County Court of Quarter Sessions to lay out streets, lanes and alleys over the Public Squares and State House Square, and affirm their resolve to protect the square for the "recreation of the inhabitants" and promotion of city's health
1821 Councils authorize row of lindens before State House.
1821 Councils authorize, then postpone, contract with Wm. Strickland to build gate for yard's south entrance
1821 Pumps "in front of the State House yard to be removed near to the Curb stones"
1821 Councils appoint committee to superintend repairs to State House and improvements to the State House Yard
1821 Fire at County Courthouse damages roof & cupola
1822 Councils authorize widening footway on north side Walnut Street to 13 feet, but no record of its completion.
1823 Fire at City Hall causes damage
1824 Councils authorize payment for southern gate to John Haviland: $500 and contract "for lamps to be placed on the piers of the gate now erected at the Southern entrance"
1824 Watson writes about an elbow chair made from elm trees cut down in the yard in 1824. Chair presented by Adam Ramage to Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture
1824 Lafayette's visit inspires name "Hall of Independence" for

Assembly Room

1825 Councils rename State House Square Independence Square and Southeast Square, Washington Square

1827 Watering committee laid 513 feet of 4-inch iron pipe in yard to supply 4 fire plugs and another 317 3-inch pipe to extend a fire plug; Schuylkill River water introduced

1829 Councils propose caretakers for public squares and resolve to improve them; a joint committee appointed to take charge. Horticulturalist, "Mr. Maher," possibly hired for Independence Square at this time

1829 Statues of Justice & Wisdom by William Rush placed on east and west sides of yard; removed Feb. 1830, due to complaints

1831 Citizens' petition and County Commissioners find privies "highly offensive"; Councils grant permission for County to erect an iron palisade fence with gates along rear of county offices and to put privies below ground & arched over

1831 Press praises Councils' choice of an experienced horticulturalist, Mr. Maher, in charge of Independence Square. Gratitude for the beauties of the square--commends his "indefatigable attention and scientific skill."

1831 Councils authorize Paving Committee to McAdamize Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets

1831 Pavements around the square "are becoming now a squashy mass of putrifying vegetable matter not very agreeable to walk on."

1832 Foundation wall is built along the whole south side of the State House and iron palisade fence erected on it. John Haviland's 1831 bills indicate he is contractor for fence, underground privies and 70 square yards of paving

1832 E.T. Coke finds Independence and Washington Squares prettily laid out with walks and fine trees, and surrounded by a strong iron railing; but Washington Square is both larger and a more fashionable promenade

1832 Standing Committee to take charge of the State House and Independence Square

1833 Map of Philadelphia by F. Dayton: no major changes to 1787 landscape

1833 Washington Square: Seats ordered, 7th St. removed, & corner-stone for George Washington monument laid

1834 Carriage owners appeal to Councils for more hack space-besides Fifth Street south of Athenaeum, want space on Sixth Street

1835 Press suggests the state capital be constructed in Independence Square; City Councils resolve to set aside State House yard for suitable buildings for the state capital

1835 Common Council receives petition from a "large body of the Mechanics and Working Men" to open "a walk across the Independence Square from George to Library sts [sic] to facilitate the passage of citizens through the Square."(Hazard's Register XVI (July 1835-Jan.1836)

1836 George Hood hired to take charge of Washington Square for $50 per month; granite wall and iron railing under

construction

1836 Gardener hired for Independence Square for $25 per month to mow the grass and sell the hay; rake and roll and sweep the walks; keep trees and shrubbery trimmed and free of insects

1836 Committee of City Property resolves to put out lights on different squares at 9 pm and orders seats removed at once

1837 City streets and Washington Square lighted by gas; a great success

1837 Petitions to Councils "from sundry citizens" recommending that City Hall be erected on Penn Square, and the removal of present public buildings on Independence Square; press editor argues for the demolition of all the buildings on the square to make room for "a more imposing building"

1837 Assistant Superintendent of Independence Square hired to clean, light and extinguish lamps; wash the steps pavements and corners about the city buildings; water Chestnut Street from 5th to 6th Streets whenever required; wash handbills from city buildings; wash the yard back of Mayors office; light lamps for special occasions.

1837 City Property Committee resolves to "proceed forthwith to fix gates at the S.E. & S.W. Corner of Independence Square"

1837 "Many Citizens" protest the changes to the "State House Yard:" they object to a short cut through the square, the cutting of four diagonal paths through the square and partially converting it into a street, and of the "expense and combination of granite blocks, part milestone and part tombstone" then being constructed "and intended as an entrance"'; they think the changes will destroy "the privacy of the promenade" (National Gazette Aug. 17, 1837)

1837 John Vaughan distressed at removal of "a fine elm tree" from each Walnut Street corner of the Square for the purpose of making gates. These trees had been planted by Vaughan's father and were sacred in his eyes.

1837 Mr. M'Credy petitions for a gravel walk across Independence Square from George to Library Sts.

1837 Bill for laying 7211 square yards of pavement

1838 Councils pass ordinance in favor of buying out County's interest in Independence Square; county needs more space and wants funds to buy new site.

1838 Committee on City Property votes to place chains and posts in yard opposite the southeast and southwest corners

1838 J.C. Wild's lithographs from Independence Hall tower

1839 Bill for 20,000 paving bricks for the square (ref. 1837?)

1840 Trees in front of State House receive tobacco treatment

1841 Two rows of trees in front of State House "afford an avenue of delightful verdure and shade."(Buckingham, America,II, 34)

1841 City ordinance authorizes purchase of Philosophical Hall for municipal and court offices; offer withdrawn over dispute

1842-68 Landscaping active on square

1842 City fights to save Chestnut St. row of English lindens from worms, using tar and other ingredients, and cutting out

decay
1842 Sod (88 loads) and gravel (86 loads) brought in; simultaneous work with Washington Square- grass seed, white and red clover seed, for both squares
1842 Cab stands on east and west sides of square labeled "prodigious nuisances"; inconvenience of cab drivers on narrow steps "intolerable"-call to remove cab stands
1842 Bill for $15 to cover two dozen stools for Independence Square
1842 Councils vote to pave Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth with "blocks of hammered stone"
1843 Oak trees (10) planted for $10
1843 Linden trees in Chestnut Street suffering worms
1844 Linden trees before State House Row called "doomed"-given a "complete shave" and many limbs removed
1844 English Lindens before State House replaced by five "thriving" Sugar Maples that had been growing in Logan Square
1844 A.J. Downing describes Independence and Washington Squares in Landscape Gardening: Plane or Buttonwood tree grows with great vigor in close cities--some superb specimens in the State-House Square; European lime [Linden] of late particularly vulnerable to insects
1844 Councils pay for painting of 38 lamp posts and purchase of 7 trees for Independence and Washington Squares
1845 Press notes two new walks through the Eastern and Western grass plots dug out to specified depth for gravel. "This is done for those desiring to cross directly from the gate opposite George [Sansom] to that opposite Library Street, and it also creates more space for the sports of the young, and the promenades of the older folks."(Public Ledger, April 25, 1845) The work includes a new gate opposite Library St., on the east side of the Independence Square
1846 Many complaints that yard closed in the evening during summer season and that the City should add a few "of the new style iron seats" for visitors
1846 County Board proposes that the city erect buildings on the Walnut Street front to accommodate the various county rooms, court and jury rooms.
1847 Pa. Legislature passes act authorizing Commissioners of County Board to build suitable buildings on State House Square for Court of Quarter Sessions and county offices and remove present buildings deemed "insufficient"
1847 Councils vote against new courthouse; Court of Quarter session reminds Council of need for more space to protect property records from fire hazard
1847 Large silver maple blown over in a storm near the south gate is raised by rigging and replanted; grub invades one of new maples (one of two of Ash species) opposite entrance to State House
1847 "majestic trees" noted in travel journal
1848 Political rallies trample grass plots and destroyed the

vegetation

1848 Thomas U. Walter's plan for new buildings submitted to County Board; proposes only saving Independence Hall

1849 John Haviland's plan for new public buildings recommends a site at the south end, along Walnut Street, to retain "moral sublimity" of Independence Hall; plan calls for removal of all other structures, except Hall; for new city and county offices plus a Town Hall to hold 8000.; all buildings to be faced with local sandstone; est. cost $500,000

1849 L. LeBrun's plan for new buildings on square selected by County Commissioners at estimated cost of $400,000

1849 George G. Foster writes about the yard: "...a pretty well-trodden grass-plot cut up with broad gravel-walks and shaded with venerable trees.

1849 Map of Philadelphia by J.C. Sydney: corner and center-block entrances; path crosses square, 5th-6th; trees line center walk

1849 Councils resolve to permit North American Telegraph poles, neat dressed, and wires to extend across the square in a line with Hudson Alley & Library Street

1849 Complaints about "the constant occupancy of the seats by idlers to the exclusion of women and children"

1850 Horace Binney and Thomas Petit give legal opinion: in favor of new county courthouse on the square

1850 Citizens' petition for new gateway on square, near the southwest door of the Court of Quarter Sessions

1851 Waterman proposes to Select Council 13 monuments for Independence Square; Select Council resolves to have 1 monument with 13 sides

1852 Peacocks (8), gift of man in Delaware for Independence & Washington Squares, all stay at Independence Square.

1852 New platform built for political party rallies in the square, & lit by gas; Gas lights for night meetings replace candles & lamps

1852 Convention of states recommend monument with 13 sides for square; c. 1850s Sartain engraving, "Proposed Colossal Equestrian Statue of Washington" (INDE Mus. coll.)

1852 Councils vote to celebrate July 4 annually in Independence Hall-1st use of term for whole building

1853 Councils decide to have lamps placed in Independence Square

1853 Independence Square lighted by gas for the first time

1853 Councils authorize 2 additional superintendents for State House to accommodate the many visitors

1854 Privy wells cleaned and dug deeper in front of county buildings

1854 Binns writes that Independence Square is the only "unimproved" square in Philadelphia

1854 Bill for "taking up old pavements digging out & setting flagstones, Setting Carting resetting cellar window Paveing, Etc. & removal of 7000 paving bricks.

1854 Brick pavement in front of the office of Receiver of Taxes torn up and relayed

1855 Ancient trees cut down (70 years after 1st landscape)- chopping, sawing & splitting attracts much attention
1857 Councils order feasibility study to locate courts and General Post Office at south end of square
1857 Group protest proposal to erect monument in the square and quote 1813 report that valued the square in its simplicity as a public green; cites that it was where statesmen walked, forming a dignified and proper monument to the establishment of independence.
1858 Trees removed due to decay will be replaced with new trees
1858 Bill for "chairs" for Independence and Franklin Squares
1858 A great crowd that gathered to celebrate successful laying of Atlantic cable caused a long section of the wall to collapse when climbing on the railing
1858 Special appropriation for repair to marble coping and palisade fence, south side of square
1858 Bill for 17 days relaying & paving water course; brick-laying; 10 loads of gravel; 2000 paving bricks; blasting stumps; painting tree box
1859 Walnuts & Shelbarks planted in Independence, Franklin & Washington Squares.
1859 Press notes that public squares need more gravel
1859 Belisle describes square: laid off in walks crossing each other at right angles, with a serpentine footway around the outer-edge. Palisade fence still an object of "admiration." There are 210 varieties of trees--horse-chestnut, elm, maple, buttonwood, one small evergreen. 8 different gates, one through main entrance to Independence Hall
1860 Improved gas saving burner introduced in all squares; 24 replaced in Independence Square
1860 Three cesspools cleaned, rear of State House; SW corner 5th & Chestnut; Back of Sheriff's Office (last cost more & must be larger); railings of all squares painted one coat
1860 Monument committee meets to select a plan
1860 Paving brick sidewalk west side of Fifth, below Chestnut; repaving around Independence and Washington Squares
1860 Hexamer and Locher map; Smedley Atlas: same as 1849 map; shows line of trees in center walk; uncultivated area enlarged south of Congress Hall; Mayors office: merged Old City Hall and Philosophical Hall
1861 Prince of Wales, later King Edward VII, of England, planted elm?
1861 Councils note that cesspool behind east wing offensive and unhealthy and clean it
1862 Councils consider removal of offensive urinal in Square
1862 Trench dug to lay pipes for better drainage of the State House Buildings and a small room added to the rear of the Quarter Session Court room for use of Judges
1862 Council bill to provide seats for parks and public squares; recommend seat with iron frame with oaken slats similar to those in Central Park, NYC
1862 Civil War: Independence Square Recruiting camps set up tents

in square
1862 Councils consider adding 3 or more fire plugs on pavement in front of Public buildings
1863 Councils call for experiments to destroy cocoons "now hanging on the branches" in Independent Square & other squares
1863 Independence Square admired: "its verdure might compete with the greensward of the Emerald Isle itself"
1863 Ordinance to provide drinking fountains in public squares
1864 Republicans hold mass meeting to ratify Lincoln's nomination for President & Democrats a week later to ratify McClellan's nomination
1864 Heavy stream of water used to wash worms from shade trees
1865 Independence Square rehabilitated after military encampment
1866 New Court House on Sixth Street almost completed
1866 Council appropriates $14,450 for furnishing new Courthouse: includes entrance for convenient entry & exit of the prison van; paving around the courthouse
1867 Press notes "Prisoners will be brought in the van by the Chestnut street entrance to the square and will be taken out at the door on the north side of the building" (suggests Sixth St. driveway not there yet)
1867 Iron fence erected around new Court House
1869 John Nugent's proposes removing all buildings, except Independence Hall- refers to "mean appearance" of others
1869 "A very handsome drinking fountain " for horses erected on Chestnut St., in front of State House
1869 George Washington Statue by J.A. Bailly placed in front of Independence Hall, with 4-foot fence around it. Donated by Phila. Public Schools
1869 Seats of novel design placed in yard: hole through center of convex iron seat allows drainage to ground
1869 Lukens defends preserving Independence Square from development for Halls of Justice and most of public offices.
1870 Citizen petition to forbid new city hall on Independence Square; city votes in favor of Penn or Centre Square for new city hall
1870 $7300 for new flagstone pavement in front of State House; new curbstone; flagstone pavement from curb to buildings; digging of trenches.
1870 Surface drainage from roof conductors and hydrants flowing over the footway on south side of Chestnut St., between 5th & 6th Streets is corrected
1870 Hughes notes in <u>Vacation Rambles</u> that Pennsylvanians "very proud" of Independence Square and "wont allow it to be touched"
1870 Gen. Assembly passes act to remove all buildings on Independence Square, except the Hall- Penn Square to be new City Hall
1871 Slate pavement before Independence Hall not complete, due to lack of funds
1872 Committee on City Property proposes removal of iron railing

around the public squares
1872 Councils approve construction of an "enclosed urinal"
1872 Guidebook describes Independence Square as having "small dimensions" with trees that are "lofty and green overhead" but "the ground beneath them" had been "beaten hard by the tread of countless feet crossing it in every direction, and has little that is park-like in its appearance."
1873 Photographer James Craemer produces series on Independence Square
1873 Councils consider major alterations to Square for Centennial; Jos. Leeds' plan submitted and approved
1874 Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall approve plan prepared by city surveyor--find it "conducive to the present convenience of its citizens"-- Mr. Smedley's plan is consistent with the square's past memories, unlike other schemes that would turn it into a flower garden.
1874 Resolution to construct a building in Independence Square to house the old Independence Bell
1874 Railings removed from yard's wall
1875 Gordon's Centennial plan submitted for the Square
1875 Press reports on two more anonymous plans -one removes all buildings; other leaves them with improved landscape
1875 Select Council approves plan of Bureau of City Property, William Dixey, Chief.
1875 Quite a large no. of trees to be cut down in the Dixey plan; contract awarded to Black & Co. for $24, 800 -calls for removal of trees, laying of granite coping & steps; laying of drain pipe & bricks
1875 $25,000 budgeted for improving square. Work begins: drainage; terracing to coping of the wall; flagstone laid on footways around square-press describe the plan-wall one foot high; ground terraced to coping, paths 15, 20, or 30 feet wide; gas lamps on entrances.
1875 Gates open to public-walks are paved w. flagstone; many of new lamps erected; railings gone; earth to be graded down to the walls which will have granite coping.
1875 Two large fire plugs placed on sidewalk before Independence Hall
1876 Press reports that not enough money raised for National Monument due to depressed conditions
1876 New lamps completed at various entrances
1876 Centennial celebration in Independence Square
1876 Press notes that "many of the trees cut down" in recent remodeling of the square
1877 Council approves placement of Grand Division, Sons of Temperance ice-water fountain in square, provided that city to have full control and no expense for ice, erection and upkeep.
1879 Gen. Grant visits Independence Hall and plants elm tree on plot of ground near tower entrance.
1880 Trees die from flagstone paving on Chestnut St.; plan to leave at least 6' in diameter around new trees

1881 Arc lights placed along Chestnut St., from the Delaware to Schuylkill, by Brush Electric Light Co.
1881 Washington Square-major redesign into geometric form under Wm. Dixey, City Commissioner of Property- flagstone walks removal of palisade fence, granite coping 9 inches above sidewalk
1883 Councils order benches for around center circles of Independence and Washington Squares
1884 Diary refers to Acer Platanoides, buckeye, cypress trees and Hermosa Rose in square
1884 Councils order removal of the benches in Independence Square
1886 Guidebook refers to flowers and lawns
1886 Councils order Siemen's Patent Regenerative lamps for Washington & Independence Squares.
1888 Councils order replacement of Siemens'lamps in squares with electric lights, when Councils make appropriation
1891 English guidebook refers to square "tastefully laid out in flowers and lawns with spacious and well shaded walks."
1891 PA Society of Cincinnati propose placement of a Washington monument in square. City Parks Association, Knights of Labor and United Labor League protest; Ordinance authorizes monument, but councils repeal it in 1893
1894 Four poplar trees planted to replace 2 killed by gas in front of Independence Hall
1894 Flowers planted in public squares, especially Independence Square- heart-shaped plots planted w. hyacinths; center circle; 4-foot iron fence to be put around circle; recent planting of an elm & linden tree
1895 City offices leave square; Old City Hall used by Boy Scouts & Grand Army of the Republic.
1895 Washington Statue gets washed; 7 yrs. earlier city used muriatic acid which damaged its surface
1895 Elms "unusually fresh and green", look good, but caterpillars have ravaged rest of trees-now using small gasoline lamps & spraying
1896 Press calls attention to beautiful elms; compared with fast growing and short-living silver maples, poplars and the "whole brood of cheap and nasty trees"
1896 War against caterpillars; sparrow will not touch them; using paris green and water sprays and raw cotton & adhesive paste around trunk
1896 Repairs to sidewalk & wall around square; contract calls for removal of entire coping, clamping ashlers, resetting flags; permission to remove new court house.
1896 Press reports grass and trees forlorn and bedraggled
1897 Poplars in front of Hall cut down; short-lived and brittle; 3 ft. stumps will remain in ground until spring
1897 Traction company finishes relaying city streets with Belgian block to upgrade trolley service to electric power.
1898 Flowers planted; yard resodded; Standard Altheas conifers planted "to give a furnished effect"; ivies on wing bldgs.
1898 Press calls yard untidy, innocent of grass (restoration?)

1898 Press calls yard untidy, innocent of grass (restoration?) piles of debris from Mills Buildings being torn down and replaced with new wing buildings
1899 New turf laid; "neat railing" replaces unsightly fence around flower beds; lamps and posts specially designed with cracked Liberty Bell removed
1899 Blue prints of Independence Square from Forester Lewis shows trees that have been removed & those decaying
1901 New Court House torn down
1901 Press photo of Cong. Hall from south shows Sixth St. driveway
1901 Architects Committee, Phila. Chapter, A.I.A., report on Congress Hall
1903 Lincoln plaque placed in pavement before Independence Hall
1905 Chestnut St. view of Independence Hall: no trees
1906 Chestnut St. side view shows new trees planted
1907 Dedication of Barry Statue (bronze) by Samuel Murray; placed in center of square
1910 Samuel Murray completes reproduction of J.A. Bailey's statue of George Washington for Chestnut Street walkway and original goes to City Hall
1910 City plans to restore Congress Hall and place lamps about Independence Hall by a new Loan Bill
1910 Chief City Property mystified by electric lighting part in the proposition-doesn't want to see modernization of square & is confident committee will keep to the spirit of "restoration"
1910 A.I.A. Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments offers service free to supervise restoration & design lamp posts on Independence Square
1911 Lamp project bogs down
1911 Contract between city and Phila. Chapt., A.I.A. includes "prepare designs for lamp posts"
1911 Art Jury established
1912 Congress Hall restoration begins- continues to 1915
1912 Horace Wells Sellers asks for laborers to fill excavation made in yard. (looking for remains of observatory? or maintenance?)
1913 Olmsted Bros. hired by business men to redesign Washington Square; survey of trees in square lists 104 varieties
1913 A.I.A. contract with City signed
1914 Specifications for Reconstruction of Sewers, Walnut Street from Third to West of Sixth St.
1914 Sellers transmits 6 drawings: 1A & B, 2-5. B is modification of the diagonal paths leading from 5th & 6th Streets corners on the Walnut St. frontage. Includes a five page written description of the proposed plan
1914 Art Jury sees potential problem in the plans for Washington and Independence Squares and suggests same Art Jury committee review the two plans, especially to resolve the option to redirect Independence Square's diagonal paths
1914 Record notes plan to restore square to something approaching

its original appearance.

1914 Art Jury approves A.I.A. plan with proposed modifications and revisions, provided that the cobble stones for Sixth St. driveway not be over 3 inches in diameter, and moves to approve design detail for lamps, subject to location plan

1914 Contract specifications call for removal of stone walls, elevation of brick walls 4 feet in height, Colonial style, like at St. Peter's Church, ...main paths to be widened and rows of posts to mark the new brick paving on the south side of Hall; similar posts with iron chains to surround the various grass areas.

1914 Curator Jordan carries out archeology to find site of 1769 observatory south of East Wing; claims to find evidence of foundations

1915 Horace Wells Sellers of A.I.A., digs to find evidence of observatory, to support Jordan's claim, but finds none

1915 Plan for remodeling Barry Statue approved by Art Jury

1915 Plot plan for gas lamp locations approved by Art Jury; contract specifications cover brick paving, regrading for new pavements north of the Barry statue; drainage to two large catch basins south of wing buildings; driveway; iron posts; protection of trees while laying flagstone; excavation for gravel walks; flagstone & cobblestone pavement & new grass plots.

1916 New flagstone paving south of Tower

1916 Art Jury approves materials for lighting

1916 New gas lamps (62 total), styled after colonial lamps designed by Benjamin Franklin, installed in square

1916 Horse Chestnut tree planted on Sixth St. side for Humane Week

1919 Civil War cannon added to east end of 6th St. drive as fenders

1919 Fairmount Park Commission cuts holes about 15 paces apart on Chestnut St. sidewalk on a line with and the right and left of the Washington statue, to plant double row of trees; one row already on the curb line, and the new row to be about 15 feet inside the curb-line; Six trees planted along plaza, 3 on either side of statue

1919 Maintenance of an extensive nature deferred due to budget; soil worn out and trees starving...so depleted that even healthy grass cannot be maintained

1919 New Esperaza Blue marble base for Washington statue; much better proportioned than the original granite one

1919 The Pershing Tree- planted by General Pershing, about 10 yds from the rear entrance of the tower

1919 Old tree recently felled between southeast corner of Independence Hall and Philosophical Hall, cut up

1920 Ivy or Virginia creeper vines planted at the intersection of the tower and the Hall requested removed.

1920 Transfer of Independence Square to Bureau of City Property

1921 About 30 trees, mostly 20-foot or more-high elm, planted on 3 sides, with others scattered through square. One horse-

chestnut & small flowering (pink) trees at 4 corners of each grass plat on east and west side of tower.

1921 Arbor Day-elm planted near south east corner of Congress Hall, sprinkled with dirt from 67 counties of PA

1921 City Property takes charge of square

1921-22 Old City Hall restoration -connecting walls with Philos. Hall demolished

1923 New trees on Chestnut St. plaza -"add greatly to the beauty and dignity of the entire group"

1924 Well found directly behind tower entrance-photo shows benches placed around it

1924 Architect J. Greber Sketch of Independence Square, with Addition of the "Gallery of the States"

1924 Footwalk on Fifth St. below Chestnut-flagstones relayed

1925 Broken flags, particularly around tower entrance-from trucks

1925 Call for removal of the two neglected drinking fountains along Chestnut St

1925 Chief of City Property wants concrete pavement around square to make it uniform and more up to date in construction, and also stop constant repair

1925 Superintendent notes flagstone always "breaking and sagging"

1925 Two decayed Maple trees flanking bell tower cut down

1925 Modern lighting standards being installed in Square-differ from the old gas lights (1915); being installed free of cost by the Phila. Electric Co.

1926 Thirteen Red Oaks planted by Women's committee of Sesquicentennial and National Gardeners' Association along the 6th Street side of the square down to Walnut St, with dirt from each of the states that ratified the Constitution.

1926 Flagstaff, 75 feet high, erected southeast of tower, on supposed site of 1769 observatory

1926 Black Pin Oak planted near tower in memory of Mrs. Bellak, War Mother's son. (Today's tree #7, behind east wing?)

1926 Sesquicentennial at Independence Hall

1926 "Washington" name cut in face of statue, on Chest. St. side

1926 Decayed trees on either side of tower removed-has given much needed wider space for holding meetings

1926 40-foot Christmas tree in square, brilliantly lit

1928 Paul Cret submits design for first block north of Independence Hall

1928 Excavation curbside, in front of Congress Hall, at edge of sidewalk, to connect basement with air conditioning power

1929-30? "The General Grant Tree" referred to in photo caption

1930 Jacques Greber revises his Memorial Court of Independence as part of city's 50-year plan

1930 Press complaints lead to city's "beautifying" program-12 new boulevard-style benches replace some of older ones; flag-stone pavement repaired using flag from Gloria Dei Church.

1931 "Independence Square Cypress" south of the entrance to the tower said to be last survivor from time of Revolution

1932 Press criticism prompts city to sow grass, put in bushes, etc. Civic groups plant trees: Stephen Girard Club a white

oak; National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution, an elm; the Army & Navy group, a Pin Oak. Press raves at "well-groomed and well-cared-for" grounds

1932 Revolutionary war cannon donated to the city as a permanent feature for the square-placed on central path north of Barry statue; removed 1935

1932 Pennsylvania tree survey identifies a cypress in square as last surviving from Revolutionary era

1933-35? Wm Stanton in charge of city planning; Folsom & Stanton design plans for areas east and west of Independence Hall

1934 Press criticizes condition of square-looks like "another vacant lot." Sons of the Colonial Governors and neighborhood business men call for immediate landscape improvements. Public pressure to return the square to care of Fairmount Park Commission

1935 George E. Nietzche calls for "United States National Park of Independence Hall"-includes 3 blocks north of Hall.

1935 Drunken driver demolishes water fountain in front of Old City Hall

1936 Works Progress Administration (WPA) funds renovation of Independence Hall group of buildings

1936 Board of Trade Advisory Committee offers proposals to protect area's historic sites and rejuvenate the declining property values and business community. First block north of Independence Hall to be Constitution Gardens.

1937 Plans drawn up to replace wooden fence south of Philosophical Hall with a retaining wall

1937 Charles Abell Murphy proposes reconstruction of Robert Morris House & statues in a colonnade in area between Ludlow & Chestnut Streets, north of Independence Square.

1937 Roy F. Larson, "Plan for Redevelopment of Historic Area"

1937 WPA men working on flagstones

1937 Trees planted by D.A.R. and Gold Star Mothers

1938 Gas line laid under Sixth St. sidewalk along wall

1938 Memorial Day - two trees planted at ceremony

1939 Tree seed requested by Talley Tree Club of Peoria Illinois for their Historic Tree Grove. Offered to send an historic tree for planting in the square in return.

1942 Hole dug by west side of tower for submerging Liberty Bell in emergency

1942 Fountain on Chestnut St., west end, smashed by drunk driver; plan to remove both fountains now that there is so much less horse traffic

1942 W.P.A. work on sidewalks and entrance steps to improve setting of Independence Hall group of buildings.

1942 W.P.A plan to repave the side walk at the Sixth Street vehicular entrance to the square

1943 Congress enacts bill making Independence Hall a National Historic Site

1943 Philosophical Hall: new steps, ground graded, new drainage pipes, carried out as a W.P.A. project

1948 Independence National Historical Park established

1948 Five-Year City Plan underway; Better Philadelphia Exhibition
1950 Society Hill Redevelopment Project gets underway
1951 NPS takes control of Independence Square & collections
1951 Colonial & Victorian-style lamps remain in square (photo)
1951 Peterson suggests how to modify lanterns for electricity
1952 "Plan of Independence Square" recommends trees for removal
1953 Archeology: octagonal wall near Bell Tower
1954 Schumacher digs behind the east wing to locate site of the transit of Venus observatory
1954 Fire Thrill Show breaks flagstone
1954 First Block of Independence Mall completed and dedicated
1954 Edwin Brumbaugh design for Washington Square underway
1955 Philadelphia passes nation's first city-wide preservation ordinance & creates Philadelphia Historical Commission
1956 Washington Square archeology uncovers 4 skeletons in NW corner of square
1957 Drexel Building demolition
1958 Excavation south of east wing to waterproof vault; unknown foundation exposed south of west arcade during maintenance dig to waterproof basement
1958 Library Hall reconstruction underway
1959 Independence Square Historic Grounds Report recommends restoration of 18th C. landscape
1960 Resetting cobblestone drive; Cong. Hall restoration
1961 U.S. Public Health Service recommends removal of Sons of Temperance drinking fountain; Supt. retains it with "modern and sanitary bubbler heads".
1965 Archeology on Chestnut St. plaza
1967 Independence Mall Completed
1967 Chestnut St. between 5th-6th given blacktop surface; covered old brick and tracks-shabby condition in front of the Hall has caused complaints among taxpayers
1968 Sons of Temperance Fountain removed
1971 510 Walnut (1839) demolished by Mitchell Giorgola to build Penn Mutual Tower
1974 Mitchell Giorgola salvage 510 Walnut facade--Egyptian Revival--which was PA Fire Insurance Co. building
1974 NPS "restores" Chestnut Street side of square
1974 Penn Mutual's new building completed
1976 Washington Square-Eternal Flame added
1989 Friends of Independence plant a Kentucky coffee tree on west side, in memory of Mrs. F. Otto Haas
1991 Patmore Green Ash Tree (#95) south of Sixth St. driveway "adopted" to honor Tony Auth, Pulitzer Prize-winning Inquirer cartoonist
1995 Friends of Independence begin a tree and shrub labeling project throughout the park. The first label hung by three of Otto Haas' grandchildren on the Kentucky Coffee Tree, (earlier planted in honor of Dorothea Haas), at a ceremony in the square, Speaker Elizabeth McLean, garden historian.

APPENDIX B:

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT, JULY 14, 1950

Copy from
Assistant Superintendent Management Resource Binders, 1943-1992,
Binder "Philadelphia to PHPC,"
Independence National Historical Park

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT OF JULY 14, 1950 BETWEEN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR AND THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA RELATING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK AT PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

THIS AGREEMENT, made and entered into this 14th day of July 1950, by and between the United States of America, acting in this behalf by Oscar L. Chapman, Secretary of the Interior, hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary", party of the first part, and the City of Philadelphia, commonwealth of Pennsylvania, hereinafter referred to as the "City", party of the second part.

WITNESSETH:

WHEREAS, the Independence Hall group of historic structures comprising Independence Hall, Congress Hall, Old City Hall, and associated historic objects, located in Independence Square in the City of Philadelphia, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, are recognized as possessing national significance as associated with, or the scene of, the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, by the Continental Congress, the meeting place of that Congress, and seat of Government of the United States during the Revolution and during the period 1790-1800, as well as the meeting place of the Constitutional Convention of 1787; and

WHEREAS, the act of Congress approved June 28, 1948 (62 Stat. 1061) has provided for the establishment of the Independence National Historical Park for the purpose of preserving for the benefit of the American people the above-named and other nationally important historic lands and structures in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, associated with the American Revolution and the founding and growth of the United States; and

WHEREAS, the Council of the City of Philadelphia by ordinance approved the 24th day of May 1950, has authorized the Mayor to execute and deliver this agreement on behalf of the City; and

WHEREAS, the Secretary in all matters hereinafter referred to will act through the National Park Service or such other body as may be legally substituted therefor; and

WHEREAS, it is the desire of the City to bring about the preservation of the said historic structures, objects, and grounds in Independence Square as a national historical park that they may be devoted to public use and to the perpetuation of the greatest traditions of the United States of America; and

WHEREAS, it is the desire of the Secretary to cooperate with the City in preserving the integrity of the above-mentioned historic structures, objects, and area, and to interpret them to the American people as a great national heritage:

NOW, THEREFORE, in consideration of the foregoing and pursuant to the authority contained in the act of Congress approved August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666), entitled "An Act to Provide for the Preservation of Historic American Buildings, Objects, and Antiquities of National Significance, and for Other Purposes," and the act of Congress approved June 28, 1948 (62 Stat. 1061), entitled "An Act to Provide for the Establishment of the Independence National Historical Park, and for Other Purposes," the said parties have covenanted and agreed, and by these presents do covenant and agree to and with each other and in consideration of the mutual promises herein expressed, as follows:

ARTICLE I. The City will retain ownership of the Independence Hall group of structures and of the land whereon they are erected, and the park area adjacent thereto known as Independence Square, but hereby agrees:

a. To permit the Secretary to occupy them exclusively, except as otherwise provided herein, during the term of this agreement for the purpose of preserving, exhibiting, and interpreting them to the American people and otherwise utilizing them and their adjacent grounds for national historical park purposes.

b. To permit the Secretary to have curatorial responsibility for the care and display of such museum objects, furnishings, or exhibits of historic interest as may be available in the Independence Hall group of buildings for exhibit and interpretive purposes, including the right to rearrange furniture and exhibits and to determine accession policy for items to be utilized in the museum or interpretive program.

c. To supply customary municipal services, including police and fire protection, and water and sewer facilities without charge therefor.

ARTICLE II. The Secretary hereby agrees, on behalf of the United States:

a. That he will occupy the grounds and buildings for the purposes set forth in Article I of this agreement, and for no other purposes, and that he will not sublet or assign to another person or organization any part of the grounds or

buildings without prior approval in writing by the City; that he will (as funds become available through appropriations by the Congress) operate and maintain the grounds and buildings and make all repairs thereto; remedy all defects in the buildings or their equipment which may arise from any cause whatsoever, including ordinary wear and tear; and undertake such work of restoration or major alteration as may be mutually agreed upon under the provisions of Article IIIc.

The Secretary may apply such reasonable rules and regulations therein as may be necessary properly to perform his functions.

b. That he will exercise reasonable care to prevent damage to, or destruction of, any part of the grounds and buildings or their appurtenances.

c. That he will provide public access to the museum room of the buildings at all reasonable times, and will provide the services of a competent person, or persons, to furnish information to the visiting public.

ARTICLE III. It is mutually understood and agreed:

a. That nothing herein contained shall be construed as binding the Secretary to expend in any one fiscal year any sum in excess of appropriations made by Congress for that fiscal year, or to involve the United States in any contract or other obligation for the future expenditure of money in excess of such appropriations.

b. That it is desirable to maintain, insofar as practicable, the existing personnel of the City of Philadelphia which has for many years exhibited and interpreted the Independence Hall group of structures and has acquired an intimate knowledge of the history of the buildings as well as visitor reactions to them; that toward this end the Secretary and the City will seek such legislation, ordinances, or other authority necessary to facilitate the continued employment of this experienced staff without serious loss of retirement benefits to the individuals concerned.

In order to effectuate this objective when the necessary authority shall have been obtained:

(1) The Secretary will employ such members of the present staff as are then below the age provided for automatic

separation under the Federal Civil Service Retirement Act, and who have paid into the Municipal Pension Fund less than ten years or more than fifteen years.

(2) Those members of the present staff who are then above the age provided for automatic separation under the Federal Civil Service Retirement Act and who have paid into the Municipal Pension Fund less than ten years or more than fifteen years shall be retired.

(3) Those members of the present staff who have paid into the Municipal Pension Fund not less than ten years and not more than fifteen years shall continue to be employed by the City until they shall have severally completed fifteen years employment. As each arrives at such point, he shall be retired if beyond the age provided for automatic separation under the Federal Civil Service Act, but otherwise he shall be employed by the Secretary: Provided that during the period of employment by the City, the City will place these employees at the disposal of the Secretary, who will reimburse the City for their salaries: Provided, further, that nothing herein contained shall obligate the City or the Secretary to retain the services of an incompetent or unfaithful employee. Any future replacements of, or additions to, the existing personnel will be made by the employment of persons directly by the Secretary and at his option.

c. Any work of restoration or any major alterations or repairs to any of the buildings shall not be undertaken until the plans for such work shall have been mutually agreed upon.

d. That neither of the parties to this agreement will erect or place, or permit the erection or emplacement

of any monument, marker, tablet or other memorial in or upon the buildings or grounds without the written consent of the other. This section shall not be construed as prohibiting the placing of signs within the buildings for the information and direction of the public. The design and location of any signs upon the exterior of the buildings to indicate that they are occupied and operated by the National Park Service acting in cooperation with the City, shall be subject to the approval of the City.

e. That it is the purpose of both parties to this agreement to develop a unified, long-range program of preservation, development, protection, and interpretation for the whole Independence National Historical Park for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States, and to secure this result a high degree of cooperation is necessary with each other and with other bodies participating in the project, to wit, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, Christ Church, Carpenters' Company of Philadelphia, and Independence Hall Association, and the parties hereto pledge themselves to consult on all matters of importance to the program.

f. That nothing herein contained shall be held to deprive the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania or the City of Philadelphia of its civil and criminal jurisdiction in and over the said grounds and buildings.

g. That wherever in this agreement the Secretary is referred to, the term shall include his duly authorized representative or representatives.

h. No Member of or Delegate to Congress or Resident Commissioner shall be admitted to any share or part of this agreement or to any benefit that may arise therefrom, but this restriction shall not be construed to extend to this agreement if made with a corporation or company for its general benefit.

i. Upon the execution of this agreement, the present agreement between the parties hereto, dated March 25, 1943, providing for the designation of the Independence Hall group as a national historic site, shall be terminated: Provided that the designation shall remain in effect until the establishment of the Independence National Historical Park.

j. This agreement shall become effective upon its execution, but occupation, operation, and maintenance by the Secretary in accordance with Article II shall begin on July 1, 1950, or as soon thereafter as practicable. It shall continue

in effect until such time as Congress enacts legislation inconsistent with its continuance or expressly providing for its termination.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the parties hereto have subscribed their names and affixed their seals (in quintuple) the day, month, and year aforesaid.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

By (SGD) OSCAR L. CHAPMAN
Secretary of the Interior

CITY OF PHILADELPHIA

By (SGD) BERNARD SAMUEL
Mayor

ILLUSTRATIONS

CHESTNUT STREET VIEWS

1. "View of State House in Philadelphia, 1778," by Charles Willson Peale (Detail from copper plate engraving of 1790 by Thackera). CN-25,759

Note the water pump, bollards and wooden sheds in this Revolutionary War period drawing. The west shed, according to later recollections, housed visiting Native-American guests of state. During the war these sheds were used for artillery storage.

The mature trees in the walled garden of the Norris estate at Fifth and Chestnut Streets can be seen in the distance.



A NEW VIEW OF THE STATE HOUSE IN PHILADELPHIA *taken*

2. "State House at Philadelphia," 1825. INDE 7346

By the 1820s Philadelphia's most fashioneable center had moved west to the State House Square neighborhood.

Note the double row of trees on the Chestnut Street walk, Lindens planted in 1821, the same year the two water pumps before the State House were removed.

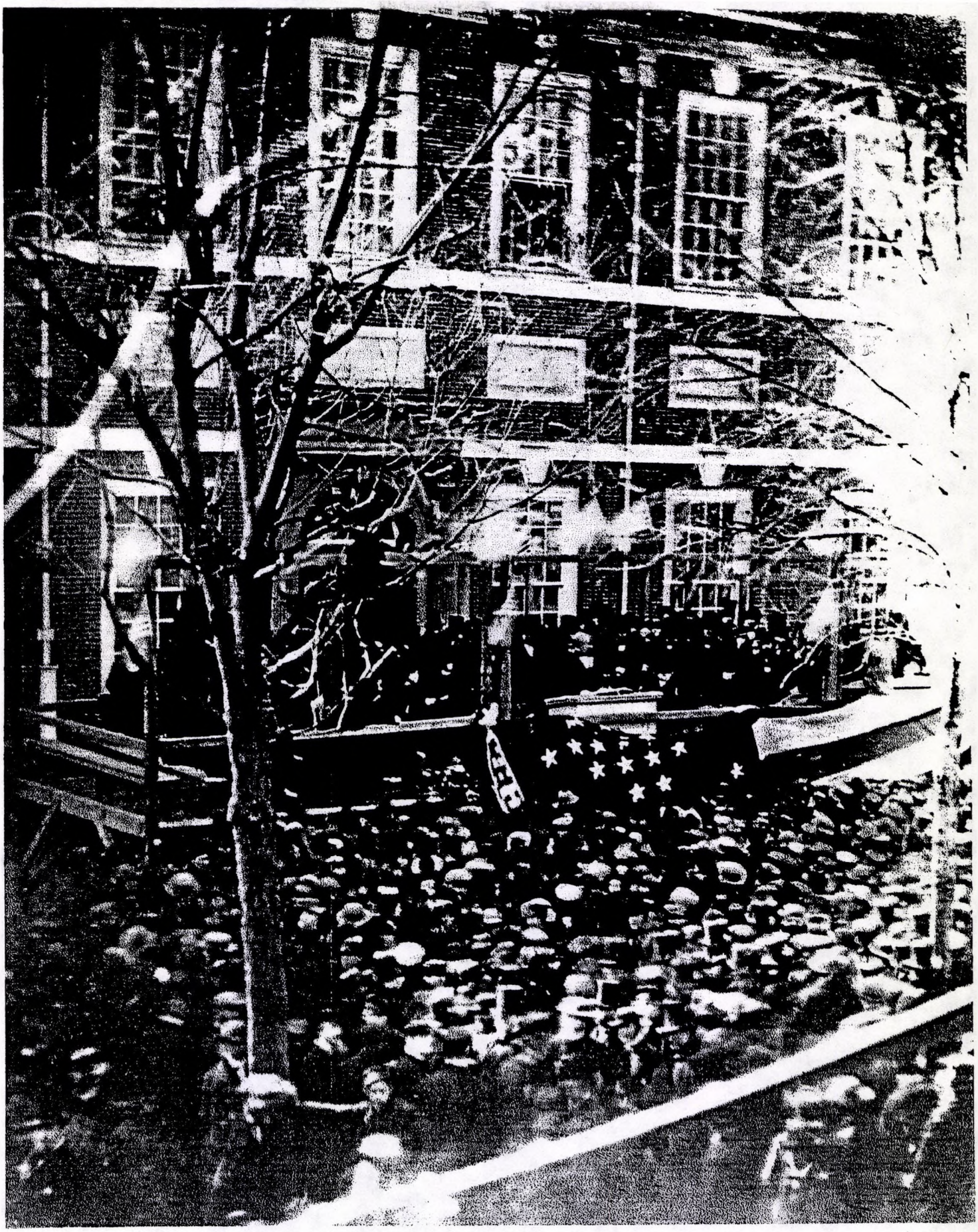


3. President-elect Abraham Lincoln at Independence Hall, 1861. (Courtesy of the Free Library of Philadelphia)

President-elect Lincoln addressed a crowd at Independence Hall on February 21, 1861, after raising the American flag newly issued to reflect the added star for Kansas' admission to the union as the 34th state.

Note the temporary raised platform, probably similar to the "temporary stage" stored in the basement for special events, according to 18th century records. Such a stage--and not the observatory for the 1769 Transit of Venus-- was likely used at the first reading of the Declaration of Independence on July 8, 1776.

The view shows two trees, possibly survivors of the five Sugar Maples planted in 1844 on the sidewalk before Independence Hall to replace the dying Linden trees (1821). Note also the colonial-style street lamp along the curb of Chestnut Street.



4. Laying Flagstone Walk before Independence Hall, c. 1870 (Holstein Collection, INDE, #33)

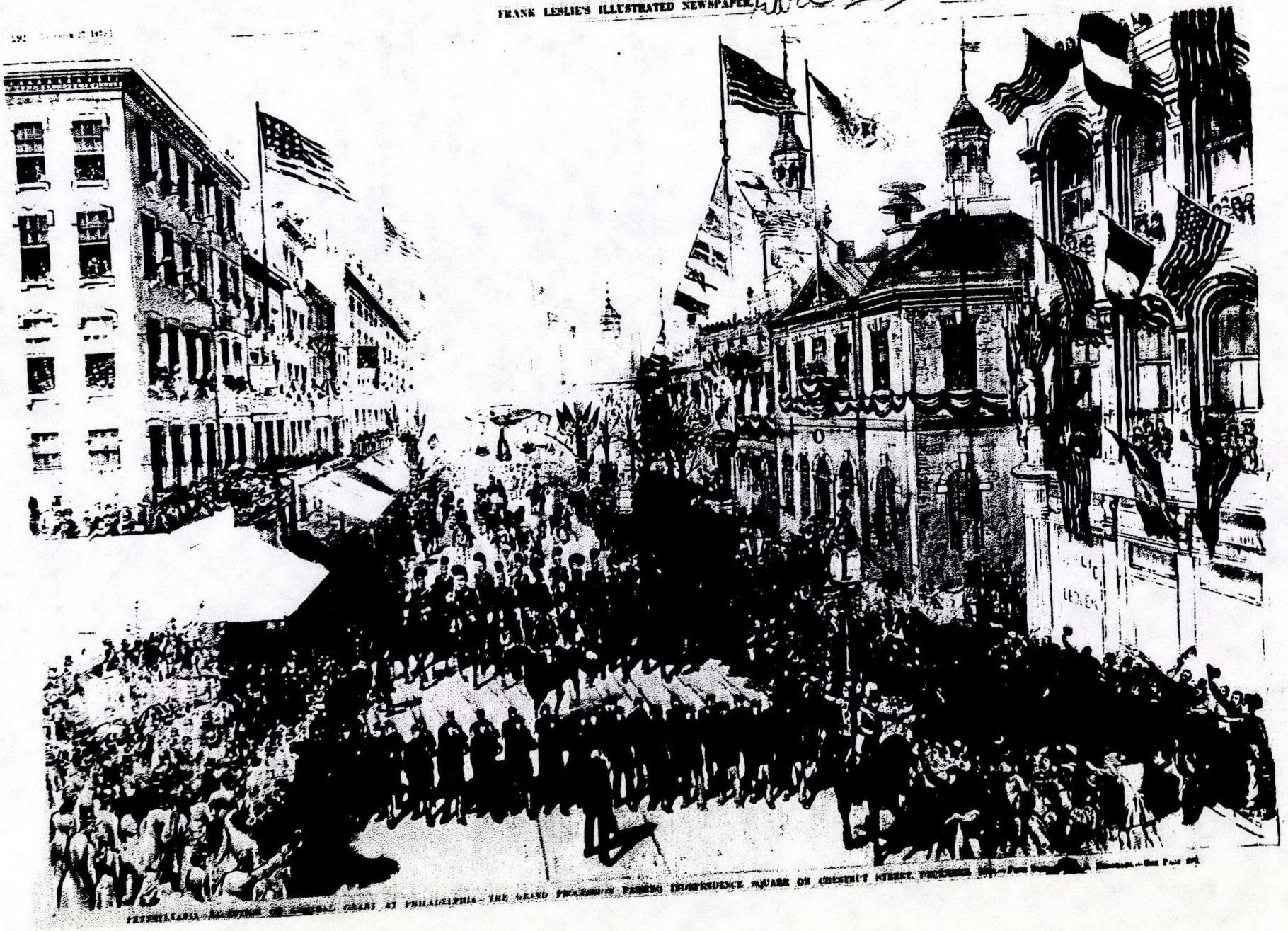
The City replaced the brick pavement on the Chestnut Street walkway with flagstone in 1870-71.

18 South Eighth Street, Philad

5. Reception of General Grant at Philadelphia, Dec. 16, 1879. Drawn by A. Berghaus for Frank Leslies' Illustrated Newspaper, Dec. 27, 1879. (INDE Mus. cat. 1358; neg.1564)

At his reception at Independence Square in December 1879, General Ullyses Grant planted a ceremonial elm tree near the tower of Independence Hall.

The grand procession or parade along Chestnut Street -- note the First City Troop on horseback-- is still a popular means to demonstrate patriotic enthusiasm in Philadelphia. Note on the right the new (1867) Public Ledger building at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets.



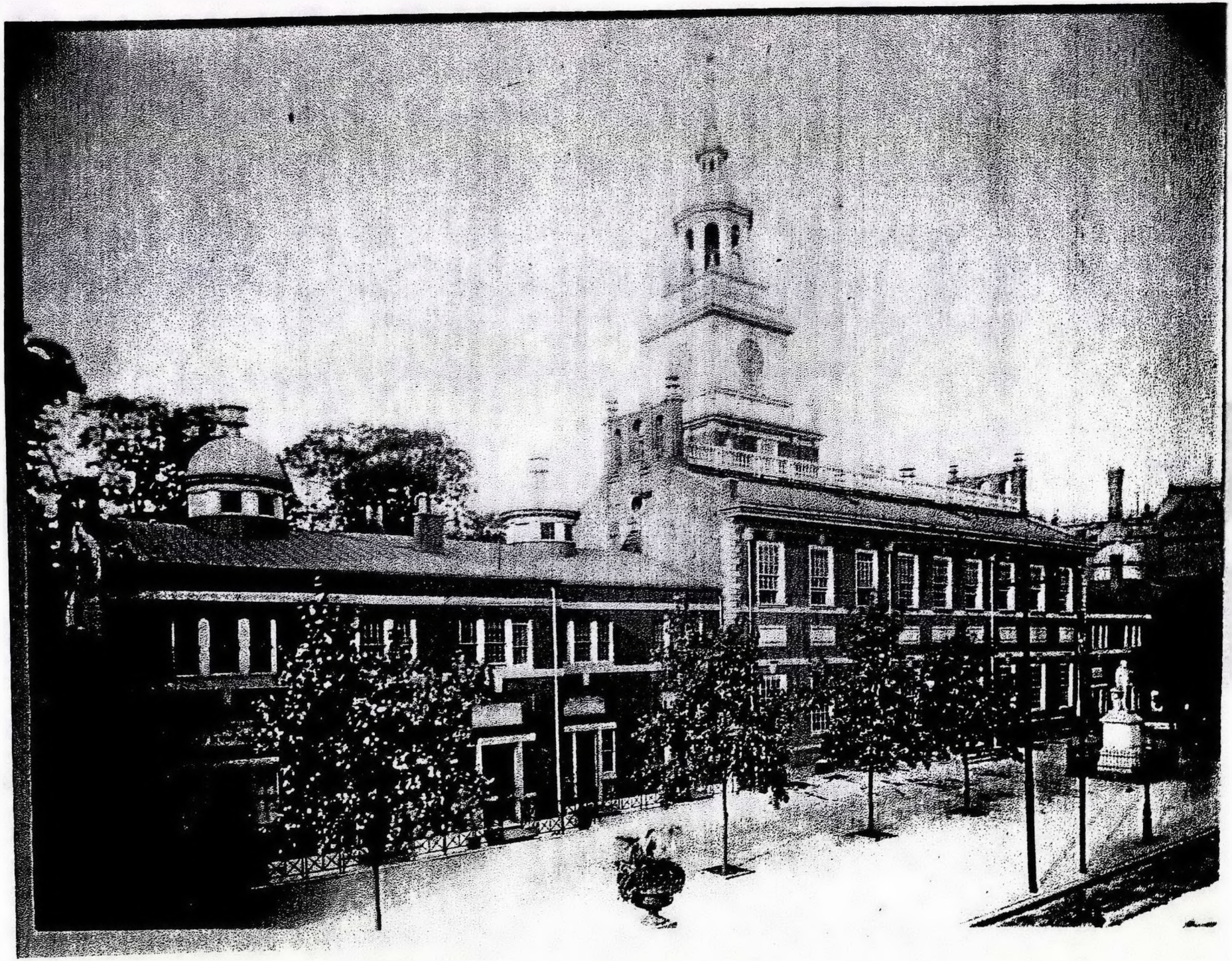
6. Independence Hall and Mills Buildings, c. 1896. INDE 1647

This 1896 photograph records Independence Hall with its two fireproof wing buildings (1812) just prior to their demolition to restore the original wings and arcades. This early restoration attempt drew considerable criticism from A.I.A. architects, who volunteered their services for the remaining restoration work for Independence Square.

The row of young trees on the Chestnut St. walkway represent three of eight Carolina poplars which City Forester Lewis cut down the following year because they were "short-lived and brittle."

In the center of the walkway is the statue of George Washington by Joseph Alexis Bailey donated to the city for Independence Square in 1869 by the Washington Monument Association of the First School District of Pennsylvania. The following year the city replaced the brick paving on Chestnut Street with the large flagstone slabs evident in this view.

Curbside note the electric light pole, likely one of the 47 novel arc lights introduced along the length of Chestnut Street by the Brush Electric Light Co. in 1881. The planter at the bottom of the photograph crowns one of two horse drinking fountains donated for Independence Square's Chestnut Street walk way in 1869 by the Philadelphia Fountain Society. The gas lamp along the curb probably dates from the Centennial redesign and the telephone or telegraph pole likely was introduced in the mid-1880s.



7. Independance Hall Group looking south from Sixth St., 1925 (CN-22065)

The 1915-16 A.I.A. design replaced the Chestnut Street walk directly in front of Independence Hall and the reconstructed wings and arcades (1898) with brick paving bordered with wooden bollards. The plan intended to harmonize the historic buildings and their setting.

The colonial lamp before Congress Hall is also an element of the A.I.A. relandscaping. Sixty-two colonial-style lamps patterned closely after a surviving 18th century Philadelphia street lamp originally designed by Benjamin Franklin, were placed throughout the square. Fifty-six lamps--the number of signers of the Declaration--stood on the grounds or along the sidewalks; six were attached to buildings.

The pole and wires visible in the foreground appear to connect with the electric trolley line. The belgian block paving for the trolley was laid by 1897.

The trees along the curb are larger than those closer to the buildings. They were planted sometime around 1910, as shown in a photograph of that date, whereas the inner line were planted in 1919 by the Fairmount Park Commission to make a double row. The Commission took charge of the grounds from 1915 to 1920, after which Independence Square returned to the care of the Bureau of City Property.

The Washington statue is a 1910 copy of the original Bailey statue, which was relocated to the new City Hall on Broad Street. In 1919 the copy statue's granite base was replaced with an "Esperaza Blue" Vermont marble pedestal.

The wall plaque on the building facing Congress Hall states that it is an 1852 reconstruction of the Hart's building erected in 1849 and destroyed by fire in 1851.

The eight-story Drexel building at Fifth Street, begun in 1885, changed the skyline and setting of Independence Hall. It marked the era of high-rise buildings around the square.


22065.
2-4-1925.

8. Independence Hall Group, 1936 (CN-35833)

This view a decade later indicates little change of the Chestnut Street walkway, but dramatic alteration to the Sixth Street border of the square. The Public Ledger building (1925) and the Curtis Building(1910) frame the 18th century architecture in a style that deliberately repeats colonial elements to harmonize with the historic buildings.


READ THE
PUBLIC LEDGER
35833
S-13-36

9. Independence Hall Group, 1958 (INDE 5274)

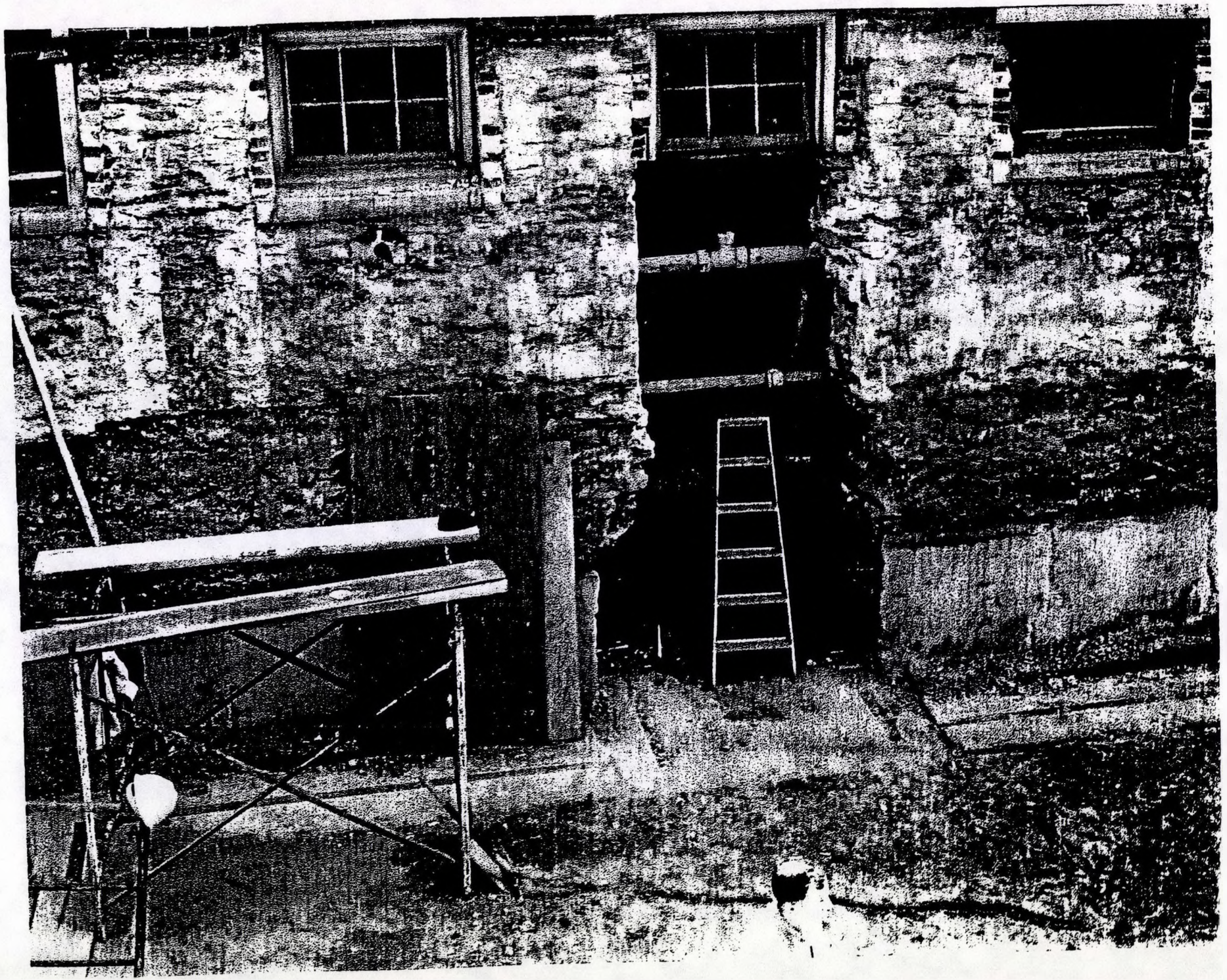
The flagpole, originally placed in the square south of the east arcade for the Sesquicentennial of the Revolution (1926), was moved in 1958 to the Chestnut Street walkway.

Note how little the sidewalk landscape has changed, except for the removal of the two fountains. Note the tree on the north side of Chestnut Street, part of the landscaping for Independence Mall State Park.



10. Vault for the HVAC system, 1966 (INDE 8967)

This deep pit exposing the below-ground foundations of Independence Hall was dug in 1966 to house the HVAC (Heating, Ventilation, Air-Conditioning) system for the buildings. Prior to this dig, archeological investigations turned up evidence of an 18th century water pump.



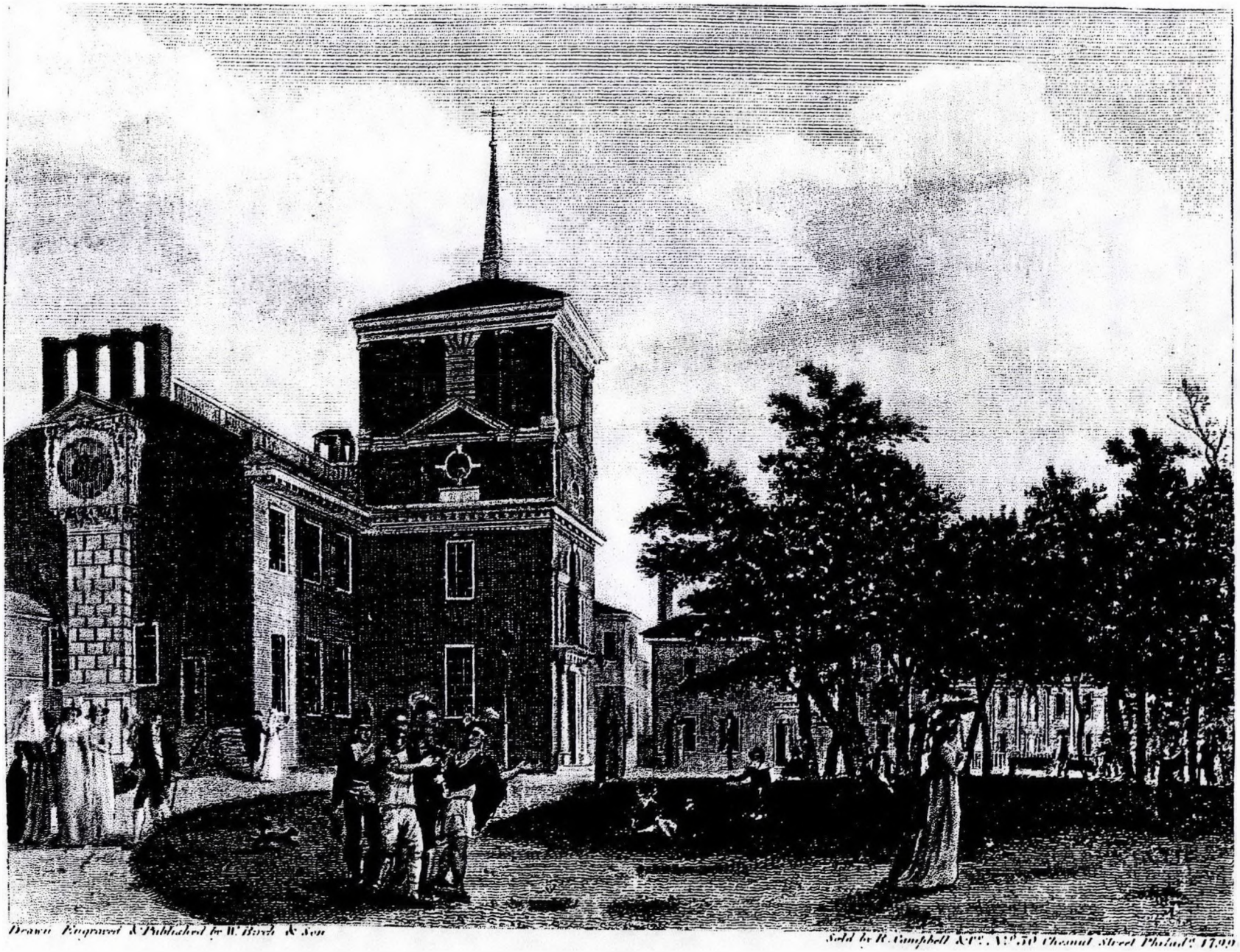
VIEWS OF THE YARD

11. Back of the State House, 1799, by William Birch (INDE cat. no. 1193; neg. 7214)

Birch's prints are among the only and best iconography for 18th century Philadelphia, but as a commercial enterprise they may show scenes more sanitized than reality. Nonetheless, they furnish the only contemporary pictorial record of the State House yard as first landscaped by Samuel Vaughan in 1785-87.

Note the watch boxes, benches, the serpentine walk, and trees that lined the central path.

Birch paints the variety of public use--visitors from Native American tribes, women, children. The delegates to the Constitutional Convention enjoyed the yard in 1787, and when Philadelphia served as the nation's capital during the 1790s, the members of the U.S. Congress, the Supreme and District Court judges, and the state and municipal officials, all enjoyed this outdoor room.



BACK of the STATE HOUSE, PHILADELPHIA.

12. State House Garden, 1800, by William Birch (INDE cat. no. 1194; neg. 2267)

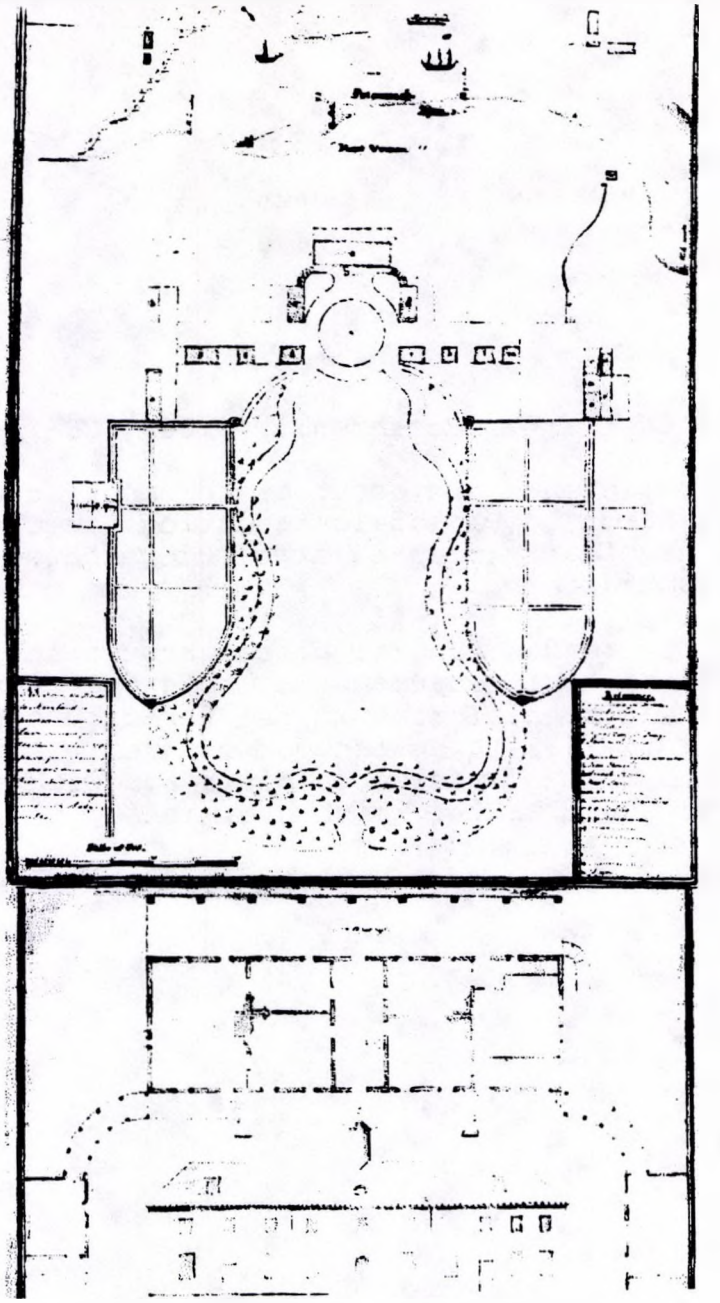
The impressive pedimented gate at the Walnut Street entrance opened to the yard's wide, graveled and tree-lined central walk to Independence Hall.

Across Walnut Street a window of the monumental Walnut Street prison is evident through the trees, a reminder of the city's rising crime and the power of government.



13. Samuel Vaughan's Plan of Mount Vernon, 1787 (Courtesy of the Mt. Vernon Ladies Association of the Union)

Samuel Vaughan, the man credited with laying out the first designed landscape for the State House in 1785-87, drew up this plan of Mount Vernon's landscape during a visit in 1787. General Washington, who was an ardent and accomplished garden enthusiast, appreciated the plan, but pointed out an error which he found significant, that it failed to indicate the lawn's vista. The striking resemblances of the State House and Mount Vernon landscape features in 1787--the serpentine walks, willow trees flanking the entrance, artificial mounds, and the choice of shrubs-- suggests that Washington and Vaughan may have shared ideas about garden design when they met in December 1783, on the very eve Vaughan launched the State House landscaping.



14. "Camp Independence," 1863 (CN-12,486)

Camp Independence proved to be the most successful recruiting station in Philadelphia during the Civil War. Philadelphians clearly responded to Independence Square's patriotic associations.

The deeply shaded central allee through the yard dramatically frames Independence Hall in the distance. The Vaughan plan has been altered in the foreground by the palisade fence erected in 1812-13 on the cut-down original brick wall. The elaborate iron work of the gates contrasts with the shabby appearance of the pillars, which are missing their lamps.



15. Independence Square from Walnut Street, pre-1866 (H.W. Sellars Coll., INDE 5952)

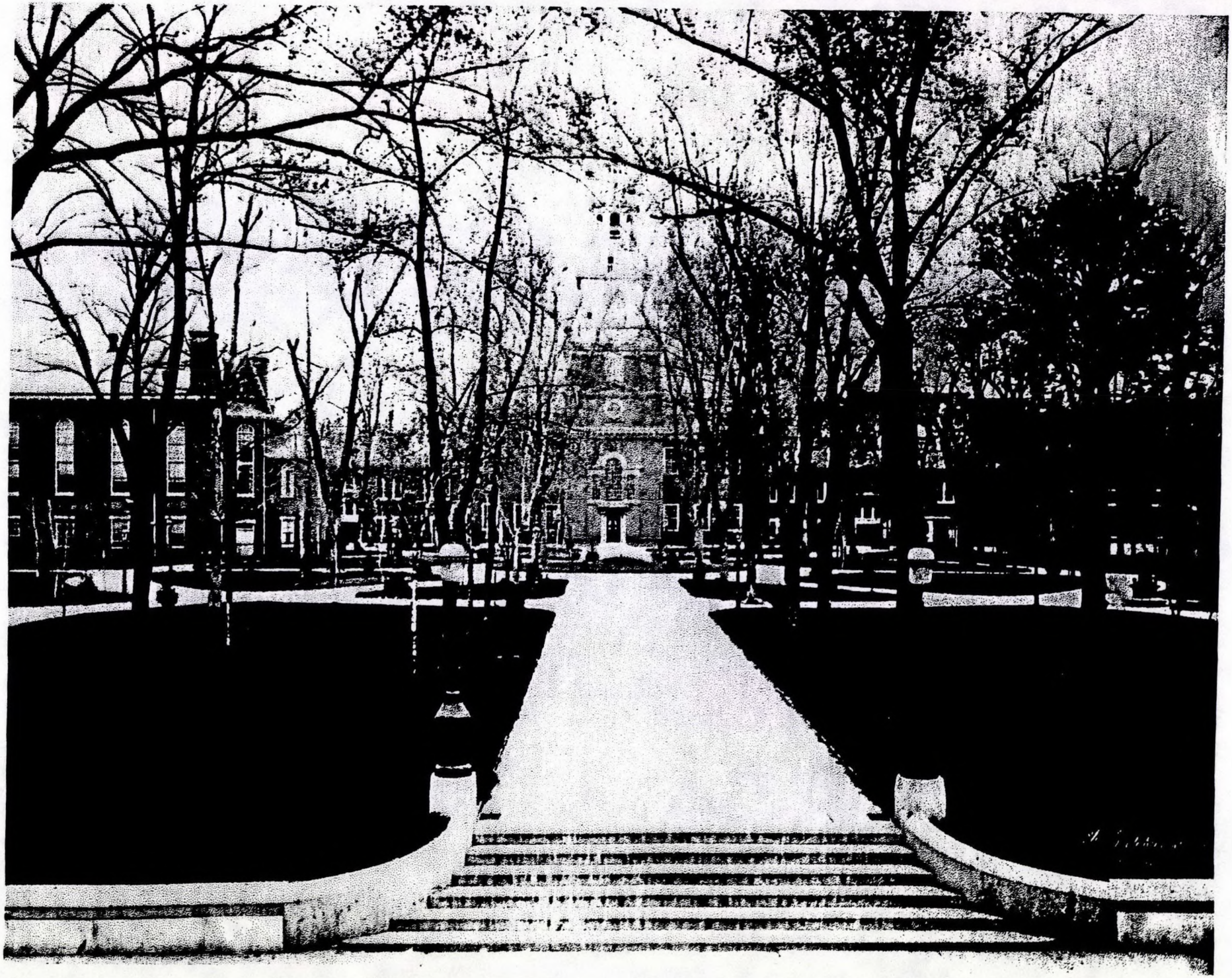
This wide-angled photograph shows the yard prior to the construction of the new courthouse on Sixth Street in 1866-67. The winter view reveals clearly the double row of elms --with several replacement trees--the 30-foot wide stone steps at the south end of the central allee, the graveled serpentine paths, the mid-yard cross walk introduced in 1845, the stool rows which discouraged loiterers, and two colonial-style lamps.



16. Independence Square from Walnut Street, F. Gutekunst, c. 1877 (CN-39,100; INDE 4549)

F. Gutekunst photographed many Philadelphia scenes in mid-century, especially Independence Square. This view shows the new District Courthouse (1867) and the landscape laid out for the Centennial of the American Revolution. The wall, cut down to a foot high, meets a sweeping new Walnut Street entrance and lamps. A narrowed central path, paved in flagstone, leads to a central circle where other paths converge. The trees have been dramatically thinned and low shrubs added. The serpentine paths have been removed and the ground graded to meet the new wall level. There is a noticeable absense of benches or other seating in the square.

The Centennial ice water drinking fountain seen at the right of the photograph was moved from the Centennial Exposition grounds in Fairmount Park to the southeast diagonal walk in Independence Square in 1877, after the owners, the Grand Division Sons of Temperance, agreed to maintain it. The pit dug for the ice had a capicity of 1.5 tons daily.



17. Independence Square from Fifth Street, March 18, 1880 (Glass neg. courtesy of David Connor; INDE 265)

This view of the Centennial landscape shows mature elms interspersed with new trees, one of which may have been the one General Grant planted in the yard at a ceremony the year before.

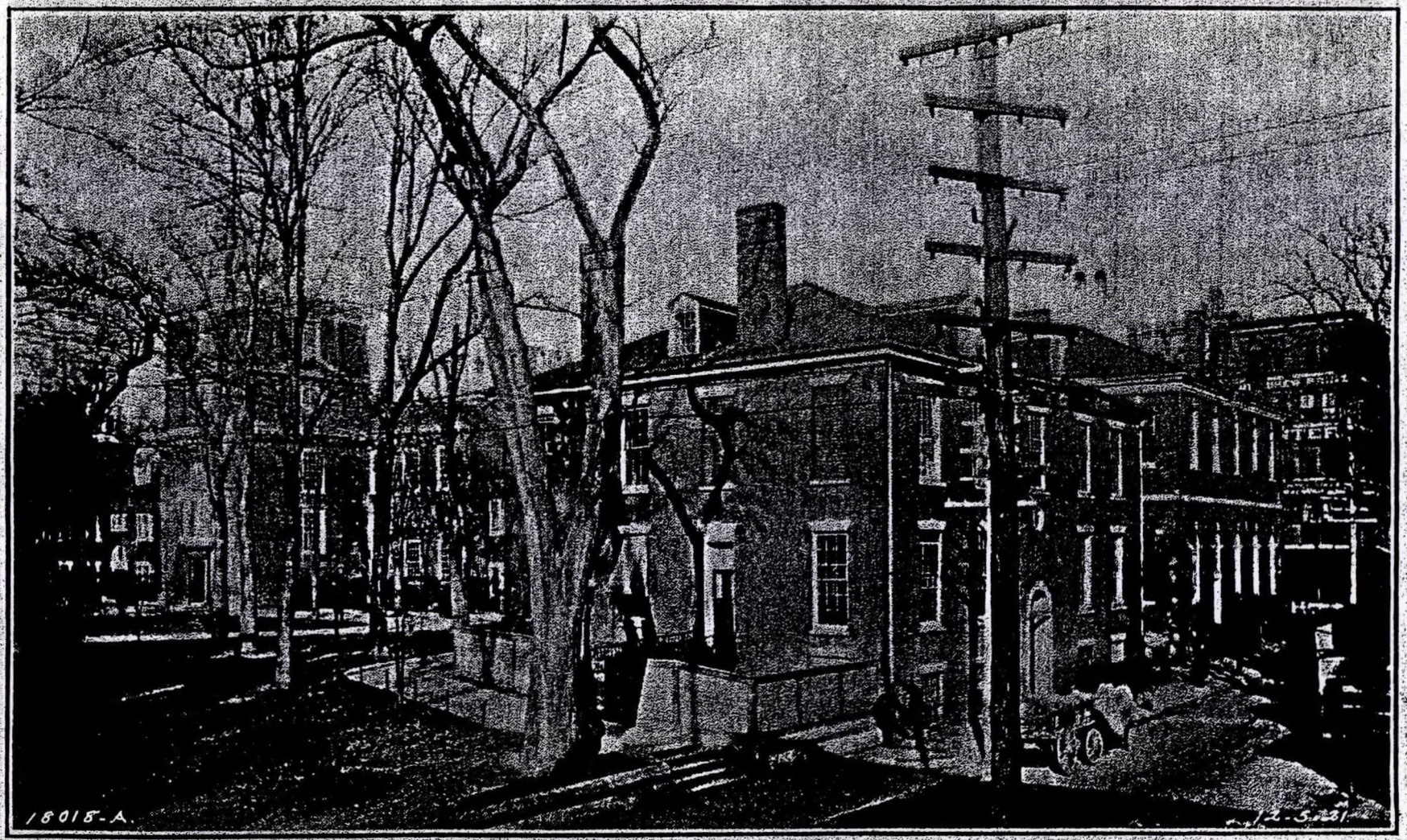
The 1832 palisade fence behind the Mills buildings offered security for the government complex.



18. Independence Square from Fifth Street, 1884 (CN-18,018)

This view of the American Philosophical Society Hall on Fifth Street shows the wooden fence which enclosed the building's small yard. The narrow entrance to the square was added in 1812, with the palisade fence. Bollards line the path.

The telegraph pole sends wires across Independence Square, towards the fast-expanding western end of town.



HALL OF AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY IN STATE HOUSE YARD

As it appeared prior to alterations

19. Independence Square from the southwest, c. 1884 (INDE cat. no.7261; neg. 9187)

The city placed benches along the outer circlular walk in 1883. Several of the Centennial lamps appear in this view, as well as numerous telegraph wires seen through the branches of the trees.

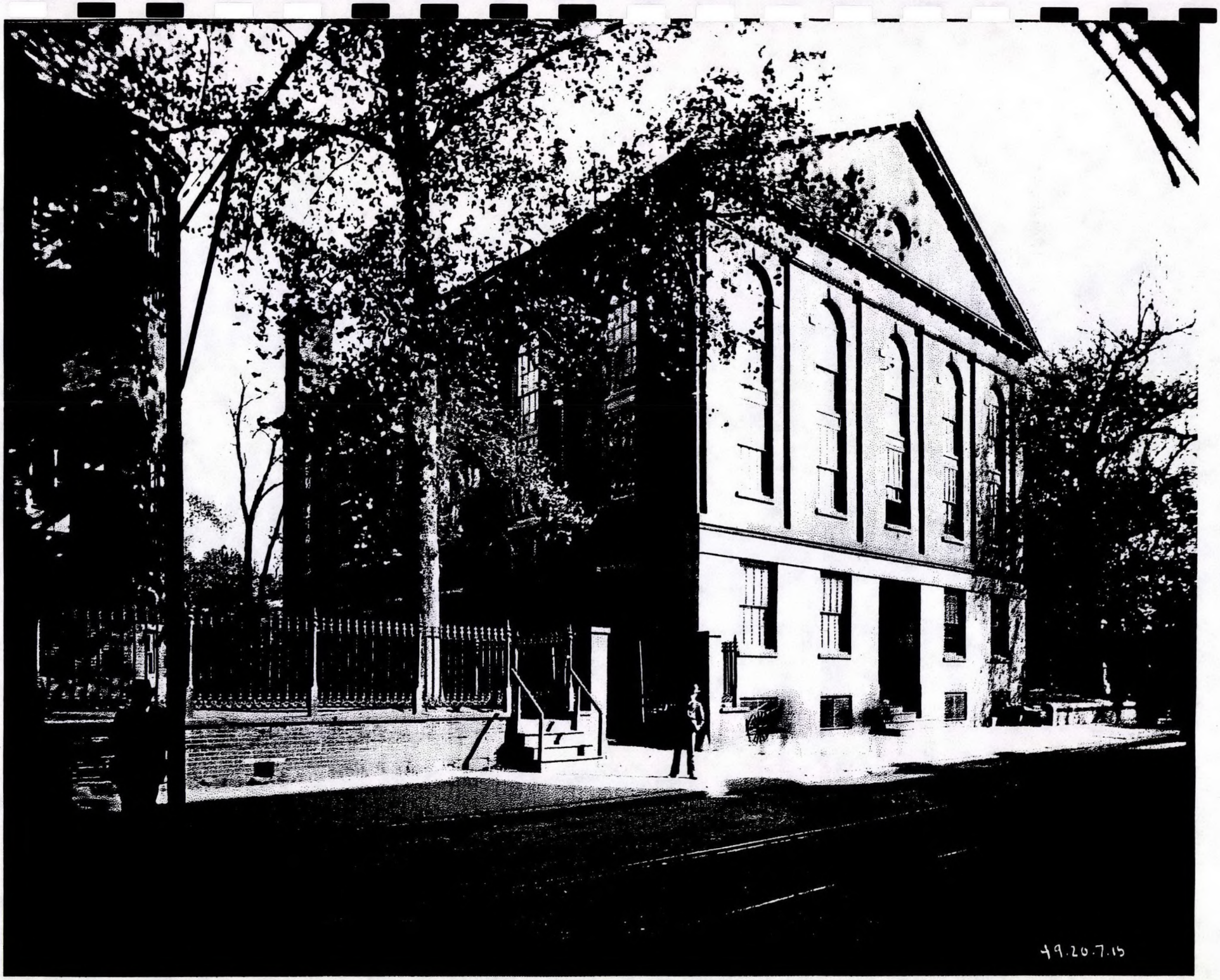


20. Independence Square from Sixth Street, 1895 (Courtesy of Atwater Kent Museum, A.P. Smith Coll.; INDE acc. no. 3687.95)

In 1895 R. Newell & Son made a photographic record of Independence Square's features for Alfred Percival Smith, Esq., of Philadelphia. The photos were taken just before the demolition of the Mills buildings (1896) to restore the historic wings and arcades.

This view shows that part of the 1812 palisade fence on the cut-down original brick wall had been retained after the Centennial landscape, possibly to connect with the palisade fence that ran across the yard, behind the Independence Hall complex of buildings.

The Sixth Street driveway just to the north of the new District Court house likely was introduced after 1872, when the new additions between the Mills Buildings and the corner buildings closed off vehicular access to the square from Chestnut Street. Then the police vans needed another entrance to deliver prisoners to the north door of the court house, where they were received and taken to trial.


49.20.7.15

21. Independence Square in Spring Bloom, c. 1899 (INDE cat. no. 388, neg. 1653)

Shot after the reconstruction of the wing and arcade buildings in 1898, this view shows the fenced center circle and wedge-shaped flower beds in full Spring bloom. Patriotic designs, such as the stars fashioned with tulips seen here, were popular for several years at the turn of the century. The layout of the paths remains from the Centennial.

A new incandescent light has been added to the central walk just beyond the circle, in line with the south door of Independence Hall.



22. Independence Square from Central Walk, 1900 (post card, Detroit Photography Co., INDE 6368)

The play of shadow in this 1900 post card of the square underscores the drama of Independence Hall, a national tourist attraction by the turn of the century.

Note the vista viewer in the right foreground and the Victorian-style outbuilding on the left, presumably a public bathroom. The elm tree still standing in the circular grass plot presumably remains from the double row of elm that flanked the first central walk. The large Cypress to the right of the picture survived to the 1930s, when it was said to be the last tree from the Revolutionary War period.



23. Independence and Washington Squares at Sixth & Walnut Streets, c. 1910 (INDE 6528)

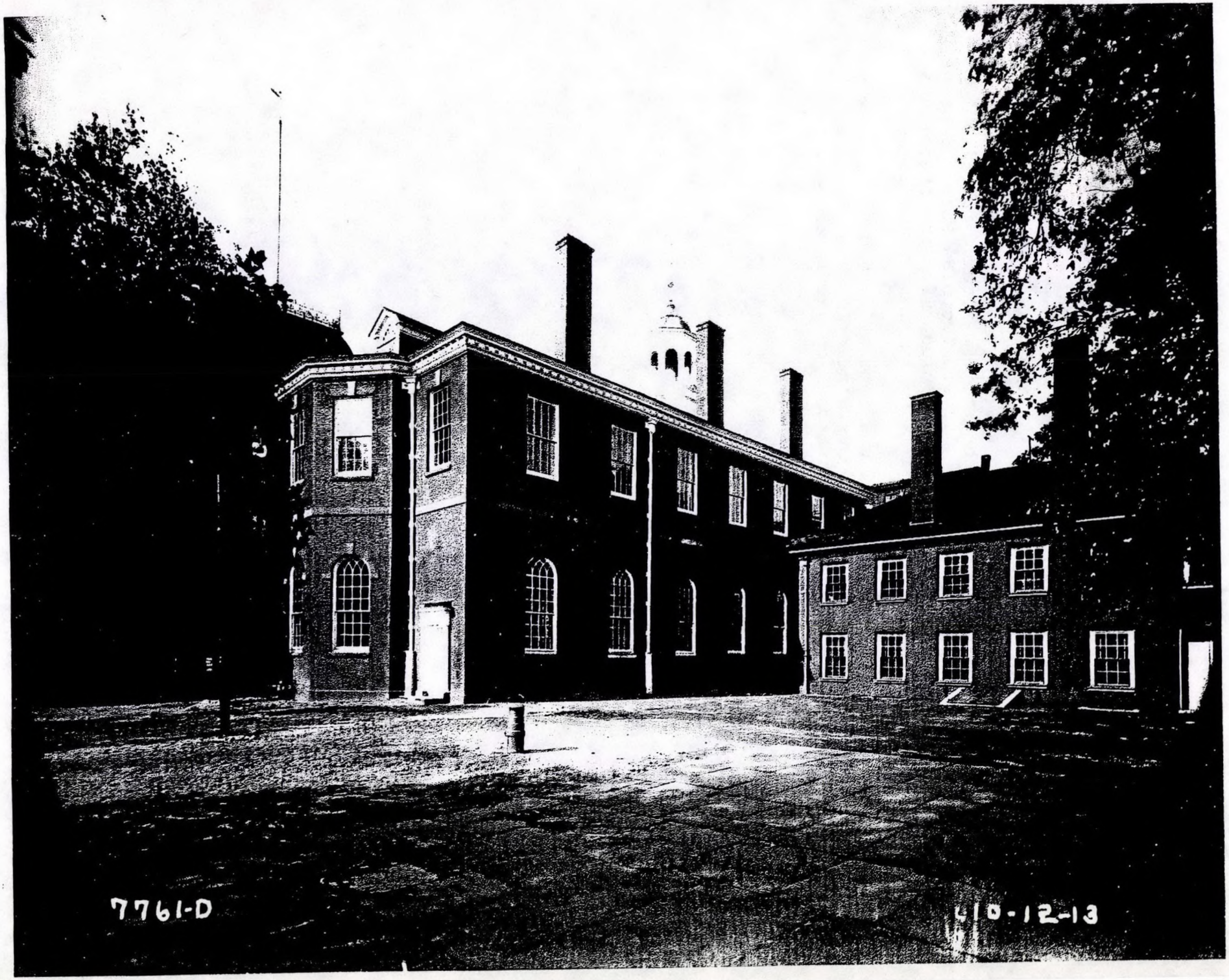
This view featured the newly completed Curtis building on the northwest corner of Sixth and Walnut Streets. Cyrus K. Curtis, publisher of the Ladies Home Journal and Saturday Evening Post, also led an effort to improve the neighborhood. He joined with several nearby business leaders to found the Washington Square Improvement Association in 1912, which the next year contracted with the renowned landscape architecture firm, Frederick Olmsted Associates, to make suggestions for that square.

Independence Square and Washington Squares look like picture images of each other in this distorted view. Actually their plans were not the same, but both lay outs provided numerous paths and entrances for pedestrian convenience. The Bureau of City Property generated both designs.



24. Congress Hall, south side, 1913 (CN-7761-D)

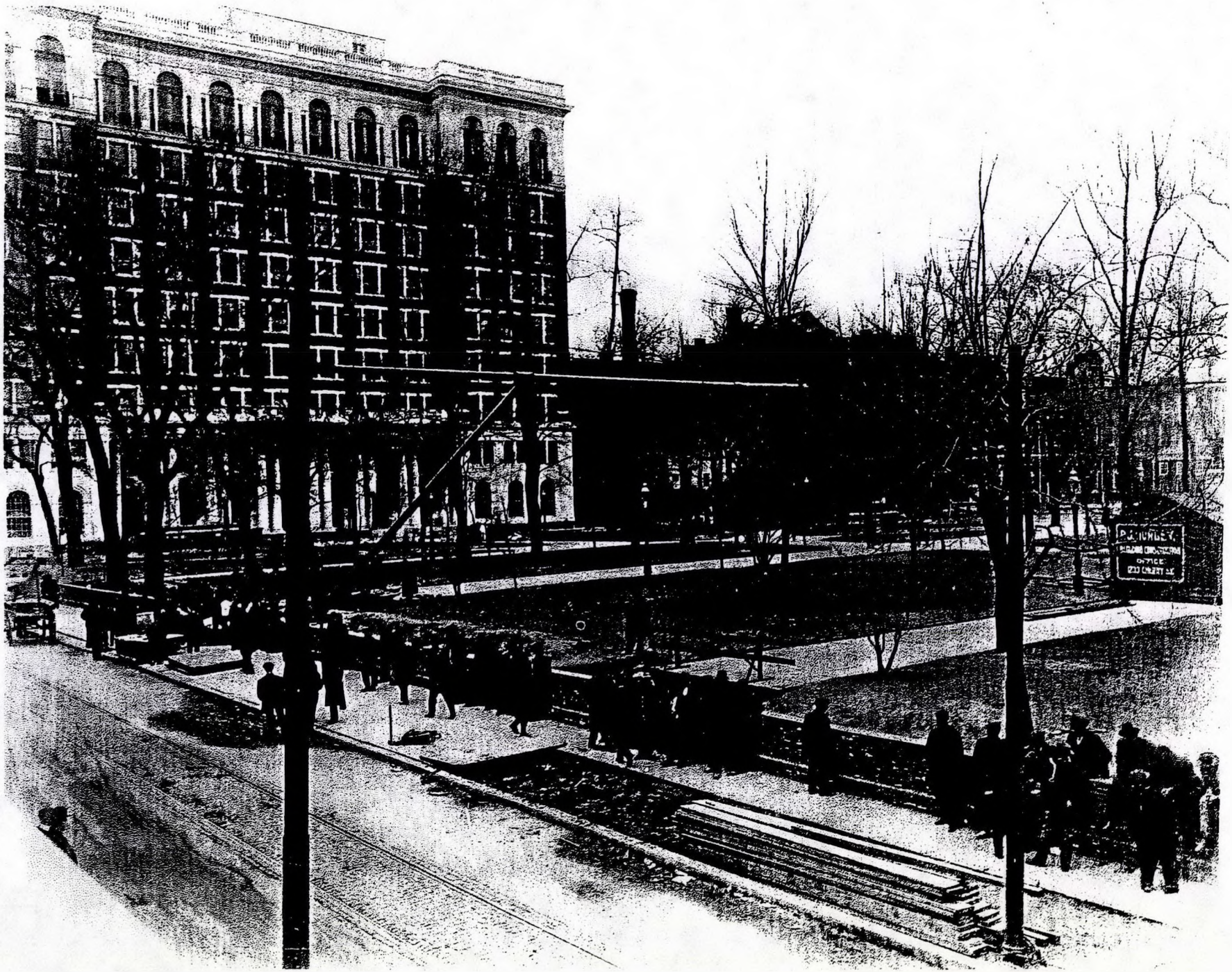
Congress Hall's restoration by the A.I.A. reached completion in 1913, the year of this photograph. The cobblestone paving between Congress Hall and the restored west wing and arcade may have been laid as an entrance into Independence Square from Chestnut Street, as records indicate cars on special occasions entered off Chestnut Street at the north end of the block, to attend events on the square.


7761-D
10-12-13

25. Rebuilding Independence Square's wall, 1915 (Courtesy of Philadelphia City Archives)

The first element of the 1915 A.I.A. design for Independence Square was the rebuilding of the wall to a three-foot level, based on a Colonial church wall style. The plan aimed to simplify the landscape and make it more harmonious with the historic structures.

The plan also called for the removal of four entrances from the Centennial design located near the corners of Fifth and Sixth Streets at Walnut Street. A barricade on the square marks one of the entrances being closed.



26. Sixth and Walnut Street Entrance During Wall Rebuilding, 1915 (Courtesy of Philadelphia City Archives)

Construction is largely completed at the Sixth and Walnut Streets entrance. In the distance, to the northeast, the Drexel and Lafayette buildings tower over Independence Square. A sign in the foreground announces the rules for visitors to Independence Square. This formality probably was prompted by a growing problem with vagrants sleeping in public squares during the early years of the century.



27. General Pershing planting a tree, 1919 (CN-16167)

A grand parade down Chestnut Street for World War I hero General John J. Pershing in 1919 concluded at Independence Square. Gen. Pershing's ceremonial planting of a tree continued a tradition General Grant may have launched in 1879, when he planted an Elm tree near the tower for a patriotic ceremony. The press specified that Pershing's tree was placed ten yards from the tower entrance, but failed to indicate the type of tree. Considering that Elms dominated Independence Square's first landscape, and that the Penn Treaty Tree was Elm, it is likely that Pershing's also was Elm. Two years later, the city planted some 30 Elm in the square in early Spring, one of which celebrated Arbor Day.



28. Independence Hall from the central walk, 1921 (CN-17236-B)

The A.I.A. redesign of 1915-16 replaced the northern grass plots of the Centennial design with flagstone paving, making it more convenient to hold the several large patriotic ceremonies in the square during the year. The two Elms on either side of the tower entrance, which survived from the pre-Centennial period, were finally removed in 1925.

The A.I.A. plan also paved over the central grassy circle where the Barry statue stood. A small piece of the statue's base is visble at the far left. Donated in 1907 by the Sons of St. Patrick, the Barry statue filled a site identified since the mid-nineteenth century as the home for a national memorial. The memorial plan finally was dropped at the close of the century for lack of sufficient support.



29. Independence Square from the southeast, 1921 (CN-17236-A)

The Barry Statue is clearly visible on its A.I.A.-designed pedestal at the center of the square. Two lamp styles are evident, the A.I.A. colonial model and the city's electric arc lights.

The American Philosophical Society Hall is wearing its awkward mansard roof added in 1890 to provide greatly needed space. In 1949 the building was restored to its 18th century appearance.


17236-B
3-21-1921.

30. Independence Hall exterior, 1922 (CN-18,952)

The young trees behind Independence Hall were probably among the 30-odd trees, mostly Elm, planted early in 1921 along the periphery of the yard and within the square. Benches stretch along the central walk.

At the left, two cannon mark the end of the Sixth Street driveway into the square. The A.I.A. in 1916 drew up a contract for four 6-pounder Revolutionary War reproduction cannons to use as wheel guards at the ends of the driveway, but historic photographs show that no cannon were sunk until after March 1919. The A.I.A. records suggest that the unexpected death of the contractor, Francis Markland, short circuited the project.

Current research indicates that two 12-pounder cannons were sunk in the ground by December 1919 and that they were Civil War vintage, manufactured by the Tredegar foundry in Richmond, Virginia. A careful search of the city collection for Independence Square turned up no record of these cannon, so there is no explanation of how or why they came to be substituted for the Revolutionary era reproductions.[1]

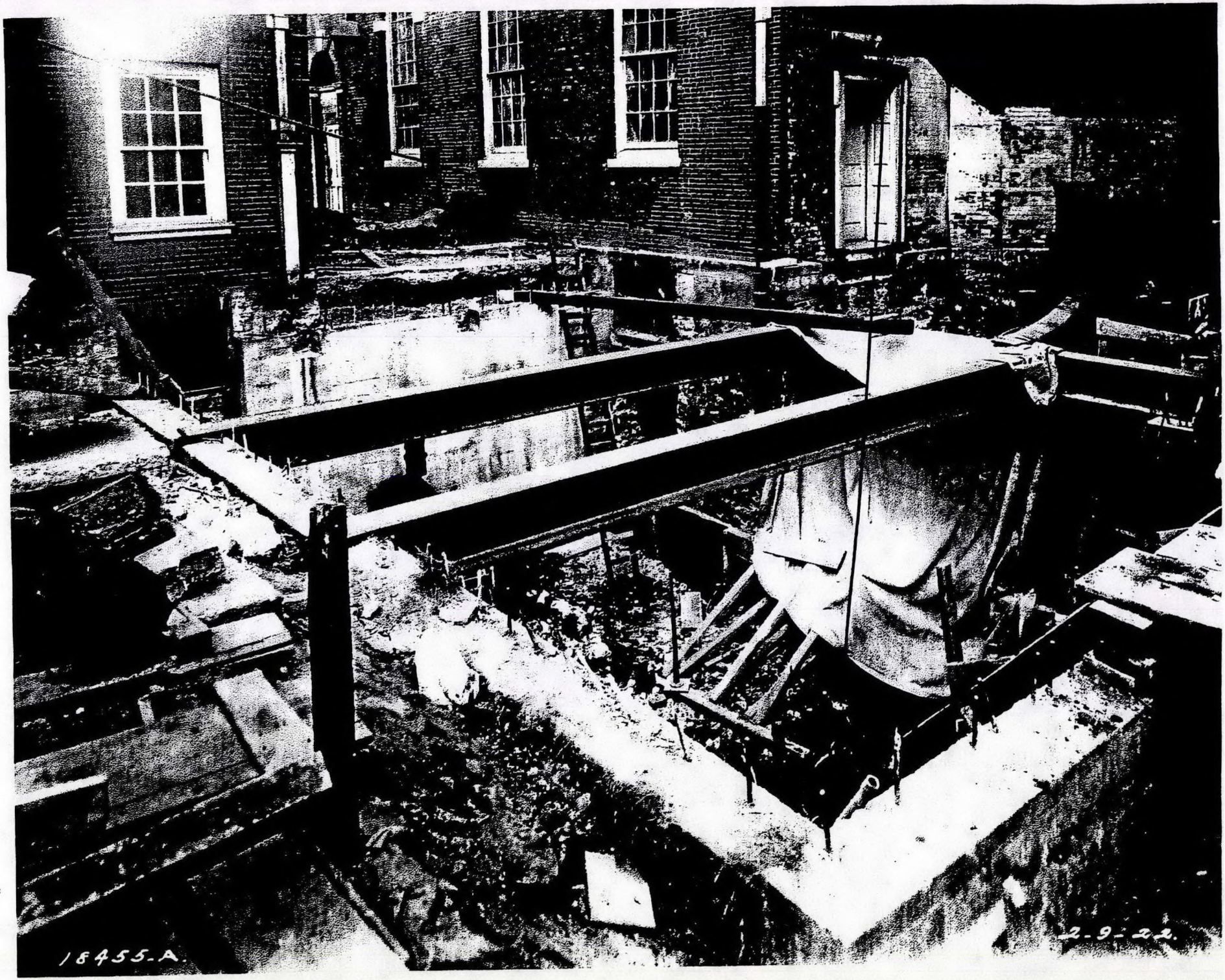
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[1]After the completion of the first draft of this report, research continued on the cannon. Robert Giannini checked Philadelphia newspapers and found the cannon shown in a photograph in the Evening Public Ledger Saturday, Dec. 20, 1919, p. 24. Joseph Crystal, Technical Expert, Denver Service Center, located information on the reproduction cannon in the A.I.A. Independence Square Files, Vol. 4, at the Philadelphia Athenaeum, and on the Civil War Tredegar cannon from James C. Hazlett, Field Artillery of the Civil War, 82-3.



31. Excavation behind Old City Hall, Feb. 9, 1922 (CN-18455-A)

This large excavation probably related to the restoration of Old City Hall completed by the A.I.A. early in 1922.


18455-A.
2-9-22.

32. Independence Square from Independence Hall steeple, 1929 (CN-26608)

This wide-angled view shows the square and neighborhood in the first year of the Great Depression. The connection between Independence and Washington Squares is made by the diagonal paths to the corner of Sixth and Walnut Streets.

The high-rise Penn Mutual Insurance Company's building (1914) and Curtis Building (1910) cate-corner to it, mark the revitalization of the neighborhood as an insurance and publishing district.

The A.I.A. redesign of 1915-16 remains intact. The gravel borders to the central path south of the Barry Statue were intended to recall the wider original allee of the first landscape design. This perspective gives the exact location of the Temperance Fountain on the diagonal path to the left.


8-21-1919

33. Independence Square looking northeast from Mutual Life Insurance Building, Mar. 21, 1929 (CN-26,611)

The Delaware Memorial Bridge (1926) rises above the sky line in the distance, over the tops of the Drexel and Lafayette (1909) Buildings at the corner of Fifth and Chestnut Streets.

The densely built up three blocks to the north of Independence Square largely date from the mid-19th century. Proposals for the clearing of some of these buildings to provide a ceremonial space for Independence Hall celebrations already were on public record.


26611
3-21-1929.

34. Independence Square looking northwest, Mar. 21, 1929 (CN-26, 610)

The view looking northwest shows the new (1925) Public Ledger building at the corner of Sixth and Chestnut Streets. Sensitive to the historic setting for Independence Hall, the architect repeated the use of Palladian windows and entrance ways seen in the adjoining Curtis Building.


26610
3-21-1929.

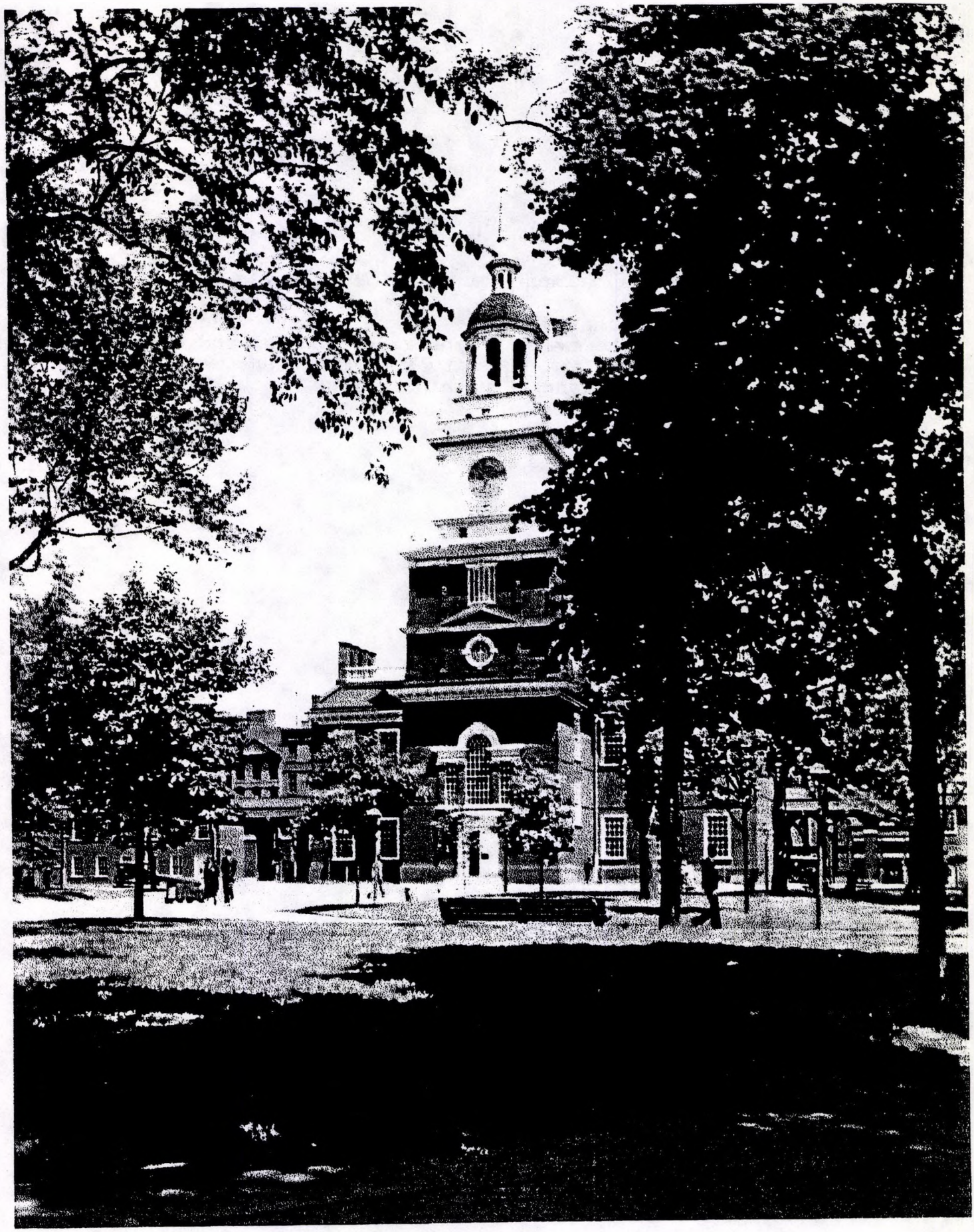
35. Independence Square's east side looking south, 1933 (CN-34,136)

During the 1930s the press frequently railed against the city's poor care of Independence Square. This photograph in 1933 came after one of those attacks, and suggests the cleanup that followed.



36. Independence Hall from the southeast, c. 1932-1935 (CN-37,148-G)

The Revolutionary War cannon stood on display on the flagstone plaza south of Independence Hall between 1932 and 1935. The local electric company had dredged it from the Schuylkill River and donated to the city as a permanent exhibit, but for some unknown reason, it was removed from the square and its whereabouts lost.



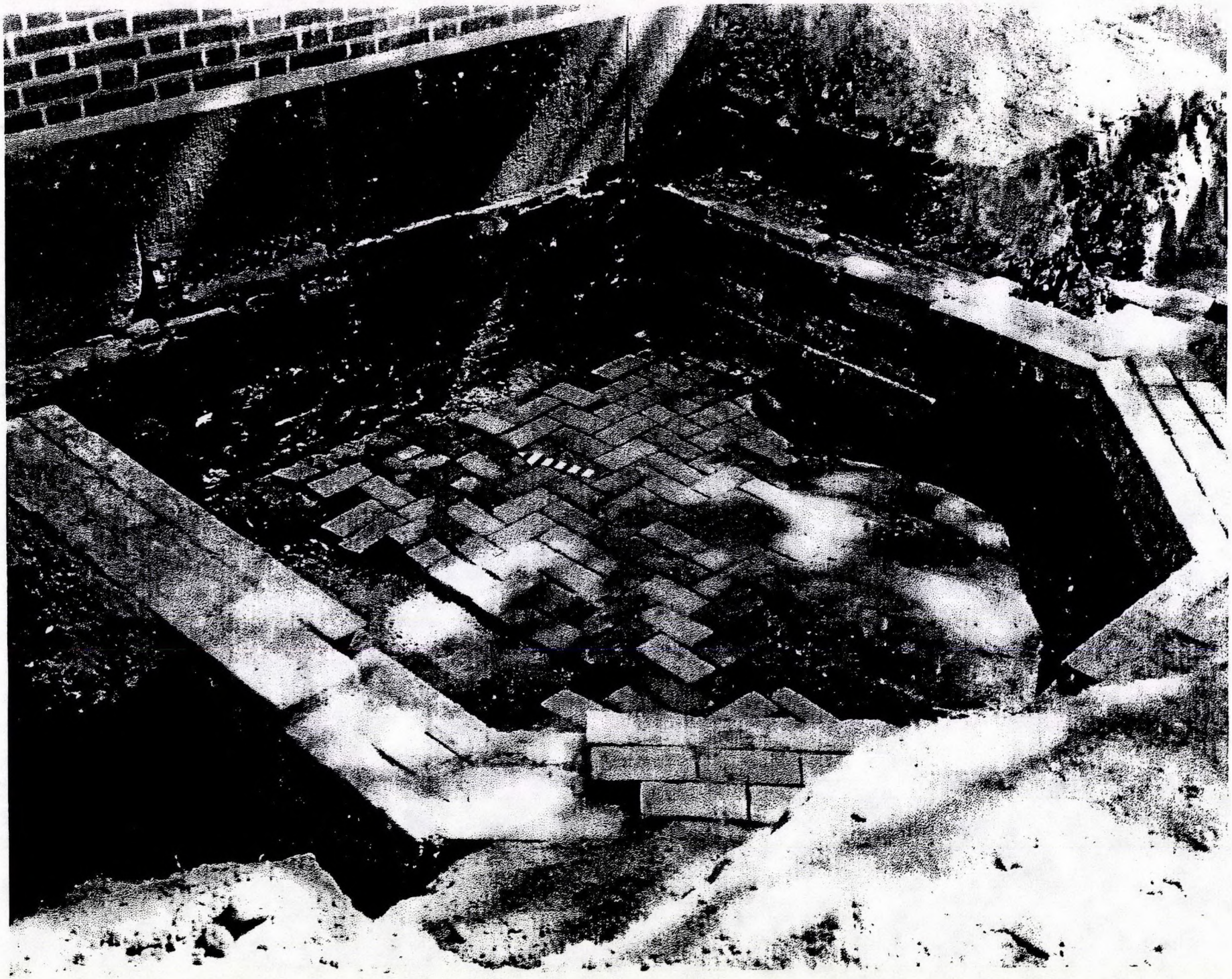
37. Independence Square looking south, 1954 (INDE 1393)

After taking charge of the square in 1951, the National Park Service retained the overall appearance of the landscape, and only under pressure from the city's health department, removed the Centennial Temperance Fountain in 1968.



38. Archeology, Plot 11, Judge's retiring room, 1957 (INDE 4758)

Independence National Historical Park archeologists were busy in the square during much of the decade digging long trenches and pits to locate surviving 18th century features. Behind Congress Hall they exposed the foundations for the 1862 addition of a judges' retiring room, which the A.I.A. removed in their restoration of the building in 1913.



39. Repaving the sidewalks, 1962 (INDE 8069-B)

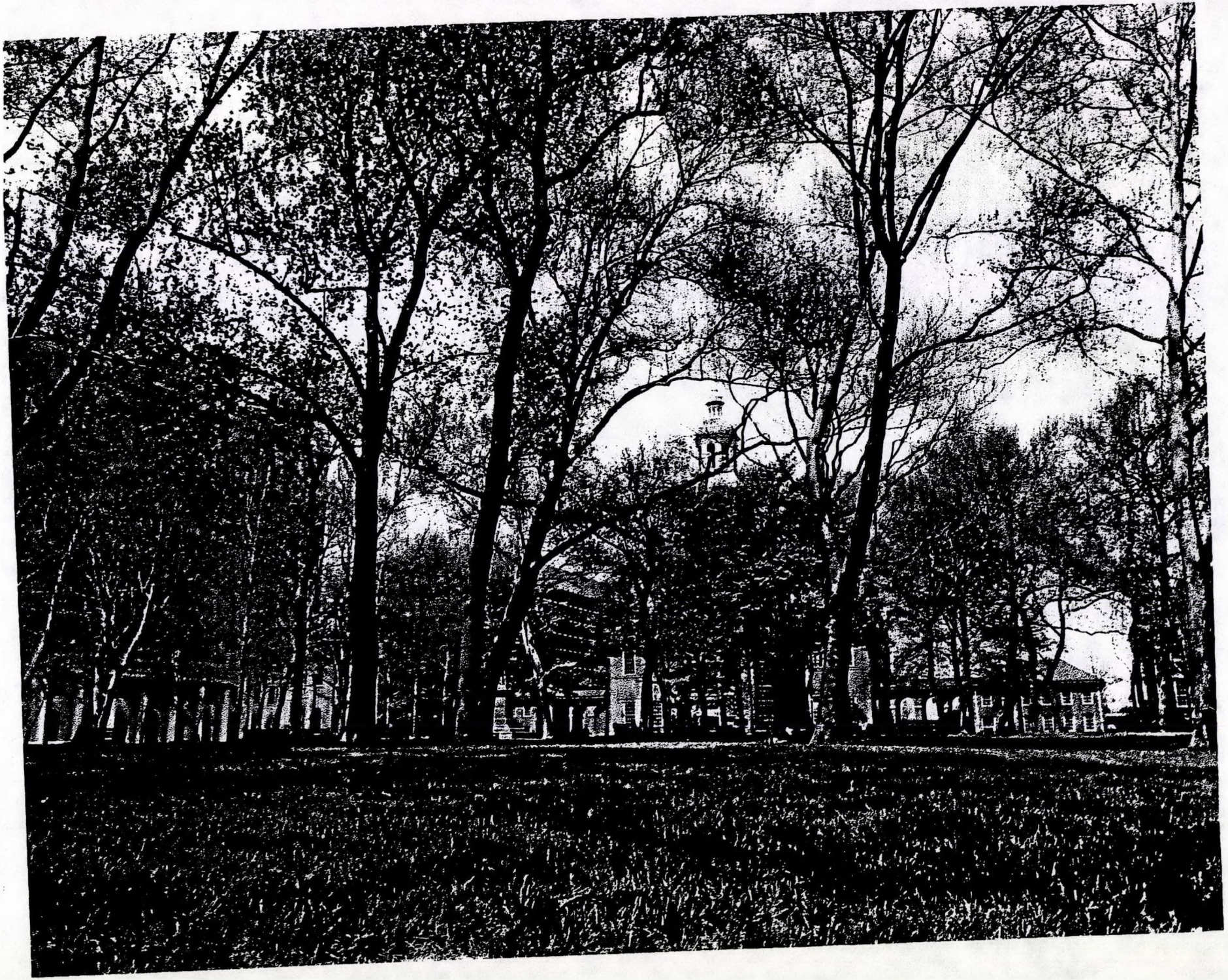
In 1962 the National Park Service removed the flagstone sidewalks around the square to restore 18th century brick paving..



40. Independence Square for Mission 66, 1966 (INDE 8942-B)

Mission 66 furnished the needed funds to revitalize and restore Independence Square.

Looking northwest across the square, this view catches the roofline of the new Rohm and Haas building on Sixth Street, looking out on Independence Mall State Park, which finally was reaching completion. (1950-67)



41. Sons of Temperance Fountain before removal, 1968 (INDE 9518-B)

The Superintendent at Independence National Historical Park received several complaints from the city's health department before reluctantly removing the drinking fountain from Independence Square in 1968. The Sons of Temperance relocated the fountain from the Centennial grounds to the square in 1877, with the understanding that they would supply the ice and upkeep for its continued public use.



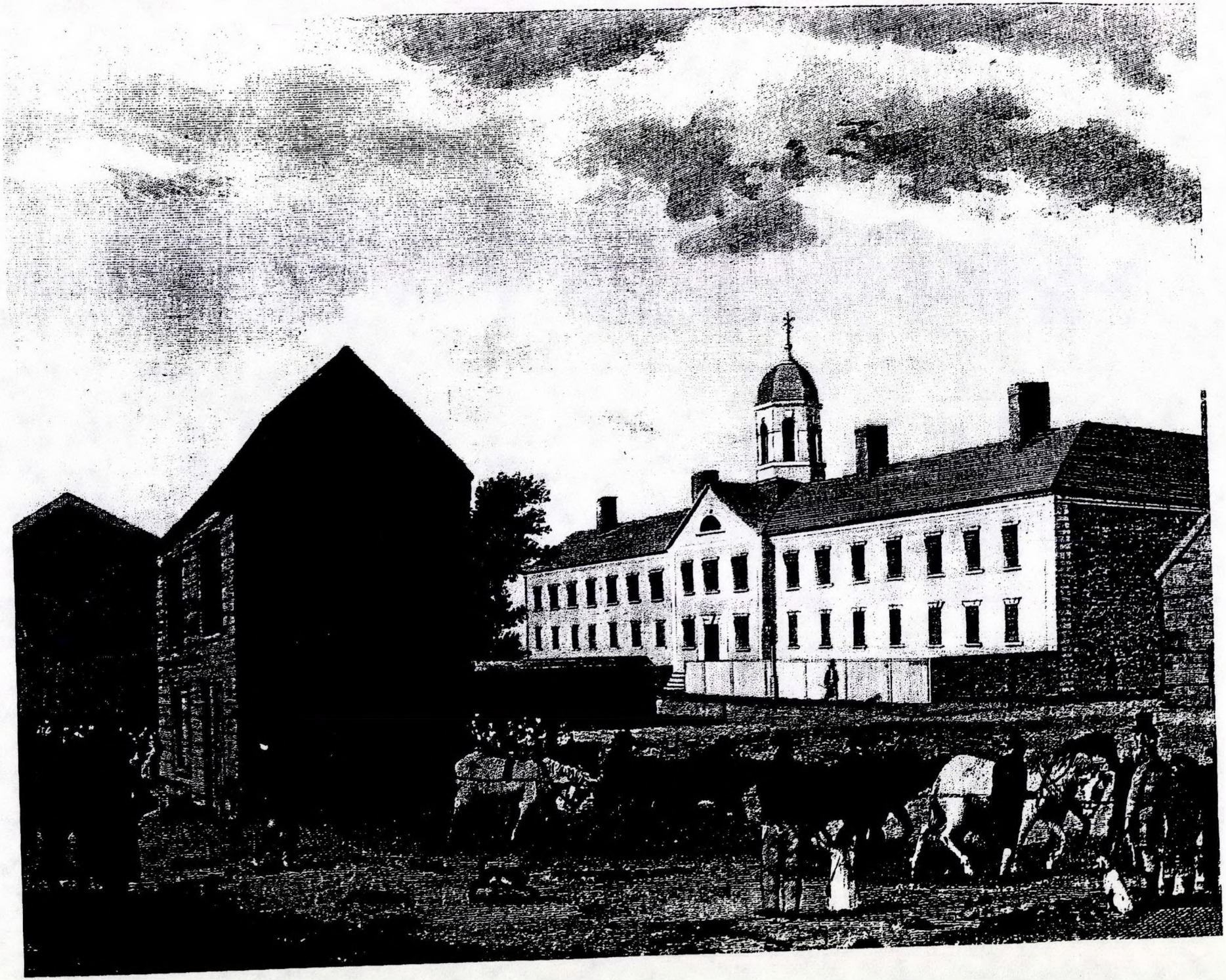
VIEWS SHOWING CONTEXT

42. William Birch, Gaol, in Walnut Street Philadelphia, 1799 (INDE cat. no. 1195; neg. 7211)

Philadelphia's late 18th century reputation as a cosmopolitan and prosperous city, the largest in the new nation, also brought with it a rise in crime.

William Birch's view of the Walnut Street jail across from the State House Square provides a sense of scale, while it suggests the government's ambitious plan to stem crime in Philadelphia.

A section of the State House wall is visible behind the frame structure being moved from the nearly-empty Sixth Street lots. The frame building to the left originally housed the Loganian Library, which joined the collections of the Library Company of Philadelphia in 1791, on the Fifth Street side of the State House Square.



43. Library and Surgeon's Hall, Fifth Street, 1799 by William Birch (INDE cat. no. 1190; neg 5916)

During the 1790s, when Philadelphia served as the nation's capital, the new library for the Library Company of Philadelphia, and the University of Pennsylvania Medical School's Surgeon's Hall stood across Fifth Street from the State House Square.



LIBRARY and SURGEONS HALL, in Fifth Street PHILADELPHIA.

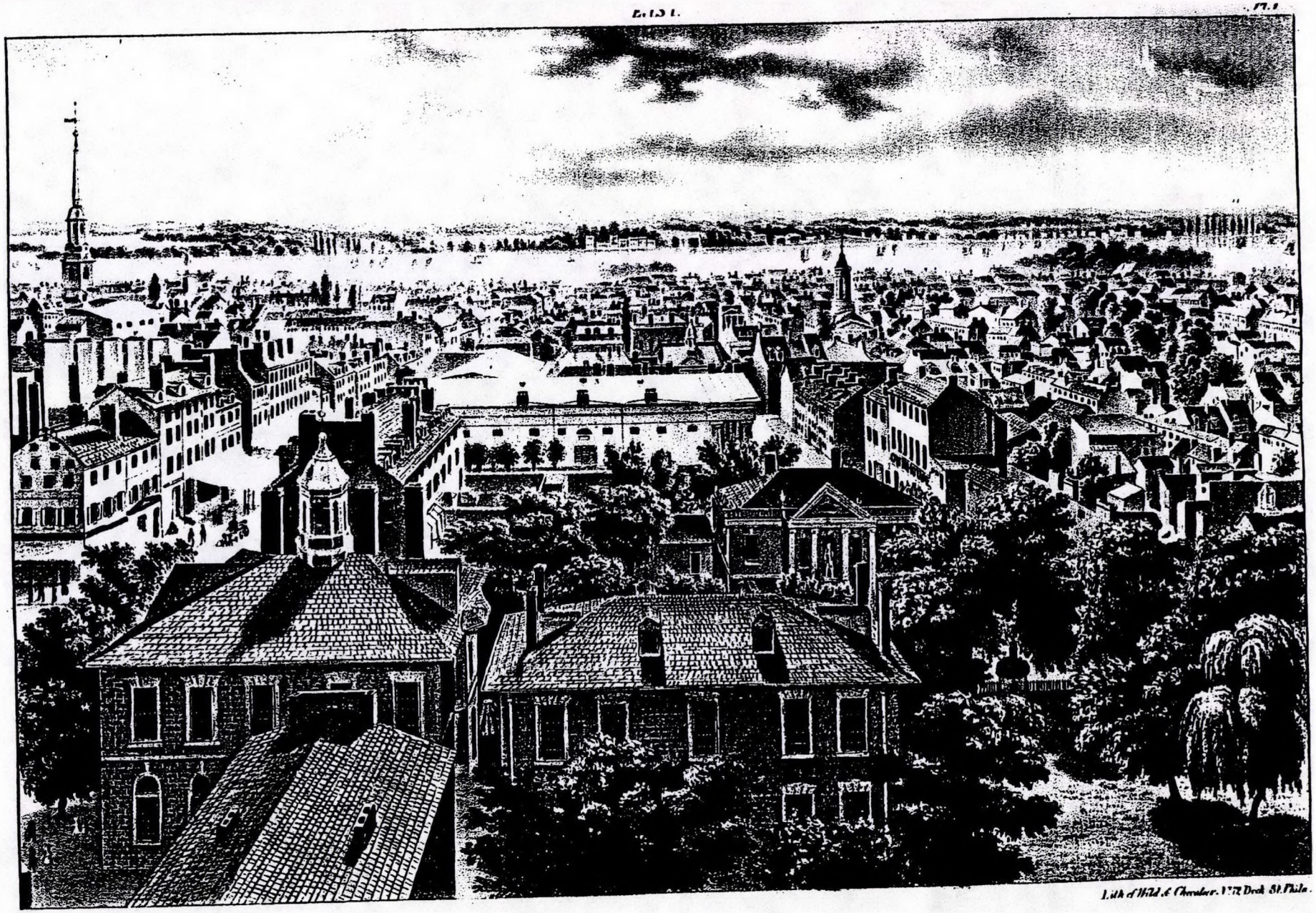
44. Panorama of Philadelphia from the State House Steeple, East, 1838, by J.C. Wild (INDE cat.no. 1354; neg. 535-A)

William Strickland's new steeple for Independence Hall in 1828 immediately became a tourist mecca for visitors to Philadelphia.

In 1825 the State House Square was renamed Independence Square. Philadelphians continued to use the old name for many years, as Wild's title for this lithograph indicates.

Wild's east view shows the Second Bank of the United States a block east on Chestnut Street, and the Delaware River in the distance.

In the yard below, to the right of Philosophical Hall, is a structure that looks like a watch box, but may be a privy.



Drawn from Nature, Taken and on Stone by J.C. Wild.

Lith of Wild & Chevalier, 172 Dock St. Phila.

PANORAMA of PHILADELPHIA

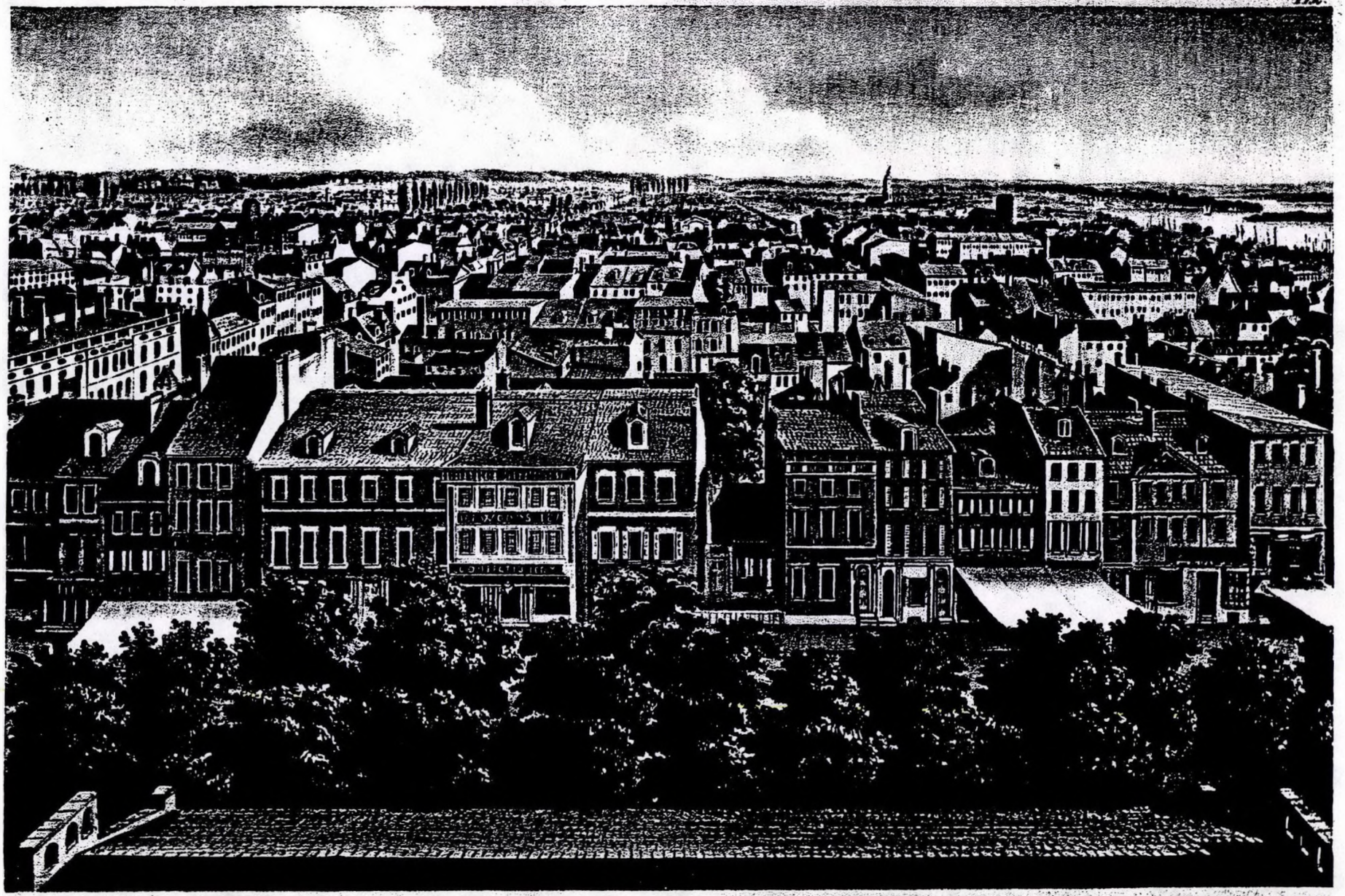
From the State House Steple.

45. Panorama of Philadelphia from the State House Steeple, North, 1838, by J.C. Wild, (INDE cat. no. 1355; neg. 515)

Wild's view north includes the tops of the double row of Linden trees on the Chestnut Street plaza before Independence Hall. These trees succombed to worm damage in 1844 and were replaced with Sugar Maples.

On the north side of Chestnut Street many of the former residences have been converted into commercial enterprises, while the city continued to move its center westward.

NORTH



Drawn from Nature and on Stone by J.C. Wild.

Lith. of Wild & Chandler, N.W. Cor. Dock & Ch.st Ph.a

PANORAMA of PHILADELPHIA,

FROM THE STATE HOUSE STEPLE.

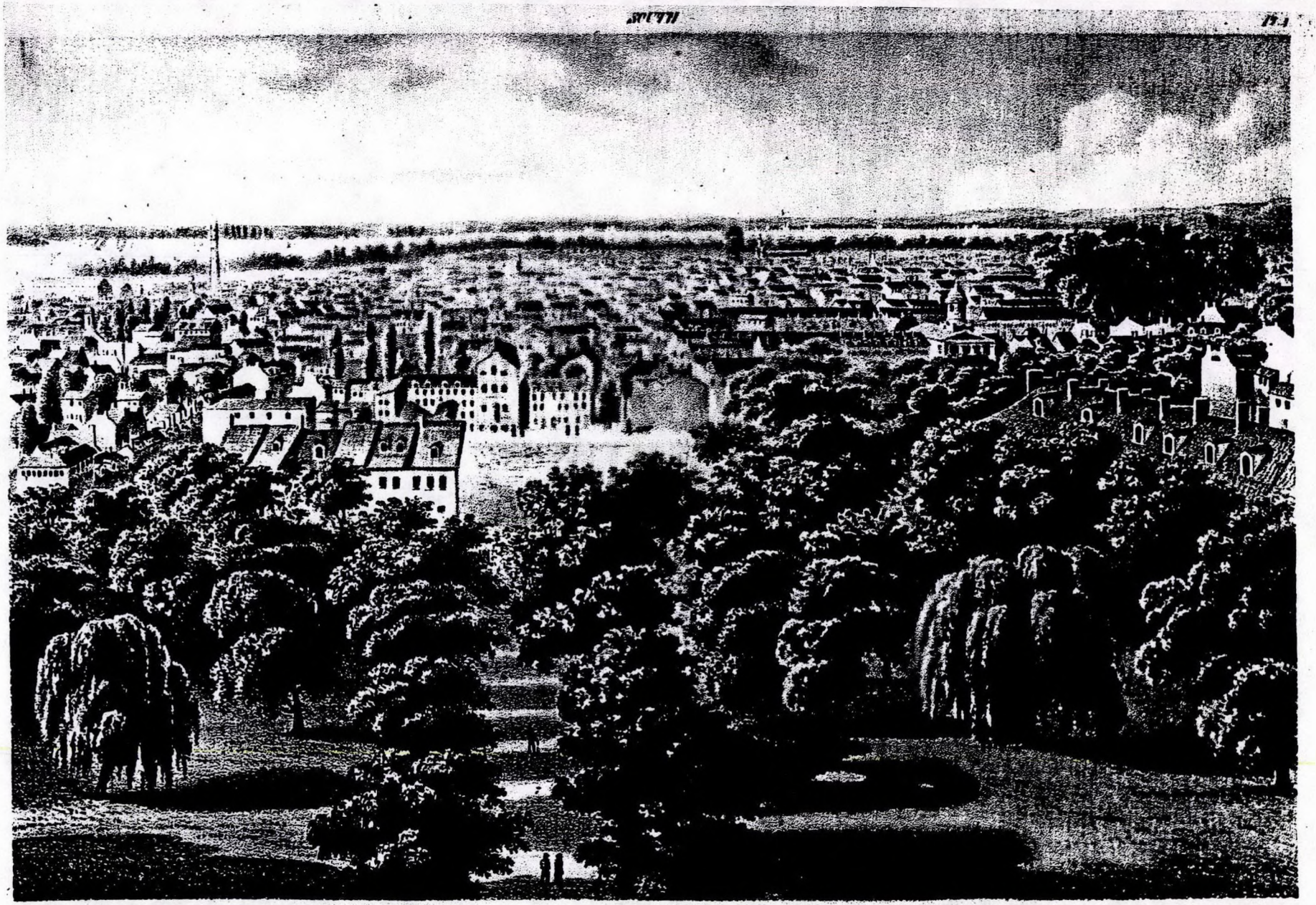
1 St. Augustines Church
2 Girard College
3 Town Church
4 Franklin Square
5 Pennsylvania Hall

Entered according to Act of Congress in the year 1838 by Wild & Chandler in the Clerks office of the District court for the Eastern District of Pa.

46. Panorama of Philadelphia from the State House Steeple, South, 1838, by J.C. Wild, (INDE cat. no. 1353; neg. 503)

Wild's view to the south shows the vacant lot left after the Walnut Street jail was torn down in 1836. Prominent residential neighbors organized to make improvements for both Independence and Washington Squares during the decade.

Washington Square by this date is lushly planted with some 400 trees and has won the reputation as the most elegant public square in the city.



Drawn from Nature and on Stone by J.C. Wild.

Lith. of Wild & Chevalier, 1838

PANORAMA PHILADELPHIA

from the State House Steeple.

1. Penn's Yard
2. The Tower
3. Philad.a & C. Prison
4. Mora Farmers Church
5. Alms House Hospital
6. Washington Square
7. Independence Square

Entered according to act of Congress in the year 1838 by Wild & Chevalier in the Clerk's office of the District Court for the Eastern District of Pa.

47. Panorama of Philadelphia from the State House Steeple, West, 1838, by J.C. Wild, (INDE cat. no. 1356; neg. 513)

Philadelphia stretched westward toward Broad Street, but Independence Square remained the city's political and cultural center. The reconstructed Chestnut Street Theater can be seen to the right, with the arcade entrance.

Walnut and Sansom Streets to the left feature brick row houses, many of them home to lawyers and judges who attended court on Independence Square.



Drawn from Nature & on Stone by D. Wild

Lith. of Wild & Chevalier. 1212 Pine St. Phil.

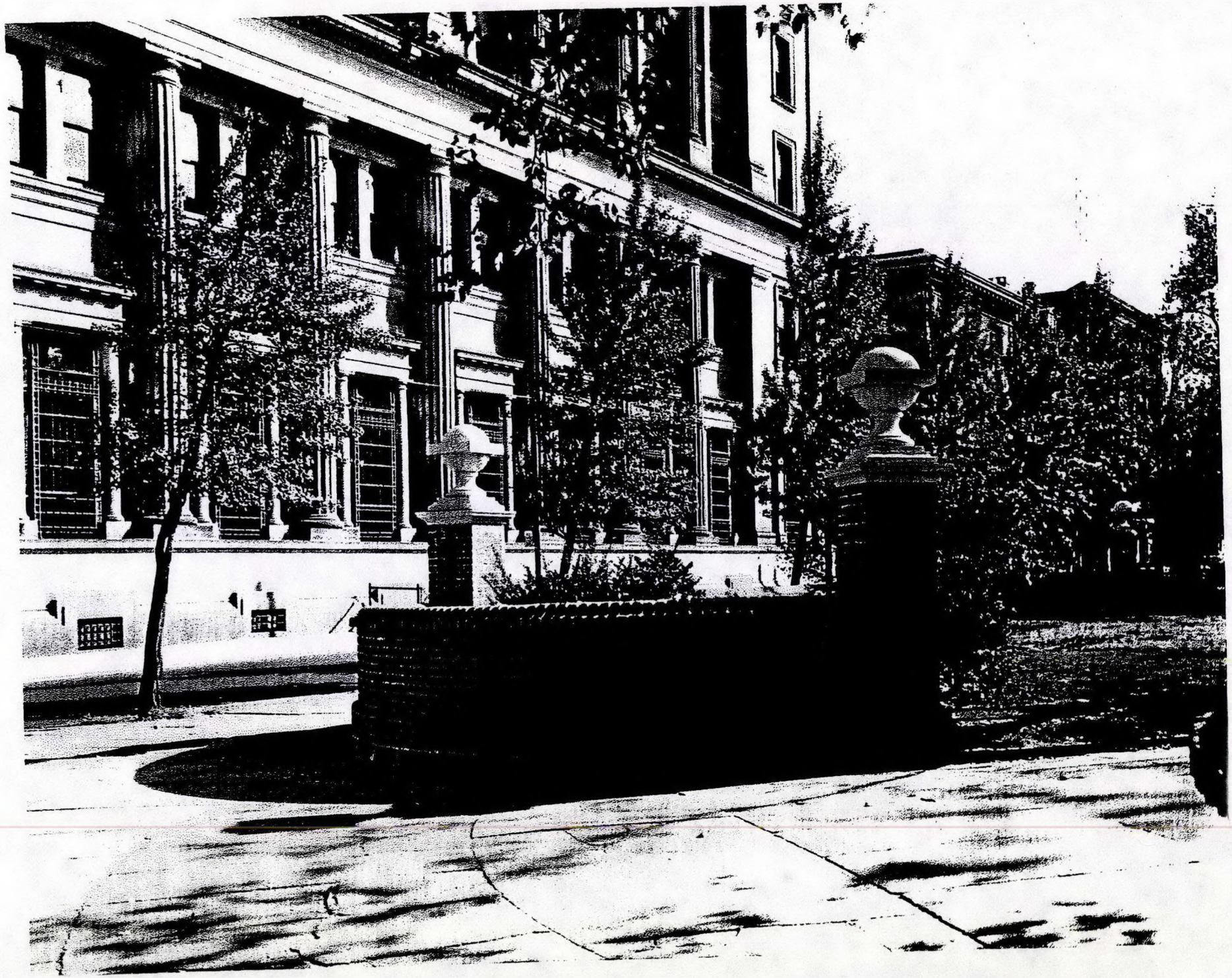
PANORAMA of PHILADELPHIA

From the State House Steeple.

1 St Paul's Church
2 Mrs Hamilton
3 Peale's Museum
4 Walnut St Theatre
5 Bishop White's
6 St John's Church
7 Christ Church
8 Academy of Fine Arts
9 Mrs Powel
10 Asylum for the Blind
11 Water Works
12 Upper Ferry Bridge
13 Penn Township

48. Washington Square's new Colonial-style brick wall, 1954 (INDE 2568)

The Washington Square Improvement Association, composed of representatives from the major businesses in the neighborhood, worked with the city in 1954 to redesign Washington Square. Edwin Brumbaugh, architect, supervised construction of this colonial-style brick wall and lamps that were fabricated from the same models used for the 1915 A.I.A. redesign at Independence Square.



49. Sixth Street after widening, 1954 (INDE 1716)

The Independence Mall State Park master plan (1952) provided for the widening of Fifth and Sixth Streets between Independence Square and the Delaware River bridge, as well as Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets. Philadelphia's narrow streets had long been choked with traffic and found to be increasingly inadequate for parking.

Independence Mall State Park, authorized in 1945, finally got under construction in 1952. In this view the first block to the north of Independence Hall had been cleared and landscaped and one third of the second block readied for construction.



50. Widening Fifth Street, 1954 (INDE 1811)

Chestnut Street was widened primarily to allow more space for parades and other public events before Independence Hall.



51. Aerial, Library Hall under construction, 1958 (INDE 5225)

The National Park Service cleared away many nineteenth and twentieth century structures when creating Independence National Historical Park. This aerial looking northeast from the Penn Mutual building shows large vacant areas in use as parking lots. Carpenters' Hall and the Second Bank remain standing.

Across from Independence Square the American Philosophical Society, by cooperative agreement with the National Park Service, has begun the reconstruction of Library Hall to house their society's collections.

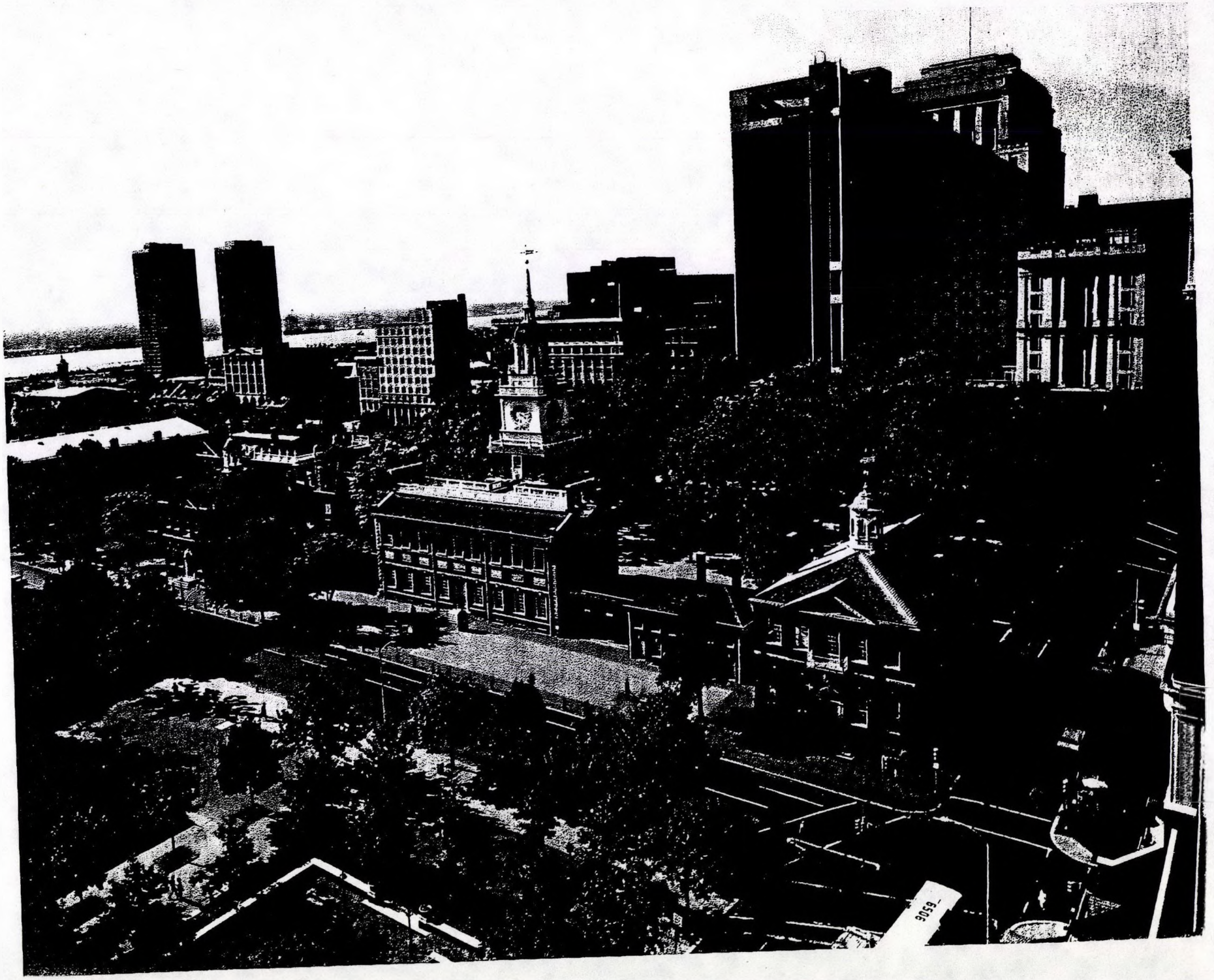


52. Rooftop view of Independence Square and Penn Mutual Building, 1984, by Tom Davies (INDE, no neg. no.)

Redevelopment after World War II dramatically transformed the neighborhood south of Independence Square. Penn Mutual added a 30-story office building (1969-70) to its 1913 and 1931 buildings at the corner of Sixth and Walnut Streets. In the distance, the Society Hill Towers near the Delaware River mark the eastern limit of the Washington Square East Redevelopment District.

The Chestnut Street plaza before Independence Hall was restored by the National Park Service in 1974 to its late 18th century appearance, based on evidedence from Birch prints, Pennsylvania archives, and archeological investigations. The physical changes to this area since then have been prompted by the the removal of two diseased Elm trees which have not been replaced.

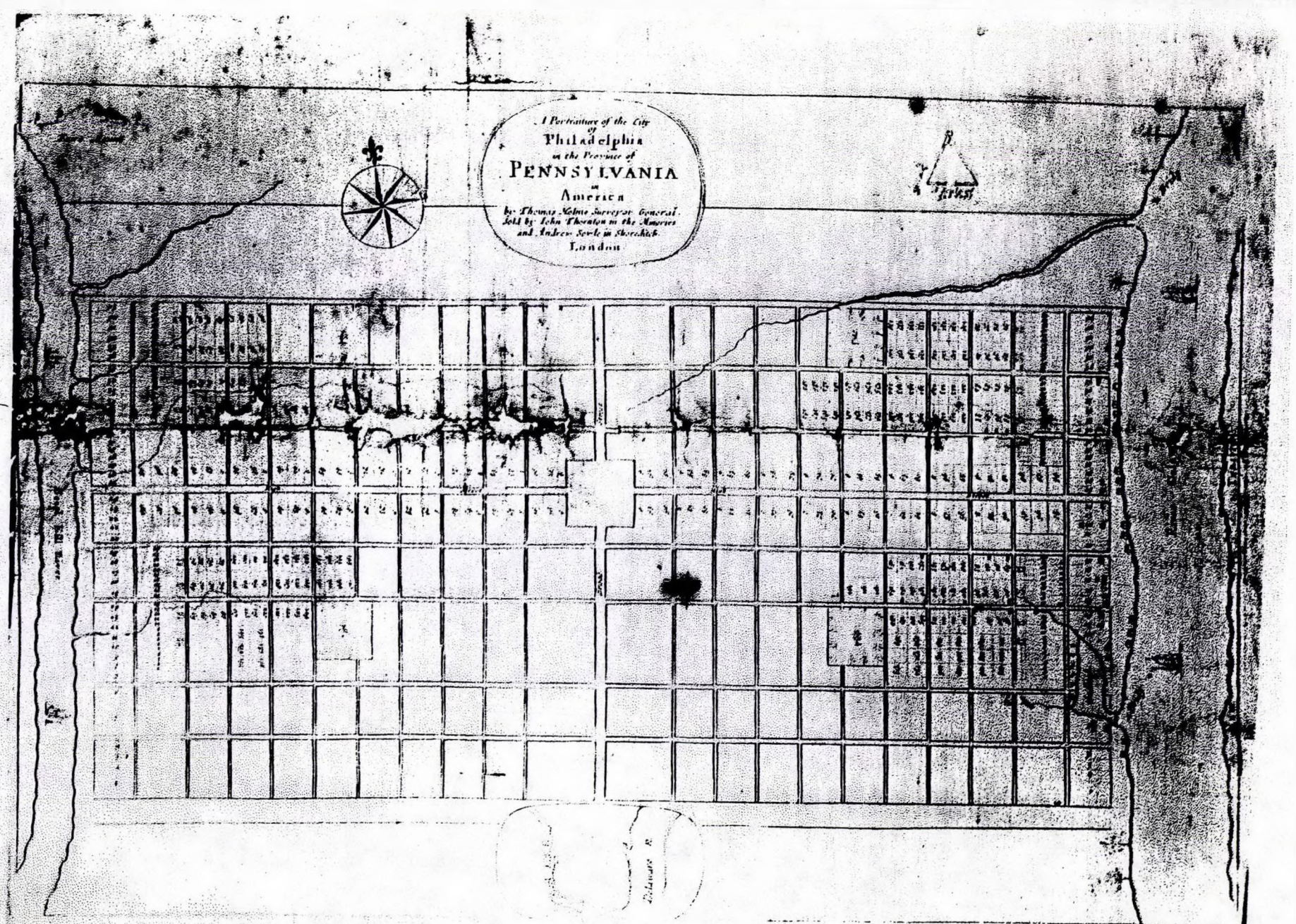
Independence Square and its neighborhood to the immediate south have not seen significant change since Davies recorded this view in 1984, with one major exception. Below the tree line, out of sight in this photograph, four nineteenth century row houses, 500-506 Walnut Street, were torn down in 1991 by Penn Mutual Insurance Co. Independence National Historical Park and Philadelphia Historical Commission fought hard to save Independence Square's historic setting in this case, but lost due to the neglected condition of all four buildings.



MAPS AND PLANS

1. A Portraiture of the City of Philadelphia in the Province of Pennsylvania, 1683, by Thomas Holme, Surveyor General (INDE 1683)

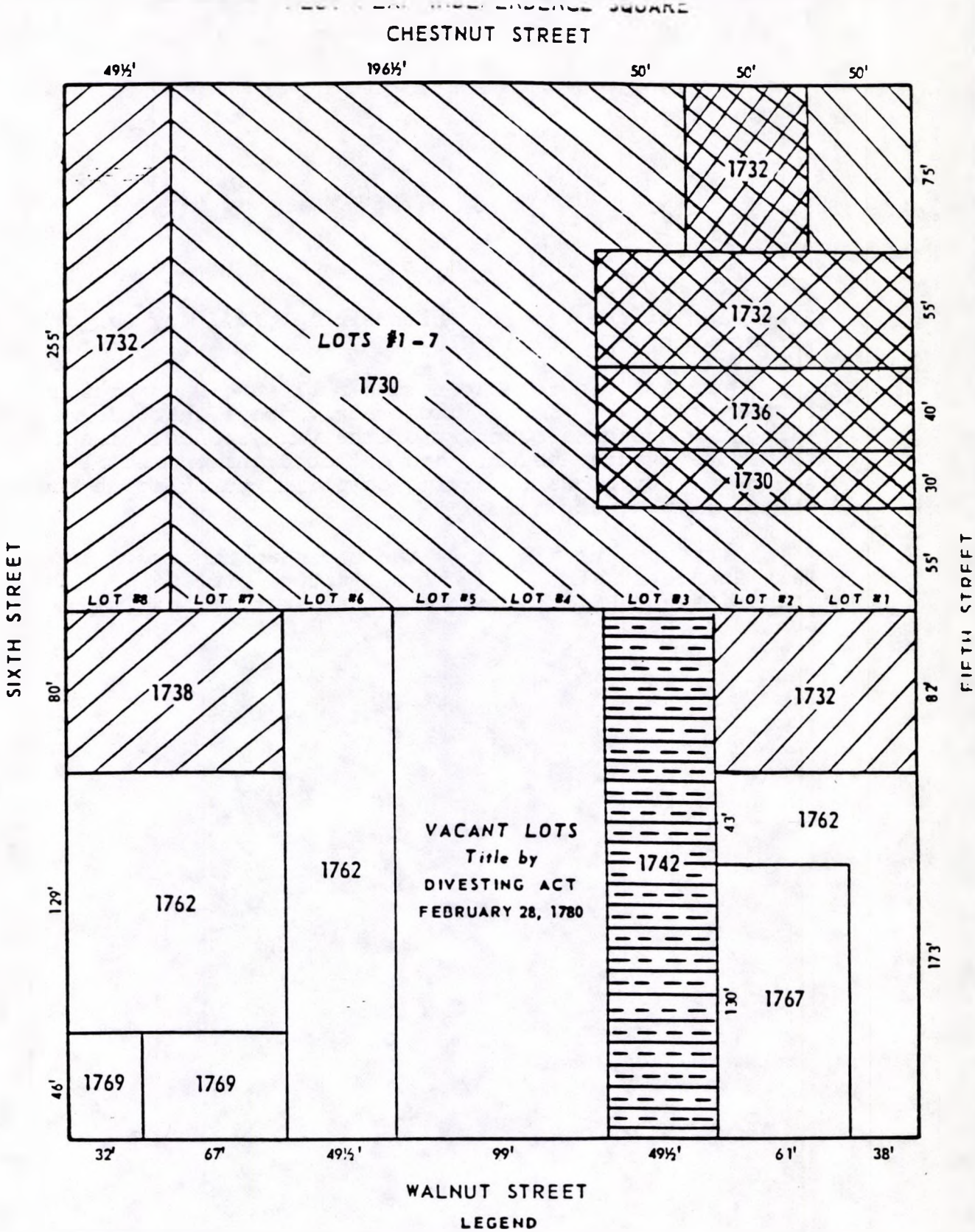
William Penn's surveyor laid out the city according to the founder's wishes, with five public squares, one in the center and one in each quadrant of the grid. Penn wanted a green country town, protected from uncontrolled fire and plaque that had devastated overcrowded London only two decades earlier.


A Portraiture of the City
of
Philadelphia
in the Province of
PENNSYLVANIA
in
America
by Thomas Holme Surveyor General
Sold by John Thornton in the Minories
and Andrew Searle in Shoreditch
London

2. Plot Plan, Independence Square, 1730-1780 (Independence Square Devolution of the Title, Philadelphia Department of Records, 1956)

The Pennsylvania authorized the purchase of land on Chestnut Street for a State House in 1730. More than half the northern part of the block was purchased prior to the start of construction in 1732. The Assembly used one of the houses purchased with the land on Chestnut as a temporary meeting place for more than a year. They moved into the unfinished State House in the fall of 1735, and the "two old Houses" next door were torn down.

In 1762 the Assembly voted to buy up the rest of the block. After two condemnation proceedings, the final properties were acquired in 1769, after which the old houses were torn down and the wall was extended to enclose the entire yard with a seven-foot wall. In 1780 two lots never transferred originally by Penn as bonus lots were divested to the state by Act of Assembly.



LEGEND

Purchased by Andrew Hamilton, *agent*, transferred by his appointed agents, 1761.

Ground purchased by William Allen, Grounds rents purchased by Andrew Hamilton, transferred 1761.

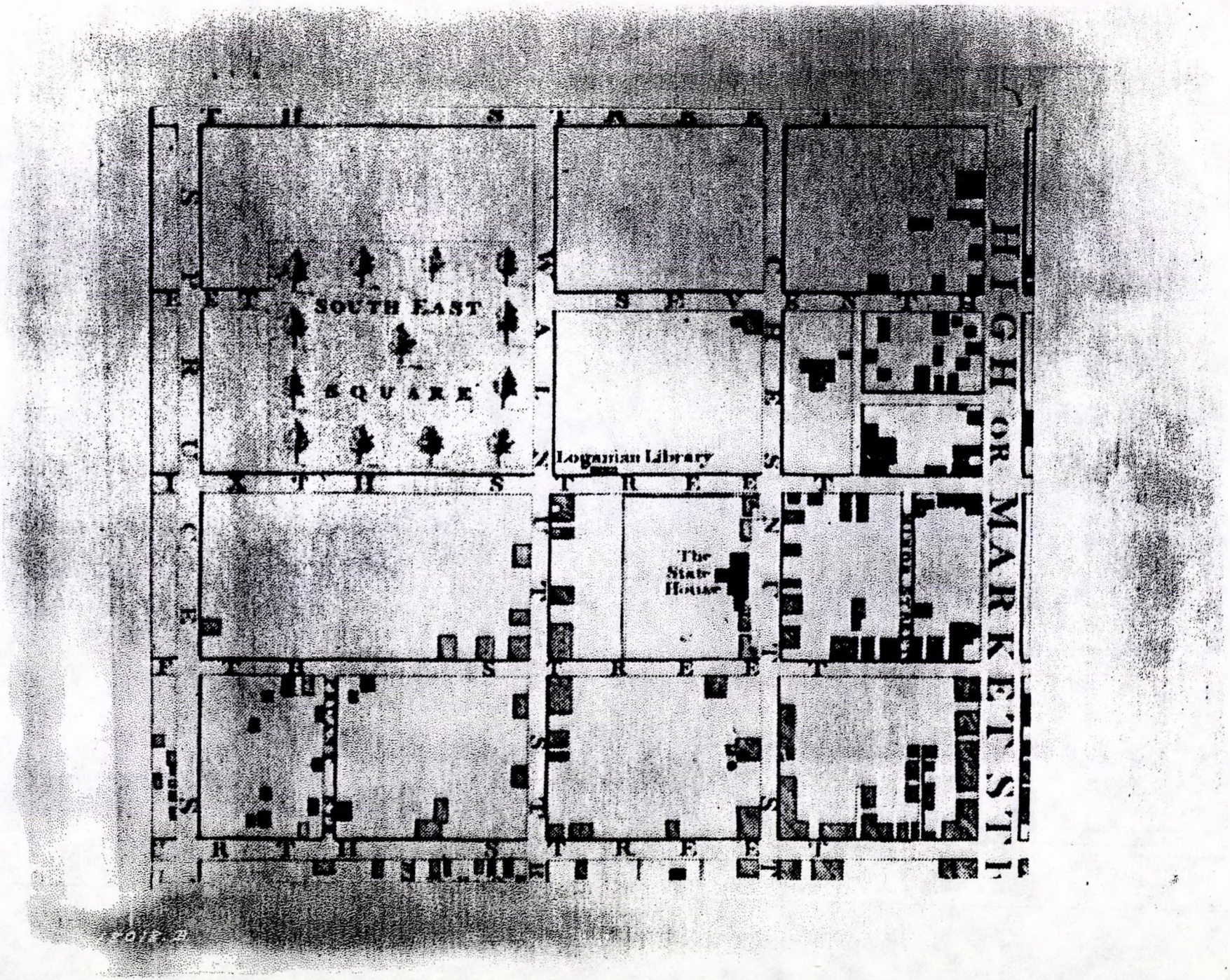
Purchased by William Allen, *agent*, transferred to Trustees 1761.

Purchased by William Allen, *agent*, transferred to Trustees 1760.

3. A Plan of the City of Philadelphia, 1776, by Benjamin Eastburn (Enlargement, CN-181018 B)

Surveyor General Eastburn's published map recorded the city's progress, albeit inaccurately. Note that the wall depicted along the southern boundary of the yard is not correct: by 1770 the Pennsylvania Assembly had enclosed the entire block with a seven-foot brick wall, having completed purchase of the Walnut Street lots during the 1760s.

Although the map shows the Loganian Library and the South East Square at Sixth and Walnut Streets, it fails to register the Walnut Street Prison, completed the year of this map's publication.


SOUTH EAST
SQUARE
Logarian Library
The State House
HIGH OR MARKET ST.

4. Map of Philadelphia, 1794, by Benjamin Davies (Enlargement, CN-17295)

Davies' map shows Independence Square when it was serving as the national, state and local center of government.

The yard's first landscape, laid out by Samuel Vaughan, is not yet a decade old. The double row of Elm trees bordering the central walk between the grand Walnut Street gate and the State House are clearly defined, as are rows of trees along the periphery. The serpentine paths, artificial mounds, benches, and other features that also characterized Vaughan's design, however, are at best only suggested.

Prune
Street
Fourth
Fifth
Sixth
Walnut
Street
Chefnut
Street
Carpenters
Minor
St
High
Street

5. Survey of Philadelphia by William Allen, Published by H.N. Tanner, 1830. (INDE photostat 16,026; FLP)

Allen's 1830 map of the city shows that Washington Square has been laid out with a landscape filled with circular forms and four corner entrances. Independence Square retains its original Vaughan landscape, with only one entrance at Walnut Street, other than the access through the Chestnut Street side.

The Second Bank of the United States has been completed one block east of Independence Hall, the foundation for a banking district in the next few decades. The neighborhood continues to be the heart of Philadelphia's downtown.

Prison
WASHINGTON ST.
STREET
ALLEY

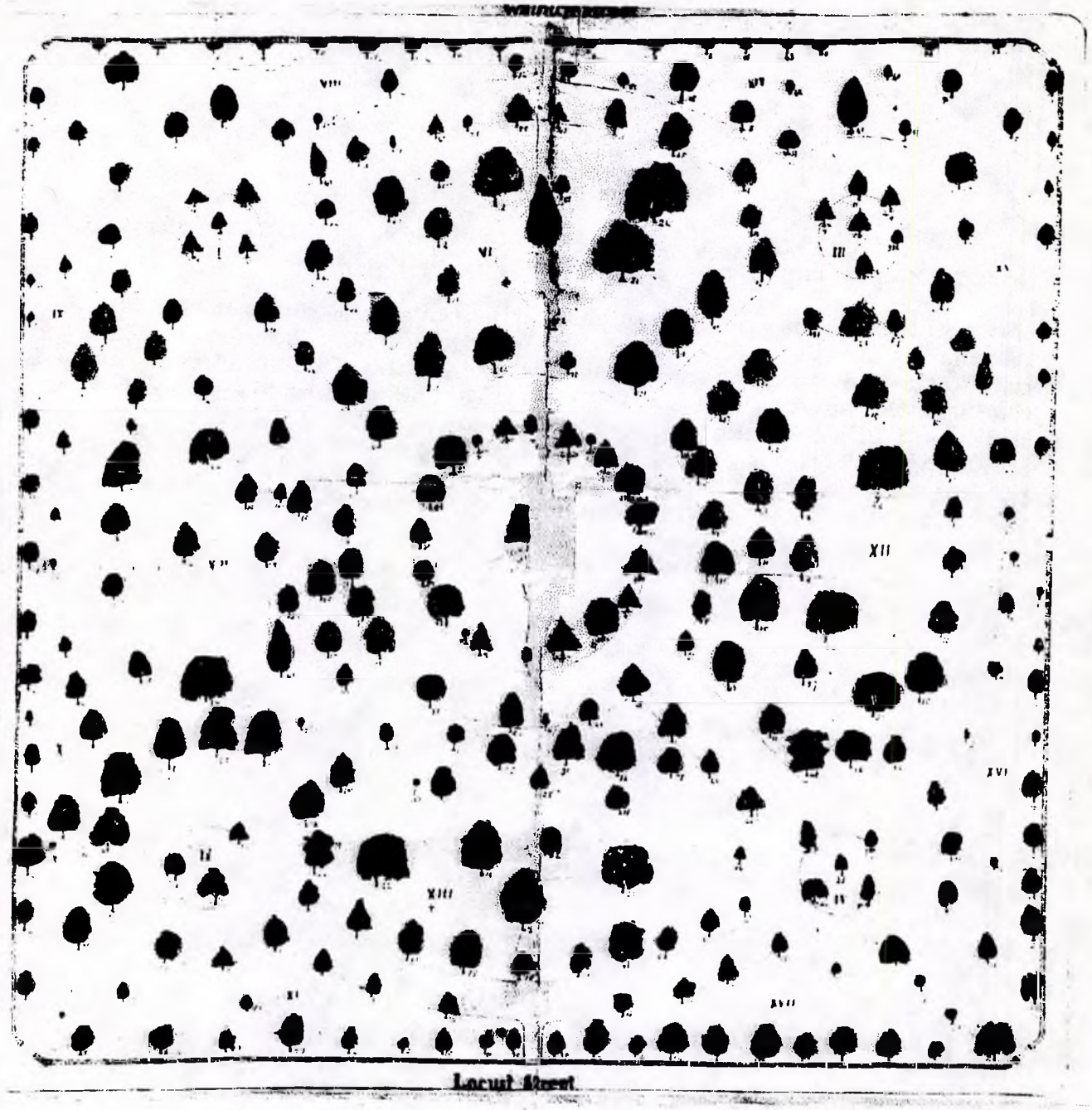
6. Map of Washington Square landscape design, c. 1835-40 (Courtesy Pennsyvania Horticultural Society)

This plan of Washington Square's landscape was found in the papers of Horace Binney, first president of the Pennsylvania Horticultural Society. Nicholas Wainwright, former president of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, dated the plan to 1835-40, based on the years Binney served as Society president.

Binney lived in the neighborhood, as did other Horticultural Society members, who together took an active interest in the the landscaping of the public squares.

Each of the trees in the Washington Square plan has been identified by a key number. (The key has not been reproduced for this report). All are labeled by their botanic and English names. The wide variety of species and the elaborate palisade fence reflected the cultivated taste of the residents. America's first landscape architect, Andrew Jackson Downing, marveled over Washington Square's trees on a visit to Philadelphia in the 1840s.

This plan shows eight entrances to Washington Square. In 1837 the city finally cut through Independence Square's palisade fence and wall to open entrances at both Walnut Street corners. Editorials in local newspapers complained that the changes would destroy the privacy of the promenade, so long the advantage of Independence Square.



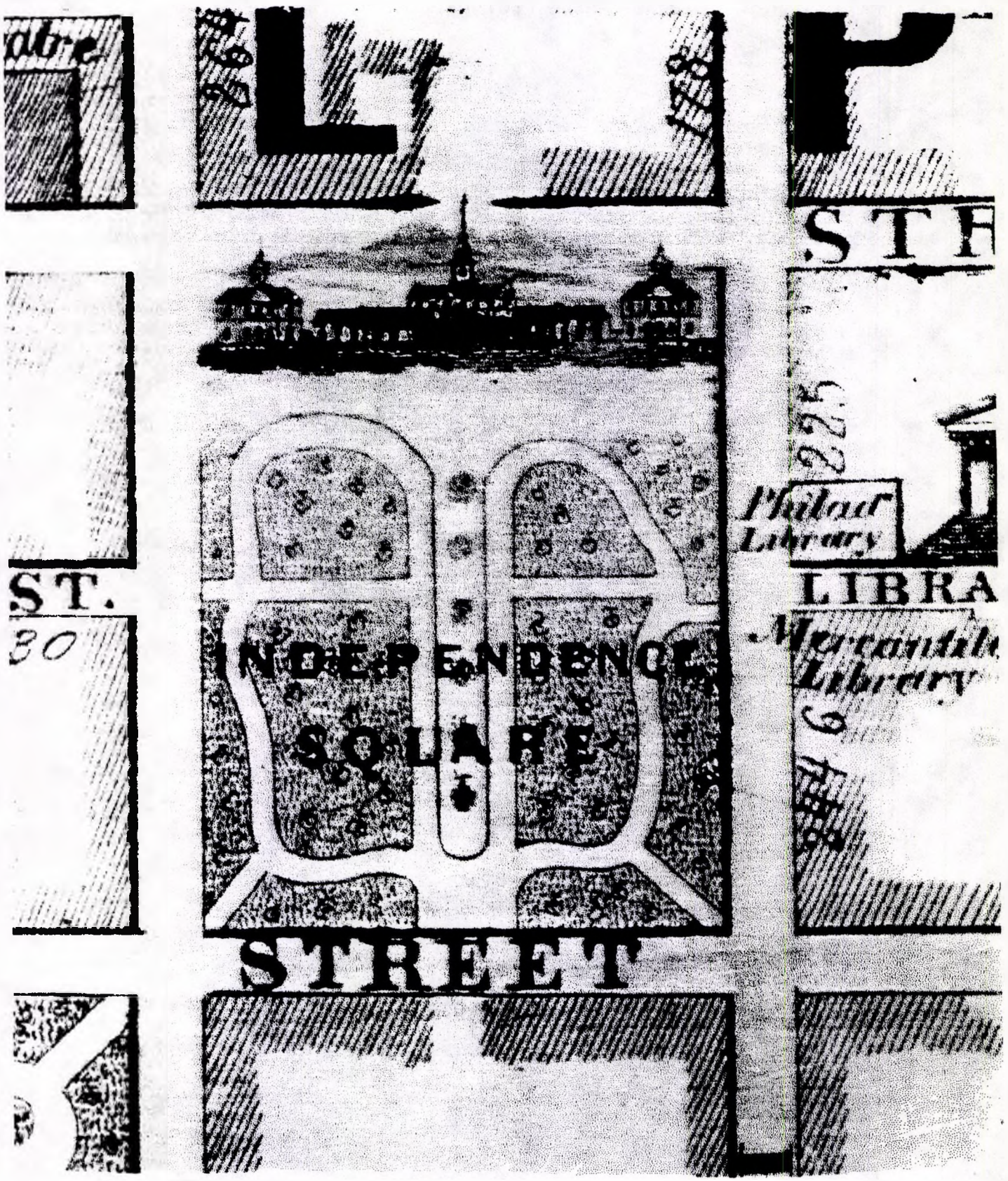


References

MAP OF
WASHINGTON SQUARE.

7. Map of the City of Philadelphia, 1849, by J.C. Sidney, civil engineer and surveyor (Enlargement, INDE 1554-B)

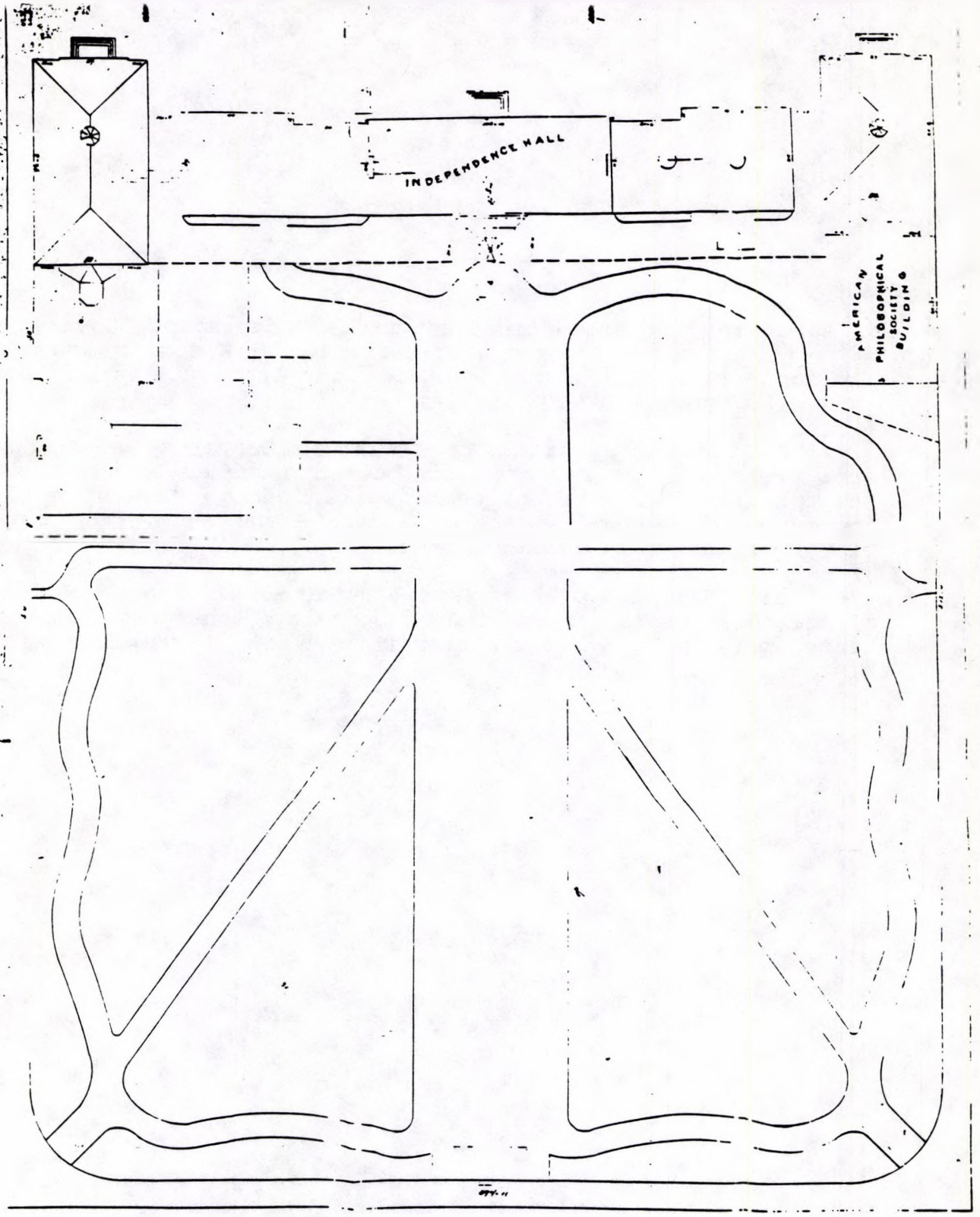
Sidney's map shows some of the physical changes to the Vaughan plan of 1785-87. Corner entrances and connecting diagonal paths to the serpentine gravel walk at the Walnut Street end of the square were added in 1837, while the entrances at mid-block and the path between them were added in 1845 to connect Library and George (Sansom) Streets. These improvements were made at public demand for the convenience of pedestrians regularly crossing the square en route to and from work.


ST.
30
INDEPENDENCE
SQUARE
STREET
Philad
Library
LIBRA
Mercantile
Library

8. Plan of Independence Square, c. 1867-1874 (INDE photostat 10,004; HSP)

This undated city plan for Independence Square was likely drawn after the new District Court House was completed in 1867, and before the additions between the Miils buildings and the corner buildings in 1872.

The diagonal paths from the Walnut Street corners appear on this plan, but don't show up on Sidney's map of 1849 (see map no. 7).



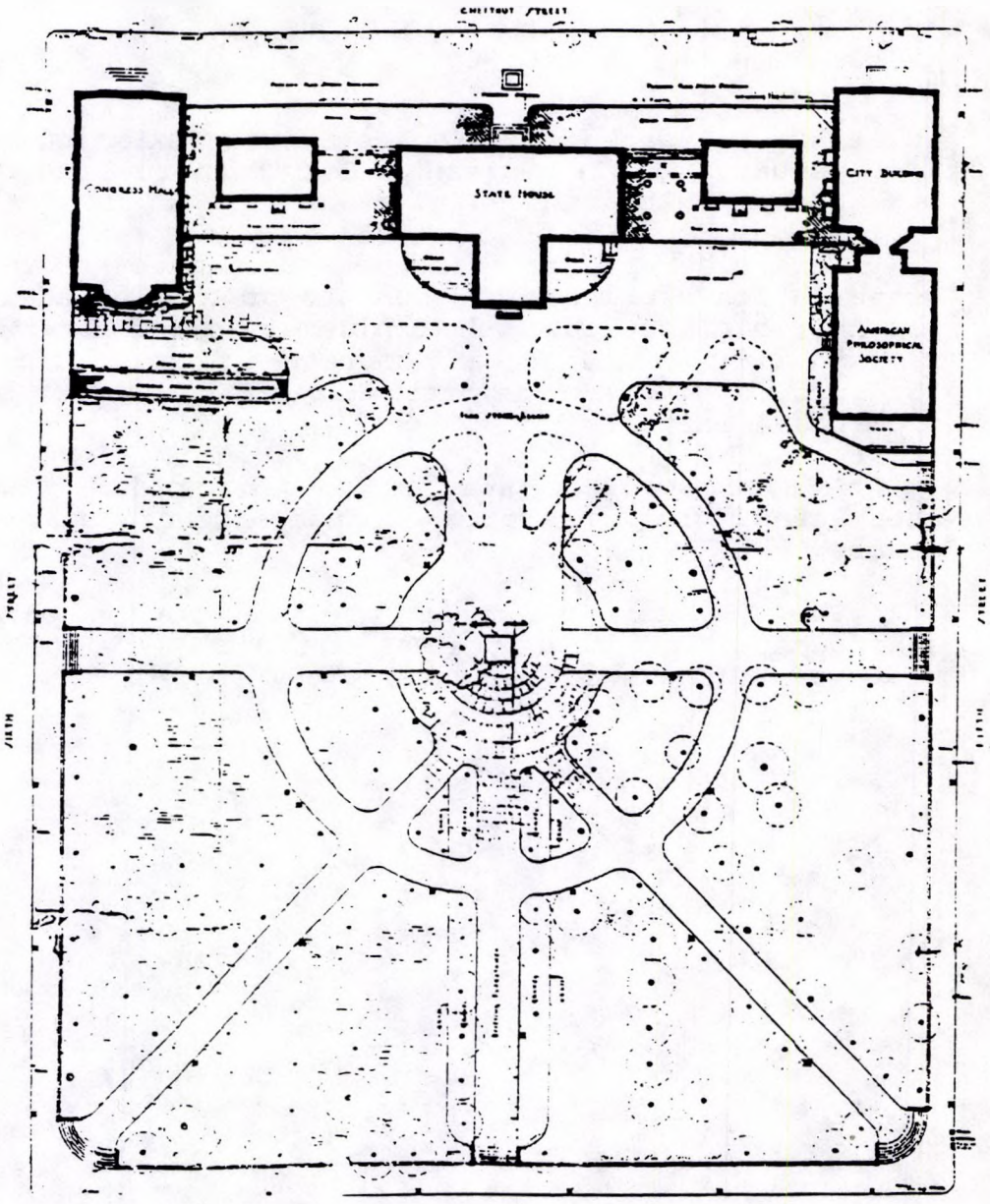
(Scale. 35ft to One inch)

9. Plot Plan, Proposed Improvements to Independence Square, 1915, by the Committee on the Preservation of Historic Monuments of the Philadelphia Chapter, American Institute of Architects. (INDE photostat 10,001)

The local chapter of the American Institute of Architects supervised all the restorations on Independence Square from 1910 through 1922. In 1914 the committee in charge drew up a plan to improve Independence Square's landscape and submitted it to the city's Art Jury for review.

This 1915 plot plan of Independence Square shows the location of all the trees and the A.I.A. proposals to change the Centennial landscape. The aim was to make the setting harmonious with the historic buildings.

PLAN SHOWING PROPOSED IMPROVEMENTS
IN
INDEPENDENCE SQUARE
PHILADELPHIA PENNSYLVANIA

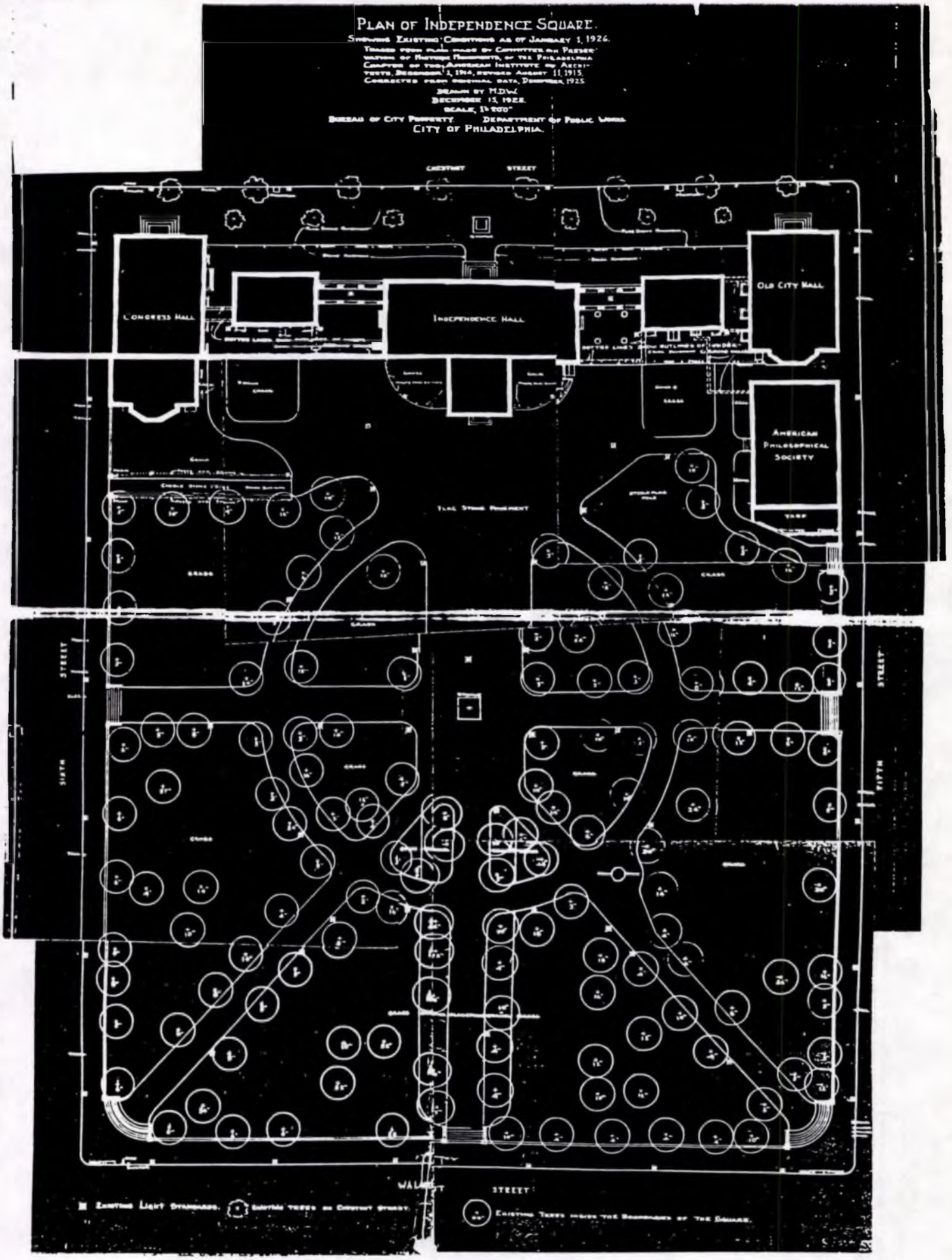


10. Plan of Independence Square Showing Existing Conditions as of January 1, 1926, Bureau of City Property, Department of Public Works (INDE Archives)

This plan, traced from the Plan made by the Committee on the Preservation of Historic Monuments of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, dated December 1, 1914, was revised August 11, 1915, and corrected from original data, December 15, 1925, by M.D.W. (The draftsman's name has not been established from these initials.)

A typed message stapled to this plan noted that a rough estimate of the grass area on Independence Square came to 97,772 square feet.

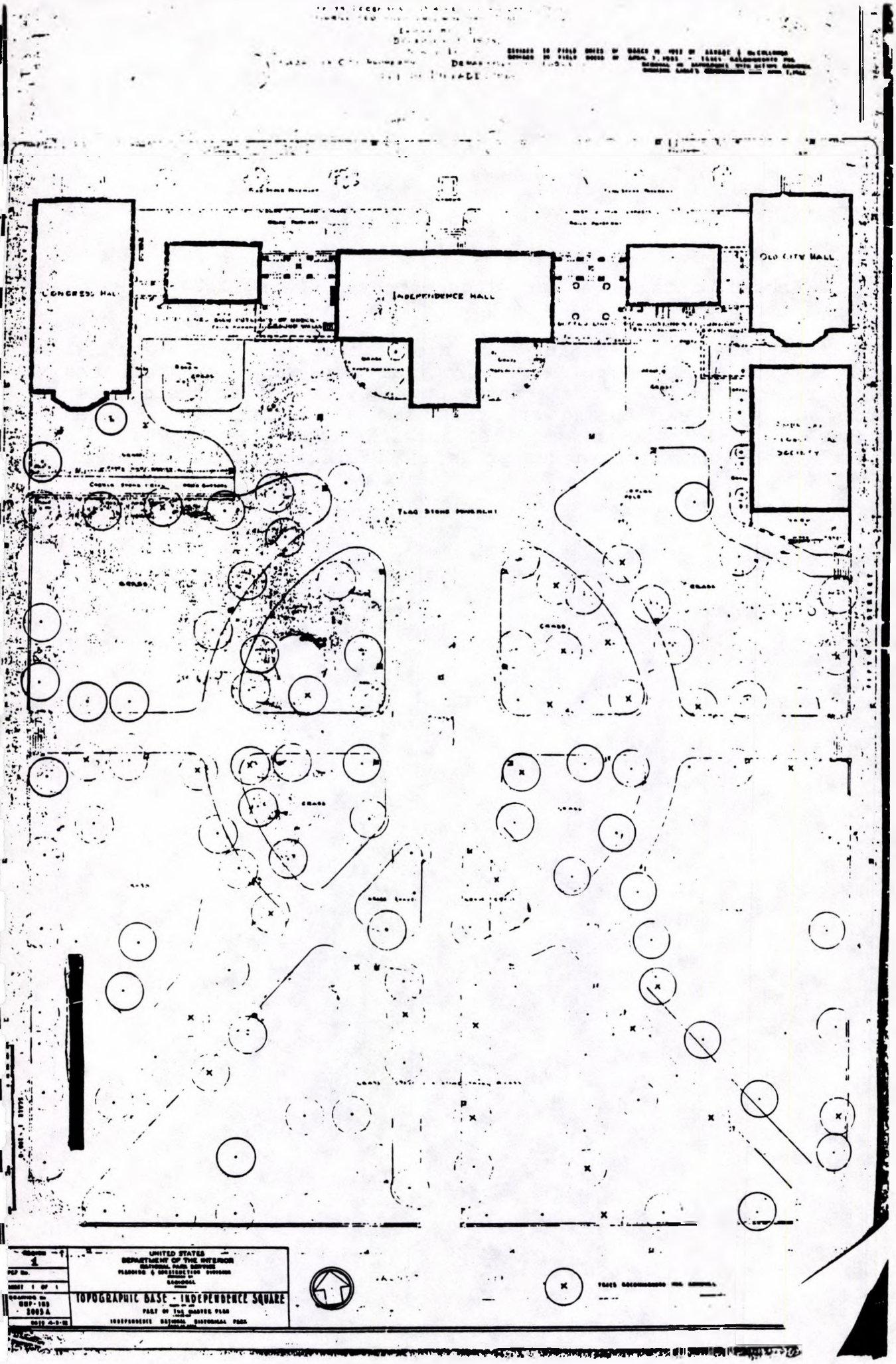
The location of trees in 1926 can be compared with the subsequent plan made by the National Park Service, which also names the type of trees on the square.


PLAN OF INDEPENDENCE SQUARE.
SHOWING EXISTING CONDITIONS AS OF JANUARY 1, 1926.
TRACED FROM PLANS MADE BY COMMITTEE ON PRESERVATION OF HISTORIC MONUMENTS, OF THE PHILADELPHIA CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS, DECEMBER 3, 1914, REVISED AUGUST 11, 1915.
CORRECTED FROM ORIGINAL DATA, DECEMBER 1925.
DRAWN BY M.D.W.
DECEMBER 15, 1925.
SCALE, 1" = 200'
BUREAU OF CITY PROPERTY. DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WORKS.
CITY OF PHILADELPHIA.
CHESTNUT STREET
CONGRESS HALL
INDEPENDENCE HALL
OLD CITY HALL
AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY
YARD
GRASS
TILE STONE PAVEMENT
SIXTH STREET
FIFTH STREET
WALNUT STREET
EXISTING LIGHT STANDARDS.
EXISTING TREES ON CHESTNUT STREET.
EXISTING TREES INSIDE THE BOUNDARIES OF THE SQUARE.

11. Topographic Base, Independence Square, Proposed Removal of Trees, 1952 ((Drawing No. NHP-IND 2003-A)

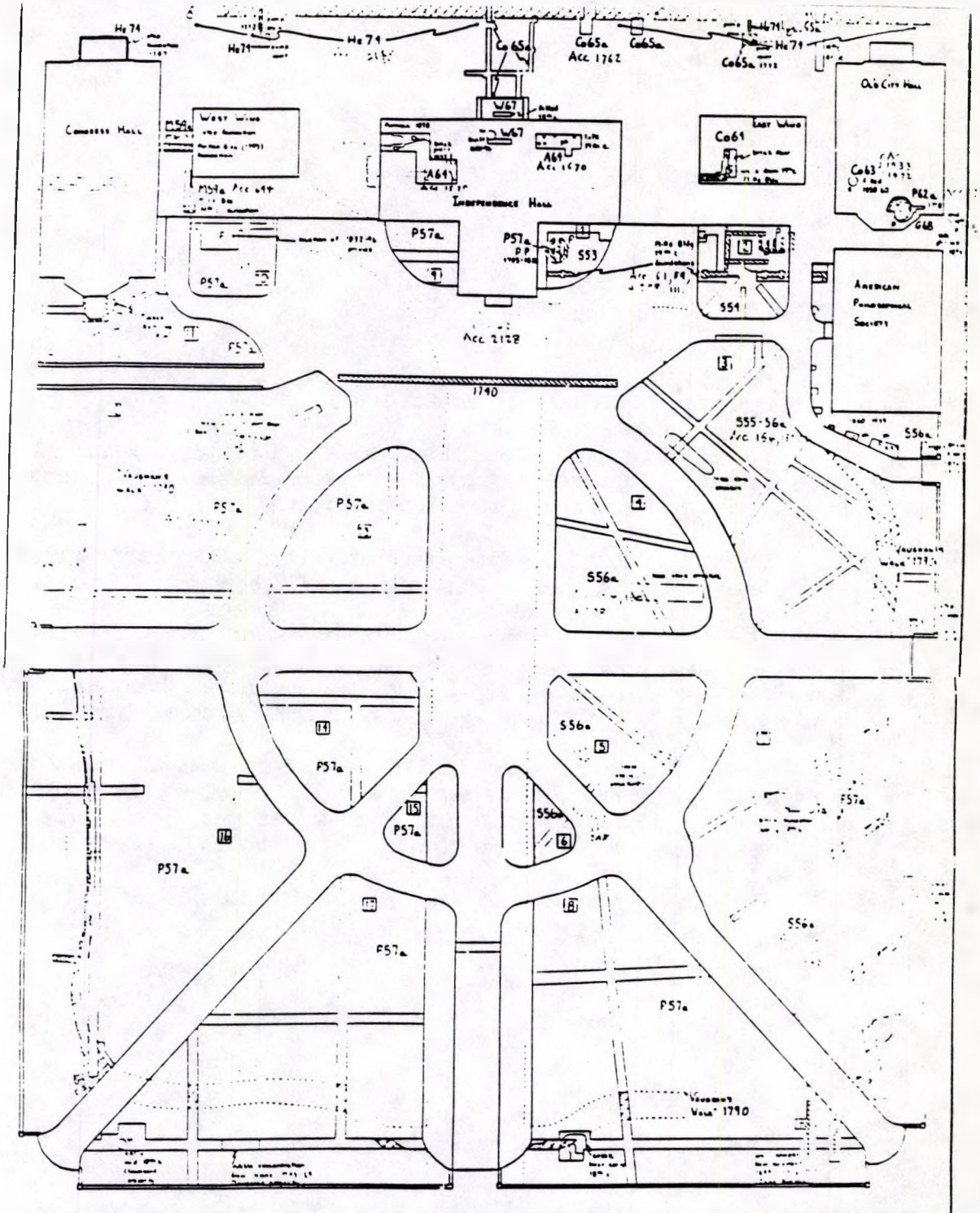
This 1952 plan of the Square was drawn up as part of Independence National Historical Park's master plan. The plan includes several revisions to indicate the trees recommended for removal (marked with an X).

From this plan, it is clear that the 1915-6 A.I.A. landscape modifications remained intact.


CONGRESS HALL
INDEPENDENCE HALL
OLD CITY HALL
FLAG STONE PAVEMENT
UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
TOPOGRAPHIC BASE - INDEPENDENCE SQUARE

12. Archeological Base Map, Independence Square, 1979 (NPS Drawing no. 3339.2)

After nearly two decades of intermittent digs, the National Park Service prepared this archeological base map laying out the locations of the investigations, with a key to the archeologists' names and the year their work took place. The park's accession numbers for the found objects from specific digs were added to the plan later by Penelope Batchelor, staff Historic Architect.


Congress Hall
Independence Hall
Old City Hall
American Philosophical Society
Acc 2128
1790
Walnut Street
P57a
S56a
S55-56a
Co65a
Co61
Co63
W67
A69
S53
S54
S59
P62a
G68
Scale 1" = 20'
0 10 50 feet
Sources (See Appendix A and B)
Archaeological Base-Map
Independence Square
NPS-INDE
Key

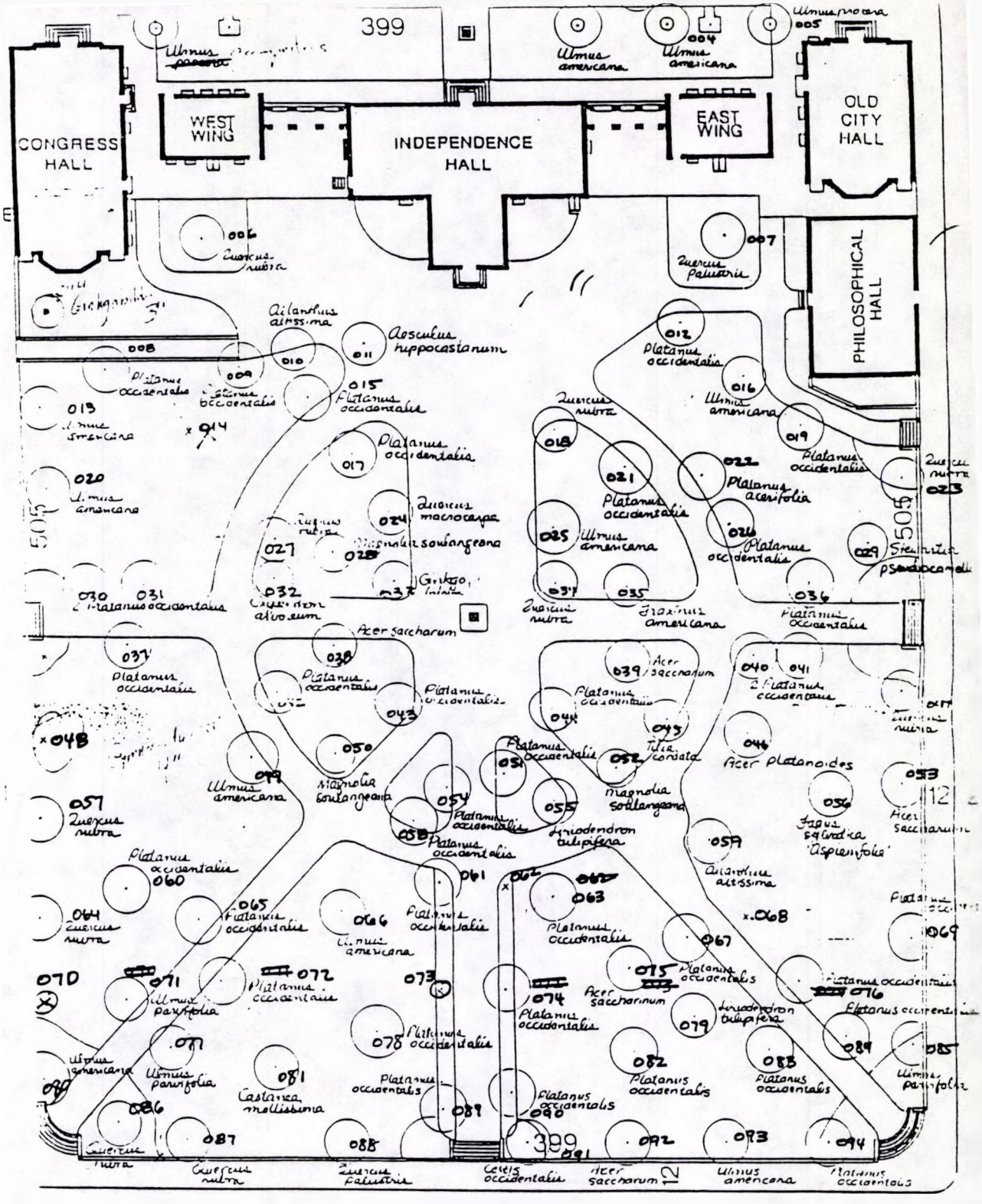
13. Tree Identification Map, Independence Square, 1994, with 1995 update (NPS Horticulturalist Files)

Park Horticulturalist Charles Smith plotted the trees on Independence Square by computer in 1994, and as trees are removed or added, he updates the information.

The plan locates 15 Elm (English, American and Chinese), 39 Sycamore, 14 Oak (Red, Pin and Bur), 6 Maple (Surgar, Norway and Silver), and a variety of 21 other trees : 2 Tree of Heaven, a Horse Chestnut, 2 Ginkgo, 3 Saucer Magnolias, a Korean Stewartia, a London Plane Tree, a Sourwood, A White Ash, A Little Leaf Linden, 3 Tulip Trees, a Fern Leaf Beech,a Chinese Chestnut, a Hackberry, 2 Green Ash "Patmores," and a Kentucky Coffee Tree.

Such a diversity of trees has been historically present since Vaughan's 1785-87 landscape. Andrew Jackson Downing admired the many healthy Buttonwoods (or Sycamores) in the 1840s, noting that they survived well in an urban (i.e. polluted) setting.

For this version of his plan, Smith has added the latin tree names by hand.



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