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Historic Structures Report, Part II

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Independence Hall

Independence National Historical Park

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Prepared by

Staff

Independence National Historical Park

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

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April 1962

CHAPTER II

HISTORICAL DATA

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

HISTORICAL DATA

STRUCTURAL HISTORY

The Provincial Capitol 3

Promoting the State House...5 Hamilton vs. Kearsley...6 Who Was the Architect?...10 Progress of Construction to 1741...15 The State House Completed...31 The Builders...34 Anatomy of a Province Hall...37

Province Hall to State House 42

The Work Underway...44 Reception of the State House...51 A Complacent Interlude...52

The War and Its Aftermath. 54

The British Occupation...54 Refitting the State House...56 Contemporary Descriptions...62

The State Capitol. 65

A General Overhaul...65 The Constitutional Convention Described...67 Last Decade as a Capitol...69

Peale's Museum 74

Establishment in the State House...74 A Visitor's View of the Museum...76 Care of the State House...79

Modernization and the Spirit of Change 81

Loss of Wing Buildings...81 Destructive Hand of the Commissioners...83 The State House Finds a Champion...88

Fifty Years of Change. 92

Welcome for a Hero...92 The Steeple Rebuilt...94 Courts on the Second Floor...98 The Haviland Restoration...100 Maintaining the State House...104 City Councils Move In...105 Assembly Room Becomes a Shrine...106 The Centennial...109

A Misguided Restoration. 114

From Centennial to 1895...114 The DAR Enters the Scene...114
First Floor Restored...119 New Look on Chestnut Street...124
The Second Floor Reconsidered...127 The Clock Controversy...128

Twentieth Century. 131

The Architects' Restoration...132 After 1924...135

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

STRUCTURAL HISTORY

The old State House of Pennsylvania in its origins as seat of the provincial assembly was a symbol of human liberty and the dignity of the individual years before the events of 1776 invested it with the legendary title, Independence Hall. First erected as a conscious expression of representative government's authority in a new world, later brought to final form in commemorative observance of one of colonial America's early charters of liberty, its appropriateness as a meeting place for the signers of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution is attested throughout its earlier history.

Others of the colonial assemblies had raised and occupied capitol buildings when the State House was begun in 1732. Through mid-century the Pennsylvania State House was one more of these two-storied "colony houses," complete to railed roof-walk and bell cupola. And though the latest and best, made up of an eye-catching range of halls and offices, it was no dizzying edifice but horizontal and solid. Its dignified aspect and happy admixture of good materials bespoke small government, local concerns, and a providential society, counting its blessings after the successes of nearly fifty years. Certainly this province house, if not of an order to compare with major public building architecture on the other side of the Atlantic, for its day was an ambitious undertaking.

Not until after mid-century did the State House assume the grace and character which made it conspicuous among buildings of the type in

America. With the provision of such embellishments and amenities as a tall tower, long hallway, large bells, carved and gilded clock cases for the bare gable walls at either end, and a well-appointed apartment for the Assembly library, it took on an impressive new dignity. Now the State House imparted to the provincial visitor a sense of lofty stateliness, of rounder proportion, of richness, heretofore in no considerable measure present behind the fine facade. If not universally admired, for in some quarters there was dissent from the prevailing view, the State House now drew its share of praise. This was the building familiar to the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

From this high-point of 1759 the State House went into a decline. Long years of neglect, abuses of wartime, renovations and alterations to suit Congress, state and city governments, a period in caretaker status, decades of mean use, and the misplaced zeal of bungling though ardent restorers have cost it many of its former glories.

The Independence Hall of today, shorn of many adornments known by the revolutionary generation, dispossessed of additions essential to the signer's scheme of things, its interior architecture at key points little more than bad guesses, has all too little in common with the State House of 1776.

The Provincial Capitol

Promoting the State House...5 Hamilton vs. Kearsley...6 Who Was the Architect?...10 Progress of Construction to 1741...15 The State House Completed...31 The Builders...34 Anatomy of a Province Hall...37

> He steadily maintained the cause of Liberty; and the laws made during the time he was Speaker of the Assembly,...will be a lasting monument....
>
> Obit. of Andrew Hamilton
> from Franklin's Gazette

A great figure in American history, Andrew Hamilton "planned and founded" the Pennsylvania State House. His was the motive force behind the undertaking although legislative log-rolling, provincial finance, and by-play of personalities also operated to give Pennsylvania its first state house.

Hamilton dominated the entire procedure from the day in 1729 when the Assembly on whose floor he provided legislative steerage received a "petition of diverse Inhabitants" first raising the subject until the day twelve years later when he died, leaving a not quite-finished building to the exasperated and confused membership. He not only engineered legislation providing for its construction and financing, but became its chief architect and superintended the work. The record shows his name to have been the only one associated from first to last with the project in every move taken.

Nowadays Andrew Hamilton is confused with the unrelated first Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton. To a much earlier generation of Americans, Andrew Hamilton was a celebrity in his own right. He is remembered in Franklin's autobiography as 1724's "famous lawyer of Philadelphia." As counsel for the defense in the famous New York press case of John Peter

Zenger, he became the first American to achieve general recognition beyond the borders of his own colony. His advocacy in that case gained him a high-sounding accolade: "The Day-Star of the American Revolution." Even today those who employ the well-worn expression "smart as a Philadelphia lawyer" make unknowing reference to him.

Hamilton in 1729 reached the zenith of his power and influence. Elected speaker by the October assembly as successor to David Lloyd, only two years following his return from England and a period of service to the proprietors, he also held the post of prothonotary of the city and county of Philadelphia. He had earlier been attorney general. For two years he had taken a conspicuous part in the proceedings of the lusty provincial assembly, framing legislation and bringing a specialist's knowledge to financial matters. Pennsylvania, now approaching its fiftieth year, had already become a young giant. The opportunities offered within the province attracted new talents from neighboring colonies and from the old world. Most important, all comers enjoyed civil and religious liberty, guaranteed, as he put it, by the "excellency of our constitution" and safeguarded by annual, not triennial, assemblies. Hamilton himself, after a start in Virginia and Maryland, had gravitated to Pennsylvania: "I have ever had at heart the preservation of liberty, the love of which, as it first drew me to, so it constantly prevailed upon me to reside in this province, tho' to the manifest prejudice of my fortune."[1]

Promoting the State House

The Assembly had by then outgrown its old meeting places--courthouse or private residence hired out for the occasion. Hamilton thought this practice "dishonourable" or beneath their dignity. With the admission of four new representatives from Lancaster County the same year, such accommodations also proved "very incommodious" for the thirty members and officials. Furthermore, the year before incidents had taken place in the bustling neighborhood near markets and wharves exposing members to "indecencies...by rude and disorderly Persons,...." The Assembly appealed to Governor Gordon to quit Philadelphia, "...to make such an Order for the Place of next Meeting...as...shall seem most safe...and most convenient...."[2] Gordon, advised by his wealthy and influential councillors, most of them from Philadelphia and vicinity, saw little merit in this request. Besides a location away from Philadelphia would be inconvenient. The four counties represented in the Assembly clustered around the city; it was equally accessible to all of them during inclement weather. Any location out of town would be remote from the loan office, land office, and other agencies of government with which the Assembly did so much of its business. The Assembly should continue for a time at least in Philadelphia. The representatives acquiesced in this, expressing a hope that "there may be no need to renew that Application,..."[3]

Inspired by the Assembly's disapproving majority, "diverse Inhabitants" of Philadelphia not long afterward submitted a petition praying a State House would be built in town. Although the petition has long since

disappeared, it may be safely assumed that the members of the provincial council and Philadelphia's representatives in the Assembly to a man joined the "proprietary families" and city's prominent merchants and tradesmen at the top of the list, in space reserved for all who had a special interest in keeping the government in Philadelphia.

Losing no time, the Assembly appropriated £2000 to build a "House for the Assembly."[4] This measure found its way into a bill for emitting £30,000 in paper money, the original draft of which, according to Hamilton's biographer, was "...in Hamilton's own hand."[5] Not until the Assembly amended their bill to include this appropriation did governor and council assent to it.[6] The procedure bears all the earmarks of a bargain, the Assembly under Hamilton's spell engaging in some sharp trading with the governor who, as representative of the proprietary interest, had no love for paper money and its depreciatory effect on quit rent payments but, as friend of the "proprietary families," desired to maintain the government in Philadelphia. Though a representative from Bucks County, Hamilton lived in Clarke Hall on Philadelphia's Chestnut Street and accommodated the several interests untroubled of conscience.

Hamilton vs. Kearsley

Specifically, the legislation called for delivery of bills from the issue to the amount of £2000 to "Thomas Lawrence, Andrew Hamilton, and John Kearsley, who are hereby appointed for building and carrying on the

same,..."[7] Hamilton and Kearsley after the bill's passage joined in drafting an address to the King and proprietary family in its favor.[8]

Here, as the Assembly discovered in short order, was an oddly assorted managing committee.

Dr. Kearsley, a physician by profession and very active as one of Philadelphia's two burgesses in the Assembly, brought the gentlemanly accomplishment of architectural skill to the venture. Already hailed for his masterly planning of the still unfinished Christ Church building, he appeared a logical selection for the committee. He also brought to the committee personal qualities not calculated to blend with those of Hamilton. His apprentice physicians found him singularly unsolicitous. He impressed one contemporary as a man of "morose disposition."[9]

Hamilton himself, for all his achievements in public capacities and the respect accorded him--freely enough it would appear--was unlikely to inspire affection with Kearsley and Lawrence. He was domineering, "stern and severe in his manner," and tenacious of purpose. Lawrence in later years recalled the "vindictive Disposition" which made him a "great persecutor."[10]

Lawrence was a well-to-do Philadelphia merchant of distinguished lineage, a member of bench and bar, and at this time in the provincial council. As the council's representative on the committee, he could be expected to stand for the city's interest. As a liberal subscriber to the Christ Church project, he could be expected to stand with Kearsley on any differences with Hamilton. In what followed he appears not to have been a strong factor, remaining judicially aloof from the most acrimonious of it.[11]

For nearly three years progress was negligible. The three managers collected bills to the amount of £2000 on January 5, 1730.[12] The legislative record for the thirty month period which followed makes no reference to the undertaking. From later statements it is clear that the committee was dissension-ridden from the start. The act of 1729 had given them carte blanche in the siting and planning of the structure. Hamilton and Kearsley had disagreed on both points, the former apparently favoring a location on the outskirts of town and a building to be used only by governmental and judicial bodies, the latter the location called for in the petition, "in High Street, near the Prison," and a building to serve as both "Market and State-house."[13] The disagreement persisted long after Hamilton deputized the young merchant, William Allen, in October 1730, to purchase a large property on the south side of Chestnut Street between Fifth and Sixth Streets.

As time lengthened and the deadlock remained unbroken, Lawrence threw his weight to Hamilton who arranged with suppliers for building materials and on his own authority contracted with builders for the work.[14] By the summer of 1732, with construction underway and Kearsley persisting in his opposition "...both on account of the Place where it is built, and of the Manner and Form,..." the matter came to a head.[15] In August Hamilton revealed to the Assembly that a bitter disagreement existed.

Kearsley arose in rebuttal and was "fully heard." Hamilton moved that the membership "...resolve itself into a Committee of the Whole House, that he might have an opportunity of answering the said John Kearsley."[16]

Two days further were required to bring the contest to a decision. Other important business interrupted the hearings from time to time. Long before the final vote, however, passage of resolutions favorable to Hamilton foretold the result. He had come armed the second day with building plans to support his case. The House approved them forthwith. He pronounced the project a burden and offered to withdraw. The House resolved to compensate him. The House also directed that Allen be reimbursed for the land already acquired.[17]

The legislative record describes only Hamilton's speeches in any detail. Kearsley's line of debate can only be conjectured. Against Hamilton's commanding eloquence, Kearsley pitted oratorical powers which in better times had brought him home "on the shoulders of the people."[18] The Assembly passed the "Grand Committee's" resolution "That Mr. Speaker, both in regard of the Place whereon the Building of the State-house is fix'd, and the Manner of conducting the said Building, hath behaved himself agreeable to the Mind and Intention of this House."[19]

Nowhere in the proceedings is Hamilton's mastery of the situation better exemplified than in the House's move to reconstitute the managing committee:

> Resolved, That Mr. Speaker be the Person appointed by this House, with the advice of the two Gentlemen before nominated, to superintend and govern the Building of the State-house;...[20]

Now possessed of the authority he had sought, Hamilton was in a position to give the State House the form he had wanted all along. From this day forward

he held full sway. Thoroughly worsted, Kearsley was not to be reconciled by the sop thrown his way. He elected not to exercise the vestigial authority remaining to him as an advisor and henceforth took no part in the project of building. Lawrence followed his lead. But though Hamilton had subdued the opposition for the moment, the power to criticize and obstruct remained to them. Hamilton was to encounter continuing harrassment from these erstwhile co-participants while laboring to fulfill his dream of raising a stately edifice.

Who Was the Architect?

As will be remembered, Hamilton had already arranged with builders to start work when the imbroglio with Kearsley came into the open in August 1732. On June 20, 1732, Benjamin Fairman, a Philadelphia brickmaker, had agreed to furnish Hamilton with bricks: "What So Ever it amounts to I oblige My Selfe to Deliver in Good Brickes to y^{e} State house to that Vallew as I upon Such Settlement fall in his Debpt...." The deliveries came to more than £170.[21] By August he had "...agreed with the Workman employed in the said building,..."[22] In other words, he had signed articles of agreement with the masons and bricklayers who even then were busy laying foundations and walls and carpenters who would soon be at work on floors, roof, and partitions. Unfortunately, none of these contracts have been recovered. Their unavailability deprives those studying the building of useful and perhaps essential knowledge about the appearance of the State House, the work contributed by each, and the influence of each on the design.[23]

Possession of the articles signed by Hamilton and one Edmund Woolley would go far toward settling the historically important question over the identity of the State House's architect. Woolley, a master carpenter, in combination with Ebenezer Tomlinson, undertook to do all the heavy, i.e. structural, woodwork. One of the founders of the Carpenters' Company a few years earlier, he had a serious interest in design and architecture, both the special province of the colonial master builder, and presumably was chosen by Hamilton as much for his knowledge of the art of building as for the quality of his work. A number of years ago the editors of The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography "discovered" Edmund Woolley and it has since become fashionable to regard him as the architect:

QUERIES

WHO WAS THE ARCHITECT OF THE STATE-HOUSE, ANDREW HAMILTON OR EDMUND WOOLLEY? The original of the following receipt is in the Penn Papers of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.---

The Honourable John Penn Esquire Dr.

To drawing the Elivation of the Frount, one End the Roof Balconey, Chimneys and Torret of the State House, With the fronts and Plans of the Two offiscis and Piazzas allso the Plans of the first and second Floors of the State House

Edmund Woolley £5.0.0

Recd the 22^{d} of July 1736 of James Steel the above mentioned five Pounds

P me EDMUND WOOLLEY.[24]

An elevation and floor plans discovered a number of years previously in the Dickinson Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania had before this been attributed universally to Hamilton (Illustration No. 1). Publication of the above receipt seemed to link Woolley with the Plan. In

fact, the receipt covered a set of plans, two sheets of which have come to light only within the last decade. These showing the first and second floors reappeared from the Penn Papers and differ in several respects from the plans for those floors in the Dickinson Papers (Illustration No. 2). The coincidence of two sets of floor plans where the receipt itemizes but one allows Woolley credit for one or the other, but not both. Where a choice must be made, it is difficult not to assign the latter to Hamilton as the self-same "...Draught of the State-house, containing the Plan and Elevation of that Building;..." produced before the Assembly in 1732.[25] A reexamination of the receipt inevitably results in crediting Woolley with the more recently discovered drawings. Both drawings and the receipt were found in the Penn family papers. The earlier drawing was found in the papers of Isaac Norris' son-in-law, John Dickinson. Norris in 1741, as one of the newly appointed "Superintendants" of the State House, received from Andrew Hamilton's trustees all records and accounts, plans undoubtedly included. The line of descent is thus clear.

But a vital clue to interpretation of the receipt has been consistently ignored by those who have considered the evidence. It is the date in the margin of the manuscript receipt, 1735 (Illustration No. 3). This taken together with John Penn's having paid for the drawings although he had no connection whatsoever with construction of the State House enable recreating of the circumstances. John Penn, eldest of the founder's sons and inheritor of five-eights of the father's holdings, arrived in the

province for a visit in October 1734. Being on the best of terms with Hamilton for services of a few years before, Penn undoubtedly came to learn much at first hand about the State House venture. Upon his return to England the following year, 1735, he doubtless took with him a set of plans, specially prepared for the occasion. Other internal evidence points to Hamilton as his own architect, Woolley his "mechanic" (engineer), builder and sometime draughtsman. Earlier in 1732, before contracting with the builders, Hamilton had gone to the trouble of obtaining and exhibiting a "Plan and Elevation" to Kearsley and Lawrence when forcing the issue of building.[26] Consideration is also due to the fact that a number of other plans and elevations, "...one or more of which were produced by one of the Gentlemen joined in the said Undertaking:..." were compared at that time.[27] For another thing, the first plan is on parchment such as was required for deeds of the realm and presumably overseas as well. Hamilton, the lawyer and landholder, had frequent need for parchment. A comparison of lettering hands, while not entirely conclusive as to identity of the letterer, at least demonstrates that Woolley did not label the first plan. Hamilton himself, Benjamin Eastburn, surveyor-general of the province, and an unknown scribe in Hamilton's employ all qualify as letterer of the plan. (See Appendix B for an analysis of the lettering.)

The most important consideration is, however, divorced totally from technical skills, relationship of principals, and other ordinary prohibitions. Andrew Hamilton was the one man among them gifted with knowledge

of and broad experience with deliberative bodies and courts here and abroad, the one man among them familiar through first hand knowledge with halls of assemblage and the long galleries and withdrawing rooms of stately houses in England. It was Hamilton's judgment that was indispensable when it came to determining the size, disposition, function, and appointments of the rooms and passageways. And where the experienced Kearsley had contended that "the Form of the said Building was liable to great Exceptions," the Assembly found it "least expensive...the most neat and commodious."[28] Hamilton drew his inspiration from the best work being done in the homeland, as illustrated in such guides as James Gibbs' Book of Architecture Containing Designs of Buildings and Ornaments published but a few years before. It requires no very great stretch of the imagination to put these sources in Hamilton's hands; to see him tracing and piecing together plans from the prototypes before him until he had a building of the type he deemed appropriate (see Illustrations No. 4, 5, 6, and 7 for State House prototypes and Appendix B for a discussion of their relationship to the earliest known plan for the building).

Hamilton was a large property holder and had had experience with building Bush Hill and his place in Maryland, and remodelling Clarke Hall. A set of plans for the State House cupola said to be in his hand were lost at Gray's Inn during the fire-blitz of London in 1941.[29]

To sum up, it would not be unreasonable to assume that Hamilton laid out the State House to suit his conception and directed the preparation

of whatever more detailed drawings the work required. There is little reason to doubt that the contributions to design of the several builders were completely in the spirit and taste he had shown.

Progress of Construction to 1741

From this embattled start the work limped along for nine years more, impeded by the dilatory tactics of those unfriendly to it, the difficulties of framing the structure, and the many demands which divided the time of its superintendent. Driven by his obsession to put up a State House that would be "...a credit to the Whole Province," he kept the reins tight, admittedly at the expense of "...a great Deal of Trouble and Fatigues...being obliged almost to a constant Attendance in providing Necessities for the Building, and in overseeing the Doing the work."[30]

The record of this period is extremely limited, consisting in the main of those matters concerning which he consulted with the Assembly. As Hamilton purchased materials, contracted for services, made payments, and kept the accounts, a complete body of his personal papers would be most enlightening. Very few, however, have survived. The record of Assembly proceedings, supplemented here and there by other materials, make it possible to follow the course of construction. A first phase begun in 1732 ground to a halt as money ran out about 1736. With renewed backing in 1738, the work was resumed, but after three years more an impatient Assembly at last interceded with a mandate to finish the job. Before their instructions could be carried out, Hamilton died, leaving the final steps to be taken by others.

Despite having made a large land purchase along Chestnut Street in 1730, it was not until Hamilton acquired Matthew Dowlin's lot on June 10, 1732, and Thomas Peglar's house and lot on September 12, 1732, that the property comprising the building site was completely assembled. (Illustration No. 8. Also see Appendix C for the chains of title of these properties.) Hamilton, not content to wait for delivery of the last of these lots, had by then broken ground. The preparation of the ground, the laying of the foundation, and brickwork had advanced far enough by August 11, 1732, for difficulties attendant upon the proposed carpentry to be the subject of decision by the Assembly on that date. Hamilton had contracted with master carpenters Edmund Woolley and Ebenezer Tomlinson "at the cheapest rate he could." They now "insisted" that as "...the Work expected from them was heavy, and to be carried on in an extraordinary Manner," the rate per square be raised to 30 shillings.[31] This agreed to, presumably they went to work soon thereafter stringing the girders and joists of the floor as the structure rose. Two years were needed to get the building under roof.[32] In the meantime the Assembly had received a distress signal from Hamilton. In little more than a year the undertaking had consumed £1800 over and above the £550 spent for land. This was £350 more than had been made available up to that point. The Assembly after examining the accounts had to appropriate an additional £2000.[33]

Woolley and Tomlinson were still busy on the structural woodwork three-and-a-half years and several raising feasts later when in December

1735 they petitioned for the measuring of their work "...setting forth, that they have almost finished that Part of the State-house, which they undertook to perform,..." As that "Part" included "Floors, Outside Windows [frames--no sash], Doors, Roof and Eves, Turret [cupola], Balconey [roof-walk and ballustrade], and the Stairs,"[34] the structural work apparently was very nearly done. The interior finish was not, and the carpenters prayed "that the House will please to direct in what Manner they shall compleat the same;..." This may be regarded as a solicitation for more business, doing the carpentry not covered in their contract. The Assembly, unable to meet the expense of wainscoting throughout at that time and unwilling to go to the expense of a finish that would have to be replaced in time, ordered "that the Inside of the said Building be finished with good Plastering, a proper Cornish round the room next the Cieling, and a Surbase below."[35] However, the work was not done at this time, doubtless owing to the state of finances. These plans changed later as the building developed.

Even making allowances for the challenge to the province's infant building trades posed by this large and complicated structure, three-and-a-half years may be considered excessively long for the amount of work accomplished. Certain other delaying factors had played a part. In the first place, with Lawrence and Kearsley "declining to attend" the work, the burden of supervision fell heavily upon Hamilton.[36] While the aging Speaker, frequently behind schedule it may be supposed, clambered about the

scaffolding, inspecting and giving instructions, idle tongues wagged below. The Assembly had moved their sessions into the brick house acquired in 1732 as part of the Peglar property on the east front of the State House, and from this vantage point Hamilton's detractors in that body watched and vented their feelings as the building rose.[37] Encouraged by his absence from membership in the Assembly which met in October 1733, they became openly critical. They "...made it their business to charge... [him] with being the sole Projector...and of his Head running the Country to a much greater Charge than was necessary."[38] Very soon after his return to the Assembly in January 1734, he retorted in a famous "Remonstrance." Citing his "Trouble and Fatigue," he vehemently attacked the "unjust Reproaches of malicious Persons," and again requested his release.[39] Once more that body sustained him and the work went on.

The decision to erect wing buildings proved to be another complicating factor. The 1729 statute made no specific provision for offices. They first appear in the 1732 drawing (Illustration No. 1) as wings, unlabelled, unaccompanied by floor plans, and doubtless constituted one of the bases of Kearsley's objection to the State House's "Manner and Form," for in a less ambitious plan room might have been found for offices in the main building. The earlier agreement with Woolley and Tomlinson covered only the structural work on the main building. The several plans shown around the management committee and the Assembly apparently concentrated on the "principal building." The records through the year 1732 make reference to no other structures.

Then suddenly and with no explanations, six months after construction had begun, the Assembly passed a resolution

> That for the greater Security of the publick Papers of this Province (agreeable to a plan now produced before the House) two Offices be built, adjoining to the State-House; and that a sum, not exceeding Four Hundred Pounds be allowed out of the publick Money for that Purpose;...[40]

The plan referred to has not been recovered. Unquestionably, it departed in many respects from the wings of the 1732 plan, for later prints show little in common. The decision to proceed with the wings added to the cost of the undertaking and readily explains the later petitions of Tomlinson and Woolley for payment of substantial sums due them for "sundry pieces of Work, not included in their Agreement,..."[41] By 1734, according to the "Remonstrance," Hamilton had "carried on the Offices, a considerable length."

No afterthought prompted this belated move to include the office wings. The opportunity they presented of bringing the great agencies of record and fiscal management into the Assembly's orbit was not to be lost on Hamilton. Also, as has been noted above, it was not until after construction began that he completed assembling the land parcel on which the east wing was to be built. After gaining title to Thomas Peglar's lot on September 12, 1732, the way was open (see Illustration No. 8).

As the construction carried over into 1735, the time approached when the Assembly could look forward to occupying their new quarters. On January 25, they agreed that their room "be wainscotted of a convenient Heighth on three Sides, and that the East end be neatly wainscotted and

finished the whole Heighth."[42] This resolution adopted on that occasion provides the first clue as to the finish of the room in which the Declaration of Independence was signed many years later. Perhaps, confident that they would re-assemble in a neatly finished room, the Assembly when adjourning in June ordered demolition of the Peglar house, where they had been meeting.[43] However, Hamilton was out of town that summer, appearing for the defense in the famous "freedom of the press" trial of Zenger in New York City. And the work apparently was not done.

The State House to which they returned the following September 15 was a study in contrasts. After workmen struck the last of the scaffolding, its sparkling, new marble panels with moldings, green serpentine quoin stones and water table, marble band courses, marble steps, cut stone foundations, and range of nine window and door openings on each floor, each surmounted by rubbed brick and marble keystones, must have impressed those of them who approached from the front. The effect undoubtedly was tempered by wings at either end still under construction and piazza brickwork between wings and main building not as yet roofed over. Beyond the walls it was a hollow shell, raw and unfinished, offering to the assembling representatives little more than rough-mortared brick on four sides, a floor under their feet, and a latticework of exposed girders and joists above their heads. The unpartitioned second floor lay beyond.

One may doubt that the Assembly did in fact "keep house" in this building while in this state. With the simplest comforts and appointments

not yet installed, they would appear to have been at the mercies of every wintry blast or rainy squall. And throughout the years before the windows were glazed and stoves installed, the members held sessions in December as in April. In acquiring land on Fifth Street, the Assembly also owned houses on them, and until removed at the decade's end to make room for the wall, these houses offered an alternative to the unfinished State House. But these houses were small and tenanted throughout. Sometime during the 1739-1740 legislative year, the Assembly paid eighteen shillings, separate and apart from Hamilton's accounts, "for arching a chimney," and bought firewood at the same time, perhaps for use in some other structure. Surely, the building and its proprietors were not bereft of all protection from the elements throughout these years if only by resort to greased paper in the windows and footwarmers on the floor. Apropos to this, the Assembly in 1735 paid £2.10.6 "For Firewood, and mending the Windows."[44] Another year was to pass before the first recorded use of the second floor took place--a great "FEAST for his Citizens at the Statehouse" given by Mayor William Allen in September 1736.

Within a matter of months the wing buildings were ready to receive the offices of government. In early January 1736 with the offices "almost compleated," John Kinsey, rising Quaker politician, moved that "...a Bill be brought in to compel the several Officers...in whose Custody...Records and Papers are lodged, to deposite the same in the said Offices; and...give Attendance at the...Offices, at such Hours as this House shall think proper ...."[45] Officials of Philadelphia County resisted bitterly, petitioned

against the bill for a variety of reasons, the principal ones of which had to do with their convenience and emoluments.[46] After much negotiation the bill failed to receive approval of governor and council.[47] In time the Land Office, Loan Office, Rolls Office, and Register's Office were established in the four first floor rooms.

Now no more money remained for the State House. Unfunded debts had piled up. A bill to appropriate Loan Office interest monies failed to pass.[48] Work on the building came to a halt.

For a few years longer Hamilton retained his accustomed status and influence. Still in the prime of life, he continued to hold high office and build the institutions of representative government. As a member of the Assembly and Speaker in both Pennsylvania and Delaware, he sought to strengthen and perfect the Assembly's powers, reduce to a whisper the influence of provincial councils, and make equity courts responsible to the elected Assembly. In March 1737 he added the post of Judge of the Vice Admiralty Court to his other offices.[49]

But the years had taken their toll. In 1737 he suffered two debilitating illnesses.[50] Now sixty-one years of age, he contemplated for the first time withdrawal from his most demanding and least lucrative offices and trusts.

By this time too, the building project had lost much of its initial impetus. He had long before exceeded the monies appropriated by the Assembly and had paid many bills out of his own resources. In August 1737

Hamilton "...laid before the House the Accounts relating to the Building of the State-House, and desired they might be examined and settled, and himself discharg'd from the further Superintendency of that Building."[51] Although the Assembly ordered that the committee on accounts audit and settle the "Speaker's Accounts relating to the State-house," the members did not take action until October 1738 when Hamilton made an "earnest Motion... that the House would directly appoint a Committee to settle the Accounts of that Building."[52]

This first audit showed that a total of £5003.16.2-1/2 in labor, services, and building materials had found their way into the unfinished State House and its grounds. Of this expense the province had paid £3616.12.7 Hamilton had paid the balance--a huge £1377.3.7-1/2--out of pocket. For his troubles he received a five per cent commission and allowances, worth in the aggregate £402.3.9-1/2. Adding the commissions paid to Kearsley and Lawrence, the province's investment to date had totalled £5471.0.8.[53] The balance owed Hamilton was carried over to his accounts as a trustee of the Loan Office, to be settled with them.[54]

The work on the State House had come to a standstill. One building season then another had passed, the only evidence of progress of any sort the grading during 1738 of the lot behind the West Wing building.[55] Yet another Assembly met and transacted business. Toward the end of this 1739 session attention reverted to the building's "present Condition." More money would be needed. The Assembly voted Hamilton two hundred pounds "toward finishing the State-house."[56] A day or two later

> ...sundry Proposals relating to the Manner of finishing the Rooms, &c. being laid before the House, the same were agreed to: And it was further resolved that Materials be prepared for encompassing the Ground with a Wall in the ensuing Spring; and that the Trustees of the Loan-Office pay to Andrew Hamilton, Esq., such Sums as shall be necessary for carrying on the said Wall.[57]

Now indeed was the end in sight, or so it must have seemed. The interior was to be given the finishing touches and the grounds completed. Apparently intending to carry on this labor of love after leaving public life, during these last days of his long tenure as Speaker, Hamilton assured himself of needed authority and continuing financial support.

Then on the day of adjournment, August 11, 1739, Hamilton addressed the membership from the Speaker's platform for the last time:

> Gentlemen, As the service of the county should be the only motive to induce any man to take upon him the country's trust,...and being apprehensive that, by reason of my age and infirmities, which daily increase, I may be rendered unable to discharge the duty expected from a member of Assembly; I therefore hope that these considerations alone, were there no other, will appear to you, sufficient to justify the determination I am come to in declining further service of the province in a representative capacity.[58]

For the first time in a dozen canvasses, Hamilton did not stand for re-electi from Bucks County in October 1739.

Activity resumed at the State House. By July 1740 the Council reported "that considerable Sums are drawn out for finishing & enclosing" it.[59] The General Loan Office accounts for 1739 and 1740 list a total of £450 paid Hamilton "at sundry times," including the £200 voted earlier.[60] It would appear that most or all of this went into construction of the wall, for on July 29, 1740, Woolley and Tomlinson, who earlier had enjoyed the

inside track for the interior woodwork, petitioned "...to be excused from doing any more of the Work in the State-house," and prayed that their work be measured and their accounts settled.[61] The Assembly agreed to this and to their "discharge" as well.[62]

The last of the work to be supervised by Andrew Hamilton was accomplished under the 1740-1741 Assembly. In this period he applied further payments totalling £600 "towards finishing the State-house," as the entry habitually read.[63]

Hamilton had enjoyed a year of grace by the time the new Assembly met in October 1740. He remained immune from criticism while the work progressed for eight months more. Then, two days before adjournment of the June 1741 session, the house entertained a motion

> ...that the Finishing of the State-House, and of the Wall round it, did not appear to be carried on with that Dispatch that the Reputation of the Province, and the Safety of the Work itself, seem to require;...[64]

The new Speaker, John Kinsey, appointed a committee "to enquire into the Causes of the said Delay, and report thereupon to the House; as also what is proper to be now done about the said Building and Wall;..."[65]

Before another day passed the committee returned with an explanation from Hamilton:

> ...he had met with several Disappointments by Workmen; that the Carpenters Work however was now finished; that the Sashes were made, and the Glass ready to put in; but the enclosing Wall not being yet compleated, he had thought it better to defer putting them up till that was done, lest they should suffer much Damage by breaking;...[66]

Woolley and Tomlinson had stepped out unexpectedly, but he had replaced them with someone who completed the wood finish. The masons had done shoddy work. Stucco plasterers were hard to find. These were his excuses. He had, however, succeeded to a point and expressed himself willing to hurry the work along,

> ...have the lower Rooms immediately glazed,...cause the Enclosure to be finished in such a Manner as may, for the present, tend to preserve the Glass; and...cause that Part of the Wall which is ill done to be amended.[67]

He had not found it possible to finish the walls and ceilings:

> ...as to the Plaistering, notwithstanding the Pains he had taken for that Purpose, he had not been able to procure a Workman capable of doing it, as, in his Opinion, it ought to be done, tho' he had now Hopes of getting such a One by next Spring; but if the House would be content with such Work as is commonly done here, he would have it speedily performed;...[68]

In all this the Assembly obliged him. First they approved his conduct of the project. To the question put them "That the Building be no longer continued under the present Direction, but that some other Person or Persons be appointed to manage and carry on the same" they answered in the negative.[69] They directed that he have done with the enclosure economically and see to it "That the whole Building, with all its Parts,...be finished without Delay, that it be ready for the Use intended."[70] The Assembly Room was to be done in advance of the rest:

> ...plaistered, glazed, and finished, all but the Cieling and upper Work, by the next Meeting of the Assembly. And the Cieling and upper Work...finished as soon as a Workman can be got.

From the Assembly's instructions it is clear that the excepted "Cieling and upper Work" was the area of concern for which Hamilton had been unable to

find a capable workman. Clearly, the "sundry Proposals relating to the Manner of finishing the Rooms" approved by the Assembly in 1739 detailed unusual treatment of these features; an ornamented plaster, coved ceiling, such as had in recent years found favor with the English in the stucco of James Gibbs. And more than three years before, a Captain Edward Wright of the Constantine had received fourteen guineas from Hamilton "to procure two Plaisterers from London, for the State-house."[72]

From the instructions given by the Assembly at this time also comes the first intimation of a feature in the piazzas which appears in later prints: "Doors fitted in the Wall adjoining the Offices,..."[73]

Little time remained for Hamilton to put into effect the Assembly's instructions. He died on August 4, 1741.

The 1740-1741 Assembly returned to the State House for its final session a week after his death. A carpenter, John Harrison, reciting that he "had been employed to do the Inside Work of the State-house, which he had accordingly performed," lost no time in petitioning for settlement of his accounts and payment.[74] Evidently, Hamilton had retained him to do the joinery and finish work after the Assembly "discharged" Woolley and Tomlinson the year before, and it was thus his craftsmanship that went into the completed Assembly Room. Hamilton had contracted for other work too. Thomas Ellis had already performed the glazing promised by Hamilton in June.[75] Gustavus Hesselius, the house painter who also happened to be the best-known portrait painter in the middle colonies, had agreed to do the

painting.[76] The wall was being rebuilt. All that remained to be arranged in fulfillment of the Assembly's instructions were the carvings. And these the executors of Hamilton's estate were prepared to have produced in their turn.

Such was the state of the building when, on August 18, James Hamilton, the deceased superintendent's son, on behalf of the executors, "exhibited" the accounts "together with a Proposal relating to the carved Work."[77] A few days later the Assembly appointed three new "Superintendents" of the State House, ordered the executors to deliver to them "such Materials of the Building, as remain in their hands," and urged them to "expedite such Parts of the Building as were particularly recommended at the last Sitting to the late Superintendent."[78] Following the convening of the 1741-1742 Assembly in October, the accounts and the "Proposal...relating to the carved Work," were referred to the new "Superintendants" for their consideration.[79] During these months before the final settlement, James Hamilton, with their tacit consent, supervised the work previously contracted and while thus occupied "...paid several Workmen, and for Materials employ'd about the Buildings,..."[80] His father had received £600 from the Loan Office between October 1740 and the date of his death over and above the £450 drawn earlier, and it was with what remained of these sums that James Hamilton made payments.[81]

Final settlement of Andrew Hamilton's accounts may be said to have commenced with the January 5, 1742, report of the new superintendants, comprising a committee "to settle Accounts with the Executors." A balance of

£351.3.10 remained to be paid various contractors whose accounts were in a condition to be audited. They included carpenter John Harrison to whom some £200 was still owed, the several masons, bricklayers, laborers, and suppliers--David Jones, Thomas Boude, Robert Hind, Thomas Peglar, Jonathan Robinson, Evan Davis, Englebert Lock, and Joseph Hitchcock--and Jacob Shoemaker, Jr., to whom was owed the trifling sum of £1, significant nonetheless as he was a turner and may have accounted for such turners work as balusters of staircase.[82] The amounts reported in virtually every case represented only the balance remaining unpaid on that date, for the total was little more than one-third of that already expended by Hamilton since 1738.

The most significant item of the report is the one acknowledging that "...the said James Hamilton (included in the above Sum of One Thousand and Five Pounds, Six Shillings, and Four Pence) charges the Sum of Thirty-five Pounds, in full Satisfaction for the carved Work in the said Building."[83] This refers to the above "Proposal relating to the carved Work" and suggests a curtailment of carving called for in the plans. Even so, thirty-five pounds would have paid for the Assembly Room's carvings shown in the Savage painting (see Illustration following p. 69) in an age when £4.6 purchased a lion figurehead for a ship worth £875 and £21.16.5 all the carving for a ship costing £3513.[84]

Perhaps as significant was the item for £75.16.3 still owed Ebenezer Tomlinson, Edmund Woolley's partner in structural woodwork on the

State House, as recently as 1740. This item, coupled with a published but unverified account allegedly tendered November 4, 1741, by Woolley "For expenses raising the tower of the State House," including "Two former hookings at getting on two floors, and now for raising the tower" lends credibility to the contention that the Hamilton-designed cupola was erected at this time.[85]

Consideration of the report dragged through the better part of four days and though authorizing payments ended on an inconclusive note.[86] Not until May 29, 1742, following a second report, did the Assembly order the Provincial Treasurer to pay the handful of small claims still outstanding. Along the way, however, during 1742 the Treasurer paid "sundry Persons, the Ballance of their accounts against the State-house, in the late Superintendant's Time," amounting in the aggregate to £363.3.1.[87] The following year he satisfied claims for an additional £52.7.0 on the same account.[88] For several years after the general settlement of 1742, stray accounts dating from the Hamilton era appeared belatedly and were presented for payment. In 1743 Edward Farmer received £98.5.0 for lime and Samuel Hall £20.8.8 for unspecified services. In 1744 Edmund Woolley submitted yet another account to the Assembly, whether for payment or audit is not known as no further action was recorded.[89] Long years later, in 1752, the Assembly ordered an examination and report on the "Accounts of the late Superintendant of the State-house,..."[90]

Most important among the tardy accounts was that of Gustavus Hesselius for painting. The "considerable Sum" involved had been settled

with him by James Hamilton but was not presented to the Assembly until May 29, 1742, thus indicating that the work had not been completed in time for the January accounting. Yet he was finished and paid before the plastering was done. It is a matter of speculative interest how an artist of his skills treated the carved work of the Assembly Room.[91] So extensive was his work that the balance alone upon settlement in January 1743 came to £31.18.4.[92]

The State House Completed

The three new "Superintendants" appointed on August 20, 1741, by the Assembly in Andrew Hamilton's place were Thomas Leech, Isaac Norris, and Edward Warner.[93] All three belonged to the Assembly and the last two enjoyed prominence in the Society of Friends. Leech, then in middle age, was a member of long standing in the Assembly and a Philadelphia assessor. He was also a vestryman and warden of Christ Church and in time became a trustee of the College and Academy of Philadelphia. Norris, just turned forty, had inherited wealth and position and was on the point of withdrawing from trade to take up an illustrious career as leader of the so-called "Quaker Party." He was a man of learning who had on two occasions traveled in Europe and could be expected to have definite ideas about architecture. Warner, a house carpenter and sometime merchant, was able to add an intimate knowledge of the building trades to that of the "Superintendants."[94]

They undertook the task of completing the State House in difficult times. A war with Spain was in progress and had already made "unusual" and

"great" demands upon the province's resources.[95] With the life of the paper currency measures coming to a close, the flow of interest from Loan Office operations had completely dried up.[96] Yet before adjourning on November 6, 1742, the Assembly ordered that Leech, Norris, and Warner "proceed to finish and compleat...[the State House] with all convenient Expedition."[97]

From all appearances they profitted from a division of effort during the period which followed. Leech held the purse strings, drawing the funds authorized and making payments. Warner contributed technical skills and judgment, and Norris an informed taste, business acumen, and managerial talents. Even the Speaker, redoubtable John Kinsey, found time to employ several workmen when his attentions were not engaged in a particularly angry exchange with Governor Thomas over the respective prerogatives of Assembly and governorship.[98] During 1742 Leech received £100 "towards "furnishing [finishing] the State-house."[99] The next year he received £300 more.[100] Doubtless, much of this he applied to finishing the Assembly Room ceiling. But the design was faulty, for at length in February 1746 the Assembly ordered the Superintendants to find a way of "breaking the Echo in the Assembly Room, that the Members may better hear one another."[101] On December 21, 1744, one William Branson delivered "two Iron Chimney Backs" to Speaker Kinsey, apparently for installation in the Assembly Room, and at practically the same time the Assembly acquired two pair of tongs from a Joseph Trotter.[10]

Attention turned next to the Supreme Court Chamber. Early in 1743 the Assembly ordered that the "Superintendants...proceed to finish the Room

at the West End, as soon as conveniently may be;..." The following November they presented a plan for finishing it along with one for the "Piazza's between the chief Building and the Offices" and were ordered to proceed with the construction.[103] During 1744, 1745, and 1746 Thomas Leech drew a total of £1050 to be applied as usual "towards finishing the State-House."[104] In the absence of orders for other work during those years, he may be assumed to have applied the funds toward this construction. By August 1744 the Supreme Court Chamber was in use--meeting place for a "Council" with the Delawares.[105] The date of the plan for the piazzas, more than three years after the Library Company occupied the second floor of the West Wing building, indicates that until that time there had been inside stairs or outside stairs open to the weather before the piazza staircases were installed.[106]

In time the second floor came under consideration. When on June 6, 1747, the Provincial Council at last decided that the long empty Council Chamber "wou'd be the most Commodious Place for them to meet in," the governor's secretary inquired of the Speaker "to know if the same be now in order, or can with any conveniency be put into order for the use of the Council."[107] Although that body had long been expected, only recently had the Assembly provided for them. The Council is believed to have met for the

first time in the finished chamber on August 18, 1747. Leech drew £100.3.9 for work done that year.[108] In 1748 he received the last large payment, this time £250.[109] These sums may be assumed also to have covered the costs of finishing the second floor's Long Gallery and Committee Room.

No expenditures were made in 1749. Then, in 1750, Leech drew the last payment "towards finishing the State-house," the small sum of £60 for unspecified charges.[110] He had disbursed a total of £1860.3.9 between 1742 and 1750 for that purpose.[111]

As the new Superintendants transformed the State House from an unfinished pile into a respectable capitol, it began to attract attention. For the first time notice was taken in print of its existence. Sightseeing townsfolk and visitors alike trooped by in fine weather. A few afterwards entered their impressions in diaries.[112] The first published descriptions appeared.

The Builders

Those tradesmen identified in the published record of Assembly proceedings upon which the foregoing had depended so heavily represented but a few of the ones engaged in construction of the State House. A disproportionate number there listed were master builders, the principals with whom Hamilton settled accounts and paid for work performed and to whom balances remained due in 1738 and 1742. Their many journeymen and apprentices and those masters previously paid in full have now receded into the past and may never be identified. With them except in rare instances have gone the details of the construction.

Yet, little more than a century ago, the antiquary and annalist, John Fanning Watson, stated categorically "I have in my possession the original bills and papers as kept by Andrew Hamilton, Esq., one of the three commissioners charged with the erection...." He singled out the following as builders:

> ...Edmund Woolley did the carpenter work, John Harrison the joiner work. Thos. Boude was brickmason, Wm. Holland did the marble work, Thos. Kerr, plasterer, Benjamin Fairman and James Stoopes made the bricks; the lime was from the kilns of the Tysons. The 'glass and lead' cost £170, and the glazing in leaden frames was done by Thomas Godfrey, the celebrated. The interior brick pavement was made of clay tiles, by Benjamin Fairman.[113]

Watson proceeded then to the pay scale employed:

> I may here usefully add, for the sake of comparison, the costs of sundry items, to wit Carpenter's work at 4s. per day, boys at 1s., master carpenter, E. Woolley, 4s.6.; bricklaying by Thos. Boude, John Palmer and Thos. Redman, at 10s.6d. per M.; stone work in the foundation at 4s. per perch; digging ground and carting away 9 p. per yard; bricks 32s.8d. per M.; lime per 100 bushels, £4; boards 20 s. per M.; lath wood 18s. per cord; laths 3s. per C.; shingles 20s. per M.; scantlings 1-1/2d. per foot; stone 3s. per perch, and 5s.5d. per load. Laborers receive 2s.6d. per day; 2100 loads of earth are hauled away at 9d. per load.[114]

He then spoiled much of the effect: "This distinguishing building was begun in the year 1729, and finished in the year 1734."

A thorough search of Watson's papers used in his Annals has failed to turn up these records. In the above recounting are several names from the published Assembly proceedings. The others are not. A number of the names in the proceedings are not included above. Watson's many inaccuracies have thrown suspicion on his every claim. However, his papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania contain original manuscripts of this type

There would appear to be reason to believe that he did, in fact, have Hamilton's accounts before him those many years ago, but his interpretation of them as offered above may be less than perfectly accurate.

One manuscript in the Watson collection provides insight into the arrangements effected by Hamilton with the tradesmen. It is the account, dated October 12, 1730, of the Loan Office trustees, Andrew Hamilton at the head.[115] On this paper Hamilton has the distinction of appearing in the credit column as one of the trustees paying £2000 "for buildg Stadt House" and in the debit column as one of the "persons following Appointed to build the Stadt house," receiving one-third of that amount. It was while empowered to make mortgages in his capacity of a trustee and at the same time to contract for work as Superintendant of the State House, that Hamilton played his craftiest part in expediting construction of the State House. Ample evidence can be adduced to show that he loaned certain of the tradesmen money to be repaid in goods and services used in the State House. By this means he was able to exceed the monetary limits imposed by legislation on the building project. As Benjamin Fairman described it:

> ...the Plantation is in yᵉ Lone Office but If it Ware so that I Could Come to town and make up accoᵗˢ with Andrew Hambleton [Hamilton] Esqᵉ for Brickes Deliver'd to yᵉ State house there Will not be but about twenty or thirty pounds to Cleare it all...[116]

Years later as accounts were settled, the Assembly was still releasing tradesmen from bonds made early in the process.[117]

Anatomy of a Province Hall

Through 1750 in which year the State House as it first appeared may be considered complete, no on-looker had been sufficiently impressed to undertake a drawing of it or in other ways present it graphically. Up to that time, however, no fewer than six plans or sets of plans had been prepared to assist in construction of the building or be submitted for Assembly approval, exclusive of Woolley's copies of existing drawings and the early competing plans of Hamilton and Kearsley--the 1732 plan, the 1732 working plan, the 1733 plan for the wings, the 1741 plan for the Assembly Room, the 1743 plan for the Supreme Court Chamber, and the 1743 plan for the piazzas. In addition, the "sundry proposals" of 1739 for completing rooms and the 1741 "proposal" relating to the carvings may have been accompanied by plans. Finally, evidences that one or more surveys of the building had made an appearance by the 1740's raise the number of plans to be found at one time or another to a round dozen. If but half of these had survived, no graphic representation would be needed to recall exactly the appearance of the State House at this stage.

From the few scraps which remain, however, it is possible to make a satisfactory appraisal of the building of 1750.

The early drawings show that the facade possessed practically every structural element now in evidence, a brick two story building decorated in marble and serpentine with a foundation in ashlar, nine window openings with rubbed brick lintels, a walk on the roof, and chimney gables on each end. The marble panels, keystones, and band courses, and the

serpentine copings and quoin stones and rain table moldings which stop abruptly at the front corners are clearly foretold in the 1732 drawing (Illustration No. 1).[118] Here is what happened when James Gibbs' suggestion that his Book of Architecture "would be of assistance to such Gentlemen as might be concerned in building, especially in remote parts of the country, where little assistance in design is to be secured," found application in a colonial capitol. The facade was also decorated with "modern" sash windows.[119] The State House sat three or four feet higher then, before the grading of Chestnut Street, than now, adding to the facade's effect, if Watson is to be accepted on this point. Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist, viewing the State House in 1750, had this to say about it: "The Town Hall, or the place where the assemblies are held,...is a fine, large building having a tower with a bell, and is the greatest ornament in the town." It is of interest that he regarded it as a town hall, not a building of state. Nothing is known of this bell. James Birket, an Englishman travelling through in 1750 noted that it was "esteemed a Grand Eddifice." The facade contributed much to these impressions.

Atop the roof stood the cupola. The 1732 drawing (Illustration No. 1) offers the only surviving representation of this feature, but it cannot be considered entirely accurate in the light of the survey made after construction (Illustration No. 9) which gives a height five feet greater than that indicated in the earlier sketch (90 feet as against 85 feet). In configuration and details it may be accepted as generally accurate. What it lacks may be supplied by the prototype Gray's Inn cupola

shown in Appendix B. It was the highest point in Philadelphia when in 1750 surveyors fixed "a Lanthorn on the State House Vane."[120]

Later engravings must be relied on for the most part to determine the appearance of the wings and piazzas in 1750. (See Illustrations No. 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.) They show wing buildings not unlike the reconstructed ones--two storied, hip roofed structures with two chimnies and two doors apiece and six window bays. Two differ from all the others in showing a band course (Illustrations No. 16, 18). The piazzas are at variance in important details with the reconstructed "arcades" of today. Behind the three arches there were originally staircases with turned balusters and ramped rails against a solid wall, broken only by doorways under the stair landings. The pre-Revolutionary prints uniformly show fences strung along the archways. None of these features are now represented in the restored "arcades." One notation of particular interest in the survey of the 1740's alludes to a feature of the piazzas which has not been identified: "Gallery leading from the Head of the Stairs over the Piazza to the Office Chambers" (Illustration No. 9). This was perhaps the long landing shown in the several engravings.

The same early drawings and a knowledge of Andrew Hamilton's intentions make possible recreation of the first floor as seen in 1750. That broad passageway labelled "Hall" in Woolley's drawing of the first floor corresponds to today's hallway. It divided the two large chambers of the first floor, as it does today, and on the end opposite the front door housed the plain stairs to the second floor shown in Woolley's plan. Open

arches on the right--this time consistent with the 1732 plan--led on the one hand from the hall into the readily accessible Supreme Court Chamber where the King's justice was the right of all and on the other through the single centered doorway into legislative privacy of the elected Assembly. The hall's finish had not yet assumed the appearance of 1776 and today.

The Assembly Room, on the left, at this point had attained the architectural features, whown in the Pine-Savage painting (see illustrations following page 69), known by the signers but now completely vanished.

The Supreme Court Chamber also had been completed and possessed the architectural features shown in photographs of the room taken before the 1898 "restoration" of the room. The plans indicate no fireplaces however.

The 1732 plan for the second floor had called for a stairhall, a gallery, and four smaller chambers labelled "Council Chamber, Committee Room, Grand Jury Room, and Petit Jury Room." By the time of the Woolley drawing in 1735 the four smaller rooms had become two, the Council Chamber and Committee of Assembly's Chamber. They are believed to have taken much the appearance then that they do now, with the exception of door locations. The Woolley plan (Illustration No. 2) shows two doorways only, communicating into the gallery, one to each room, centered in the partition wall. While the stairs remained in the building, a second doorway into the rooms would have been possible only at the corners, and though possible is considered unlikely. It was to the governor and council meeting in the council chamber that bills of the Assembly were "sent up" during this period, an example of the working relationship among the province's governmental branche and of an early "upper house."

The 104 foot Long Gallery modelled after such famous second floor rooms of the same designation as the King's Gallery at Kensington Palace and the baronial Aston Hall was the building's room of state. In it as in the other large rooms of the State House was to be found whatever display the growing province could muster at this time, and though finished plain it boasted a cove ceiling to go with its range of nine windows.[121]

Less,is known about the wing building interiors in 1750 as no plans at all have come down to the present. From the pattern of use (four principal offices--Rolls, Land, Loan, Register--on first floor, each with separate entrance) and the suggestion of exterior views, it would appear that each had two offices on the first floor.[122] There is some evidence to indicate that the second floors also were in two rooms and that interior staircases found their way into the buildings early. Implicit in the purchase during 1746 of a lock for the "inner Door" of the Loan office is the existence of a third room or a hallway.[123] The survey plan of the 1740's (Illustration No. 9) associates the piazza stairs with "Office Chambers." And it will be remembered that until the 1740's the piazzas were unfinished and presumably without stairs. Reference is made in a newspaper notice and in the Library Company minutes to "the Room adjacent to the Library" onthe second floor, West Wing.[124] The Company lost no time after moving in to inquire about window shutters and locks. They also requested permission to break out a window. Apparently, the building had no shutters in front and no windows in the rear. Their room had a fireplace for which the Librarian in 1741 purchased wood, tongs, and fire shovel. In 1749 the Company partitioned the room.[125]

Province Hall to State House

The Work Underway...44 Reception of the State House...51
A Complacent Interlude...52

Before Thomas Leech could close the books on the work of the 1740's, the Superintendants had struck off on an ambitious new program of construction. Their motivations can only be surmised--for they left no statement of intent--as a desire to improve the appearance of the State House.

The Assembly action reads simply: "Ordered, That the Superintendants of the State-house, proceed, as soon as conveniently they may, to carry up a Building on the South-side of the said House to contain the Staircase, with a suitable Place thereon for hanging a Bell."[1] It is perhaps relevant that the Assembly made this decision at the moment when Isaac Norris succeeded Kinsey as Speaker of the Assembly. Norris' previous experience as one of the Superintendants had given him opportunity enough to form definite opinions on the appearance and suitability of the building. The new program would appeal to one of Norris' taste and intellect, in an age when many men achieved reputation sponsoring buildings of architectural merit. It would also appeal to the leader of the Quaker Party, in an assembly troubled and divided as was Pennsylvania's by problems of imperial defense, as a diversion, a way to put funds out of reach of the war-like, and to confound criticism. As Thomas Penn was to comment bitterly as the construction neared completion in 1755:

> ...we have repeated Instances of their [the Assembly] refusing to appropriate the publick Money for the defence of the Country either by building a Blockhouse for Trade, or any other fortification for their Security; nay tho' they pretend no exception can be taken to their having misapplied Money, I think their Hospital, Steeple, Bells, unnecessary Library, with other things are reasons why they have arisen since the Commencement of the last Freinds War,...[2]

Aesthetically, there was an effect to be gained in what was proposed. To the horizontal mass of the State House the construction of a tower and steeple would add a vertical proportion. As a younger man, Norris had sojourned in England when the lovely white Portland stone steeples of Wren and Gibbs had come to dominate the London skyline. It was no mere coincidence then that the steeple now to be built at the State House was to have the same characteristics praised by Gibbs in his Book of Architecture:

> Steeples are indeed of a Gothic extraction, but they have their beauties when their parts are well disposed, and when the plans of the several degrees and orders of which they are composed gradually diminish and pass from one form to another without confusion, and when every part has the appearance of a proper bearing.

The staid Quaker town of Philadelphia had no notable steeples. The great steeple planned for Christ Church had not yet materialized. In building the tower and steeple, the Assembly stimulated a last flowering expression of the Palladian mode in Philadelphia.

On viewing what was done during the course of the project, one also senses the practical considerations which influenced the Assembly to undertake another expensive project of building so soon after the first. By locating the proposed grand staircase in the tower room, they would not only make possible the refurbishing of the hall but reduce the clutter in it.

The bell would serve the traditional and eminently practical purpose of sounding calls for bodies meeting in the State House, and could be employed in times of celebration and mourning as well. Before they finished, the Assembly added another purpose which, however, failed of execution in just the prescribed form--as setting for a clock: "Ordered, That the Superintendants of the State-house do provide a large Clock to strike on the Bell, in the Tower of the said Building, within a suitable Dial-plate to show the Hours and Minutes."[3]

This construction program stands in marked contrast to Hamilton's project: in all areas of operations: Large scale financing, adequate work force, and absence of opposition within the Assembly made the way smoother. The records also indicate that unlike the earlier work, supervision was put entirely into the hands of a "professional." Taking a page from the book of their predecessor, however, the Superintendants allowed fiscal control to become confused and in the wake of the construction death of principals made unpaid bills difficult to collect and commissions a subject for Assembly action.

The Work Underway

The Superintendants arranged with Edmund Woolley, of old an important figure in the erection of the State House, to supervise the work. His detailed account has come down to the present in the Norris Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and through them it is possible to identify virtually every part of the building affected by the work, the workers involved, and the rate of progress. An adjunctive manuscript,

nearly as important to understanding how the construction proceeded and the appearance of certain long missing sections, is the account of Hugh Roberts for ironware used. It also has become available through the same source.[4] Norris' accounts too throw much light on the conduct of the work. All are presented in full in Appendix I.

As full as are these accounts, they are unsupported by plans. It is not even known who prepared them, but the supposition in this case would be that Woolley did. It is true that his account makes no specific reference to drawings, but they may be covered by the notation that his charge included "...many Other Jobs not here mentioned..."

Two payments to Woolley himself signal the start of the work in 1750. These appear to be conjunctive to the masonry as perhaps were the half days of work by his carpenters until November 8 when Woolley measured the "stone work." He marked it closed by submitting his account, sporting a florishing signature on April 26, 1756. His services had come to a total of £1490.15.5-1/2 of which he had received in payment £926.3.11. Thomas Leech in a seemingly endless series of transactions over the corresponding period had paid out a total of £4142.5.0, including that which went to Woolley.[5] Much of this money went to the bricklayer, a Mr. Tennant. By November 6, 1753, he had carried the brickwork of the tower "as high as the eves of the building..."[6] Except for a few additional touches, painting, and additional carving, the project was marked finis on the above date, although the settlement of accounts dragged as usual for years longer.

Woolley undertook both heavy and finishing carpentering for construction of the tower and steeple, its stairs and panelling, the Library and Committee Room, its entry and its fixtures, its windows, Palladians and "Gothick," a dormer roof connecting the tower with the roof of the State House, a stairway connecting the tower with the roof walk, a clock bell turret where the cupola had been, fixtures for the Loan Office in one of the wings, installation of the clock, panelling, the archway between the Tower Room and upstairs hallway, the stairs in the second floor hallway, and scaffolding, shingling, and all other woodwork contributory thereto:

> THE PROVINCE OF PENNSYLVANIA D^{r} To Edm^{d} Woolley.--
> To Work done at the State house Viz^{t} drawing drafts, Bills of Scantling, taking an Account of all the Timber & reducing the same to Superficial Measure, also taking an Account of all the Plank & Boards used for the State House. To making 3 round & 3 half round Centers for Windows & doors; Cutting away the Old roof & floor in order to build the tower Wall on the State house wall; making Scaffolds to y^{e} tower in Side & Out, for My Self, Bricklayers Plaisterers & Painters; pulling down the Old Turret & making good the State house roof where it stood & a Large dormand between State house & tower Wall, & Shingling against S^{d} wall; altering the Balconey & adding thereto with Stairs leading to State house flat; getting the Bell up & down & up again & twice hanging Bells; Jointing Many thousands of Shingles; making a Scaffold the whole lenght of the State house, to paint y^{e} Eves, front windows &c, & Strikeing ye Same again; Making many drawers & cases for y^{e} Same in y^{e} Loan Office; hanging y^{e} upper front Sashes anew in long Gallery; Time Spent in attending the Clock makers while fixing y^{e} Clock y^{e} first time, many of the above Articles not now to be Seen. To building y^{e} Committee room together with the Bookcases, table, the Entry & all other Wood Work as it now stands. Also the Entry Hall Of the State house as its now finished; The Stair Case & Stairs & the rest of y^{e} work belonging to the Tower as now finished both out & inside from the Vane to the foundation. Also y^{e} Portal at ye head of ye first Stairs with y^{e} ramp & twist Stair^{s} [?], carried up there with all y^{e} Other Work therein Contain'd as now to be Seen--With many Other Jobs not here mention'd for all which Work My Charge is as follows._____"

This included the Tower Room doorway as well.

Progress was rapid after June 1751, several carpenters, and at times a score altogether, at work week after week. Thomas Nevill, later to pick up where Woolley left off at the State House was among those ateadily employed.

Hugh Roberts' account reflects the sequence of the work. By May 3, 1751, he had supplied Woolley with "4 pr HL hinges," screws, and a stock lock. On October 16 he sent him a "large brass Nob Lock compleat" and a "pr 12 in HL Hinges." There follow such items as sprigs (for window panes), escutcheon plates, thumb latches, innumerable locks of all types, plasterers nails, sash line, a spring bolt, sash pullies, plate bolts, 4 large brass knob locks, HL hinges of 8, 10, and 12 inch sizes, escutcheons and pins, well into 1753. This was the year the tower was completed and the Liberty Bell hung, and one of the items was for "a large File for the Crack'd Bell," sent to Woolley on October 24, 1752. The Library and Committee Room were also being completed during this period, and one of the items furnished was "1 very large brass Nob Lock with pins Screws Staple and Tacks compleat for the Committee Room," delivered October 20, 1753. The delivery of "2 brass handles, 2 drawer Locks, and 2 Closet: D^o" [locks] on January 2, 1754, were doubtless for use on the Library and Committee Room table and closets either in that addition or the Loan Office. The "bright Chest Lock and case hardned key" forwarded on April 29, 1754, along with "1 Chest hinges," doubtless ware for the Loan Office. The numbers of sprigs purchased reflects not only the installation of windows in the new additions, but the building of the glass-door bookcases for the

Library and Committee Room and the office cases for the Loan Office. The total through June 18, 1756, the date of the last purchase, was £74.15.5.[7]

The most important of all these construction records is, however, the account of Samuel Harding. Harding did most of the carving, and a detailed account of his work has survived. It is presented in full in Appendix I. Included in the bill are charges for practically all the carvings in the hallway, Tower Room, tower doorway, tower exterior (including the Palladian windows), the clock cases, and the Library and Committee Room. It is important as much for what is not listed as for that listed, because it helps to confirm the dating of features found in other rooms for which he did no work. Harding began his work on January 29, 1753, at the tower and completed it in 1756 at the clocks. He thus kept pace with the rest of the construction.

The Library and Committee Room has been discussed in detail in the Part I report (chapter II, section 1, pp. 34-37). A few additions follow. Sanction for erection of it was not received until after the tower was well advanced, in 1752: "Ordered, That the Superintendants of the State-house do build a suitable Room, adjoining to the South-east Corner of the said Building, for the Accommodation of the Committees of the House."[8] Owing to the influence of Norris, this purpose soon was expanded to include a library. Work on this new addition soon caught up to the tower, Norris announcing it ready for plaster in March 1753.[9] Important additional information has come to light on the makeup of the library with the recent discovery of the complete list of books ordered by Norris in 1752. This data

and pertinent correspondence are presented in Appendix D. While ordering these books, Norris bought window glass for the new additions.[10]

Harding's charges for "4 Compositta Capitalls 2 plasters [pilasters] & 2 quarter plasters in them five fronts at 1£ 15s0^{d} p^{r} front these Capittals for the green room" in 1753 are believed to have composed part of the architectural finish of the Library and Committee Room which was announced ready for plastering in March of that year. The designation "green room" is a vital clue to their location, referring as it did, in the jargon of the day, to an off-stage chamber in a theater or, in other words, a withdrawing room.

No precedent has appeared for the unique clock, its mechanism, dials, and cases. In all the work of Tompion and other English masters who designed tower clocks, no one seems ever to have conceived the idea of building a grossly if not grotesquely over-sized long-case clock against the gable end of a building. Royally embellished, it was a distinctive badge of the old State House, though as years passed its efficiency waned.

The intention at first was to put the clock in the tower. Perhaps the availability of a second bell after the decision to place the Liberty Bell in the tower influenced the builders to place the clock elsewhere. Norris himself may have had something to do with it, for in the Norris of Fairhill manuscripts at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania is a diagram of a clock on an account dated August 5, 1755, which is a fair if plain prototype for the one eventually placed on the west wall of the State House (Illustration No. 13).[11] It shows a rusticated base.

A considerable body of facts and lore surround the old State House clock. It was devised by Thomas Stretch whose father had enjoyed a reputation in the trade before him. A grand uncle was a famous maker of lantern clocks in Staffordshire.[12] The cost came to £494.5.5-1/2 including care, cleaning, and repairing for six years, a sensational price for that day.[13] As explained by Norris, the reason for having it made here was the expectation that it would "...prove better than any they would send us from England where once they have put it out of their hands they have done with but here the workmen would be made very uneasy if he did not exert his utmost skill as we do not stint him in the price of his labour."[14] The mechanism was centered in the attic of the State House connected by two rods through pipes to the clock hands (see Appendix E). Its power came from weights, hung in the case against the west wall and extended into the cellar. Rope held the weight, in keeping with traditional method in house clocks.[15] Slots at the sides of the dials made possible the regulation of the striking and chiming mechanisms.[16] Later keepers of the clock were Edward Duffield and David Rittenhouse. (For representations of the clock, see Illustration No. 19.)

During 1752 the State House received a crowning ornament in the form of a lightning rod, to Franklin's specifications.[17]

The few remaining touches were given the new work after the most prominent participants had departed. Bryan Wilkinson did some additional carving sometime before August 1756, perhaps completing work unfinished at Harding's death.[18] William Leach was painting as late as 1759.[19] Settlement of accounts continued on into the 1760's. Norris died in 1764, Thomas

Leech soon afterward. A new breed of politician appeared on the scene. An era was over.

Reception of the State House

Some were impressed, others sneered in private. Richard Hockley, Secretary of the province, was unable to restrain his reaction, confiding to Thomas Penn

> ...since I have gott upon Steeples I can't help sending you two lines that I met with wrote on the tower of the State House, as I was one day taking a View of the Tower from thence, I can't say much for the justness of description in the first line but the latter was so much so, that it threw me into a serious calm Revere, that I wish'd myself as much above the Clouds as I was above the Earth. Viz: 'A Handsome State House, a Well finished Steeple,
> A Healthful Country but, a Perverse People--[20]

In general the reaction was most favorable. The State House became the chief attraction of the city. While it was still but a plan, the Scull and Heap perspective featured it in an insert. Others followed suit (Illustrations No. 10, 11, 14, 15, 16). Years after Jacob Duche wrote disparagingly of this achievement of the 1750's: "Behind and adjoining the State-house, was some time since erected a tower, of such miserable architecture, that the Legislature have wisely determined to let it go to decay (the upper part being entirely of wood) that it may hereafter be built upon a new and more elaborate construction."[21] To Proud it was a "plain, but elegant and spacious edifice, for the time in which it was built,..."[22]

A Complacent Interlude

The period until the start of the American Revolution was, for the State House, a period of routine maintenance, routinely performed.[23] The State House changed little in function although some shifting around took place in the wings from time to time. On the request of the occupying officials more windows were broken out in the rear walls. Cleaning, painting, replacement of glass, these were the principal undertakings of later legislatures. The country was changing; the new Speakers had different interests from those of Hamilton and Norris.

The steeple began to totter. A schoolboy, preparing an article for a class project at the Friends school nearby, in 1774 went through the building from attic to cellar, penned the most complete description ever made of the State House in this period (Appendix E).

Arrival of Congress in 1775 did not immediately change this pattern. They were accommodated in the Assembly Room, Library and Committee Room, and East Wing.[24] The Assembly moved upstairs where there had been room since the construction of the 1750's. But after Independence, as the state was constituted and governmental authorities sprang to life the time arrived when the State House began to feel their presence.[25]

The Council Chamber, first among the rooms of the main building, felt the impact of this. Late in 1776 the Pennsylvania Council of Safety, the interim governing body, had that room partitioned.[26]

Military activity became paramount as the war spread and almost before the rejoicing over Independence had died away, Philadelphia itself

was threatened--overland in 1776, by the might of the Royal Navy in 1777. This led to the removal of the lead downspouts and rainheads in 1777 for fear the British would get to them first.[27]

This precaution soon proved well-taken. In September 1777 the British Army arrived.

The War and Its Aftermath

The British Occupation...54 Refitting the State House...56
Contemporary Descriptions...62

On September 26, 1777, as a discomfited Continental Congress straggled into Lancaster, Howe's confident and victorious British army marched into Philadelphia. A month later, with the Delaware cleared of rebel obstructions and Washington's army driven from the outskirts of the city, Howe and his men settled down to enjoy a comfortable winter in the American metropolis.

The British Occupation

The State House, still the largest public building in the city, was pressed into service by the British. American officers captured during the disastrous battle of Brandywine, the confused and vicious fighting in Germantown, and the ignominious destruction of Pennsylvania's navy, were quartered in the Council Chamber and Assembly Committee Room of its second floor.[1] Wounded Americans were placed on straw pallets in the Long Gallery.[2] British guards established themselves in the Tower Room, and five companies of British artillerymen settled down in the Court Room and the room in which America's independence had been declared.[3]

Accounts of the suffering endured by the American prisoners are plentiful. Typical was the experience of Colonel Persifor Frazer:

> We remain'd in this manner 'till the 7th Octo^{r} when the Commisy of Prisoners [one Dement] inform'd Us he had orders to take us to the State House where we were to be kept in close confinement,...Many of us were here for six days without having any provision serv'd to us--and for many Weeks after, Our allowance

> did not exceed from 4 to 6 ounces of salt Pork & abt half a pound very ordinary Biscuit p. day--and had it not been for the supply We had from the Citizens We must have all have inevitably Perished....
>
> We were often refused the Liberty of going from one Room to the other, the Windows also, nail'd down, though the smoke occasion'd by a stove below stairs in the guard Room & the badness of the Chimnies had been for many Days together, almost intolerable there were forty of Us in the two upper chambers in the State House which serv'd for every purpose of Kitchens & Bed Chambers....[4]

Unfortunately, none of these accounts contains a description of the prison rooms. The only such description comes from a granddaughter of Colonel Frazer, who remembered being told by an aunt who visited the colonel in the fall of 1777 that across "the wide hall that ran through the house [on the first floor], almost half way down, was a heavy iron grating reaching from the floor to the ceiling; back of this was a close screen that reached to within two or three feet of the floor."[5] This grating and screen were probably placed in the arched passage between the Hall and the Tower Room.

Nor are there many known descriptions of the rebel capitol by members of the occupying army. The one extant bill for converting the building to a barracks tells us nothing (see Appendix I). The British commander's secretary, Ambrose Searle, mentioned that "the Stadt-House, where formerly the assembly & lately the Congress held their meetings, is a large heavy Pile,..."[6] and the Hessian, Dochla, remarked that it "is a beautiful and big imposing building." The troops barracked in the building were interested only in the fact that "the State-house where the 4th Battalion were...[was] the most Commodius and cleanly Barrack in the place."[7]

Some changes must have been made to convert the first floor rooms into barracks. Certainly the bar of the Court Room, and perhaps the bench, as well as any other features protruding into the room, were removed. It is probable that the wall surfaces, especially those which were paneled, were more or less damaged, for the British elsewhere in the city tore down fences, shutters, signboards, and outbuildings for firewood, cut shade trees for the same purpose, and in general behaved as a typical European army of occupation. However, as yet no documentation as to specific changes in or damages to the State House has been found.

While Colonel Frazer and his fellow prisoners starved in their second floor prison and British gunners reveled in the comfort of their first floor barracks, the tide of the war changed. On October 17, while Howe was still busy clearing the Delaware, Burgoyne surrendered. Convinced by this event and by the spirit Washington's tattered army displayed at Germantown that America meant to be independent, France entered the war.

Refitting the State House

In June of 1778 the British withdrew to New York and an embullient Congress returned to Philadelphia to prepare to receive in a fitting manner Conrad Alexandre Gérard, Minister Plenipotentiary from his Most Christian Majesty the King of France, and a living symbol of the turn of events which might well insure the success of their cause.

At this point, in spite of the generally run down appearance of the building, only that work which was essential to make it presentable

was undertaken. As Josiah Bartlett noted, "the State House was left by the enemy in a most filthy & sordid situation."[8] While Congress "shuffled from Meeting [house] to College Hall" the work of cleansing its chamber went on. Acting on the orders of the state legislature, the doorkeeper procured sash cord and pullies to rehang the windows, provided brushes and hired laborers to wield them, and had the plaster whitewashed. John Donelly furnished new locks for the Congress Chamber and Committee Room doors and windows. By July 27 the room was nearly ready and on August 6, "being the day appointed by Congress for the audience of the Sieur Girard, Minister Plenipotentiary from his most Christian Majesty," that minister received audience accordingly (see Appendix F for a discussion of the work done to ready the room for this event).

Even before the Congress Chamber had been made presentable, the state government began cleaning and repairing the rest of the building. By July 21, the Council Chamber was clean and ready to receive the Supreme Executive Council, and the wings were soon ready to house the doorkeeper, the Secretary, and various state offices. A new privy, linked to the State House by a brick causeway, was erected in the yard. By 1779 a new floor had been laid in the Supreme Court Chamber, a new bar and a new counsel table installed, and the judges' bench repaired or replaced.

And while this work was in progress, the state, apparently feeling that Congress would continue to occupy the Assembly Room and the adjoining Committee Room, altered the layout of the second floor to provide more

commodious accommodations. Late in 1778 the House of Representatives had the western portion of the Long Gallery fitted up as a committee room and library and during the next year the eastern portion of the Long Gallery was incorporated into the Assembly Committee chamber to form a room 40 feet square in which the House could meet with comfort. These changes were the first since the 1750's to affect the appearance of the structure.

When the partition between the Assembly Committee chamber and the Long Gallery was removed, two iron rods running from the roof trusses down to support the second floor framing were revealed. These were unsightly, but could not be removed. Apparently, wooden columns were placed around them, for as Francis Hopkinson, tongue in cheek, wrote in 1782 when a bill for cutting down trees along Philadelphia's streets was before the House, "to the amazement of all present, the business [of the Assembly] was interrupted by a voice, perfectly articulate, proceeding from the capital of one of the columns which supported the ceiling of the room." Demanding to be heard on a bill before the House, the column remarked "that he was, properly speaking, a standing member of that House,...but one of its principle Supporters, inasmuch as they could never 'make a house' without him;..."

A year after this work was finished, the state turned its attention to the steeple of Independence Hall, still in place despite the fact that it had been so rotten that its removal had been ordered seven years earlier. Thomas Nevill was hired to do the necessary work. He prepared an

estimate of materials needed, razed the old wooden steeple, and replaced it with a hipped roof capped by a slender finial (see Illustrations No. 18 and 19).

By October 20, 1781, the work was complete, and Nevill inserted the following advertisement in the Pennsylvania Packet:

> To be disposed of: A Large quantity of Scaffold Poles, one dozen of elegant Urns, proper for decorating any public building, and a number of smaller ditto. Also 12 Pillasters, with carved capitals, eight of which would form a beautiful summer-house, of an octagon figure, and the other 4 an equal right angled or oblong square. There is likewise a quantity of rail and ballusters, plain and carved medelions, proportioned nearly to the height of 17 feet, some small rope, and sundry other articles. Apply to THOMAS NEVELL.

This list, when compared with the original steeple as pictured in Illustrations 10, 11, 14, 15, and 16, provides much information about the appearance of that structure. The dozen elegant urns were the large ones placed at the set back where the wooden steeple joined the brick tower below. The number of smaller urns were those surmounting the ballustrade above the large windows. It is possible that a door provided access to the area between this balustrade and the base of the lantern, although none is shown in the views. The eight pilasters with carved capitals "which would form a beautiful summer-house" came from the octagonal lantern; the other four "right angled or oblong square" from the first section of the steeple. The plain and carved medallions doubtless were from the window architraves, and the reference to them as being proportioned nearly to the height of 17 feet seems to indicate that the "Gothick" windows were 17 feet in height.

Completion of this stop-gap work, undertaken at a time when the state and federal treasurers were frantically trying to raise funds to support the Continental Army through another campaign, must have been desperately needed. Committees were appointed to direct unspecified and probably minor repairs to the lower rooms of the east wing and the doorkeeper's quarters in the west wing, John Parker fixed windows in the Land Office and repaired chimneys and hearths throughout the building, and John Clawges did some glazing in the courtroom and to the clock case (see Appendix I), but no more major repairs were made until after Congress left the building in June 1783.

In the years that followed Gérard's reception, while the state government altered the rooms above, demolished the old wooden steeple from which the Liberty Bell had proclaimed Independence, and directed a series of minor repairs, Congress continued to meet in its first floor chamber; its members met in committee or retired to write, confer, or read in the adjoining committee room; the Secretary maintained his offices in the adjoining wing building.[9] While its deliberations must often have been disturbed by the bang of hammers, the rasp of saws, and an occasional curse, its almost daily sessions continued uninterrupted.

These almost uninterrupted sessions strained Congressional nervous systems almost to the breaking point and led to a clash between President Laurens and Secretary Thomson. On August 31, 1779, Laurens asked Thomson for two copies of the Journal. Thomson refused. This so irritated

the President that he told the Secretary, "he was a most impudent fellow, that I had a good mind to kick him; he turned about, doubled his fist and said you dare not; I recollected the time & place and let him pass on." Laurens lodged an official complaint.

Thomson's answer to this charge sheds further light on the location of the Secretary's office. As he remarked, "for some time after Congress returned to Philadelphia, the office was kept in a room of the hon^{ble} Doct Shippen's house." Sometime thereafter, probably as soon as the rooms could be rendered fit for use, the office was removed to the East wing. This is established by Thomson's testimony that "I have never refused any member the free liberty of taking, without permission asked of Congress or receipt given, any papers he asked for <u>down</u> [italics supplied] into the Congress room or into the chamber adjoining.... The word "down" establishes the office on the second floor; the second floor of the State House proper was entirely devoted to state offices, so the Secretary's office was in the second floor of the East wing. This and other testimony indicates that there was direct access from the foot of the piazza stairs to the Congress chamber.

Throughout the years following Gérard's reception, the Assembly Room continued to be the scene of great events. Here, on November 19, 1779, Congress held a public audience for a new French ambassador, the Chevalier La Luzerne and, on May 13, 1782, celebrated the birth of an heir to the throne of its ally. Here, on March 1, 1781, Congress "commenced a new era

in American Politicks by the final ratification of the Articles of Confederation, which were signed by all the Members of Congress from every state in the Union."[10] Here Congress met to review the allied armies as they passed through Philadelphia on their march to Yorktown. And here, on November 3, 1781, the culmination of their years of work came when the twenty-four regimental standards captured at Yorktown were laid at the feet of Congress.

Contemporary Descriptions

That the room in which these events took place was little changed from the room described by Joseph Wharton in 1774 as "finished in a neat but not elegant manner" is strongly implied in the comments of three distinguished foreign visitors. Chastelleux, who was escorted to the room by President Huntington in December 1780, described it as "spacious without being lavishly decorated, its handsomest ornament is the portrait of General Washington...."[11] Nine months later, Baron Von Closen remarked only that "the deputies' hall is very large, but scarcely decorated at all;..."[12] an observation repeated by Prince de Broglie in 1782 when he found that "the chamber is large and without any other ornament than a bad engraving of Montgomery, one of Washington, and a copy of the Declaration of Independence."[13] Indeed, the only recorded repair which would have changed the appearance of the room came early in 1783, when John Smith supplied materials and workmanship valued at £23.10.2 "in fixing studs and pillars" in the "Congress Chamber."[14] This undoubtedly involved repairs to the panelling and pilasters of the Assembly Room's east wall.

Then, on June 21, 1783, a momentous era in the history of the building came to an end. Held prisoners in their chamber by four or five hundred mutinous Pennsylvania troops for nearly four hours, an outraged Congress adjourned to Princeton.

Soon after Congress left, a ground plan of the State House was prepared (see Illustrations No. 22 and 23). This plan, only recently recovered by Park Service historians, is of great importance, for it gives us the dimensions of the then existing piazzas, wings, and Library and Committee Room. The piazzas, whose facades were indented 3 feet 5 inches, measured 10 feet 2 inches in depth by 29 feet 9 inches long. The reconstructed piazzas ("arcades") measure 10 feet 2 inches by 34 feet. Abutting the east piazza to the south stood the Library and Committee Room, 29 feet 4 inches deep and 22 feet 8 inches wide, with its south wall indented 2 feet 4 inches. This is the earliest known diagram of this important addition. The wings themselves were built on line with the front of Independence Hall and measured 22 feet 1 inch in depth by 50 feet. The reconstructed wings measure 29 feet 6 inches by 47 feet 6 inches and protrude noticeably beyond the front of Independence Hall. The only doorways shown are the front and rear entrances to the center building and one in the rear of the east piazza leading between the Library and the east wing into the State House yard (however, see Appendix G for a discussion of the relationship among wings, arcades, Library, and main building, and for a hypothesis as to room arrangement within the wings). A description written by J. D. Schoepf

at about the time the ground plan was drawn provides information on the arrangement and room use of the center building:

> The lower storey contains two large halls, one of which the Congress formerly made use of....The other hall, on the ground floor, is for the use of the Supreme Court of Judicature. Above, there are two halls, for the General Assembly and for the Governor and Council.

The State Capitol

A General Overhaul...65 The Constitutional Convention Described...67 Last Decade as a Capitol...69

The departure of Congress had no immediate effect on either the use or the appearance of the structure. Subsequently, the Pennsylvania legislature unanimously agreed to ask Congress to return and offered assurances of speedy and adequate support and protection, as well as the use of the Congress Chamber. When this offer was refused, the chamber was allowed to remain vacant for a few months. It was then loaned to Robert Edge Pine for an exhibition of his paintings and was later used as a robing room for the justices of the state Supreme Court.[15]

A General Overhaul

Since the building was still the state capitol, minor repairs were made. These were not extensive enough to affect the appearance of the structure; nor were they sufficient to undo the damage resulting from years of neglect or to prevent further deterioration. By the fall of 1784 the building was in need of major repairs; a committee appointed by the legislature to examine the condition of the State House reported on September 22 that it was immediately necessary to reshingle the bell turret roof and continue a plain cornice around it (see Illustrations No. 30 and 31 for views of this cornice); repair and repaint the large outside cornice; reshingle, repair, and paint the main roof and repair its balustrade; repair the battlements; paint the doors and windows; replace the turret ceiling; install copper spouts,[16] placing spout stones under them, and repave the area

adjacent to the front steps; repair the water table; paint and gild the clock faces; and repair the staircases to the wings. The reference to painting and gilding the clock faces is the first such on record. James Pearson contracted for the work, and on October 10 began to purchase the necessary materials.

The work seems to have progressed rapidly, and by December 20 the copper spouts were in place and the paving nearly done.[17] Perhaps encouraged by this progress, the legislature on December 10 appointed another committee to examine the building and report on necessary repairs. It reported on February 9, 1785, that the lobby roof should be reshingled and its cornices and windows painted; that new cedar posts and a rail of pine should be installed along Chestnut Street; that the bell should be rehung; that a water closet should be installed on the landing of the stairs, and that various other repairs should be made. Pearson undertook this work too (see Appendix I for the committee reports, for related correspondence, and for Pearson's account with its supporting vouchers).

While this work was in progress, the Pennsylvania House moved back into the first floor room that the provincial Assembly had vacated a decade before in Congress' favor. On September 29, 1785, Pearson was paid £71.5.10 for alterations and repairs to the chamber and its adjoining committee room, and by November the House had taken possession.

But even this did not complete necessary work on the aging, abused and neglected building. On November 29, 1785, the House ordered that part

of the State House roof between the steeple and the turret of the clock-bell to be covered with copper and that the three courses on both sides of the ridge of the roof be reshingled. Pearson did this work too, although, "on Acct of the ruinous situation of the interior parts of the roof between the Steeple & turret supporting the Clock Bell," it was not completed. During 1786 and 1787 Pearson, who was at the same time engaged in improving the State House Square, also made "sundry repairs at the State house and wings fitting up shelves &ca for offices & material" valued at £203.13.10. The nature of this work is unknown, but payment of £11.14.4 to Thomas Hale on May 22, 1786, "for building a stage in state House &c," indicates that it required scaffolding. Another Pearson, George, placed a new roof on the Committee Room later in 1786.

The Constitutional Convention Described

Fortunately, these repairs must have been nearly complete and the State House once again at its best when, in 1787, it again became the scene of a meeting of paramount historical importance. On May 14, the Virginia delegates to the Constitutional Convention met in the old Congress chamber, and by May 25 a quorum of delegates was present and deliberations began. From then until September 17, the convention met in the room, and its committees met in the adjacent Library and Committee Room.

Lacking as we do many of the accounts and vouchers for work done in the room between 1783 and 1787, we cannot be sure to what extent its appearance had changed between the time the second Continental Congress

left and the convention met. Judging from two descriptions of the times, the old scene remained unchanged. Manasseh Cutler visited the building on July 13, while the convention was in progress, and described it thus:

> This is a noble building; the architecture is in a richer and grander style than any public building I have before seen. The first story is not an open walk, as is usual in buildings of this kind. In the middle, however, is a very broad cross-aisle, and the floor above supported by two rows of pillars. From this aisle is a broad opening to a large hall, toward the west end, which opening is supported by arches and pillars. In this Hall the Courts are held, and, as you pass the aisle, you have a full view of the Court. The Supreme Court was now sitting. This bench consists of only three judges. Their robes are scarlet; the lawyers', black. The Chief Judge, Mr. McKean, was sitting with his hat on, which is the custom, but struck me as being very odd, and seemed to derogate from the dignity of a judge. The hall east of the aisle is employed for public business.

Almost coincident with Cutler's visit, the Columbian Magazine published the view of the State House reproduced as Illustration No. 24 with this description appended:

> The building (which besides the council chamber, the house of assembly, and several unoccupied rooms contains the hall in which the supreme court is held) is situated in Chesnut-street, between Fourth and Fifth streets [sic]. It is ornamented with two elegant clocks, placed on the east and west sides; but the steeple, which is preserved in the engraving, was taken down soon after the British evacuated this city. On the east wing a foundation has been lately (laid) for an elegant court-house; and the American Philosophical Society have made some advances in erecting a stately building on the north-west corner of the state house yard, which was presented to that body by an act of the legislature. The state-house yard has 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.

The view accompanying this description (see Illustration No. 24) offers the only known elevation of the Library and Committee Room, showing a

window in the south wall. It also offers the only known elevation of the West Wing's south wall, showing four windows.

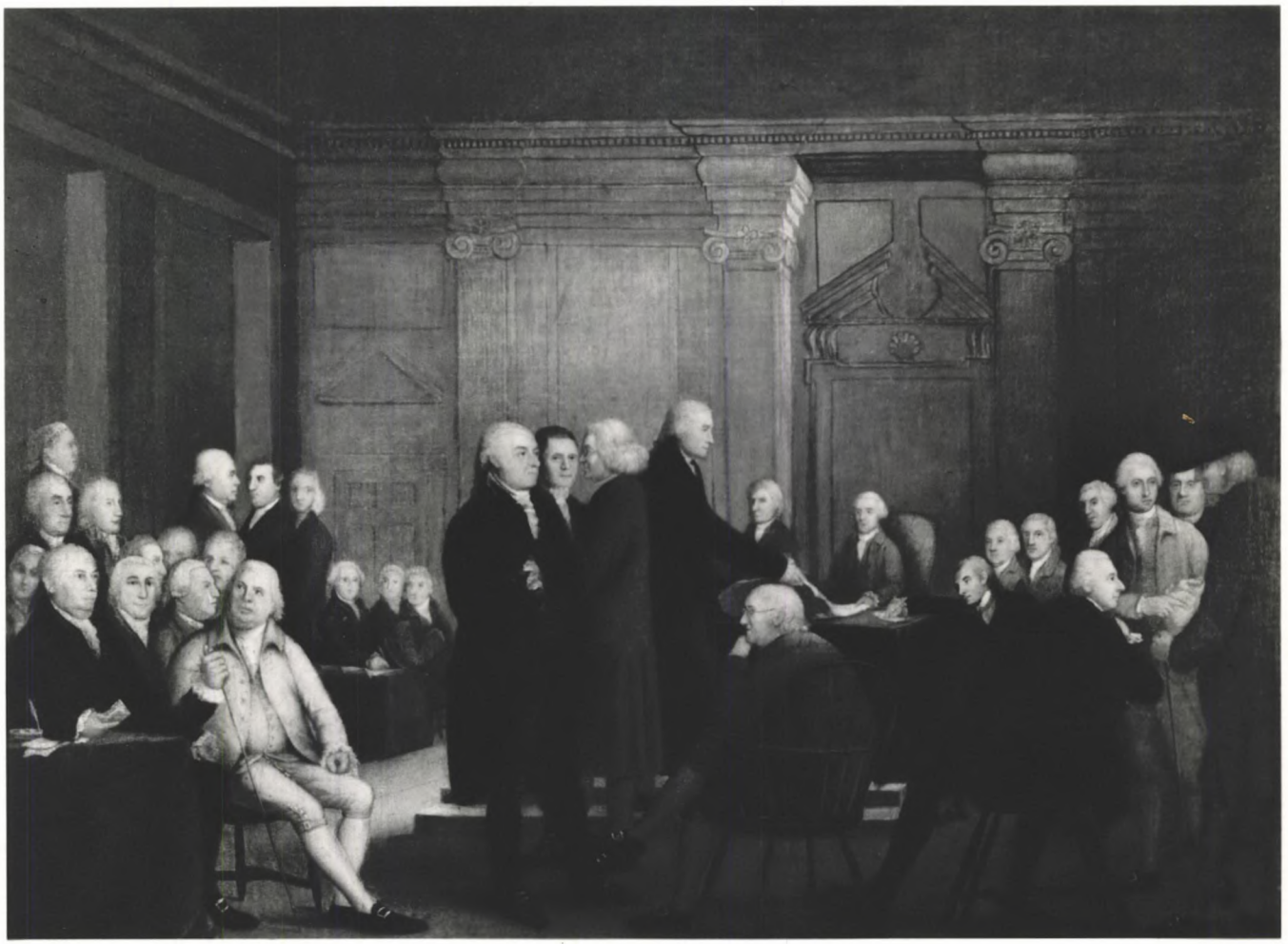
Of equal value is a description of a sign painted by Matthew Pratt for a Philadelphia inn, the Sign of the Federal Convention. An anonymous Philadelphian, writing in the Portfolio for April 1824, stated that "one of our neglected sons of genius who reduced by want of patronage to portrait and sign painting for a livelihood, obtained a glimpse of this truly venerable assemble, which he instantly transferred to a sign post that he had been employed to decorate for an ale-house in South Street...." Unfortunately, the sign had been painted over by 1824 and has since disappeared. However, the anonymous correspondent has left us a description of it: "The room itself was correctly represented, as it stood at the time, richly wainscotted, with pediments over the doors, and Ionic pilasters, supporting a full entablature of the order, beneath a coved ceiling: ..."

This description is most interesting, for it establishes the presence in the room of a coved ceiling and implies that the wall shown was the panelled east wall. This description of Pratt's sign and the Pine-Savage "Congress Voting Independence," painted and engraved sometime after 1786, thus confirm each other. The Pine-Savage is conclusive proof of the coved ceiling and of the presence and details of paneling on the east wall of the room. Apparently, the finish applied in the 1740's was still in place.

Last Decade as a Capitol

With the adjournment of the Constitutional Convention, the State House ceased to be the scene of pre-eminent events, but it continued in use

Congress Voting Independence--the Pine-Savage painting. An indispensable document on canvas. In the years between finishing the Assembly Room in the early 1740's and the useless sacrifice of its old architectural embellishments in 1816, it was never described in detail. This painting and the print on the page following will make possible a highly accurate restoration.



The east wall shows the two chimney breasts, their corners embellished with Ionic pilasters, those toward the center with two faces, thus forming a recess, into which are carried the three plane architrave and the pulvinated frieze. The cornice, however consisting of two ovolos, a row of dentils, and an ovolo bed mould, excepting a slight break on both sides, goes straight across, showing a two panelled soffit. In the recess is a tabernacle frame with a broken pediment, the horizontal portion of the cornice consisting of a single moulding, supported by two trusses or brackets between which, in the frieze, is a cockle shell, the one still in place. Over the broken pediment are two panels, the lower edges of which are parallel to the rake of the cornice. Between the left two pilasters is a wide vertical panel between two narrow ones. On the left is a door over which are a pediment and a rectangular panel. The right hand chimney breast shows a similar treatment. The desk for the presiding officer is on a dais of two steps. The north wall shows the entablature continuing, but no pilasters, a light band or trim going around the windows and continuing at the head across the piers. Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



The engraving Congress Voting Independence by Edward Savage. This follows closely the painting in most respects. The cove in the ceiling is clearly defined at upper left, as is the plaster surface of the north wall. The window trim goes around each window and not across the pier between them. Quatrefoils are added to the frieze in the tabernacle frame. In the corner of the room is part of the volute of a capital.

as the state capitol. Shortly after the convention ended, the Pennsylvania ratifying convention met in the east room of the second floor to ratify the Constitution. Heartened by the success of proponents of a strong central government on the national level, opponents of Pennsylvania's radical Constitution of 1776 finally succeeded, in 1789, in calling a convention to revise it. This convention also met in the second floor room and there drafted the state constitution of 1790. The new agencies provided by this document accommodated themselves to the State House without major changes; the Governor and the Secretary of the Commonwealth took over the Council Chamber and the Senate moved into the east room of the second floor. With the formation of the new Federal Government, the State House was considered for use as the national capitol; Tench Coxe went so far as to suggest taking out the floor between the old Congress Chamber and the room above so as to give it an airy appearance and to admit of a gallery on pillars.[18] When the Federal Government did move, Congress Hall became the capitol and only the west wing, pressed into service for the office of the Clerk of the House and for House committee rooms, was affected.

The state continued to keep the structure in repair. During the spring of 1788 minor repairs were made to the clock and various locks were repaired and replaced (see Appendix I). Later in the year Levy Budd and Britton and Allibone were paid £20.0.0 and 17.10.0 respectively for "500 feet of Pine Boards" and "500 feet of Inch & q^{r} Pine Boards" furnished to repair the Assembly Room. There is as yet no evidence as to the nature of

the repair for which this board was used, but probably it was for a section of new floor.

By 1789, with a new state government in prospect, major repairs and alterations were necessary. On March 10 a committee reported an estimate of these repairs, which included reshingling the roof and the north side of the roofs of the wings, coppering the flat, painting the building inside and out, laying a new brick floor in the "Entry and Steeple," putting partitions in the open arches separating the Supreme Court Chamber from the entry, painting and penciling the front walls of the State House and the wings, and other miscellaneous repairs. Joseph Rakestraw supervised the work.

Rakestraw's account and the vouchers found thus far are in Appendix I. Certain items are of particular interest. In the first place, some of the projected repairs to the courtroom, which would have included a new floor, lengthening the judges bench, raising the bar and other repairs to the paneling were not done, nor were the entry and steeple floors relaid. Among the vouchers for the work which was done is one which provides new and startling information bearing on the appearance of the fireplaces in the room in which the Declaration of Independence was signed and the Constitution drafted: Richard North, a Philadelphia stonecutter, was paid £4.10.0 for "taking down and polishing the marble mantels in the Assembly Room [east room, first floor], 2 new key stones moulded and polished, and fixing the mantles in place again." Although no account or voucher covering their installation has been found, it may be assumed they were part of the original

decor of this room. The fact that they required repair indicates that they had been in the room for a long time.

Further, Rakestraw's voucher for carpenter's work includes an item for repairs in the Assembly Room, "mending the Pilasters, doors, and surbace &c." The amount of the payment is small, but it confirms the fact that there were pilasters in the room at this time.

Rakestraw's work represents the last major repairs made to the State House by the state. Minor repairs continued to be made, as can be seen in Appendix I. Lamps were repaired and painted, ash holes installed, fireplaces altered, a new brick floor laid in the entry and steeple, but no major changes in the appearance of the building were made.

Throughout the decade of the 1790's the state government continued to use the building. In addition, the Supreme Court of the United States twice met in its Supreme Court Chamber, John Trumbull used one of its rooms as a studio, the Columbians exhibited the painting and sculpture of its members in the Senate Chamber, delegates from the various abolition societies met there, elections were held at the Chestnut Street windows, and so forth.

But throughout the decade, Philadelphia had on three occasions been wracked by severe epidemics of yellow fever. This, and the rapid growth of the western counties, led in 1799 to the passage of an act removing the state capital from Philadelphia to Lancaster, and by mid-year the removal had been effected. After sixty-four years of service, the now outmoded building was of little value to the state.

The now nearly empty building had undergone many changes in the more than twenty years since it had been temporarily abandoned to the mercy of the British. The courtroom had been extensively repaired and partitioned off from the entry. The second floor had been realigned to provide a large room to the east and one or more committee rooms in addition to the Council Chamber at the west; only the latter room had survived in its original form. The steeple had been removed and replaced by an awkward, finial topped, hip roof; the bell turret had been extensively repaired and a new cornice added. Almost every inch of roof had been reshingled or re-coppered. As the new century opened, even more extensive changes lay ahead.

Peale's Museum

Establishment in the State House...74 A Visitor's View of the Museum...76 Care of the State House...79

In deserting Philadelphia for Lancaster, the government of Pennsylvania lowered the prestige and importance of the State House. For a time, the building's fate went undecided. Far from falling into disuse, however, it continued to be a hub of governmental activity, state and county officials occupying rooms in the wings and state and city courts holding sessions in the Supreme Court Chamber. Private organizations met in the building, and it remained Philadelphia's polling place during general elections. The second floor, however, went unoccupied.

Establishment in the State House

In February 1800 Charles Willson Peale petitioned the Pennsylvania legislature for permission to move his museum from Philosophical Hall to the State House and to establish his natural history exhibits there under state auspices. This famous painter as impressario of Peale's Museum had already attracted a following. The museum was the one place in young America where an open-mouthed citizenry could in one visit see everything from habitat groups to stern-visaged portraits of the nation's founders and come away entertained, enlightened, and inspired. Peale's memorial emphasized the benefits which would accrue to the state and the general public from governmental support of his museum and from his proposal to institute a library, lectures, and courses in natural history which would attract students from near and far

Peale pointed out to the legislators that the State House, its second floor restored, would provide a centrally-located, spacious, and well-planned setting for the museum. He was in a position to know; some years before, while serving in the House, he had belonged to the committee that realigned the second floor rooms. The legislature, however, denied his request.[1]

Undaunted and armed with endorsements from the Select and Common Councils of Philadelphia and the American Philosophical Society, Peale in February 1802 again applied for public support; the use of the State House, "now unoccupied."[2] His efforts proved successful this time and the legislature granted him "the use of the lower part of the east end of the State House and the whole of the upper story."[3] He received the keys on March 24, 1802.[4]

Immediately, Peale began a series of alterations to the second floor of the State House to provide better accommodations and setting for the museum. The work progressed throughout the spring of 1802, so that by late June the Long Gallery had re-emerged, and by July 4 the subscription tickets for admission to the museum were on sale.[5]

The new proprietor in a sense achieved the first "restoration" in Independence Hall when he returned the second floor to its original arrangement with the reopening of the Long Gallery and the re-establishment of the old Committee Room. In the interest of circulation, he threw a partition across the opening between the Gallery and second floor hallway. This cost the State House the wide opening's original woodwork. Except for this, the

new arrangement agreed with Peale's plans as presented in his initial petition to the legislature in 1800.[6] (See Illustrations No. 32, 33, 34, 35.)

A Visitor's View of the Museum

The visitor's first contact with Peale's museum actually preceded his entrance into the State House. On the front of the building Peale had inscribed in large gilt letters "Museum, Great School of Nature." Those entering from the State House Garden read a tablet at the back door which expressed Peale's attitude toward nature:

> The book of Nature open
> ------- explore the wondrous work
> an Institute of Laws eternal

Over the pediment of the door was written "School of Wisdom."[7]

On the first floor Rembrandt Peale employed the "neglected" Assembly Room for his painting room.[8] Upon ascending the tower stairs and ringing the turnstile bell to attract the attention of the attendant,[9] the visitor first saw on the second floor landing "a small room occupied as a work shop."[10] Available space in the building was at a premium. Peale, not wishing to use the rooms of the second floor, better employed for exhibits, for the business end of his work, and needing space because of the constant expansion of his collection and exhibits, found that the tower area provided an excellent solution to his problem. This was a particularly advantageous place for the museum's ticket office. Thus soon after he received use of the State House he wrote to his sons, Rembrandt and Rubens, "I shall extend my Lodge over the Stair case to the South wall, which will

make me a good room from which we can see all the Visitors to the Museum." This "Lodge" or "Workshop" Peale used "to prepare subjects, and to contain the Stores of duplicates intended for exchange for subjects from other quarters of the Globe, and also containing the Library of Natural History &c &c."[11] (See Appendix H)

After the visitor paid the twenty-five cents admission fee and received in return a Guide to the Museum at the ticket office,[12] he proceeded into the museum. The lobby separating the southeast and southwest rooms originally contained Peale's electrical machine and some Galvanic apparatus. In the course of the development and expansion of the museum, the "lobby," at first a storage area for items which fit nowhere else, became the museum's lecture hall. For a time the visitors stood while listening to the lectures and viewing Rubens Peale's scientific experiments.[13] Sometime after 1816, however, Peale provided for the comfort of his auditors by arranging benches in the lobby "at such an angle that two or three upper seats crossed the passageway into the Quadruped room (west of lobby) at sufficient height to give headway under them."[14] These benches occupied the northern and western ends of the lobby, while the stairs to the Marine Room in the tower ascended against the eastern wall (see Illustrations No. 33 and 34).

The old Council and Committee chambers of the second floor were entered by way of doors from the "lobby." The door to the Quadruped room was centered in the western wall of the lobby, while that to the Mammoth

Room, because of the presence of the stairs to the Marine Room, was necessarily located toward the southern end of the eastern wall of the lobby. Entrance to the Long Room was gained from either of the two rooms which flanked the lobby, but not from the lobby itself. The doors to the Long Room were off center (see Illustrations No. 33 and 34).[15]

The center of all museum functions was the impressive Long Room in which Peale proudly exhibited to his crowds of visitors his collection of more than 760 varieties of birds and 4000 insects. Glass cases projecting into the room from between the windows held mineral and fossil specimens and other interesting curiosities assembled through the years by Peale, an insatiable collector. The museum, however, was more than a natural history exhibit in which Peale displayed specimens in natural habitat groupings and arranged according to their scientific classifications, for Peale was more than a naturalist. An accomplished and renowned painter, he hung on the walls of the museum portraits of distinguished men, including Franklin, Priestly, and Rittenhouse, done by himself and his son Rembrandt. Here too were an organ, Luken's perpetual motion machine, and the famed Physiognotrace for drawing profiles. In the old Council Chamber, or Quadruped room, Peale displayed such remarkable specimens as a grizzly bear, an anteater, and an "Ourang Outang." On the other side, the old Assembly Committee Room, now the Marine Room, housed large fish and amphibious animals, such as sharks and lizards.[16]

The continued growth of the museum and the complete removal of it to the State House from Philosophical Hall in 1811 necessitated changes in

Peale's arrangement. He moved "the studpendous skeleton of the mammoth," wax Indian figures, and paintings done by Rembrandt Peale while in Europe to the southeast room of the second floor and moved the marine exhibit to the tower (see Illustration No. 34).[17]

Care of the State House

The resolution which gave Peale the use of the building, besides permitting him to make changes, charged him with its care and maintenance. Therefore, in the course of more than twenty years Peale made many minor repairs to the State House. In 1803 he cut a flue through the roof of the steeple.[18] By 1809, in order to achieve privacy and more work space, Peale had erected a partition in the lobby.[19] In 1811 plastering was done in the steeple, and in 1813 the copper work was repaired.[20] By 1815 Rubens Peale who was actively engaged in the management of the museum had "made the repairs most necessary for the security of the Building--such as repairing the roofe of the Steple and south part of the main building which have leaked for some years past--repairing the copper on the main building. The greater part of the inside I have painted, except the Hall below, and intended doing much more but it was objected to, on account of making the other parts look very bad."[21]

Much of the work done by the Peales was primarily maintenance work. This included such repairs as installing glass for "roundwind" of the steeple in October 1811, mending the clock windows in December of that same year, repairing the clock hammer in March 1812, and bordering the Long Room in December 1813.[22] (See Appendix I.)

In 1808 the federal government considered returning to Philadelphia. This possibility prompted the Pennsylvania legislature to offer the use of the State House for the nation's capitol and to authorize the alterations necessary to accommodate the several branches of government. Rather than alarming Charles Willson Peale, it appeared to him as an opportunity for federal patronage of the museum. He felt secure in his position in the State House because of his "knowledge of the unfitness of the Building [State House] which cannot readily be enlarged, and that the former Building [Congress Hall] is infinitely better for their accommodation,..."[23] However, the government remained in Washington, and Peale was not faced with the necessity of moving his museum.

Modernization and the Spirit of Change

Loss of Wing Buildings...81 Destructive Hand of the Commissioners...83 The State House Finds a Champion...88

Loss of Wing Buildings

It is doubly ironic that Peale, whose civilizing mission had done so much to enhance the nation's culture and traditions, should play so conspicuous a part in the first step to dismember the old State House, only to lose out and fail to profit by it. The county of Philadelphia had failed to comply with the act of the Pennsylvania legislature of March 27, 1790, which authorized each county of the commonwealth to erect fireproof buildings.[24] To the civic conscious the wings lacked proper precautions against fire and were "inconvenient, unsightly, exposed to improper uses, and disgraceful to the venerable edifice to which they are attached." They urged that the wings be demolished and in their place be erected "convenient and fireproof offices for the records and public papers, and the upper part of which may at the same time allow sufficient accommodations for the full display and arrangement of the Museum."[25] Charles Willson Peale enthusiastically favored and worked for erection of the new fireproof buildings.[26] In Peale's mind, and in the minds of the more than five hundred Philadelphians who petitioned the legislature in 1811, laudable purpose would be served on both heads. Peale managed to get the museum rooms into the first bill introduced in February 1811, but not the final authorization voted in 1812.[27] After officials had for seventy-five years collected and stored records in the aging wing buildings, the citizens of Philadelphia came to realize in

1811 that a critically important body of materials relating to judicial proceedings, land-holdings, vital statistics, and finances of the city and county lay exposed to the threat of fire.

As early as 1802 Peale had envisioned "an additional structure as far east and west as the wings go which will be making the long Room 260 feet and over 2 other Rooms of 80 ft. each...."[28] He engaged Robert Mills to draw up plans for these additions for his ever expanding museum, and the architect's work was completed by October 1809.[29] The Pennsylvania legislature turned him down the next year. The Mills plans also called for "15 Room fire proof for the public offices, & 4 rooms above them of 40 feet square lighted by them [sic] [sky] lights for the increase of the Museum." Peale contended that "by this plan those nasty passages between the State-House & the present wings will be built on which makes such offices much larger than those at present in use."[30]

The state legislature's authorization of March 24, 1812, was acted upon by the county commissioners without pause. They retained Mills and he redesigned the row of offices.[32]

In the history of Independence Hall, the construction of the Mills buildings is indeed significant. The feeling among the citizenry of Philadelphia for this "venerable edifice" did not apply to its disreputable wings, old and venerable though they were. Forgotten were the days of Charles Thomson, though he as an aged patriarch still dwelled among them. Thus, distinctive and integral elements as old as the building itself were destroyed. The original wings and piazzas disappeared, but the destruction of

original features did not stop here. To make room for the larger Mills buildings, the Library and Committee Room at the southeast corner of the building was razed at this time. A third distinctive feature of the State House, the clock case on the west wall, had to be removed. However, the clock dials on both the east and west walls survived and operated for another sixteen years (see Illustrations No. 36, 37, 38, and 39). Yet another effect of the construction of the Mills buildings was the bricking up of the windows on the western wall of the Supreme Court Chamber.

The State House row after 1813 differed greatly from the setting against which had been played the great events of 1776 and 1787. The new fireproof buildings, different in architectural character from the State House, ill-scaled as wings, though the pride of a practical generation, added nothing to the dignity of their worthy neighbor.[33] (See Illustrations No. 36, 38, and 39)

Very little has been uncovered to shed light upon the actual construction of the Mills buildings. Since these structures obliterated all trace of the old wings and are not of themselves of historical interest, it is not felt that they merit detailed consideration in this report.

Destructive Hand of the Commissioners

An act of the Pennsylvania legislature of March 13, 1815, gave control and use of the State House to the Philadelphia county commissioners. This legislature empowered the commissioners to let the building, with preference being given to the museum for the use of the second floor. A rent of $400 per annum was to be charged to Peale. The legislature further

provided that although the commissioners were charged with the care of the building, thus relieving Peale of this responsibility, the expenses incurred in any year in repairing the building could not exceed the amount of rent collected.[34] This stipulation was later to prove costly to them.

By now the state had finally determined to end its long relationship with the State House on a note of convenience. On March 11, 1816, the legislature authorized appointment of commissioners to supervise cutting streets through the State House Square and the division of the land into building lots to be sold at public auction, with the proceeds going for the erection of a new state capitol. As an alternative, however, Philadelphia would be allowed to purchase it.[35]

The Corporation of the City seized this opportunity to acquire the building. On April 11, 1816, City Councils authorized the Mayor to purchase the State House and State House Yard for $70,000; on April 19, 1816, Mayor Robert Wharton forwarded to Governor Simon Snyder a signed contract for the purchase of the State House, the payments to be made in three annual installments. On April 23, 1816, the Governor signed the contract. The transaction was not completed and the deed transferred until June 29, 1818.[36] Throughout the period the county commissioners had custody of the building, and it was during this interregnum that a sordid episode was acted out.

It began when the county commissioners, acting under their authority to effect repairs, took the first steps in a program of modernization. The audit dates show that the work started in 1816, how early is uncertain, but by April William Thackara was embellishing a ceiling medallion in the

first floor hallway. By August a major project of plastering was underway. And by September, most of the work had been done. It took a while for the public to awaken to the loss they had suffered.[37]

It was at this time that the Assembly Room was transformed from a room "richly wainscoatted, with pedements over the doors, and Ionic pilasters, supporting a full entablature of the order, beneath a cove ceiling" to a room, altered "by some ruthless Commissioner of repairs," with "naked walls and meagre door-cases that now disappoint the expectations of those who visit this memorable Council Chamber, which has been not inaptly denominated the cradle of American Independence; and which ought to have been scrupulously preserved in its pristine state to future ages."[38]

In September 1816, John Read, Jr., a member of Select Council, expressed the outraged feelings of the citizens with regard to the recent changes in the Assembly Room:

> We in common with our fellow citizens felt the highest respect, for the antient [sic] Capitol of the State; a place remarkable for two auspiccous [sic] societs [sic] and which have become celebrated eras in the history of our Country. It would have particularly gratified us, to have perceived entire, every ornament & decoration, which had been place in the building, by a correct architectural taste, particularly in that department of it, in which the declaration of independence, & the federal Constitution, were devised and completed. But we were too late to stop the manation [ruination?], which had begun and progressed, before our knowledge of it, and when we sought to recover the pannelling and ornaments, to replace them, we were told that they were defaced and sold.[39] [See Appendix I.]

In Read's view the architectural style of the State House "should have furnished the rule for all further improvements [.] a [sic] departure from this [Doric] order, robs the building of much of its simplicity & dignity &

will subject to...[criticism] our attempt to improve upon the chart [chaste] models of our predecessors."[40]

Interest in preservation of the Assembly Room was not limited to a far-sighted few. This was apparently an important local issue and of general interest. In the 1816 election for county commissioner, the Democratic Republicans offered as John Thompson's prime qualification for re-election his opposition to defacement of the hall: "when the federal county commissioners had it in view to destroy the room in which the glorious Declaration of Independence was signed, and modernize and alter that venerable pile the State House, Colonel Thompson resisted and protested against their conduct--he was anxious to preserve a building which was in itself useful, but rendered doubly dear to every American for the reasons above stated-..."[41]

Read was not the only witness to the deed. John Binns, editor of the Democratic Press, years later still lamented that "the floor and the heavy old-fashioned cornice of that sacred hall, to give a job to one of our commissioner's relatives, were torn up and torn down, and cut and sawed and broken to pieces, many of which were sold at high prices as relics,..." He called it a "sacrilegious outrage."[42] In January of 1819 Colonel John Trumbull, encountering the changed room for the first time, noted that "the alterations which have been made in the Room where Congress actually sat on the famous 4th July are such that the picture [The Declaration of Independence] cannot be hung in it."[43] (See Illustration No. 27.) "...The spirit of innovation [had] laid unhallowed hands upon it, and violated its venerable walls by modern improvement, as it is called."[44]

The plastering of the Assembly Room undoubtedly was the work of William Thackara. Record exists of his having done a sizeable amount of plastering in the State House for the county commissioners in August 1816. Earlier in the year he had installed "one gravel Rosett & Golarchie," 90 oval beads, 132 spherical beads, and "4 Rosetts (5 inches)" in the vestibule of the State House (see Appendix I). These elements have survived and remain in place in Independence Hall.[45] During April scaffolding in the Tower Room, doubtless in use as Thackara put up the centerpiece which in part still survives, impeded Rubens Peale as he installed apparatus for illumination of the museum.[46]

The exterior of the State House did not escape the destructive hand of the county commissioners. The original Doric front door was replaced by one with the arched doorway in a classic motif of the Corinthian order with engaged fluted columns which Read had found "not in correspondence with the prevailing order of architecture, either in the interior, or exterior of the building." (See Illustrations No. 46, 47, and 48.) Paint and oil were applied to the marble on the Chestnut Street facade of the State House. This "too visible" change to the exterior gave "the marble, which in its natural state was both vulnerable & ornamental, the resemblance of wood, an inferior and more frail material." A new step was "fitted in under the door case" by September 1816.[47]

The county commissioners had exceeded their authority. It is likely that this overstepping of the bounds led the auditors to disallow the costs:

> that the expenditures could not be allowed and however disagreeable it may be to their feelings, they consider themselves bound to charge the Commissioners severally and jointly for the Sums expended as they find their signatures to the various warrants drawn on their Treasurer in payment of demands exhibited for Materials Workmanship and labour render'd in and about the State House.[48]

After an appeal by the commissioners and a court decision partially sustaining their claim, the auditors in 1818 allowed $1740.87 "for repairing State house in 1816 and 1817"[49] (see Appendix I).

This large expenditure by the county commissioners does much to explain their reluctance to yield custody of the building to the city. They refused to give up possession of the first floor until the Pennsylvania legislature passed a supplement to the "Act providing for the sale of the State House and State House Square" on March 23, 1818, enjoining them to turn the building over to the city.[50]

The county continued to spend money for work of undetermined nature at the State House--in 1817, $998.11 was drawn for repairs to the building, and in 1818, $3116.25.[51]

The survey made in 1818 when the city first insured the building reflects the changes recently made in the Assembly Room and also gives an accurate and complete description of the condition of the entire building at that time:

> I have Surveyed the Center Building of the state house belonging to the Corporation of the City of Philadelphia situate on the south side of Chestnut st. between Fifth & 6th street 107 feet front 44 feet Deep, two stories high. Building back supporting the Steeple 34-1/2 by 31 feet 4 Stories high the walls 18 [&] 22 thick, the lower story of the front building is divided into two large Court rooms and hall in the middle. The Eastern room finished with 5/4 in.. yellow pine floor base round large pilaster

architraves and the Doors & windows with an Entablature over each, two Square pilasters & half pilasters supporting three Eliptic arches on the East Side of the room 3 ranges of circular benches with turned banisters & painted rail backs, the West room with yellow pine floor base round wainscoted from the surbase up three sides with large 12 large [sic] fluted pilasters and Entablature near the ceiling the glass in both rooms 12 by 16 in. Double architraves round all the windows the hall floored with brick finished with painted work & 16 fluted columns & Entabl[ature] Fronticepiece with fluted columns and flat pediment front. The 2nd story in three rooms floor of common yellow pine base round Double architraves round the doors and windows all occupied with the Museum Glass 12 by 16 In. round newel stair case from the 2nd story into the 3rd story of the steeple house, with brackets & turned banisters painted rail, and Large open stair case much worn leading from the hall below to the front building at the head of which is a small room occupied as a work shop The 3rd story of the back building or steeple house finished with com[mon] yellow pine occupied with a part of the museum the 4 story occupied for the preparation of gas for lighting the museum [in the?] front the roof Broken pitch the upper or flat part covered with copper[52] (see Appendix I).

The State House Finds a Champion

Unlike the county commissioners, the City Councils exhibited determined interest in the State House's architectural integrity. These years of trial produced a number of significant examples of this. With the lines of jurisdiction over the building not clearly drawn, the county and city worked at cross-purposes with each other--one destroying original fabric, the other seeking to preserve it.

In 1817 the attention of the city turned to the bell in the State House. Councils ordered it newly hung and the clock to be put into working condition by repairs or replacement.[53] However, the work on the clock-bell may never have been carried out because the Councils in 1820 authorized a study of the condition of the clock-bell and either the repair or replacement

of it. In February 1821 Councils authorized payment of $484.95 for a new clock-bell.[54]

The manufacturing of gas in the tower by Rubens Peale after 1816 put the State House in constant danger of fire because of the proximity of the furnace and machinery to the rafters and beams, and the storage of inflammable materials there. The city commissioners strongly disapproved of this and ordered it removed. This Peale did in 1820, hopeful that this would result in a reduction of the $1200 rent which Peale considered exorbitant. The next year the rent was lowered.[55]

In November 1820 Councils appointed a committee to investigate repairs needed in the State House, and to give "directions for the removal of any incumbrances that may have been placed in the Lobby, Stairways, or belfry," and to deal with Peale regarding renting the second floor. The committee objected to the workshop or "Lodge" on the ground that it hid the architecture of the stairway. In spite of Peale's plea that this "appendage" was necessary for the successful operation of the museum, the opinion of the Councils prevailed; Peale pulled down the room. At this time Peale also removed the chimney in the steeple installed early in his occupancy.[56]

Following the removal of the workshop in the tower, the city painted the Hall and stairway and whitewashed the walls and ceilings of the building. At this time Peale's rent was reduced to $600 per annum and provision made for work on the bell to put it in condition for ringing as an alarm bell. The ceiling of the hall over the staircase received necessary repairs of an undetermined nature and extent.[57] City Councils authorized

the city commissioners in December 1821 to make necessary alterations in the Supreme Court room. It was specified that no changes were to be made to the windows. If any alterations were carried out under this authorization, there were necessarily minor ones since the cost could not exceed $100.[58]

Fifty Years of Change

Welcome for a Hero...92 The Steeple Rebuilt...94 Courts on the Second Floor...98 The Haviland Restoration...100 Maintaining the State House...104 City Councils Move In...105 Assembly Room Becomes a Shrine...106 The Centennial...109

Welcome for a Hero

In 1824 at the invitation of President Monroe the Marquis de Lafayette returned to the country in whose service he had fought some forty years before. Everywhere the people of the United States greeted the hero of the Revolutionary War with enormous enthusiasm and great displays of affection and respect. This triumphant tour inspired in the American people appreciation and interest in their heritage and the important events of the nation's early history. This had an important effect upon Independence Hall.

The City of Philadelphia, awakening in Lafayette's heart "the remembrance of all those feelings which I experienced fifty years ago,"[59] welcomed him with a tremendous public demonstration. Opposite the State House, the scene of the official reception, was a triumphal arch designed by William Strickland and decorated with the coat of arms of the city painted by Thomas Sully and statues of Justice and Wisdom by William Rush. [Illustration No. 40] In the windows of the Museum Peale displayed nine of his paintings. The center one was a bust of Lafayette with the civic crown over his head, a garland of flowers around the bust and the flags of France and America flanking it.[60]

In preparation for Lafayette's visit the City made repairs to the State House. An observer wrote in October 1824, shortly after Lafayette's

departure, that "the Old State house has had a new coat of paint from the top to the bottom --- the vane & ball new gilt, new Hands to the Clock & all the repairs it has required for the last 50 years put upon it all at once, ..."[61] (see Appendix I).

The Corporation set aside the Assembly Room for Lafayette's use as a levee room during his stay in Philadelphia. The following newspaper account reveals the condition of the Assembly Room at the time of Lafayette's triumphal visit.

> The Hall of Independence has been fitted up in the most splendid manner. The Room is 40 feet square, the walls and ceilings painted a stone color, the windows hung with scarlet and blue drapery studded with stars. In the east side stands a statue of the immortal Washington, in a recess which was formerly occupied by the chair of the Speaker of the first Congress. Behind the statue there is an azure star drapery suspended from spears and wreathes. To the right and left of the statue hang the Portraits of William Penn, Franklin and Robert Morris and Francis Hopkinson. The intermediate spaces are filled with the portraits of Greene, Wayne, Montgomery, Hamilton, Gates, Rochambeau, Charles Carroll of Carrolton, and Gov. McKean.
>
> Over the door of entrance is placed the celebrated Portraits of Washington by R. Peale, relieved on each side by crimson and azure drapery suspended from spears and laurel wreathes. On the right and left of the entrance are placed the Portraits of Jefferson, Hancock, Adams, Madison, Monroe, and the Venerable Charles Thompson. On the north and south the windows are draped to the floor with crimson and azure, the carpet of similar colors, and the furniture of mahogany tastefully and appropriately disposed.[62]

A Committee of which William Strickland was a member directed the work in the Assembly Room. Besides the refurnishing of the room other changes were made, including the removing of an "uncouth pediment" over the door to facilitate the showing of the Rembrandt Peale portrait of George Washington, and the installation of a chandelier[63] (see Appendix I).

On September 28, 1824 the city officials met Lafayette in the Assembly Room and offered to him the official greetings of the people. The place of the reception caused him to remember with some emotion that it was in this hall

> ...consecrated by the councils of sages, where the Independence of the United States was boldly proclaimed. In anticipation of the independence of all America, here commenced a new era for the civilized world, the era of social order, founded on the rights of mankind--the advantages of which are every day exemplified in the peace and happiness of your republic. Here, Sir, was formed our brave and virtuous revolutionary army: here was inspired, by providence, the happy idea of intrusting the command to the much loved Washington, that faultless soldier. But these recollections, with a crowd of others, are mingled with deep regret at the loss of the great and good men whom we have to lament. To their services, Sir, to your respect for their memory, to the friendship which united me with them, I must refer the great part of the honours which I have here and elsewhere received: honours far above my own merit.[64]

From that day until he left Philadelphia on October 5 Lafayette received addresses and expressions of respect and gratitude from various groups of citizens, who differed in many respects but were united in their feeling towards Lafayette.

The Steeple Rebuilt

With the visit of Lafayette to the State House the historic associations of the buildings came more into prominence, and as a result of this, interest in the restoration of the building to its appearance at the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence developed. The first tangible result of this occurred in 1828 when the attention of the City Councils turned to the tower which had remained unchanged, except for minor repairs, since 1781.[65]

At this time Philadelphia needed a clock to provide a uniform time for the entire community. The ones on the east and west walls of the State House were anything but satisfactory, and had misled Philadelphians for years.[66] In 1828 Councilman Benjamin Tilghman noted:

> If there's anything proverbial, it is the badness of the clock at the State House. It is an excusing, not a regulating clock. It is a clock which affords no rule to go by, but a rule not to go by, for everybody knows it can never go right.[67]

A steeple on the State House provided a perfect location for a new clock. This would also add appreciably to the "ornament" of the city and be useful in the detection of fires. Therefore a survey of the tower was ordered. The Committee reported that there was "no departure from stability in any part of the building except a slight crack in the southern face of the wall immediately over the arch of the large Venetian Window [which] must have occurred shortly after the Tower was built and it has been caused by the opening of the window being so great as to throw the largest portion of the weight of the walls towards the external angles of the Tower."[68] In their judgment, however, this did not affect the general strength of the building. They felt that the walls, tied together with girders and a strong trussed framing of Oak and Gum timber, were sufficient to support a wooden cupola and spire "with perfect safety and by a continuation of the framing...[and] connecting it with strong diagonal girders, attached by iron clamps to the walls of each of these stories."[69] (see Appendix I)

William Strickland, now famous because of his work on the Second Bank of the United States, was selected to design it. His first plan,

calling for a brick steeple, was not adopted; nor was a plan proposed by John Haviland.[70] Instead Councils chose Strickland's second plan calling for a wooden steeple.[71]

The debate in Councils raged between those who thought that Strickland's plan of a brick steeple was a "restoration of the spire originally erected with the Building and standing there on 4 July 1776" and those who thought that carrying up the turret with two stories of brick "would destroy the effect of the original plan." Restoration was popular with the members of Council but they differed on what form it should take. The attitude of the members in general seems to have been summed up by Councilman Benjamin Tilghman:

> 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. I regret that unhallowed hands were ever permitted to touch it.[72]

Strickland's second plan received the approval of the City Councils on March 13, 1828. At the same time they authorized the purchase of a suitable clock and bell[73] (Appendix I).

The steeple was painted white, and the ball and vane gilded.[74] By the end of 1828 enough work had been completed on the new steeple that John Luken's 8-day clock was set in motion on January 1, 1829, just two days after the bell weighing 4600 pounds and cast by John Wilbank rang out for the first time.[75]

Strickland's steeple, of larger dimensions than the original did resemble its predecessor. However, since its primary purpose was to house

the City clock, the steeple had to be increased in height. The new one rose 167 feet 8 inches above the State House Yard. One significant feature in which it differed from the original was that it had four clock dials in its second section, each with a carved wreath beneath (Illustrations No. 40, 47, and 48).

The insurance resurvey made in February 1829 describes the newly erected steeple:

> I have Resurveyed the Centre Building of the State house---having recently a Steeple erected thereon. The lower die[?] of which is [blank in MS] feet square, by 23-1/2 feet high---with a Return'd[?] pilaster at each corner finished with a Corinthian cap---& corresponding entabliture and twelve vases on the Crown or cap. The next Section is [blank in MS] feet at the base & 10 feet high with balustrading round the top & Eight urns or vases on the cap with cornice & modillions---next above is the cupola, octagonal---which (including the dome) is 15 feet high, with windows in each angle, circular heads & finish'd with single architrave---& plain Cornice under the dome, floor of clear yellow pine, from this to the top of the Second dome is about 18-1/2 ft in which are [blank in MS] windows---with circular heads---from this to the top of the spire is 28 feet---making the whole height of the steeple 95 feet above the Brick work or pedestal of the Same---in the 2d Section are 4 Clock dials with a carved wreath under each---there is a Stairway inside with Square posts & straight rails---the steps planed leading up to the Cupola.[76]

The installation of the new clock and dials in the tower rendered the clocks on the east and west walls of the State House useless. Therefore the clock and bell were sold to Saint Augustine's Church, where it remained until May 1844 when the Church was burned during the Know-Nothing Riots.[77]

Courts on the Second Floor

Although there was interest in Philadelphia for a restoration of the State House to its original appearance, this was not the only consideration in the minds of the city fathers in their treatment of the building. This was a municipally-owned structure, actively in use, both for governmental and private purposes.

In 1828, shortly after the death of Charles Willson Peale, the association between the Museum and the State House terminated and the Museum moved. The arrangement of the second floor had remained basically unchanged through the years of use as a Museum except that between 1824 and 1828 the southeast room had been divided into two rooms by sap board partitions, and a new ceiling and "two ledged" doors installed.[78]

With the second floor of the State House now vacant, the City Councils received applications from various civic and educational groups for use of those rooms. The Councils themselves momentarily considered moving from their chambers in City Hall to new quarters in the State House. After deliberation, however, they determined to lease the State House's second floor to the U. S. Marshall for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania for use as court rooms and offices. This was done in December 1829.[79]

The City employed architect John Haviland to examine "the state and construction of the rooms in the center of the State House formerly occupied as a Museum." The Peale arrangement did not suit the needs of the new occupants of the second floor and for this reason changes were necessary.

Haviland's plans with an estimated cost of $1676 were accepted by Councils.[80]

The renovation progressed rapidly, so that by February 25, 1830 Zachariah Poulson could present his readers with the following description of the work:

> The court room will occupy the west end of the story, extending from Chestnut street to the yard. Its dimensions are 40 feet square. Next to it, on Chestnut street, is the jury room, measuring 22 by 20 feet. In the eastern end is the clerk's office 34 by 20 feet, and in the rear of it, facing the square, the marshall's office 25 by 20 feet. The judge's rostrum will be beautifuly [sic] ornemented [sic] with Corinthian columns and pilasters.[81]

In the Court room, used by the United States District and Circuit courts, the United States District attorney and clerk occupied an area within the bar, before the bench which was placed in an alcove. Other accoutrements usually in a courtroom were to be found here--a witness stand, and platform and chair for tipstaff.[82] The new partitions and ceiling installed by Haviland were plastered and the woodwork painted.[83] (Appendix I)

In order to make the disposition of rooms he proposed, Haviland wrote to the Committee of City Council when he submitted his plans:

> ... it is indispensably necessary to take away the present trussed partition immediately over the Mayors Court [Supreme Court Chamber] which is suspended from the roof and supports the floor, [and] to enable me to do this I have introduced two cast iron columns of sufficient thickness in one entire [block] resting on a solid foundation of masonry.[84]

Although Haviland's estimate specified only two columns, it would appear that he actually installed four in the Mayor's Court Room to support the federal court room above. Although there is no documentary evidence available at the present time to substantiate this view, all illustrations of the Supreme Court Chamber after this time show four columns and not two. It is quite

possible that when Haviland removed the partition in the second floor and examined the framing of the building that he found that four columns were needed (See illustrations No. 51 and 52).

The Haviland Restoration

During the years preceding and immediately following Lafayette's visit, visitors to the State House condemned Philadelphians for their lack of interest in the building and room in which Independence had been declared. Typical were the remarks of Captain Basil Hall after his visit in 1827:

> ...An event so important in American story, it might have been expected, should have hallowed the spot in the estimation of every native of that country. But the unpleasant truth seems to be, that nothing whatsoever is venerated in America merely on account of its age, or, indeed, on any other account. Neither historical associations, nor high public services, nor talents, nor knowledge, claim any peculiar reverence from the busy generations of the present hour, who are reaping the fruits sown by their ancestors, or, to speak more correctly, by their predecessors--for the race who achieved their independence is not yet quite extinct. Be this as it may, all the rich panelling, cornices, and ornamental work of this room, have been pulled down, and in their place, tame plastering and raw carpentry have been stuck up, on the occasion of some recent festival.
>
> The Turks who pounded the Frieze of the Parthenon into mortar, had an object in view; but I never could hear that the Americans had an equally good excuse for dismembering their Hall of Independence.[85]

However, interest in the Assembly Room increased steadily after the visit of Lafayette. Groups of citizens petitioned the city fathers to intervene and restore the Assembly Room.[86] In Councils too there was a growing appreciation of the need for action. In 1828 in the course of debate over the rebuilding of the steeple, Benjamin Tilghman, member of the Common Council's Committee on the State House indicated a strong feeling

for the importance of the building and remarked "I regard the rebuilding of the steeple as the entering wedge for restoring the building to its original state."[87]

Responsive to these two currents, the Common Council Committee on the State House and Independence Square employed John Haviland, already familiar with the State House through his work in the second floor "to examine the Hall of Independence, and after collecting all the information as to its former state, to present to the committee his views as to the practicability of restoring the Hall to its former state."[88]

Haviland submitted his report and estimate on March 29, 1831. In it he stated:

> In compliance with your request, I have examined 'the Hall of the Declaration of Independence,' with a view of reinstating it with its original architectural embellishments. From the best information I can obtain of its former style of finish, it appears to have been similar to the Mayor's Court room in its general features: a gallery supported by small columns, occupied the western side, and a chair with its dressings, raised on a platform on the eastern side; the precise detail of which I find it impossible to obtain authority sufficient to recommend its introduction; the materials we have are in good taste, corresponding with the bold Roman architecture of the staircase and vestibule, and constitutes nearly the whole finish; the lost parts are so trifling and imperfect, that, although they would complete the portrait, they would encumber it with useless and defective features.
>
> The arches on either side of the entrance, were formerly open, similar to the one through which you pass to the staircase--it would add much to the magnitude and beauty of the two rooms if these apertures could be restored; which might be effected by using them jointly for some public purpose, such as an Exchange, Athenaeum, Exhibition, or Town Meeting Room, that would not encumber the walls or conceal their architectural features.
>
> Your subscriber therefore most respectfully recommends reinstating the room with the general finish of pilaster, entablature, pedestals, and window dressings, corresponding with the

> Mayor's Court room, vestibule and stairs, which he is of opinion was the original finish of the room, at the period of the Declaration of Independence.
>
> The estimated cost of the whole alteration including the painting and plaistering [sic] is twelve hundred dollars.[89]

Following the approval of the Haviland plans by City Councils on April 14, 1831,[90] workmen almost immediately commenced clearing out the fixtures in the Assembly Room; the work continued through summer and the fall of that year, and into the summer of 1832.[91] The restoration of the Assembly Room was carried out in line with Haviland's plans, "with the general finish of pilaster, entablature, pedestals and window dressings" copied from the Supreme Court Chamber across the hallway. (Compare illustrations No. 41, 42, 43 with 51 and 52).

In the later part of the nineteenth century various accounts and descriptions of the State House and Assembly Room presented as fact that Haviland had found major portions of the original Assembly Room panelling stored away in the State House.[92] No statement to this effect, contemporary with the work, has been found. Haviland makes no mention of it in his letter to the Councils; it seems logical that if he were in possession of most of the panelling and entablature in place in the room in 1776 he would have stated it in the plainest of terms. Rather than this, his terminology suggests surmise. One sentence in his letter to Councils is particularly telling in this respect: "From the best information I can obtain of its former style of finish, it appears to have been similar to the Mayor's Court Room in its general features."[93] The "materials" to which he referred, rather than actually being pieces of recovered panelling, were probably the

result of his study, particularly the guidance provided by the Court Room. It appears to have been his assumption that both rooms were finished alike. This is reflected in his unfounded belief that the arches on both sides of the hallway were open.

Forgotten was Councilman John Read's September 1816 report that "When we sought to recover the pannelling [sic] and ornaments, to replace them, we were told that they were defaced and sold."[94]

At the same time that Haviland was directing the restoration of the Assembly Room, he was also engaged in work in the Mills buildings for the County Commissioners, and involved in work on the privy and erection of a railing behind the State House and Mills buildings for the City. This multiplicity of work around the State House at the same time creates difficulty in separating out particular items in the Haviland Manuscripts at the University of Pennsylvania as relating to the Assembly Room work. One item, however, which is explicit is the payment of $20 to Earl for a "carved frame to the H[all] of Independence."[95] This probably was the tabernacle frame over the platform on the east wall.

In 1831 certain features of the exterior of the State House came under the consideration of the City Councils. In January they ordered the removal of the stovepipe "now projecting through one of the front windows of the State House."[96] Shortly after the City Councils authorized restoration of the Assembly Room, they passed a resolution to "cause the front door of the State House to be so altered as to conform to the original finish." This, however, was rescinded without explanation in October.[97]

Maintaining the State House

For some twenty years following the completion of the Haviland restoration of the Assembly Room no major changes were made in the State House. Gas lighting was installed in the building in 1836 and the roof was repaired in 1836 and 1838 and 1847. During the period the State House received a number of minor repairs. Maintenance work, such as painting the interior and exterior, was done as needed (see Appendix I).

In 1846 the Assembly Room was painted and refurnished after having been used by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court for six months. Later in the same year the center hall and staircase, and the steeple were painted. The figures on the clock faces were also gilded.[98] In 1847 flues were introduced into the Federal court room on the second floor and connected with a furnace erected in the cellar. A niche in the south wall of the Federal Court room was knocked out to house a stove and the room was painted.

Previous to this time the court room had been "expensively warmed by a set of stoves with iron pipes or chimneys passing through the ceiling and roof"[99] (see Appendix I)

In 1850 the Supreme Court Chamber where the Court of Common Pleas was meeting at the time was refurnished and painted. Iron bronzed railings were put on either side of the desks and extended from the entrances to the bench. The federal court room on the second floor also received alteration at this time and was remodeled, and refurnished and the walls papered. Railings were installed to separate the bar and jurors from the spectators.[100]

In 1853 Councils authorized the cutting of four circular openings in the steeple of the State House to enable the superintendents to detect fire.[101]

City Council Moves In

In 1854 consolidation between the city of Philadelphia and the districts was accomplished. The City Councils now looked to the State House for new quarters because of its "patriotic associations" and its capacity to accomodate their increased membership. They resolved "to place the two large rooms in the State House, now occupied by the United States Court and Marshall's office, within the control of the new city administration, for Council chambers,..."[102] By June 1854 the federal court and offices had moved out of the building, and the work of renovation began. Jacob W. Colladay directed and planned the alterations, and he designed rooms of dimensions ample for the accomodation of councils. The Common Council Chamber replaced the federal court room at the western end of the second floor. and it measured 57 feet long by 40 feet wide. The 29 foot Select Council chamber occupied the entire eastern end. Situated between the chambers was a committee room 14 feet wide. Access to the chambers was by a passageway railed off on the northern side. Opposite the desk of the president of each council was erected a gallery, 10 feet deep and 8 feet high, intended for spectators. Ventilation for each of the chambers and the committee room was provided by openings in the roof.

In the process of dismantling the rooms it was revealed that the ceiling in the new Select Council room had settled about 8 inches. To

remedy this condition several of the joists were removed and in their place were introduced other "fastenings," connected by iron rods with the girders above. (see Illustration No. 56) These alterations raised the ceiling three inches. The stairs leading to the steeple were replaced by another flight situated within the tower (see Illustration No. 58). While these alterations were taking place, two furnaces were erected in the basement of the building, one under the Assembly Room and one under the Supreme Court Room. The cost of the work on the Council chambers amounted to between sixteen and twenty thousand dollars.[103] (see Appendix I).

The Assembly Room Becomes a Shrine

With the completion of these repairs, the second floor of the State House was ready for another forty years of hard use. But even while these repairs were being made, the Assembly Room had become a room to be used only as a shrine.

Although the visit of Lafayette had aroused some realization of the importance and significance of the room, the feeling of the sacredness of it was slow in developing, even after the Haviland "restoration" of 1831. In 1834 a resolution was adopted by the City Councils directing the refurnishing of the Assembly Room "in the manner it was at the time of the Declaration." However, by 1836 the room was as yet unfinished and was "almost as a lumber room."[104]

In the years that followed objections were raised to use of the room not in keeping with the events of 1776. By 1837 it was considered as a desecration of the room to devote it to the uses of the police or to

make any permanent arrangements for employing it for public offices. In 1843 the Public Ledger complained that "The room has been idle for some time past, we understand from the sickly notion that its walls are too sacred to be profaned by the presence of a court of law."[105] This feeling culminated in 1845 when in the course of the discussion over the granting of use of the Assembly Room for use of the State Supreme Court sitting in banc by the City Councils, Select Councilman Wetherill objected to the action "because he thought the Hall [Assembly Room] ought to be kept sacred, and not used for any purpose of the Kind."[106] The Philadelphia Bar concurred in this opinion and the Supreme Court soon moved out.

Objections were raised against the inappropriate use of the room, not against use per se. The Assembly Room served, since the time of the Lafayette visit, as the levee room for such distinguished visitors to Philadelphia as Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, Martin Van Buren, John Tyler. As an expression of the feelings of the people of Philadelphia the room was draped in mourning upon the occasion of the deaths of such eminent Americans as John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, John Quincy Adams, Zachary Taylor and Daniel Webster. The room also served as the place in which the bodies of Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln, many Civil War dead and others lay in state. By 1853 it appeared to one observer as a room "reserved as a sacred showplace for strangers."[107] In it were relics of antiquarian and historical interest such as the Liberty Bell which had been placed there on an ornamental pedestal, after having been removed from the steeple in 1852. Here stood a statue of Washington, and portraits of Penn and Lafayette hung on the walls (see Illustrations No. 41, 42, and 43).

In 1854 the City Councils had the Assembly Room renovated. The wood work was repainted, and the floors covered with oil cloth. Relics of the Revolutionary period were exhibited there and the walls were decorated with portraits of persons important in the early history of the nation, which had recently been purchased by the city from the Peale Gallery of National Portraits.[108]

For the next fifteen years or so, Independence Hall experienced no major alterations. Much of the work done was of a maintenance nature such as the painting of the steeple in 1855 and again in 1860. In 1861 and 1867 the Select and Common Council Chambers on the second floor were painted and papered, and received other needed repairs. The Public Ledger of December 2, 1863 reported a series of repairs in progress in the building: "Independence Hall [Assembly Room] is to have a new floor and a coat of paint on the walls. The Supreme Court room has been prepared for the next term of the court. The walls have been scraped and painted" (see Appendix I for documents relating to work done to Independence Hall from 1854 to 1872).

The Select Council Chamber was enlarged in 1869 when a portion of the vestibule separating the two chambers was included in the Select Chamber. A new Gallery was constructed to replace the older and more cumbersome one. In the same year the floor of the Assembly Room was relaid with English tiles. Two years later new stone steps, platform and sill were erected at the entrance of the building (see Appendix I).

The Centennial

In the course of years there accumulated in the Assembly Room of the State House a large collection of miscellaneous items relating to the history of the United States. Portraits of prominent Americans, not only of the Revolutionary period, but of the whole sweep of American history, covered the walls. Relics bearing on all phases of the American past were likewise exhibited in the room where the independence of the thirteen colonies had been declared.

With the approach of the centennial of the Declaration of Independence and the plans of the city of Philadelphia to celebrate this occasion, interest developed for the "restoration" and "refurnishing" of the Assembly Room to its appearance in 1776. There was even the suggestion that the Mills buildings be taken down in order to recreate the historic scene, and the piazzas restored. The replacement of the clock on the west wall was urged since it was an original feature and added appreciably to the "rich appearance" of the building. It was also suggested that Independence Hall be turned over to the people of the United States.[109]

The Philadelphia City Councils in April 1872 authorized that

> Independence Hall is hereby set apart forever, and appropriated exclusively to receive such furniture and equipment of the room as it originally contained in July, 1776, together with the portraits of such men of the revolution as by their presence of action served to give to the building its historic renown, and forever endear it to the hearts of patriots.[110]

In preparation for this restoration all items not related to the declaration of American independence in 1776 were to be removed and arrangement made for their display in another part of the State House. Efforts were also

made to have deposited in the Assembly Room pieces of original furniture and portraits of the signers of the Declaration. To these ends a committee was instituted; led by Colonel Frank M. Etting, they began their work.

In August 1872 the platform at the east end of the room was again put in place and on it placed the President's chair and a table. The Liberty Bell previously shown in the Assembly Room was moved to the vestibule under the tower and suspended from the original beam.

The work on Independence Hall under the supervision of Colonel Etting and his committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall progressed slowly. They did not limit their interest to the interior of the building but undertook to remove with acid the paint which had been applied to the brick, mortar and marble trim and marred "essentially the original appearance of the building."[111] The results proved most satisfactory. The woodwork on the building, including the cornice, windows, doorways and the ballustrade on the roof were painted (see Appendix I). Tin rain water conductors and spout heads were installed. In compliance with an ordinance of City Council passed in 1873 superfluous ventilators on the main building were removed and sheet iron ventilators of modern construction replaced the wood ones over the Council Chamber (see Illustrations No. 48, 49 and 50). With interest concentrated on the State House with the restoration in progress, City Councils authorized the expenditure of funds for the replacement and repairs of the rafters and girders of the roof, and general repairs to the roof (see Appendix I).

In the hallway and stairway the committee had the wainscoting and column bases repaired and new jamb cases and yellow pine sills installed and the ornamented moldings at the tops of the windows replaced. The carvings and roseattes were replaced where needed on the stairway. Two oak doors were hung at the southern entrance of the vestibule and oak swinging doors were put up in both the front and back of the State House (see Appendix I). Deteriorating plaster on the stairway of the Hall was repaired. Careful use of acid and fire allowed the restorers to remove the many coats of paint that hid the carving and molding of the hallway. This was a necessary step prior to the application of new paint (see Appendix I).

The Court of Common Pleas vacated the Supreme Court Chamber and shortly afterwards on July 4, 1873, it was opened temporarily to the public for the inauguration of the centennial celebration. The room was no longer in its "repulsive and filthy condition" but was fitted up to hold the nucleus of the National Museum.[112] Here were deposited relics and portraits illustrating the period 1682-1787 with special emphasis on the framing of the Constitution.

In the course of the work on the Supreme Court Chamber the judge's bench was torn out. An investigation of the floor revealed that the joists were rotten and insecure and required immediate removal. A tile floor was laid in its place in 1873 as a fire precaution[113] (see Appendix I) (see Illustrations No. 51 and 52).

In the Assembly Room Colonel Etting and his committee installed four pillars to sustain the ceiling. This he erroneously believed to be a restoration of an original feature of the room.[114] A brass handrail was installed to protect the room and the furniture. On the walls of the Assembly Room the Restoration Committee hung the portraits of those who signed, those who voted on, and all who debated the question of independence. They tried to represent the year 1776 and all its associations in this room (see Illustrations No 53 and 54).

The loft previously used as a storehouse for books and refuse was cleared of combustible materials and the steeple, long occupied by a family, was vacated and all fire and lights were forbidden there. The stove pipe projecting from the steeple was removed. Unnecessary outlets to the cellar in the rear of the building were closed and only one access was provided. Councils ordered that the two circular windows at the ends be walled up inside, and "the windows overlooking the staircase be removed, and in its place and that of the present door in the rear of it, a substantial door be provided with secure lock."[115] In 1875, in connection with the other work, two chimneys on the State House were taken down and rebuilt, and other unspecified work was strengthened by brick underpinning (see Appendix I).

In conjunction with the Centennial celebration, Henry Seybert presented to the City of Philadelphia a new clock and bell, replacing that installed in 1828 with the erection of the Strickland tower. The additional weight of the new clock and bell necessitated a strengthening of the

steeple by the introduction of heavy iron rods through the brickwork at the base of the wooden spire to prevent spreading and the substitution of heavier supporting timbers. The old clock and bell were transferred to the Town Hall in Germantown; the new clock was in operation on July 4, 1876.[116]

The centennial celebration reached a climax on July 4, 1876. With the work in the State House now complete, Colonel Etting and his committee reviewed with pride what they had accomplished in the State House.

A Misguided Restoration

From Centennial to 1895...114 The DAR Enters the Scene...114
First Floor Restored...119 New Look on Chestnut Street...124
The Second Floor Reconsidered...127 The Clock Controversy...128

From Centennial to 1895

With the Centennial over, and the National Museum firmly entrenched on its first floor, Independence Hall entered upon twenty years free from "restorations" and changes in use.

Repairs, some of them extensive, continued to be made. Most of these were designed at least as much to make the second floor council chamber more comfortable as to preserve historic values. In 1887, Common Council Chamber was renovated, in 1889 minor repairs were made and the building painted, in 1893 a new copper roof was put on, wooden columns on the bell tower replaced, an automatic fire alarm and an electric ventilating fan over Common Council Chamber installed, the tower walls repointed and replastered, and the interior repainted. In 1894 new steam boilers were installed and the steeple repaired. Finally, in 1895, precautions to better protect the building from fire were authorized. (See Appendix I.)

The DAR Enters the Scene

On March 7, 1895, another period in the history of Independence Hall concluded. With the departure on that day of the Select and Common Councils of Philadelphia from their chambers on the second floor which

they had occupied since 1854, the State House ceased to be a seat of governmental operations. It had served in this capacity for more than a century and a half. The first floor continued as a museum, but the second floor was now vacant and its future uncertain.

Interest in the preservation of the historic buildings on Independence Square developed during the last years of the nineteenth century. Aware of this, the City invited the active cooperation of interested citizens and began serious consideration of the propriety and feasibility of restoring the State House to its appearance during the historic period.[117]

Encouraged by the work of the Colonial Dames in the recent restoration of Congress Hall, the Daughters of the American Revolution, who for a brief period had shared the Council Chambers with the Pennsylvania Chapter of the Sons of the Revolution, petitioned Councils for permission to restore the second floor of the State House. On March 26, 1896, the Councils resolved to allow the Daughters of the American Revolution to proceed with the restoration of the vacant Council Chambers at their own expense, but under the supervision of the Chief of the Bureau of City Property.[118]

The work of the DAR, together with that undertaken soon afterwards by the City which produced the restoration of the Assembly Room, Supreme Court Chamber, and Wing buildings, was the first attempt at a complete restoration of the State House. All restoration to this time had been focused upon one room or part of the structure, such as the "restoration" of the steeple in 1828 or the "restorations" of the Assembly Room in 1831

and 1876. Now, however, those charged with the work, many of them well-meaning amateurs, inexperienced in historic restorations, envisioned a building conforming to the original plan of Andrew Hamilton. Research preceded the work but the data uncovered on the physical history of the building was anything but complete. This lack of information, combined with the fact that absolute historic accuracy was not always the controlling factor in their minds, allowed the individual taste and fancy of the restorers to play an important role in determining the details of the restoration. The general plans, however, were based upon the original design of Hamilton and other documentary sources.

The 1895-1900 restoration of the State House is important as an attempt at total restoration, but also because of the effect which it had on the building itself. In the course of well-intentioned restoration such an important original element as the cornice of the Supreme Court Chamber was destroyed and replaced inaccurately by a copy of that on the Hallway. Restorations throughout the history of the State House have consistently cost the building distinctive and original features. The "restoration" of the steeple had caused the loss of the original clocks and the Harding carvings. T. Mellon Rogers in his treatment of the Supreme Court Chamber actually reversed what Haviland had done in 1831 when he used the Court room as his model. Moreover, the restored wings and piazzas were inaccurate in detail and dimension, and created a misleading impression of the historic appearance. An aspect of this restoration which was to be important in the later history, not only of

the State House but of other historic structures, including Congress Hall, was the use of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects as consultants.

While the interior decoration and restoration of the second floor of the State House was left in the hands of the DAR, the City employed engineers to study the structural condition of the building. As a result of an engineering survey and the recommendations made, the structure was strengthened. "Longitudinal trusses" replaced the suspension rods from the east room and the iron posts from under the west room. The end pieces of the original trusses were found in the east and west walls of the second floor, and the new trusses were installed on the lines of the original. The north-south girders were strengthened by reinforcement with steel channels on each side. The engineers thought the original timbers to be in sound condition and the floor construction safe and secure.[119]

T. Mellon Rogers, the architect selected by the Daughters of the American Revolution and employed by the City for its part of the work, prepared plans and specifications for the restoration of the second floor which were adopted and carried out. He was not left entirely to his own devices, for the authorities of that day passed on and approved his plans.[120]

The partitions erected in 1854 were removed and the second floor once again returned to its original arrangement. The long room extended the entire width of the building from east to west, and the two smaller rooms on the southern end of the building on either side of the large vestibule were reestablished. (See Appendix I.)

The removal of the flooring installed in 1854 revealed the "original floor nailed down to the oak joist and girders with big enough iron nails all hand made, and on this floor was found a true record of all the doors and partitions.[121] Despite the wish of the DAR to retain and use the original flooring, a new floor was laid. However, the old was not destroyed but rather the new laid over it with a portion of the original exposed for public view.

The removal of the east and west chimney breasts revealed they had been built over the old fireplaces. The four fireplaces corresponded with the original plans in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. These fireplaces were restored, but given chimney pieces in which were violated all the principles of 1730's architecture. Enough of the original tiles were saved to construct the hearth in the southwest room. Modern tiles were used in the other three fireplaces. The east wall was finished in a straight line from the north to the south wall in an attempt to be faithful to Hamilton's original plan. After a study of the plans, those charged with the restoration decided that Hamilton intended the recesses on either side of the brick work on the east walls to be furred out to the line of the chimney breast with no recess between the chimneys. This work was carried out irrespective of whether the room had ever been finished in this way.[122]

Rogers inaccurately drew his inspiration for the archway entrance between the vestibule and Banquet Room from a doorway at the Chew Mansion, Cliveden, in Germantown. He felt that an opening with four supporting

columns, two on either side, was better suited to the proportions of the room.[123] (Illustration 57) This was but the first of many instances during the restoration that personal taste took precedence over historical accuracy.

The restoration of the second floor entailed the replacement of the cornices and other decorative details. New doors, wainscoting, and trim were installed. From the fragments of the original found in the masonry which provided some clues to their appearance, new mantels were designed. New lighting fixtures were put in place. The walls were plastered, and all the rooms were painted, fitted up and furnished in a way thought consistent with the Revolutionary period.

The work of the DAR was completed when on February 19, 1897, Mrs. Charles C. Harrison, Regent of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution, returned the newly restored second floor of Independence Hall to the City of Philadelphia.

The First Floor Restored

However, the work on Independence Hall was far from complete because the City was at this time deeply involved in the interior and exterior restoration of the structure. Even prior to the restoration work of the DAR, city officials had urged that "...steps should be taken at a very early day toward the restoration of Independence Hall and the eastern and western wings to their original appearance, to remain forever as places of public interest and open to visitors."[124]

With this encouragement from city officials and the impetus of a $50,000 appropriation voted by the City Councils, the restoration of

Independence Hall proceeded. A committee composed of the Mayor, Director of Public Safety Riter, Mrs. Harrison of the DAR, and Mrs. Chew of the Colonial Dames, with F. D. Stone of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania as consultant, directed the work. T. Mellon Rogers attacked his share of this new venture of restoration of the first floor and wing buildings with vigor and enthusiasm, and drew up a set of specifications for the work, most of them fresh from the drawing board of his draftsman, Morris Schefer. Stacy Reeves & Company, the highest bidder, received the contract.[125]

To make way for the restoration of the Supreme Court Room and Assembly Room, the portraits and historic relics deposited there were removed to the restored second floor rooms for display. With the building thoroughly cleared out, the work of restoration could commence.

The Supreme Court Room of the 1890's bore very little resemblance to the room in which the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania met during the historic period. (See Illustration No. 51.) Thorough-going changes were needed to return it to Andrew Hamilton's original design. The arches into the hallway which had been closed in the late 1780's were again opened. (See Appendix I.) (See Illustrations Nos. 59, 60, and 61.)

On the basis of joist holes located in the western wall of the Supreme Court room the justices' platform was restored. This discovery provided information on the height of the platform. This in turn determined the height of the door at the southwest corner of the room leading out to a set of steps descending into the State House Yard which was included in the restoration plans. (See Illustrations Nos. 19 and 61.) To correspond

with it a blank door at the northwestern corner of the room was installed. These were intended to correspond with the two doors on the eastern wall of the Assembly Room. The windows behind the justices' platform shown in early views of the State House, had been bricked up with the erection of the Mills' buildings in 1813. The original window frames were discovered still in the wall and at the same height above the justices' platform as the windows on the north and south walls are above the floor. These were opened up.[126] Investigation of the western wall revealed a smoke flue connected with the heater in the cellar, and four fireplaces, two of which had been abandoned and bricked up. None of these, Rogers concluded, could have been original features of the room because of their relationship to the position of the judges' bench and the door to the Yard.[127]

The original Doric cornice, which Haviland had copied for his restoration of the Assembly Room in 1831, was replaced by one derived from the center hall cornice, different in order and heavier than the original.[128]

As the restorers intended that the Supreme Court Room be "treated exactly like the East Room (Assembly Room)" 6/4 yellow pine flooring replacing the tile floor, and center pieces patterned after those in the Tower Hall and Center hall were installed in both rooms.[129]

Although would-be restorers had tampered with the appearance of the Assembly Room several times during the nineteenth century, they had failed to return the room to its appearance at the time of the signing of the Declaration of Independence. This task T. Mellon Rogers felt himself competent to undertake.

The joists and timbers of the Assembly Room flooring were found in deplorable condition. To remedy this the entire floor was taken up and many joists removed: those in good condition were put back in place, and defective members were replaced with new. The erection of four brick piers in the cellar for the support of the girders and joists strengthened the building.[130]

The changes made in the east wall of the Assembly Room included uncovering and restoration of the two fireplaces on either side of the Speaker's platform. The removal of the wainscoting had revealed their location and original lines. Rogers saw them as 7 ft. 3 in. in width. (Illustration No. 62) The outer hearths were of red tile and the inside of soapstone. Two mantel pieces, each supported by two carved brackets, were added to the east wall.[131] Two false doors flanked the fireplaces. Evidence indicated that the door at the Chestnut Street end had never existed; but it was adjudged that the door at the southern end must have been the entrance to the Colonial Library which had been closed and bricked up.[132]

Authorities decided quite in error that "both of the rooms upon the first floor of the State House were ornamented alike."[133] Therefore, Rogers removed the cornice installed by Haviland in 1831 and in its place substituted one copied from the hallway, and like that recently put in the Supreme Court Chamber.[134]

The removal of the wainscoting on the rear wall of the Assembly Room for an examination of the brickwork failed to reveal physical evidence

in the original brickwork which would necessitate a change in the arrangement of that wall, such as had been advocated by Haviland some sixty years before or as indicated in Trumbull's painting Signing the Declaration. The wainscoting was replaced.[135]

The discovery of about a square yard of brick herringbone paving, probably dating from the pre-1752 period, under original heavy pillar work in the southwest corner of the central hallway, and of pieces of old brick beneath the washboard around the entire hallway proved that the original flooring had been of red brick. The entire hallway was laid with dark red pressed bricks corresponding in dimensions with those found.[136]

The old staircase in the tower was renewed by replacing the treads and risers with new ones of oak, and thoroughly repairing the handrails and balusters. The wainscoting was repaired and the walls replastered. A thorough examination of the woodwork of the tower by boring into every piece, revealed no dry rot. Defective masonry was cut away and reinforced. The stay rods and nuts were tightened. The entire area was painted.[137]

Structurally, the tower was strengthened by the reinforcement by iron plates and angles of the trusses of the first floor of the tower, and by yellow pine bolsters bolted to the original timbers of the second floor. These trusses had rotted where they rested upon the walls. The tower was cleared of obstructions and returned to its original appearance by the removal of the storage area under the stairway leading to the belfry, and of the soil, water and gas pipes, and weight boxes on the eastern wall. The weights put in in 1830 were concealed.[138]

New Look on Chestnut Street

The exterior appearance of the State House had been altered in the course of the nineteenth century less drastically than had the interior. However, the visitor to the building during most of the century viewed a facade differing from that which the Founding Fathers had known.

The inaccurate Corinthian doorway dating back to 1816 detracted from the architectural unity and simplicity of the structure. Rogers designed a new doorway from views of the State House from the historic period and from a doorway, thought to be the original, discovered under a stairway.[139] The soapstone molding of the base course adjacent to doorway which was taken away with the installation of the nineteenth century doorway was replaced.[140] The painting and repairing of the woodwork, the cleaning and repointing of the belt courses, marble panels and brick work, and the application of paraffin to the stone work as a preservative completed the work to the exterior of the main building.[141]

Investigations revealed certain weaknesses which had developed in the foundation walls of Independence Hall in the course of time. In many places the southern wall between the Tower and the east end had crumbled; bricks hung in the wall and did not bear the weight of the superstructure. The foundation at the southwest corner of the Supreme Court Room had cracked, owing to the earth settling in around a sink, constructed in the cellar some time before. To remedy these weaknesses the walls were underpinned and reinforced from the interior, and the brick walls immediately above the foundations and under the Assembly Room were completely renovated

and strengthened, including the filling up of the cellar window under the pilaster to sustain the weight of the building.[142]

In the minds of those urging the restoration of Independence Hall in the 1890's, historical accuracy demanded that the work not be limited to the interior and exterior of the building itself, but should include the arcades and wing buildings. The Mills buildings which had housed city and county offices since 1813 were historically inaccurate and completely out of keeping with the "architectural integrity" of the row, an aspect the City wished to enhance.[143]

Plans at first approved for the restoration of the wings attempted to save as much as possible of the 1813 buildings. T. Mellon Rogers envisioned and planned an arcade lower than the wing buildings. All evidence, documentary and physical, contradicted this conception of the State House group during the historic period. A committee of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects had been called in as consultants by the City following disclosure that all was not well with the restoration. They strongly disagreed with Rogers on this matter; their views prevailed and the arcades and wings were restored more in line with the contemporary views of the State House. Not only historical accuracy but the structural weakness of the Mills buildings' walls made Rogers' plan unacceptable and unfeasible.[144]

The razing of all the buildings which separated the State House from Congress Hall on the west and Old City Hall on the east preceded the erection of the present wing buildings and arcades. In the absence

of accurate information regarding the dimensions, internal arrangement of the buildings, or certain external elements of the wings, such as the existence of a marble belt course, the architects proceeded to design the wing buildings from a series of engravings dated from 1749 to 1800.[145]

In December 1897 the demolition of the Mills buildings produced unexpected evidence of the greatest importance for the proposed restoration of the wing buildings and arcades. The newspapers of the day which had already given rather thorough coverage presented this evidence to the people of Philadelphia.[146] (See Illustrations Nos. 63, 64, and 65.) Outlined clearly on the east wall of the State House were the roof line and impost of the piazzas from which one of the arches sprang, the back wall, and the profile of the cornice. The height and elevation of the arcades were settled beyond all question because the cornice line of the arcades coincided with that of the wing buildings.[147]

In spite of conclusive evidence that the original arcades had been closed, the restoration committee decided to reconstruct the arcades without the solid brick rear wall, the railing in the arches, or the staircases within, features definitely shown on contemporary views of the piazzas. They reasoned "that perfect and absolute restoration was not consistent with modern conditions," and from this followed that "it did not seem to be departing too much from the old condition to leave open the Arches, in view of the fact that convenience and beauty seemed to require it."[148]

The Library and Committee Room as a feature of the State House during the historic period received the consideration of the committee on restoration. However, its history, then largely unknown, did not bear much weight in the decision. Previous evidence of this structure had been limited exclusively to a single sketch from the Columbian Magazine, references in diaries and personal papers, and the Resolution of the Pennsylvania Assembly authorizing its construction. Many had even doubted its existence; Colonel Etting stated that "the absurdity of such a building must have prevented its accomplishment.[149]

However, with the demolition of the Mills buildings conclusive evidence not only of the existence of the Library and Committee Room but also of significant details of the structure was uncovered. Clearly indicated on the brickwork of the east wall of Independence Hall were the roof line, cornice line, southern wall line, flue, and doorway leading from the Assembly Room to the Committee Room. (See Illustration No. 63.) Since the Library and Committee Room was not a part of the original plans, and the available information on the exterior and interior appearance of it was regarded as insufficient to insure an accurate restoration in either general or minute detail, it was decided not to reconstruct it. Therefore the doorway, rendered useless, was bricked up to strengthen the wall.[150]

The Second Floor Reconsidered

As the work of restoration of the first floor proceeded, the dissimilarity between it and the recently completed work of Rogers and the DAR on the second floor became apparent. He suggested modifications and changes of the cornice, door heads, and mantels to make them conform

architecturally with the lower rooms and with the colonial style. Following the withdrawal of Rogers from the project, the Sub-Committee on restoration of Independence Hall of the Philadelphia Chapter of the AIA recommended the re-restoration of the second floor arguing that the machine millwork was not in harmony with the handmade woodwork and decorations of the first floor. Owing to objections of the City Councils against the plans, and the use of the money for other purposes, this work was not done then.[151]

The Clock Controversy

Original restoration plans included provision for the rebuilding of the clock case on the western wall of Independence Hall and the installation above it, and in a corresponding place on the eastern wall, of clocks similar to those indicated on eighteenth and early nineteenth century views of the building. It was intended that the clock actually run, with the power to operate it transmitted by bevel gearing from the works of the large clock in the Tower. The hands, numerals and minute dots were to be of heavy brass.[152]

The drawings and specifications for the restoration of the clock were the work of a committee of Philadelphia Chapter AIA, which based its design upon views of the State House, especially the Krimmel view and the remaining traces of the clock found on the face of the west wall (See Illustrations Nos. 68, 69, and 70).

> "When the wall was taken down the outlines of the entire clock case were plainly discernible on the wall. This clock case held the clock weights and the base course was smoothly worn away by them, making two concave surfaces resembling the bottoms

> of small old-fashioned tin wash basins. The foundation of the clockcase was built a number of feet below the foundation walls of the State House. If at any future time the clock case is taken down, these conditions will be seen as they were seen by those having the work restoration in charge."[153]

No evidence of a similar structure or mechanism was discovered on the east wall, for none had been there.

Although this and other documentary sources, such as the specifications followed by Stacy Reeves and Company, seem to substantiate the above statement that elements of the original clock case brickwork were incorporated into the reconstruction, recent archaeological investigations at the base of the present clock case indicate that all of it dates from the nineteenth century.[154]

The AIA Committee, referred to in the newspapers of the day as "The People Who Knew," disagreed as to the material of which the clock case was constructed; unable to decide whether it had been wood or brick, they compromised and had the new one made of soapstone. In the midst of the restoration a city official on his own authority drastically changed the design of the clock. Instead of an operating clock designed from the original, a plain clock face and dummy dial were erected. Instantly a furor developed, the result of which was the removal of the dummy clock. The soapstone base remained as it does today.[155]

Linked closely to the matter of the restoration of the clocks on the east and west walls of Independence Hall was the fate of the clock in the Strickland tower. Original plans called for the removal of these clock faces and the installation in their place of ornamental windows as shown in

early views of the original tower.[156] This work however was thwarted by the fact that the clocks were never restored.

Twentieth Century

The Architects' Restoration...132 After 1924...135

For two decades after T. Mellon Rogers hung up his T-square and went into seclusion following the mixed reception of his 1898 restoration, normal maintenance was the rule at Independence Hall. This was the heyday of the National Museum, and a squad of city employees under the direction of the city-appointed superintendent and curator operated galleries in all the main rooms of Independence Hall. The attention of restorers for a time was fixed on Congress Hall, where the A.I.A. committee developed its own disciplined approach to restoration.

During 1917 in a flurry of activity the city shingled the wings, installed new electrical wiring, patched or replaced the woodwork of the steeple, and excavated a tunnel to connect the cellar with those of the buildings on either side.[1] This work also marked a first step in the correcting of the Rogers restoration when the narrow width flooring of the Assembly Room gave way to random width flooring. While this work was in progress, some rotten joists were removed and the sound parts salvaged as relic wood.[2]

The following year officials arranged a revamping of the heating system which removed units from the basement and reduced the hazards of fire.[3]

The Architects' Restoration

Perhaps the chief contribution of the Rogers restoration lay in arousing the knowledgeable members of the Philadelphia Chapter, American Institute of Architects, to the dangers inherent in work which depended in large part or wholly on the state of knowledge, taste, and judgment of one individual. In adopting this position, the committee in effect constituted itself as guardian of the buildings on the square and with surprising ease obtained official sanction from the city fathers. Henceforth, little was done there without the advice and consent of their Committee on the Preservation of Historic Monuments.

Although busy with Congress Hall for the first thirteen years of the century, the committee, now composed of Horace Wells Sellers, Chairman; E. Perot Bissell, Thomas M. Kellogg, Emlyn L. Stewardson, and Carl A. Ziegler, members, still viewed Independence Hall as an aborted work. The "ice-cream saloon colonial" of the second floor in particular rankled them. They viewed the wings with little more favor, regarding them too as ripe for "more accurate restoration."[4] The first floor disturbed them as exhibiting "modern changes in the woodwork...obviously at variance with the original design and condition."[5]

While World War I raged, the committee undertook to make the first measured drawings of Independence Hall ever produced. Finally, in 1921, they reached agreement with the city for an investigation of Independence Hall as one phase of a restoration project which included Old City Hall as

well. City workmen performed the labor under the architects' technical supervision.[6]

The committee which undertook this investigation brought together architectural talents of a high order, dedication, and enthusiasm. The members also shared more than a mite of experience in restoration, Sellers having taken a leading part in the Congress Hall project, others having helped to investigate Old City Hall. Even now they were directing the restoration of John Bartram's house across town.

Their method was to order a section of wall at a strategic location stripped of its plaster or woodwork; they then convened on the spot and studied the evidence thus revealed in the light of readily available documentation. They showed rare perception and imagination in evaluating the physical evidences. All the while bulging files of documents relating to the early construction lay undisturbed half a dozen blocks away at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A mass of bills and vouchers for work done in the building during and after the Revolution lay equally in repose a short train ride away in the state archives at Harrisburg. The blind spot in their method was the omission of historical research as perceptive and imaginative as their evaluation of physical evidences.

The result was an effective restoration, certain details of which are questionable in the light of now available documentation.

Having convinced city officials of the desirability of remedying the errors of the 1890's, the committee set about preparing plans. By 1923 the restoration was completed.

During the course of the work, Rogers' outlandish second floor treatment was removed bodily. The "Cliveden" hall piece gave way to a modest arch. The overpowering chimney pieces were replaced by full-length wainscoting, the unauthentic panelled wainscoting by panelling representative of the period of building, the flat ceiling and unbelievable cornice by a cove ceiling and cornice drawn from Gibbs' Book of Architecture[7] (see Illustration No. 57). They remodelled the second floor hallway to include a staircase and removed the one at the head of the main stairs (see Illustration No. 58).

In relocating doorways, the committee was guided by evidences of wear on the original floor. Failing to appreciate that wear during the Peale's Museum period far exceeded that during all other periods, they chose to ignore the early drawings and locate their doorways accordingly.[8] These locations will be hard to reevaluate, because the committee, after ripping out Rogers' superimposed flooring, decided not to retain the original flooring underneath from whence they had judged the evidences of wear. The floor boards have since disappeared.

In removing that most galling of all Rogers' gaucheries, the committee decided on a simple archway matching the one in the opposite wall. In so doing they rejected the evidence in old drawings of a wide opening flanked by pilasters.

The committee's recommendations for additional work on the first floor and in the wings were not acted upon.

After 1924

The years which followed restoration of the second floor were characterized by routine maintenance supplemented by modernization of electrical, fire detection, heating, and plumbing systems. The advice given by a city engineer in 1923 that "under no consideration permit the plumbers or electricians to cut recesses for wires or passages of pipe in the floor members" was not always followed in the course of this work.

In 1951 the National Park Service assumed the administration of Independence Hall. The Assembly Room was refurnished, the Supreme Court Chamber partially refurnished, and the utility systems modernized. A complete record of all changes has been kept since 1951.

NOTES

Chapter II
Section 1
Notes

[The Provincial Capitol, pp. 4-8]

1. Gertrude MacKinney, ed., Pennsylvania Archives, Eighth Series, Votes and Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Province of Pennsylvania... (Harrisburg, 1931), III, 2506. Hereafter cited as Pa. Archives, Eighth Series.

2. Ibid., 1908.

3. Ibid., 1915.

4. Ibid., 1929, 1950.

5. Burton Alva Konkle, The Life of Andrew Hamilton 1676-1741 "The Day-star of the American Revolution" (Philadelphia, 1941), 51 fn. Hereafter cited as Konkle, Andrew Hamilton. Hamilton as foremost legal authority of the Assembly customarily drafted its bills.

6. Colonial Records, Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania from the Organization to the Termination of the Proprietary Government (Philadelphia, 1852), III, 356. Hereafter cited as Min. of Prov. Council.

7. The Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801... (Harrisburg, 1896-1919), IV, 98-116. Hereafter cited as Statutes at Large.

8. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 1950, 1958, 2436-7.

9. J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia 1609-1884 (Philadelphia, 1884), II, 1580.

10. T. Lawrence to George Charles, September 24, 1746, quoted in The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography (Philadelphia, 1877-), VII, 231. Hereafter cited as Pa. Mag. of History. The quotation is from the obituary which appeared in Franklin's Pennsylvania Gazette, August 6, 1741.

11. Franklin referred to Lawrence as "a fine person." D. P. Brown, The Forum (Philadelphia, 1856), I, 237-8, 270.

12. Statement, Pennsylvania General Loan Office, January 5, 1730, Norris Papers, Misc. MSS, 155, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 1929.

13. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 1929.

[The Provincial Capitol, pp. 8-10]

14. "...in Pursuance of that Appointment, the [he, Andrew Hamilton] had proceeded, with the Advice of Thomas Lawrence, to provide Materials, and carry on the Building in the Manner the House now sees it:..." Ibid., 2144. On October 15, 1730, Allen bought the property where the State House was built from one Levin Hill. It extended from Sixth Street east to within 150 feet of Fifth Street. Hamilton purchased the remaining plot in 1732 from Thomas Peglar (see Appendix C for chains of title to these properties). An article in the Public Ledger of August 19, 1854, provides a clue to Hamilton's activities during this period: "A Relic--In removing one of the partition walls in Independence Hall, rendered necessary by the attention now being made to convert the upper room into Council chambers, a brick was discovered by William Miller, the Superintendent of the steeple, with the words 'Nicholson, 1731' cut into the clay before burning, leaving an indelible impression of what is supposed to be the name of the brickmaker, and the date of its manufacture. This relic has been placed in the Declaration room on the lower floor." It has since disappeared.

15. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 2144.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 2154.

18. Quoted from J. Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott, History of Philadelphia 1609-1884 (Philadelphia, 1884), II, 1580. Hereafter cited as Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia.

19. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 2156-57.

20. Ibid., 2154-55.

21. Benjamin Fairman to Friend Hambleton [Hamilton], June 20, 1732, Dreer Collection, Letters and Papers of William Penn, No. 78, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Benjamin Fairman to the Right Hon^{ble} Thomas Penn, June 19, 1734, Records of the Provincial Council and other Paper 1684-1823, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

22. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 2154-55.

23. The colonial articles of agreement customarily contained the contracting date, the identity of parties thereto, the time limits for the work to be performed, the materials to be used, the work to be done,

[The Provincial Capitol, pp. 10-16]

and the unit of payment. Masons, carpenters, carvers, joiners, smiths, suppliers, and carters were contracted with separately although two or more of these specialties were sometimes handled by one contractor (for example: carpentry and joinery). The minutes of the York, Pennsylvania, County Commissioner provide information about the building of the county building during the 1750's. (See Appendix A.)

24. Pa. Mag. of History, XXXIV, 498. Ibid., XXX, 507. It had been reprinted earlier without the challenging heading. See also Harold D. Eberlein and Cortlandt V. D. Hubbard, Diary of Independence Hall (Philadelphia, 1948), 35-36; Charles E. Peterson, ed., "American Notes," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, XI, 3, pp. 23-24; Edward M. Riley, "The Independence Hall Group," Historic Philadelphia, From the Founding until the Early Nineteenth Century..., ed. by Luther P. Eisenhart, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society (Philadelphia, 1953), p. 13. Hereafter referred to as Historic Philadelphia.

25. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 2154.

26. Ibid., 2213.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., 2156-57, 2213.

29. Presented by James M. Beck, Solicitor-General to the United States, 1921-25, while an Honorary Bencher in 1920, these plans were on deposit in the Library, N.L.C. Macaskie, Q.C. Master of the Library, Gray's Inn, to William M. Campbell, Park Historian, Independence National Historical Park, October 23, 1961. (See Appendix B.)

30. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 2213-14.

31. Ibid., 2154-55. Square--"An area of a hundred square feet, forming the measure or standard by which the price of flooring, roofing, tiling, or the like is reckoned 1663." The Oxford Universal Dictionary.

32. If Hannah Powell, the recipient of payments totalling £98.19.1 for "Victuals, Drink &c," at these affairs had submitted her accounts more promptly, it would be possible to chart the progress of construction with more precision. Ibid., 2259, 2265, 2266.

[The Provincial Capitol, pp. 16-22]

33. Ibid., 2177, 2183, 2185.

34. Upon Woolley's request a few months before, the Assembly had specified the work to be covered under agreement. Ibid., 2337, 2245.

35. Ibid., 2337-38.

36. Ibid., 2213-14.

37. Ibid. "...the house in which the Assembly now sit, together with a piece of ground thereunto belonging, was purchased...for the Purposes aforesaid."

38. Ibid. Hamilton was not returned from Bucks County in the regular election, owing to Governor Gordon's influence. He was elected to take the place of a deceased member later in 1733. Konkle, Andrew Hamilton, 61.

39. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 2213-14.

40. Ibid., 2171-72.

41. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 2245, 2337. In March 1735 they petitioned "That they had formerly exhibited an Account of certain Work done about the State-house, the rates of which had not been settled between the Gentlemen Directors of the said Building and themselves; since which Time they have performed several Jobs of the same Nature;..." Ibid., 2260. The balance outstanding at this juncture was over thirty-seven pounds for Woolley and over forty-five pounds for Tomlinson. Ibid., 2264-65.

42. Ibid., 2257.

43. Ibid., 2274. One Caleb Ramstead bought Peglar's house for £17. Ibid., 2447.

44. Ibid., 2291, 2641. Charles W. Browning, "The State House Yard...," Pa. Mag. of History, XL, 92-94.

45. Ibid., 2337.

46. Ibid., 2304, 2306, 2318, 2319.

47. In fact, the governor proposed certain unspecified amendments and the House accepted all but that respecting the Register General's attendance.

[The Provincial Capitol, pp. 22-25]

It was on this point that the bill foundered. The Assembly undertook concurrently to establish a copy set of the Surveyor General's records in the wings. This official was an appointee of the proprietors and his office quite beyond their influence, not to say control, as he derived his income from fees, not the Assembly's annual appropriation. Ibid., 2298-99, 2304, 2306, 2321, 2322, 2324-25, 2336, 2352-53. Min. of Prov. Council, IV, 17, 21, 33-34, 40-41.

48. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 2370.

49. Konkle, Andrew Hamilton, 120-21.

50. Ibid., 127.

51. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 2386.

52. Ibid., 2445.

53. Ibid., 2446-49, 2450, 2495-96.

54. Ibid., 2449. The Assembly repaid part out of the balance still in the hands of Kearsley and Lawrence--a total of £318.6.9.

55. Bill of Thomas Godfrey and Ebenezer Tomlinson in Dreer Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, quoted in Pa. Mag. of History, XLII, 75.

56. Ibid., 2493.

57. Ibid., 2501.

58. Ibid., 2505-06.

59. Min. of Prov. Council, IV, 436. Pennsylvania Gazette, August 7, 1740.

60. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, III, 2641.

61. Ibid., 2604.

62. Ibid., 2608.

63. Ibid., 2694.

64. Ibid., 2680.

[The Provincial Capitol, pp. 25-28]

65. Ibid.

66. Ibid., 2682.

67. Ibid.

68. Ibid.

69. Ibid.

70. Ibid., 2683.

71. Ibid.

72. This payment was listed among those accounts settled in 1738, but in 1741 Wright had not fulfilled his obligation. There is no record of repayment, suggesting that he did in time find someone. John Fanning Watson identifies the plasterer as one Thomas Ker, background unknown, but this has not been verified. Ibid., IV, 2716.

73. Ibid., 2683. The other specifications for the enclosure were: "A boarded Fence, from each Office to each Wall, as high as the Wall,... Part of the Brick Wall...to be taken down, and new built; the North End of each Wall returned round, or carried upright, to prevent getting over. Considering Stone is so hard to come at to cover the Wall, Bricks will have many Joints where the Water will get, 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."

74. Ibid., 2689.

75. In 1745 Ellis was paid £20.8.9 "for Glazing the State-house, in the Time than Andrew Hamilton, Esq; was Superintendant,..." Ibid., IV, 3077.

76. "...for Painting done at the State-house, by Order of the late Superintendant,..." Ibid., 2857.

77. Ibid., III, 2687.

78. Ibid., 2690.

79. Ibid., IV, 2708.

[The Provincial Capitol, pp. 28-31]

80. Ibid., 2716.

81. Ibid., III, 2694.

82. Ibid., IV, 2715-17. "David Lindsay with consent of his mother... binds himself [July 17, 1746] apprentice to Jacob Shoemaker of Phila. turner,...to be taught the trade of turner." George W. Heible, contributor, "Account of Servants Bound and Assigned before James Hamilton, Mayor of Philadelphia," Pa. Mag. of History, XXXII, 94.

83. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, IV, 2716.

84. In the same period £19 was paid for another ship a figurehead and carving about the cat-heads, entering ports, stern boards, quarter galleries, hancing pieces, break-head bulkheads in bows, and badges or wreaths about the stern lights of the cabin. Harrold E. Gillingham, "Some Colonial Ships Built in Philadelphia," Pa. Mag. of History, LVI (1932), 160, 164, 181. Louis F. Middlebrook, "The Ship Mary of Philadelphia, 1740," Ibid., LVIII (1934), 144-45.

85. The account, reprinted in Samuel Hazard's Register (II, 376), was entitled "For expenses in raising the tower of the State House" and listed such comestibles as would have been consumed at a raising feast to a value of £11.12.8-1/4. The "hookings" and "fire wood, &c." were valued at £3. The account had been furnished Hazard by an unidentified correspondent, "J. K." of the Northern Liberties. Hazard added "That the work was measured by Samuel Powel, Samuel Rhoads, Joseph Fox, and John Nichols, in several parts, for the then province, and the county of Philadelphia, in 1740, 1741" but gives no source.

86. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, IV, 2715-17, 2719, 2721-22.

87. Ibid., 2766-68, 2810.

88. Ibid., 2889.

89. "Edmund Woolley's Account for Work done at the Statehouse, was laid before the House and read, and referred to the committee of Public Accounts,..." Ibid., 2824, 2855, 2888, 3024.

90. Ibid., 3495.

91. "PAINTING done in the best MANNER by Gustavus Hesselius, from Stockholm, and John Winter, from London, viz. Coats of Arms drawn on Coaches,

[The Provincial Council, pp. 31-34]

Chaises, &c. or any other kind of Ornaments, Landskips, Shew-boards, Ship and House Painting, Gilding of all Sorts, Writing in Gold or Colour, old Pictures clean'd and mended, &c." Pennsylvania Gazette, December 11, 1740. Hesselius bought quantities of "leaf gold," lamp black, and "books of silver" from Franklin. Benjamin Franklin's Ledger A & B, 1730-1740, 264, American Philosophical Society.

92. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, IV, 2767, 2857.

93. Ibid., III, 2690.

94. Biographical data from many sources.

95. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, IV, 2737.

96. Ibid., 2747.

97. Ibid., 2834.

98. Ibid., 2721.

99. Ibid., 2808. This was undoubtedly a typographical error as the £100 is needed to bring the total paid Leech for "finishing the State-house" to the total £1860.3.9 reported later. Ibid., VII, 6254.

100. Ibid., IV, 2887.

101. Ibid., 3081.

102. Ibid., 2946, 3407; Ibid., VII, 6267-68.

103. Ibid., IV, 2868, 2909.

104. In payments of £150, £650, and £250, respectively. Ibid., 2946, 3046, and 3112.

105. Min. of Prov. Council, IV, 743.

106. MSS Minutes, Library Company of Philadelphia, vol. I, April 7, 1740.

107. Min. of Prov. Council, V, 69.

108. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, IV, 3151.

[The Provincial Capitol, pp. 34-37]

109. Ibid., 3210.

110. Ibid., 3344.

111. Ibid., VII, 6254.

112. MSS Diary, John Smith, Smith Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia, March 18, 1746, March 2, May 27, June 4, 1748.

113. John Fanning Watson, Annals of Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time;... (Philadelphia, 1857, 1877), 396. Hereafter referred to as Watson's Annals.

114. Ibid.

115. Watson's Annals, Supplement, 47, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

116. In 1738 the amount Fairman owed was £28.6.11-1/2. Pa. Archives, III, 2446-49. Benjamin Fairman to the Right Hounable Thomas Penn Esqr. Proprietor of Pennsilvania in Philadelphia, June 19, 1734, Records of the Provincial Council and other Papers 1684-1823, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

117. Among them at the time of 1738 accounting were Thomas Shoemaker, Robert Hinds, and Thomas Peglar, bricklayers; Daniel Regg (Jr.), a brickmaker; and Isaac Tounacliff, trade unknown. Ibid.

118. A number of sources have made reference to the stonework of Independence Hall, beginning with Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist who visited in 1750: "Another stone is called soapstone...the ground color is pale green, with some dark spots and sometimes a few of a greenish hue...I...have only seen the stones at Philadelphia, which are brought there ready cut...It is found in many parts of the country, for example in the neighborhood of Chester in Pennsylvania...it holds excellently against all the effects of the sun, air, rain and storms, and does not decay but protects the bricks. On account of this quality, people commonly get the door posts in which their hinges are fastened made of this stone; and in several public buildings, such as the house of assembly for the province, the whole lower wall and the corner-stones are built of it [not steps]. Adolph B. Benson, ed., The America of 1750; Peter Kalm's Travels in North America (New York, 1937), I, 157-58. W. Horner in his Blue Book, Philadelphia Furniture (Philadelphia, 1935), p. 61, claims that the marble came from the vicinity of King of Prussia. J. T. Faris in his Old Roads Out of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1917), p. 86, states: "The Angel House is of special

[The Provincial Capitol, pp. 37-41]

interest for another reason. On the premises, in the rear, is the old Potts Quarry, from which was taken the stone used by the builders of Independence." The authoritative work on Pennsylvania building stone lays stress on beds along the Schuylkill River system as the source of stone used in Independence Hall: "...ledger of gueiss and schist made stone available to the early settlers thereabouts...and the foundation of the State House...was stone work." Ralph W. Stone, Building Stones of Pennsylvania, Pennsylvania Geological Survey, Fourth Series, Bulletin M 15 (Harrisburg, 1932), 245-53.

119. Watson claimed that the State House window panes were encased in lead, that Thomas Godfrey did the work in 1732-33. The Assembly proceedings show that John Harrison made sash-type windows and that Thomas Ellis glazed them in 1741. Ellis advertised himself as handling "sheet-lead, mill'd or cast bar ditto," and "Bristol glass..., London crown ditto," Pennsylvania Gazette, July 30, 1752. Apropos to this Isaac Norris wrote a year later in 1742: "Robert Wilson sent me from Carolina a pcells of Square & Diamond cut Glass to Pigg Lead, and a few Pick Axes on your Account what he could not Sell there, and what indeed is very unsaleable here for the Glass; Sash Glazing is so generally in use among us that there is no demand for the Sorts he sent me especially the Diamond, and for that Reason I wrote to Rob. Wilson, to get his Orders to send them to New York..." Isaac Norris to Thomas Jackson, June 3, 1742, "The Wall-Paper Book," Norris Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

120. Richard Peters Account, against Thomas & Richard Penn, Sept^{r} 9, 1750-18 Mar. 1752, Chew Papers, Cliveden.

121. In Jacobean houses of England "...the 'Great Hall' gave way to a smaller entrance hall...Upstairs was a magnificent 'Long Gallery' in many great mansions a hundred feet or more in length, which served as a family recreation room and sitting room as well as for the display of pictures and fine furniture. Mullioned windows looked out onto pleasant formal gardens with terraces and summer houses." It was "...generally panelled, with florid chimney pieces and overmantels going up to elaborately ornamented ceilings. A typical example at Aston Hall, Birmingham (1618-35) is 136 feet long, 18 feet wide, and 16 feet high." Martin S. Briggs, Everyman's Concise Encyclopedia of Architecture (London, 1959), 168, 194.

122. The wings were 22 by 50 feet, exterior dimensions, and might have accommodated two rooms 20 by 20 feet and a staircase on either or

[The Provincial Capitol, p. 41]

both floors. The doorkeeper, Joseph Burden, and family were in residence in the West Wing after 1745 when the Library Company occupied a room on the second floor. Certificate of Mary Burden, dated 12 February 1788, Society Misc. Coll., Box 94, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The prothonotary of the Supreme Court moved its records into the West Wing on October 20, 1750. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, IV, 3364. Burton A. Konkle, George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1922), 62.

123. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, IV, 3112.

124. Pennsylvania Gazette, June 5, 1740. Minutes, Vol. K, July 14, 1760, 185, Library Company of Philadelphia.

125. Ibid., Vol. I, June 8, 1741. Ibid., Vol. I, August 10, 1741, 113. Ibid., February 13, 1749. Ibid., Vol. I, 96, December 10, 1739.

Chapter II
Section 1
Notes

[Province Hall to State House, pp. 42-50]

1. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, IV, 3316.

2. Thomas Penn to Richard Peters, February 21, 1755, Peters MSS, 1755-Nov. 1757, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

3. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, IV, 3507.

4. Norris Papers, Misc. MSS, Small Account Books, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

5. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, VII, 6254-55.

6. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, November 6, 1753, Penn MSS, Official Correspondence, 1753-54, VI, 147, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

7. He was paid October 3, 1757. "General Loan Office Account Book, 1750-1768," Norris MSS, Loan Office Accounts, 1743-1758, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

8. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, IV, 3491.

9. Isaac Norris to Robert Charles, Isaac Norris Letterbook 1719-1756, 38, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

10. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, VII, 6203. "...I mentioned in my last some glass we would request thee to procure for the statehouse but I had then mislaid the particulars. In London they sell three sort of glass for windows Vizt 1 Crown glass--the same as looking glasses--the Nobility sometimes use this sort. 2 The midling sort of crown glass for windows--3 an Inferior or third sort of crown glass--The midling sort No. 2 will come at about 10d Stirl. a foot and this sort we chuse please to send us 400 squares or Lights of this this [sic] sort 12 In by 16 Inches, and half a box of 8-1/2 full by 11-1/2 bare. Isaac Norris to Robert Charles, Isaac Norris Letterbook 1719-1756, 29, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

11. Loan Office Accounts 1759-1766, 127, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

12. Carolyn Wood Stretch, "Early Colonial Clockmakers in Philadelphia," Pa. Mag. of History, LVI, 229.

13. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, VI, 5067.

14. Isaac Norris to Robert Charles, September 1, 1752, Norris Letterbook 1719-1756, 30, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[Province Hall to State House, pp. 50-52]

15. "Warrant 112 Conrad Hinkle Rope for State House Clock 8.12.6," June 30, 1792, Disbursements, Register General, 1791-1792, Pennsylvania Public Records Office.

16. Carl W. Dreppard, American Clocks and Clockmakers (Garden City, 1947), 35.

17. Leonard W. Labaree and Whitfield J. Bell, Papers of Benjamin Franklin, vol. 4, 364.

18. He did £85.8.10 worth of unspecified carvings. Pa. Archives, Eighth Series, VII, 6429.

19. General Loan Office Account Book, 1750-1768, Norris MSS, Loan Office Accounts 1743-1758, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

20. Richard Hockley to Thomas Penn, November 6, 1753, Official Correspondence, 1753-54, VI, 147, Penn MSS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

21. [Jacob Duché], Caspipina's Letters, Containing Observations on a Variety of Subjects (London, 1777), 14.

22. Robert Proud, The History of Pennsylvania...(Philadelphia, 1798), 279.

23. This is reflected in the payments presented in Appendix I.

24. Journals of the Continental Congress, VII, 193-95.

25. "Paid Thomas Nevill--a parcel of Boards for Council Chamber" (1776) Journal A-1, (1775-1785) Comptroller General Final Report, 305, Pennsylvania Public Records Office. "Paid Ludwig Stoker--for making a Stove Pipe &c. for Council Chamber" (1776), Ibid., 305.

26. State Treasurer Accounts, Folder 1777, Pennsylvania Public Records Office.

27. Register of Accounts, 1790, 112, Records of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Pennsylvania Public Records Office.

Chapter II
Section 1
Notes

[The War and Its Aftermath, pp. 54-62]

1. John McKinley to Dearest Jenny, December 6, 1777, in Pa. Mag. of History XXXIV, 15-17; Journal of Elias Boudinot, MSS in Princeton University Library, 55-56; Pelatiah Webster to Any officer of Gen. Washington's Army, November 19, 1777; in Force Transcripts, Library of Congress; and Pennsylvania Packet, December 31, 1777.

2. "Diary of Robert Morton" in Pa. Mag. of History, I, 16; Henry D. Biddle, ed., Extracts from the Journal of Elizabeth Drinker (Philadelphia, 1899), 57. Strangely enough, none of the officers imprisoned in the State House mentions the presence there of wounded enlisted men.

3. James Alex Brown, England's Artillerymen (London, 1865), 39.

4. Persifor Frazer, General Persifor Frazer (Philadelphia, 1907), 170-72.

5. Ibid., 162-64.

6. Edward Tatum, ed., The American Journal of Ambrose Searle (San Marino, 1940), 265.

7. Testimony of Corporal Joseph May, War Office 71, Papers of Courts Martial 150, British Public Record Office.

8. Josiah Bartlett to William Whipple, July 20, 1778, in Pa. Mag. of History, XXII, 114-15.

9. The function of the Committee Room and Library is well illustrated in contemporary accounts. Baron Von Closen remarked during his visit of August 31, 1781, that adjoining the Congress Chamber "there is little room...where secret affairs are considered and where the President of Congress is chosen from among the 13 Commissioners (who constitute the Committee of the States)...." On December 1, 1781, Robert Morris noted that he "Went to the Committee Room of Congress by the appointment of the Honble Mr. [Daniel] Carroll Chairman of a Committee on a Consultation with that Committee S.[uperintendent] of Finance, Secretary at War [Benjamin Lincoln] and Commander in Chief of the Army, on the Subject of reducing the number of Regiments...." On a less notable occasion, John Adams had informed his devoted Abigail, "I am seated in a large Library room with eight gentlemen round me, all engaged in conversation. Amidst these interuptions, how shall I make it out to write a letter."

10. William Smith to Elizabeth Graeme Furguson, March 2, 1781, in Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[The War and Its Aftermath, pp. 62-
The State Capitol, pp. 65-70]

11. Chastelleux, Travels (from a revised translation prepared by H. C. Rice, Jr., and not yet published).

12. Evelyn Acomb, tr., "The Journal of Baron Von Closen," in William and Mary Quarterly, X (1953), 205.

13. E. W. Balch, tr., "The Narrative of Prince de Broglie," in Magazine of American History (April 1877), 231-32.

14. "An Order was drawn by Gen. Assembly on David Rittenhouse Esqr State Treas in favour of John Smith for twenty three pounds ten shillings & two pence half penny Specie for materials and Workmanship in fixing Studs and pillars in the State House," Comptroller General's Wastebook, 1775-1783, MSS in Division of Public Records, Harrisburg, 157. A journal entry of the same account specifies that it was for "repairing the Congress Chamber in the State House."

15. Pennsylvania Packet, October 27, 1784; Burton Konkle, George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1922), 250.

16. It is possible that "turret" in this instance refers to the steeple rather than to the clock-bell cupola. However, the steeple roof had been installed less than four years earlier, and in later documents the "turret" is clearly the cupola.

17. The copper spouts replaced the lead ones taken down and converted to musket balls in 1777.

18. Tench Coxe to Benjamin Rush, February 2, 1789, in Rush Manuscripts, Library Company of Philadelphia.

Chapter II
Section 1
Notes

[Peale's Museum, pp. 75-76]

1. C. W. Peale to Mr. Finley, February 18, 1800, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, III, 65-69, American Philosophical Society.

2. Philadelphia Gazette and Daily Advertiser, March 1, 1802. The Councils urged the legislature to grant the request of Peale because it was "impressed with a sense of the General Utility" of the museum and "of the publick spirited exertions by which he has endeavored to render it a national benefit."--Minutes of City Council, February 18, 1802, Philadelphia Municipal Archives. Before Peale actually submitted his petition to the Pennsylvania legislature, he considered several alternative plans. In January 1802 he sounded out President Thomas Jefferson on the possibility of receiving tangible encouragement from the federal government and provision being made for the establishment of the museum in the federal capital, Washington. Since the prospects of this in the immediate future were not bright, he planned to petition the state to authorize a lottery, the profits of which would be used to erect a museum building, according to the already completed design of Benjamin Latrobe, on the south side of the State House Yard.--C. W. Peale to Thomas Jefferson, January 4, 1802, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, III, 108-10, A.P.S.; C. W. Peale to Thomas Jefferson, [Jan.-Feb.] 1802, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, III, 112-13, A.P.S.

3. C. W. Peale to Common Council of Philadelphia, March 11, 1802, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, III, 130, A.P.S. The legislature also allowed him "the use of the State House Garden, provided that I open the Doors that the citizens may have free ingress & egress to walk in the Garden has [sic] heretofore and also that the General Elections be held as ~~heretefere~~ [sic] usial [sic] at the State House."
   The resolution authorizing Peale's use of the State House was approved and signed by Governor Thomas McKean on March 17, 1802.--Pa. Archives, Ninth Series, III, 1817.

4. C. W. Peale to Sam Wetheral, March 24, 1802, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, III, 138-39, A.P.S.

5. C. W. Peale to Charles P. Polk, April 4, 1802, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, III, 139-41, A.P.S.; C. W. Peale to D. Delozier, April 9, 1802, Etting Papers--Artists, p. 64, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; American Daily Advertiser, June 28, 1802; Subscription tickets to Peale's Museum, Peale Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

6. American Daily Advertiser, June 28, 1802; C. W. Peale to Mr. Finley, February 18, 1800, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, III, 65-69, A.P.S. The

[Peale's Museum, pp. 76-78]

bird cases, shown in Illustration No. 35 across the Gallery's south wall were in place in 1807 when an article described them as: "rising 12 feet from the floor, extending the whole length of this room, which is 100 feet."--The Portfolio, IV, 294.

7. C. W. Peale, "A Walk with a friend to the Philadelphia Museum," MSS, Peale Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

8. American Daily Advertiser, August 28, 1804, and June 18, 1805; Reminiscences of Rembrandt Peale: Exhibitions & Academies, Dreer Collection: Painters and Engravers, Vol. III, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

9. C. W. Peale, "A Walk with a friend to the Philadelphia Museum," MSS, Peale Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

10. Philadelphia Contributionship Survey, February 26, 1818, No. 3795, Survey Book 1795-1824, p. 218.

11. C. W. Peale to Rembrandt and Rubens Peale, April 1, 1803, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, IV, 21-22, A.P.S.; C. W. Peale to Philadelphia Common Council, December 14, 1820, Etting Papers, p. 66, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. (See Appendix I for further discussion of this.)

12. C. W. Peale, "A Walk with a friend to the Philadelphia Museum," MSS, Peale Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

13. Ibid.; C. W. Peale to deBeauvoir, October 13, 1816, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, XIV, 92-96, A.P.S.
"My Son Rubens...delivers a short lecture with sundry chimical [sic] & Phylosophical [sic] experiments twice a week--which is found to be not only amusing but also very useful, by diffusing knowledge to a numerous class of the People whom could not otherwise have the chance of getting such information, he is obliged to do this in the lobby of the Museum, a place not 20 feet square, therefore his auditors are obliged to stand the whole time, consequently he is obliged to hurry them over as fast as possible."

14. Extract of letter of George Escol Sellers, 1895, Horace Wells Sellers Collection, A.P.S. This is corroborated by a drawing of Peale's Museum by James Lambdin in Etting Papers at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (see Illustration No. 33).

15. Minutes of a meeting of the Committee on Preservation of Historic Monuments, July 12, 1922, Philadelphia Chapter, A.I.A., Documents

[Peale's Museum, pp. 78-79]

relating to Physical History of Independence Hall, INHP. "Examination of original floor on each side of west doorway in S.[outh] partition of gallery indicated from the wear on the surface that the opening was about 2 ft. west of the present position. This agrees with plan of building published prior to 1827 [Illustration No. 34] which shows the doorways from the Long Room out of center with the rooms on South side."

16. The Portfolio, IV, 293-97; J. R. Lambdin to F. M. Etting, October 12, 1872, Etting Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Extract of letter of George Escol Sellers, 1895, Folder 8, Horace Wells Sellers Collection, A.P.S.

17. Proceedings of American Philosophical Society, XXII, Part III, No. 119, July 1885, 431; [Philadelphia] City Directory, 1813, p. CVII (Appendix); Extract of letter of George Escol Sellers, 1895, Folder 8, Horace Wells Sellers Collection, A.P.S.; C. W. Peale, "A Walk with a friend to the Philadelphia Museum," MSS, Peale Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

18. C. W. Peale to Raphaelle Peale, September 25, 1803, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, IV, 109, A.P.S.

19. C. W. Peale to Rubens Peale, September 27, 1809, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, X, 83-84, A.P.S. "...having made a pitition [partition] in the Lobby, it enables me to study or do many things without being pestered by troublesome company, having no admittance wrote on the door."
"Current Expenses, Peale's Museum, 1808-1819," MSS, Peale Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The entry for December 4, 1808, reads: "Boards for the platform in the Lobby 7.00." These boards may have been in some way related to Peale's private work area, or it may have been for the construction of a platform for the scientific apparatus used in the lectures given in the lobby.

20. "Current Expenses, Peale's Museum, 1808-1819," MSS, Peale Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

21. Rubens Peale to Nicholas Biddle, January 12, 1815, Misc. MSS, 1815-1822, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

22. "Current Expenses, Peale's Museum, 1808-1819," MSS, Peale Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This source contains many entries

[Peale's Museum, pp. 79-80;
Modernization and the Spirit of Change, pp. 81-82]

for repairing and maintaining the museum. Unfortunately, many of the entries for purchases of materials, wood, hardware items, such as locks and hinges, glass, and whitewashing give no indication of the location of the work or other pertinent information which would make the information meaningful (see Appendix I).

23. Statutes at Large, XVIII, 866; C. W. Peale to Thomas Jefferson, February 21, 1808, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, IX, 14, A.P.S.

24. Statutes at Large, XIII, 468-70.

25. "Petition of Citizens of Philadelphia to Senate and House of Representatives of Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Stauffer Collection, XIV, 991, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

26. C. W. Peale to Peter Robinson, January 23, 1811, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, XI, 57, A.P.S.; C. W. Peale to ---, January 13, 1811, Gratz Collection, Case 8, Box 3, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

27. "Petition of Citizens of Philadelphia to Senate and House of Representatives of Commonwealth of Pennsylvania," Stauffer Collection, III, 991, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Bill 216, February 14, 1811, House of Representatives of Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, [Ordered for February 21, 1811], Sellers Collection, Photostat, INHP; C. W. Peale to Charles Biddle, March 3, 1812, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, XII, 54-55, A.P.S.

28. C. W. Peale to his Children, November 3, 1802, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, III, 174, A.P.S.

29. C. W. Peale to [Raphaelle Peale?], October 28, 1809, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, X, 103, A.P.S.

30. C. W. Peale to Rembrandt Peale, February 3, 1810, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, XI, 4, A.P.S. A letter of Peale to deBeauvoir dated October 13, 1816, in the Peale Letterbooks, XIV, 92-96, at the American Philosophical Society reveals that he continued to think in terms of extending his museum over the wings, even after the construction of the Mills buildings. When the city took possession of the building, it proposed to increase Peale's rent from $400 to $1600 per annum. Peale thought this excessive and countered with a proposal "to make over to the City all my right in the Museum provided they will permit the Museum to remain where it is & to allow me to extend the building over the wings

[Modernization and the Spirit of Change, pp. 82-84]

at my own cost and to allow $400 annually from its income for its increase & improvement subject to the approbation of the Corporation, and the residue of the income for my use & my heirs....The length in addition to my present occupation would be 160 feet by 40 in which I would have a large Lecture room, a fine picture Gallery, also room to extend my subjects of natural history."

31. Laws of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, 1812), V, 340-43

32. At the time Mills was working on the wings he proposed improvements to the main building itself: (1) restoration of the ancient steeple; (2) projection of a portico at the front entrance, crowned with a balustrade enclosing a rostrum for public speaking; (3) removal of the two blank windows under the portico, and their replacement by niches housing statues of Wisdom and Justice; and placement of the clock in the front.--Second Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists, 1812 (Philadelphia: James W. Palmer, AA Printer).

33. An undated tracing cloth drawing of the State House row, including the Mills building in a box of Catalogued Items, Independence Hall, Etting Collection, at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, gives dimensions for the Mills buildings. The building to the east of Independence Hall was 80'4" in width and 47' deep. On the Independence Square side of the building the end wall of the Mills buildings was on line with the south wall of the main building. However, on the Chestnut Street side, the buildings were not even with the wall of the State House. A segment of the building, which measured 31'6", was set back 2' from the main building wall. Another section adjoining this extended 5' beyond and measured 48'10". The building to the west measured 83'0" in width and 47' in depth. In the back it too was on a line with the rear wall of the main building. In the front the section set back 2' from the main building measured 34'0", while that projecting 5'0", that is 3' beyond the line of the main building, measured 49'0".

An Act of February 17, 1762, provided "That no part of the ground lying to the Southward of the State House within the wall as it is now built, 'can' be made use of for erecting any Sort of buildings thereon, but that the same shall be and remain a public green and walk forever." Because of this prohibition the Mills buildings could not extend beyond the southern wall of Independence Hall.--Memorial of Commissioners of Philadelphia to Pennsylvania legislature, January 21, 1811, F27 Y12 7343 [Box 37], McAllister MSS, Library Company of Philadelphia.

34. Laws of Pennsylvania, 1814-1815, CXVIII, 162-63.

[Modernization and the Spirit of Change, pp. 84-86]

35. Laws of Pennsylvania, 1814-1815, LXXIX, 109-12; Laws of Pennsylvania, 1817-1818, CXV, 234-35.
When the Pennsylvania legislature had considered a similar bill for the sale of the State House lots in 1813, the Select and Common Councils, in behalf of the people of Philadelphia, raised their voices in protest. Their objection was based on the benefit of the State House Yard to the health of the citizens and on the "strong and impressive recollections" of acts important to Pennsylvania and the nation as a whole.--Minutes of Select Council, March 1813, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

36. "Ordinance providing for purchase of State House," April 11, 1816; "Contract between City of Philadelphia and state of Pennsylvania," April 19, 1816; Deed to State House and State House Square, June 29, 1918, Independence Square Papers, State Archives, Harrisburg.

37. Auditors' Report on Accounts of County Commissioners, March 7, 1817, City [County] Auditors' Minutes, 1810-1826, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia; [Unknown Plasterer] Philadelphia Day Book, 1812-1818, p. 170, 188, 191, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; John Read, Jr., to City Commissioners, September 7, 1816, Box 5, John Read, Jr., Papers, 1769-1859, Library Company of Philadelphia.

38. The Portfolio, XVII (April 1824), 310-11.

39. John Read, Jr., to City Commissioners, September 7, 1816, Box 5, John Read, Jr., Papers, 1769-1859, Library Company of Philadelphia.

40. Ibid.

41. Democratic Press, October 1, 1816.

42. John Binns, Recollections of the Life of John Binns (Philadelphia: Printed and Sold by author & by Parry & M'Millan, 1854), p. 193.

43. John Trumbull to his wife, January 9, 1819, Trumbull Papers, Library of Congress. Nevertheless, Trumbull himself was not accurate in his representation of the Assembly Room. See James M. Mulcahy, "Congress Voting Independence," Pa. Mag. of History, LXXX, 79, for discussion of the three views done by Trumbull and their value as indications of the finish of the Assembly Room in 1776 as compared with that of Savage in Congress Voting Independence (see Illustrations No. 26, 27, and 28).

[Modernization and the Spirit of Change, pp. 86-88]

44. "Catalogue of Paintings by Colonel Trumbull," Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters of John Trumbull from 1756 to 1841 (New Haven, Conn., 1841), 418, as quoted in James M. Mulcahy, "Congress Voting Independence," Pa. Mag. of History, LXXX, 79.

45. [Unknown Plasterer] Philadelphia Day Book, 1812-1818, pp. 170, 188, 191, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. This source contains a bill for $3120 dated September 20, 1816, for measuring "the plastering &c done to State House by Wm. Thackara Junior Aug. 28" directed to the County Commissioners. It was the custom that the payment for measuring the work was shared equally by the party for whom the work was done and the party by whom the work was done. Therefore, the total bill for measuring Thackara's plastering was in excess of $60, which would indicate quite a sizeable amount of plastering and/or ornamental work.

46. C. W. Peale to Linneas Peale, April 21, 1816, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, XIV, 33, A.P.S.; Current Expense Book, Peale's Museum, 1808-1819, Peale Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

47. John Read, Jr., to City Commissioners, September 7, 1816, Box 5, John Read, Jr., Papers, 1769-1859, Library Company of Philadelphia.

48. Report of Auditors, March 6, 1817, City [County] Auditors' Minutes, 1810-1826, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.
Of the total of $5750.55 charged against the commissioners, $1790.69 was charged against the commissioners generally because the auditors did not know by whom the warrants had been signed, as they had not been paid in 1816 and consequently had not come under the notice of the auditors. $3959.86 was charged against individual commissioners.

49. Auditors' Report on Accounts of County Commissioners for 1818, City [County] Auditors' Minutes, 1810-1826, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia. A search of court dockets and records has failed to produce any additional information on this court case.

50. Laws of Pennsylvania, 1817-1818, CXV, 234-35.

51. Auditors' Report on Accounts of County Commissioners, 1817, City [County] Auditors' Minutes, 1810-1826, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia; Report of Auditors on accounts of Treasurer Daniel B. Lippard for 1818, City [County] Auditors' Minutes, 1810-1826, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

[Modernization and the Spirit of Change, pp. 89-91;
Fifty Years of Change, pp. 92-94]

52. Philadelphia Contributionship Survey, No. 3795, Survey Book 1795-1824, p. 218.

53. C. W. Peale to Rembrandt Peale, February 26, 1817, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, XIV, 128, A.P.S.

54. Minutes of Common Council, August 3, 1820, V, 128-29, Municipal Archives Philadelphia; Ibid., 149; Ibid., 187.

55. "Report of Committee of Select and Common Council," January 13, 1818, C. W. Peale, Society Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Rubens Peale to C. W. Peale, June 3, 1820, Peale Family Papers, A.P.S.; C. W. Peale to Rembrandt Peale, July 27, 1820, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, XVI, 197-98, A.P.S.

56. C. W. Peale to Common Council of Philadelphia, December 14, 1820, Etting Papers--Artists, p. 66, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Minutes of Common Council, November 9, 1820, vol. 5, p. 157, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia; C. W. Peale to Raphaelle Peale, March 19, 1821, C. W. Peale Letterbooks, XVII, 16, A.P.S.

57. Minutes of Common Council, April 12, 1821, V, 208, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia; Ibid., 245, August 20, 1821; Minutes of Select Council [June 16, 1821-September 30, 1830], September 4, 1821, p. 13.

58. Minutes of Common Council, December 20, 1821, V, 274-75, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

59. A. Lavasseur, Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825 (Philadelphia, 1829), p. 135-36.

60. C. W. Peale's Autobiography [typescript copy], p. 483, A.P.S.

61. Thomas Gilpin to Dr. William Price, October 20, 1824, Folder 789, Roberts Collection, Haverford College.

62. National Gazette, September 25, 1824.

63. Rembrandt Peale to J. M. Scott, September 15, 1824, in Book of Correspondence, Marquis de Lafayette Reception, 1824, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

64. A. Lavasseur, Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825, p. 135-36.

[Fifty Years of Change, pp.94-97]

65. Minutes of Select Council, [June 16, 1821-September 30, 1830], February 7, 1828, p. 469, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

66. [Poulson's] American Daily Advertiser, December 22, 1809.

67. "Proceedings of Council," February 28, 1828, [Hazard's] Register of Pennsylvania, vol. 1, No. 10, p. 152-54.

68. Dupont..., Francis Gurney Smith, p. 5-6.

69. Ibid.

70. Francis Gurney Smith to Frank M. Etting, November 29, 1872, Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; "Plan for Spire to State House," March 7, 1828, vol. 2, Haviland MSS, University of Pennsylvania.

71. Minutes of Select Council [June 16, 1821-September 30, 1830], March 13, 1828, 476-77, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

72. "Proceedings of Council," February 28, 1828, [Hazard's] Register of Pennsylvania, vol. I, No. 10, p. 152-54.

73. Minutes of Select Council [June 16, 1821-September 30, 1830], March 13, 1828, p. 476-77, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

74. John B. Jewell to Committee of Councils, June 11, 1828, Society Misc. Collection: State House, Work on Steeple, 1828-1829, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

75. Francis Gurney Smith, Excerpts from Notebook, December 26, 1828, p. 9; "Articles of Agreement: Isaiah Lukens and F. G. Smith," April 7, 1828, Society Misc. Collection: State House, Work on Steeple, 1828-1829, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; "Contract with John Wilbank," November 4, 1828, Society Misc. Collection: State House, Work on Steeple, 1828-1829, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

76. Contributionship Survey, February 2, 1829 [no number].

77. Shortly after the sale of the clock, the money was remitted to Father Michael Hurley, pastor of St. Augustine's, and it was arranged that the clock should be vested in the pastor of St. Augustine's and his successors forever in trust for the use and benefit of the citizens of Philadelphia, and that in the event of the removal or demolition of the church, the bell and clock would be vested in the mayor, aldermen, and citizens of Philadelphia.--Minutes of Select Council [June 16, 1821-September 30, 1830], January 28, 1830, p. 627, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

[Fifty Years of Change, pp. 97-102]

The actual fate of the clock-bell at the present time is not certain, although there is a claim that parts of the bell were salvaged from the ruins of the church and recast and is now at Villanova University, Villanova, Pennsylvania.

78. Resurvey, Contributionship Policy No. 3795, January 1, 1828.

79. Minutes of Select Council [June 16, 1821-September 30, 1830], December 24, 1829, pp. 558, 615, 619, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

80. Extracts taken from Haviland MSS, concerning State House, Philadelphia, vol. II, University of Pennsylvania; [Hazard's] Register of Pennsylvania, V, 23.

81. Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, February 25, 1830.

82. Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, III, 1791; Accounts 62016 and 64091, Misc. Treasury Accounts of G.A.O., R.G. 217, National Archives, Washington.

83. Specifications, Agreements, & Memorandums, vol. II, John Haviland MSS, University of Pennsylvania; MSS concerning State House, vol. II, John Haviland MSS, University of Pennsylvania.

84. Ibid.

85. Basil Hall, Travels in North America, 1827-1828, II, 91-92.

86. Minutes of Select Council [June 16, 1821-September 30, 1830], July 8, 1830, pp. 652, 656, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

87. [Hazard's] Register of Pennsylvania, I, No. 10, pp. 152-54.

88. Ibid., VII, 264-65.

89. Ibid.

90. Minutes of Select Council [June 16, 1821-September 30, 1830], April 14, 1831, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

91. Poulson's American Daily Advertiser, April 29, 1831, and October 8, 1831; E. T. Coke, A Subaltern's Furlough (London, 1833), pp. 37-39.

92. References to Haviland's having found panelling stored away can be found in David Scattergood's Hand Book of the State House at Philadelphia, published in 1890, in Thompson Westcott's The Historic Mansions

[Fifty Years of Change, pp. 102-106]

and Buildings of Philadelphia, published in 1877, and in John Fanning Watson's Annals of Philadelphia, vol. III.

93. [Hazard's] Register of Pennsylvania, VII, 264-65.

94. John Read to City Commissioners, September 7, 1816, Box 5, John Read, Jr., Papers, Library Company of Philadelphia.

95. John Haviland MSS, vol. 4, University of Pennsylvania.

96. Minutes of Select Council, Book 6, January 27, 1831, p. 39. The Krimmel painting, Election Day at the State House 1815, at Winterthur Museum shows a stove pipe in a window from the Supreme Court Chamber onto Chestnut Street.

97. Minutes of Select Council, Book 6, April 21, 1831, p. 68, and October 27, 1831, p. 122.

98. Journal of Common Council [October 16, 1846-October 7, 1847], p. 100; Public Ledger, November 12, 1846, and November 21, 1846.

99. Public Ledger, January 6, 1847, and February 5, 1847; Voucher 16, Account 97742, Voucher 45, Account 95994, and Voucher 6, Account 98276, Misc. Treasury Accounts of G.A.O., R.G. 217, National Archives.

100. Public Ledger, August 24 and 30, 1850.

101. Journal of Common Council [1853-1854], October 27, 1853, p. 12, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

102. Public Ledger, June 9, 1854; Journal of Common Council [October 14, 1853-June 12, 1854], February 16, 1854, and June 8, 1854, Municipal Archives, Philadelphia.

103. Scharf and Westcott, History of Philadelphia, III, 1791; Public Ledger, June 9, 1854, October 27, 1854, and December 9, 1854. To accommodate the furnace under the Supreme Court room a cellar, 40 feet square and 8 feet deep, was dug and a tunnel bored, 16 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 7 feet high, linking with the cellar under the Assembly Room. The entire basement was paved and presented a fine storage area. The Public Ledger of October 27, 1854, recommended that the mouldings, cornices, flooring about the steeple be repaired and the roof covered with metal to protect the building, since the roof had on several occasions caught fire because of its shingle covering.

[Fifty Years of Change, pp. 106-112]

104. Journal of Select Council, 1835-1836, January 28, 1836, p. 120.

105. Public Ledger, April 21, 1843.

106. Ibid., December 19, 1845.

107. W. Chambers, Things as they are,..., p. 307.

108. Public Ledger, January 8, 1835; Journal of Select Council [January-May 1855], February 15, 1855, p. 97.

109. E. L. Henry to F. M. Etting, July 8, 1871, vol. I, 80, Restoration of Independence Hall, Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; [Philadelphia] Inquirer, October 27, 1873.

110. Journal of Select Council, 1872, I, 273.

111. Philadelphia, Mayor of, Second Annual Message and Reports of Departments, 1874 (Philadelphia, 1874), pp. 1007-13.

112. Unidentified clipping, Independence Hall Restoration Papers, small volume, p. 16, Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

113. F. Etting to Board of Lady Managers of the National Museum, October 25, 1873, Etting Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania; Public Ledger, October 27, 1873.

114. Preliminary Report of the Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, 1873, p. 4:

> "We have replaced the pillars which formerly sustained the ceiling of the Chamber by means of the accurate description given by our venerable fellow citizen Horace Binney, the only living man who positively remembers them, and whose description is full confirmed by a fragment of the original still preserved as a relic."

Colonel Etting in placing the pillars in the Assembly Room accepted the testimony of Horace Binney and disregarded that which he received in 1872 from James G. Smith, who should have known, having served as chairman of the committee that built the steeple. Smith wrote to Etting that "there were no pillars in Indepence [sic] Hall." (James G. Smith to Frank M. Etting, 23 November 1872, Independence Hall Restoration Correspondence, I, 97, Etting Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.)

115. Journal of Common Council, 1873, II, 246.

[Fifty Years of Change, p. 113;
A Misguided Restoration, pp. 115-118]

116. Journal of Select Council, 1876, II, 3, 34-35, and Journal of Select Council, 1877, I, 178, 262, 282, 314; Public Ledger, March 10, 1876; American Architecture and Building News, April 15, 1876, p. 128.

117. In 1870 the Pennsylvania legislature had passed an Act for the Erection of the Public Buildings which authorized "that upon the entire completion of the new building, all the present buildings on Independence Square, except Independence Hall, shall be removed, and the ground placed in good condition by the said [Public Building] Commission as part of their duty under this Act...." This would have meant the demolition of Congress Hall and Old City Hall. However, due to the public interest and the action by the Councils of Philadelphia, this act was repealed on July 3, 1895, Laws of the General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania passed at the Session of 1895, p. 604, No. 456.. Independence Square and the historic buildings on it were left to the supervision of the municipal government.--Journal of Common Council, 1895, I, pp. 99, 116, App. p. 20, and Journal of Select Council, 1895, II, pp. 106-107, 143, App. p. 78. The actual restorations were carried out pursuant to authority resulting from a resolution of Councils of December 1895 "relative to the restoration of Independence Square to its appearance during the Revolutionary period."--Frank M. Riter Statement, June 1895, Harrison Collection, A.P.S. Hereafter cited as Riter's Statement.

118. Journal of Select Council, October 2, 1895-April 2, 1896, App. p. 287; Philadelphia Bulletin, March 17, 1896; Statement of Alfred S. Eisenhower, Sunday Press, May 17, 1896.

119. Wilson Bros. & Co. to Alfred S. Eisenhower, April 25, 1896, Horace Wells Sellers Collection, A.P.S.; Frank M. Riter to Charles F. Warwick, July 7, 1897, Harrison Collection, A.P.S.; T. M. Rogers to Mrs. Charles C. Harrison, October 26, 1896, Harrison Collection, A.P.S.

120. Frank M. Riter to Mayor Charles F. Warwick, July 7, 1897, Harrison Collection (typescript), A.P.S.; and Charles S. Keyser and F. D. Stone, Librarian, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, to F. M. Riter , July 23, 1896, Horace Wells Sellers Collection, A.P.S.

121. T. M. Rogers to Mrs. Charles C. Harrison, October 26, 1896, Harrison Collection, A.P.S. (See Appendix I for full text and description of restoration of second floor.)

122. Ibid., and "Specifications for the Restoration of Second Floor of Independence Hall," Harrison Collection, A.P.S. (See Appendix I); Riter to Warwick, July 7, 1897, Harrison Collection, A.P.S.

[A Misguided Restoration, pp. 119-121]

123. Public Ledger, February 20, 1897; Philadelphia Evening Star, February 19, 1897. The arch was described in a newspaper account in this way: "Straight through the reception room the visitors pass under the great 'square arch,' 18 feet 8 inches wide, surmounted by the beautiful triangle of the colonies, with familiar interlaced curved rose window work in it."--From unidentified newspaper clipping, Harrison Collection, A.P.S. (c. 1897)--typescript copy, INHP. Rogers claimed to have seen a record that the decorations of the State House so pleased Chief Justice Chew that he had them duplicated at Cliveden. --Public Ledger, July 1, 1898.

124. "Statement: Chief Eisenhower of Bureau of City Property in annual report to Department of Public Safety," Philadelphia Times, January 22, 1896. Eisenhower in his report for 1894 recommended the appropriation of funds to restore Independence Hall to "its primitive condition" and building to be kept open to the public as a historic shrine. [Philadelphia] Press, January 25, 1895, and Fourth Annual Report of Edwin S. Stuart, Mayor of Philadelphia, Annual Report of the Bureau of City Property, 1894, by A. S. Eisenhower, pp. 336-37.

125. Journal of Common Council, 1897-1898, p. 225, App. pp. 262-63.

126. Public Ledger, December 4, 1897; Riter's Statement; "Minutes of Meeting of Committee on Restoration of Independence, Dec. 1, 1897," Harrison Collection, A.P.S.; "Statement, Stacy Reeves & Co., July 15, 1898; INHP files.

"Fitting up Judges' Dias and platform
in Judicial Chamber per Estimate 313.00
6 mo 7 - 1898
Opening 3 arch panels on Hall side of
Judicial Chamber per order 3 mo 29th 98
carpenter labor1800 18.00
....
Changing stairways & landings at end of
platforms on west side of Judicial
Chamber per order 3 mo 23d 1898
18.98 18.36 5.50 42.84
Carpenter labor, millwor, painting
...
Furnish & put new trim & heads and
changing size of doors on west side
of Judicial Chamber per order 3 mo 29th 1898
16.17 64.52 5.83. 6.50
Carpenter work, millwork, brickwork, painters 93.02

[A Misguided Restoration, pp. 121-122]

127. Riter's Statement. Views of the State House during the historic period clearly show a pipe protruding from the windows of the Supreme Court room which indicates that the room was heated from within by means of stoves.

128. "Specifications for the Restoration of Independence Hall, Philadelphia, 1897." (See Appendix I, for text.)

129. Ibid.; "Statement of Stacy Reeves & Co., July 15, 1898," INHP files.
"Altering center pieces in ceilings of
Independence & Judicial Chambers per order 53.55"
Although the original specifications called for 5/4 oak flooring for both the Assembly Room and Supreme Court Room, the specifications for the further restoration of the building called for 6/4 yellow pine flooring for the first floor.

130. Riter's Statement; "Statement: Stacy Reeves & Co., July 15, 1898," INHP files; T. M. Rogers' Diary, January 17, 1898, February 3, 1898 [typescript copy], INHP. Hereafter cited as Rogers' Diary.

131. "Specifications for the Restoration of Independence Hall, 1897," INHP files; "Specifications for the further restoration of Independence Hall," INHP files; Harper's Weekly, July 24, 1897; "Minutes of the Meeting of Committee on the Restoration of Independence Hall, Dec. 1, 1897," Harrison Collection, A.P.S.; "Statement: Stacy Reeves & Co., July 15, 1898," INHP files.
"Furnish 4 ornamental brackets for Mantels in Independence
Chamber order 3 mo 29 - 98
10.50 23.10 3.60
Carpenter work, millwork, painting 36.60"

132. "Minutes of Meeting on Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, Dec. 23, 1897," Harrison Collection, A.P.S.
"The discovery of the position of the arcade, in so much that its location is seventeen inches south of the line originally drawn by the architect it is discovered that it is impossible to put the door in the Northeastern corner of Independence Hall. It never could have been there when the arcade was there and the fireplace. The moving of the arcade to the South and the disclosure of the fact that the fireplace is so much larger than thought makes it impossible for the door to have existed contemporaneously with the arcade and fire place. It is therefore recommended that this door be filled up.
...
The door in the southeastern wall of Independence Chamber of which there is no record, only a reference to the existence

[A Misguided Restoration, pp. 122-123]

of the library, there being no print or record showing its place in the wall, it is concluded for the purpose of properly strengthening the wall and because its purpose has ceased to exist, to wit, being a means of communication from Independence Chamber to the Congressional Library. It is therefore concluded finally to wall it up."

"Statement: Stacy Reeves & Co., July 15, 1898," INHP files.

"Furnish & put up new trim & heads and changing size of doors on east side of Independence ~~Chamber per order 3-me-29th-1898~~
16.01 67.58 7.00
Carpenter work, millwork, painting 90.59"

133. Riter's Statement.

134. Ibid. The Rotunda version of the Signing of the Declaration by Trumbull was relied on heavily in determining the cornice for the Assembly Room. The cornice depicted in this painting corresponded with the hallway cornice. (See Illustration No. 27.)

135. "Minutes of Meeting of Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, Dec. 1, 1897," Harrison Collection, A.P.S.; "Jobbing Charges of Stacy Reeves & Co., May 25, 1898," INHP files:
"Taking off replacing wainscot on west side of Independence Chamber for examination of brickwork per order of Mr. Riter
Carpenter work 10 32 10.32."

136. Riter's Statement; Public Ledger, July 1, 1898; Rogers' Diary, January 26, 1898, February 14, 1898, February 19, 1898, March 9, 1898, INHP; "Minutes of Meeting of Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, Dec. 11, 1897," Harrison Collection, A.P.S. The bricks found in the hallway measured 2-1/4" x 4-1/2" x 9". Since this was a size of brick not in common usage in the construction of walks, it was necessary to have these specially made. According to Reeves' bills of May 25, 1898, and July 15, 1898, press bricks were substituted for pavers.--Bills of Stacy Reeves & Co., May 25, 1898, and July 15, 1898, INHP. The bricks were laid extending from "east to west through the the opening and up to a course of brick on edge forming the margin to the herringbone brick lying next to a flat board, a floor board, placed at right angles to the general direction of the floor boards and between the floor boards and the brickwork."--Rogers' Diary, March 9, 1898. "Report of meeting of Committee of Philadelphia Chapter, AIA re restoration of Independence Hall."

[A Misguided Restoration, pp. 123-125]

137. "Specification for the Restoration of Independence Hall, 1897"; Public Ledger, July 1, 1898; "Minutes of Meeting of Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, Dec. 23, 1898," Harrison Collection, A.P.S.; "Statement: Stacy Reeves & Sons, July 15, 1898," INHP files.

"Removing the balusters, furnish & lay new landings also reset old balusters on Main Stairs per Est 1/4/98 84.00
Furnish & fit up new risers to Main Stairs per Est 1/4/98 53.00
Removing the balusters & furnish & fit up new treads and resetting old balusters per Est. 1/4/98 95.00"

138. Riter's Statement; Frank M. Riter to T. Mellon Rogers, February 3, 1898, Rogers' Diary; Frank M. Riter to A. S. Eisenhower, February 7, 1898, Rogers' Diary; Frank M. Riter to A. S. Eisenhower, February 10, 1898, Rogers' Diary; Rogers' Diary, March 4, 1898, April 19, 1898, May 9, 1898; "Statement: Stacy Reeves & Co., July 15, 1898," INHP.

139. Riter's Statement; Public Ledger, July 1, 1898; Harper's Weekly, July 24, 1898; Rogers' Diary, January 18, 1898, April 6, 1898; "Statement: Stacy Reeves, July 15, 1898," INHP.

140. Riter's Statement; "Specifications for the Restoration of Independence Hall, 1897."

141. [Philadelphia] Press, June 23, 1898; "Specifications for the Restoration of Independence Hall, 1897," "Specifications for the further Restoration of Independence Hall.

142. [Philadelphia] Times, February 9, 1898; Riter's Statement; Rogers' Diary, March 5, 1898, March 7, 1898; "Statement: Stacy Reeves & Co., July 15, 1898," INHP.

143. [Philadelphia] Sunday Press, May 17, 1896; [Philadelphia] Times, January 22, 1896.

144. Riter's Statement; [Philadelphia] Record, January 25, 1898; Rogers' Diary, April 1, 1898. The original plans called for the inclusion of the interior and end walls, east and west, of the Mills buildings, and the changing of the north and south walls to correspond with the 18th century prints of the wings with regard to the number of doors, windows, chimneys, and changing the roof to its old form and lowering height of building to the level of the second story window sills. The east and west walls of the Mills buildings were thought to be portions of the originals incorporated into the 1813 structures.--Philadelphia Record, January 25, 1898; [Philadelphia] Inquirer, March 16, 1897; Charles S. Keyser to Wencel Hartman, President of Common Council,

[A Misguided Restoration, pp. 125-128]

December 29, 1897, Journal of Common Council, 1897, II, 350, App. pp. 487-88; [Philadelphia] Record, November 16, 1897. For original plans see "Specifications for Restoration of Independence Hall, 1897," INHP, in Appendix I.

145. Charles S. Keyser to Wencel Hartman, President of Common Council, December 29, 1897, Journal of Common Council, 1897, II, 350,App. pp. 487-88; Riter's Statement. Among the views of the State House consulted and relied upon in the reconstruction of the wings are: The engraving on the Scull and Heap Map of Philadelphia (see Illustration No. 10), the views on the 1774 John Reed map (see Illustration No. 16), the 1778 W. Faden map and the 1794 Davies map (see Illustration No. 18). The Peale portrait of Chevalier Girard in 1779 (see Illustration No. 21) showing the State House in the background was also studied. The Birch views of the front of the State House printed in 1798, and of the southwestern corner printed in 1799 were also consulted by the designers of the wings.

146. Mr. Morris Scheffer of 31 Lark Lane, Audubon, Pa., has in his possession a series of photographs, pen and ink drawings, and blueprints of Independence Hall made by his father, Morris Scheffer, who was employed by T. Mellon Rogers as a draftsman during the 1896-98 restoration of Independence Hall. It is quite likely that this illustration of the east wall of Independence Hall in the Public Ledger of December 4, 1897, was taken from a photograph included in this group. An unsuccessful attempt has been made by the staff of INHP to locate the Ledger glass plate negative of the photograph.

147. Riter's Statement.

148. Mrs. Mary Chew to Mrs. Harrison, March 10, 1897, Harrison Collection, A.P.S.

149. Frank M. Etting, An Historical Account of the Old State House of Pennsylvania, p. 26.

150. Riter's Statement; Public Ledger, December 4, 1897; "Minutes of Meeting of Committee on Restoration of Independence Hall, Dec. 23, 1897," Harrison Collection, A.P.S.

151. T. M. Rogers to F. M. Riter, July 20, 1898, Rogers' Diary; Minutes of Philadelphia Chapter, AIA, October 12, 1899; Public Ledger, March 27, 1899; [Philadelphia] North American, March 4, 1899.

According to the specifications which were drawn up for the restoration of the second floor of Independence Hall, the following work was

[A Misguided Restoration, pp. 128-130]

to be done: the removal of all the interior wood finish, except the jambs and architraves of windows and entrance from stairhall, the substitution of a new finish, and the installation of a uniform cornice throughout. In the hallway there was to be a low wainscot cap and sub, but in the other three rooms the paneled wainscot was to be replaced with a baseboard and chairrail with plastering between; the trim of the doorways in the rooms was to be alike, but the doorways on the hall side was to be different. New pilasters and columns for the opening between the hall and the Long Room were designed. The plans also called for new mantel-pieces and enlarged hearths, but for no changes in the brick fireplace.--Specifications for the further restoration of Independence Hall, March 28, 1899, Harrison Collection, A.P.S.

152. Public Ledger, April 9, 1900; Specifications for Clock Cases, Independence Hall, Specifications for further restoration of Independence Hall, INHP files.

153. Riter's Statement.

154. Memo: Archeologist to Chief Division of Interpretation, INHP, September 5, 1961. The "Specifications for the Restoration of Independence Hall" state that "The old clock cases on ends of the hall will be faced with cut soapstone to represent stonework, and finished with base and three steps on bottom, like drawings"; newspaper accounts of the work stated that the base of the original clock was found and that it appeared like a chimney built underground, and that this chamber which housed the weights was four feet lower than the basement of the cellar.--[Philadelphia] Times, March 7, 1899. It would appear that remnants of the original brickwork were incorporated into the new clock case from the following sections of the specifications for the restoration of the clock: "The old clock bases of brick are to be carried up the size of the old one, now existing on outside of west wall to level of second floor,..."

155. Public Ledger, April 9, 1900. The Philadelphia Press of April 22, 1900, contained an article entitled "The War of Two Clocks or a Brief Story of how a Restoration Convulsed a City." This was a bitterly felt issue.

156. Riter's Statement.

Chapter II
Section 1
Notes

[Twentieth Century, pp. 131-134]

1. In the course of this work "existing wood urns...[were] removed and replaced by others in exact duplication, but constructed of 18 oz. copper,..."--Specifications of Work Required on Tower of Independence Hall, typescript in INHP files.

2. "Your tray, however, is made of the original wood of Independence Hall; I saw it removed myself last year when we laid a new floor down in Independence Chamber. It was necessary to take this joint [sic] out owing to its having rotted in a section."--Wilfred Jordan to G. J. Elliot, May 17, 1918, INHP files.

3. Philadelphia, Bureau of City Property, Annual Report, 1918, 11-12.

4. Minutes of a meeting of the Committee on Preservation, February 6, 1922, typescript in INHP files.

5. Sellers to John Sinkler, March 22, 1922, typescript in INHP files.

6. Sellers to Harry T. Baxter, February 19, 1921, typescript in INHP files.

7. Minutes of Committee, March 19, 1923.

8. Minutes of Committee, June 14, 1922, and July 12, 1922.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATIONS

Independence Hall is the birthplace of the Nation and the home of the Liberty Bell. The founding fathers gathered in its Assembly Room on July 4, 1776, to adopt the Declaration of Independence. The Constitutional Convention met there too in 1787 to unify the nation and guarantee the liberty of its inhabitants. And the structure has had an extremely long and useful life as a public building. In the one hundred sixty-five years following its erection, it was successively the Pennsylvania State House, a museum, and a municipal building; since 1898 it has been a shrine attracting visitors from all over the world.

The history of the building may be divided into four periods: the period as a State House, 1732-1799; the period as a museum, 1800-1828; the period as a municipal building, 1818-1897; and the period as a shrine, 1898 to the present. Throughout the State House period, Independence Hall was the capitol of the province and state and the meeting place of many religious and cultural organizations and agencies of the city government. It became in the years just before the Revolution, a center of protest against and resistance to British infringement of colonial liberties. With the beginning of the Revolution, it became the nerve center from which the second Continental Congress directed the war effort and, four years after the war had been brought to a successful conclusion, it became the meeting place of the Constitutional Convention. Then, in 1799, the building ceased to be the state capitol. During the ensuing period, when the building's

principal occupant was Charles Willson Peale's museum, the state came to regard it as surplus to its needs and sold it to the City of Philadelphia. Peale removed his museum in 1828, and the Hall became a municipal building and civic center. This municipal building period, marked as it was by the emotional turmoil of Civil War and Reconstruction, saw the building become irrevocably associated in the public mind with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. In 1898 the building was "restored" and its period as a shrine began.

State House Period, 1732-1799

Independence Hall, when completed, consisted of five units: a main building containing two rooms and a hallway on the first floor and three rooms and a hallway upstairs; a tower; a committee room and library; and two wing buildings joined to the main building by arcades. Each of these units, and each of the rooms within the main building, came into use as it was completed, and each of them developed its own historic association.

Hallway, First Floor The first floor hallway contained, until the tower was completed, the stairway to the second floor. Throughout the State House period it provided access to their respective meeting places for members of the Assembly, judges, and delegates to the Congress and the Constitutional Convention. At the same time, it provided a passage to Independence Square from Chestnut Street, and many of those who heard Independence proclaimed on July 8, 1776, passed through to attend that historic event.

Tower In 1749, the Assembly ordered a tower added to Independence Hall. This tower enhanced the dignity of the building, boasted one of the finest stairways of the period, and contained the Liberty Bell. Aside from providing storage space for the leather fire buckets belonging to the Assembly, it had no other use during the State House period.

Supreme Court Chamber The room across the hall from the Assembly Room seems to have been used for the first time in 1744, when the Governor and Council met in it to confer with an Indian delegation. Thereafter, it was used by the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania and certain inferior courts of the province. It saw the end of British authority made manifest when, on July 8, 1776, before a crowd assembled to hear the first public reading of the Declaration of Independence, a delegation of leading citizens ceremoniously removed the King's Arms from its place above the judges' bench and burned it. Soon the provincial courts were replaced by others acting under the authority of the state and the confederation; these too met in this room. The state courts sat there until after 1800, and the Supreme Court of the United States sat there for its February term, 1791, and again for one day of its August term, 1796.

Assembly Room The provincial assembly probably first met in the east room, ground floor, of the main building in September, 1735, and it continued to meet there until May 10, 1775. On that day, the second Continental Congress gathered, at the invitation of the Assembly, in the Assembly Room, elected a President and Secretary, and began an association with the room which ended only with the termination of the Revolution.

The room was then the scene of great events. In it Congress adopted and signed the Declaration of Independence. In it the first minister to represent a foreign power at the capitol of the new nation presented his credentials. In it Congress signed the Articles of Confederation and instituted government under them; from it, Congress directed the war effort.

Congressional use of the Assembly Room was twice interrupted, once in the winter of 1776-1777, and again in September of 1777 when the British captured Philadelphia. During the occupation the British barracked some of their artillery troops in the room hastily abandoned by Congress. Congress returned in July of 1778. On June 24, 1783, Congress left Philadelphia, for good, and a year or two later, the Assembly of Pennsylvania returned to its old quarters.

When Congress left Philadelphia, the weaknesses of the Articles of Confederation were already evident. Matters worsened and, in 1787, the call went out for a general convention to strengthen the Articles; Philadelphia was chosen as its meeting place. Once again the Assembly Room was the scene of great events. In it, on May 25, 1787, the Constitutional Convention met and elected George Washington to the chair. The convention continued to meet and deliberate there until September 17, when the fruit of its deliberations, the Constitution of the United States, was signed and forwarded to Congress for submission to the people of the several states.

Committee Room and Library In 1752, the Assembly ordered the erection of a small apartment adjoining the southeast corner of the main

building "for the accommodation of the Committee of this House." Within a year, the Assembly had decided to keep their library in it too.

When the Assembly invited Congress to meet in the Assembly Room, use of the Committee Room and Library was included in the invitation. It was to this room that, in the words of John Adams, "Mr. Washington,...from his usual modesty, darted..." when nominated to command the Continental Army. From this room, Clerk of Congress Timothy Matlack later recalled hearing "the commanding eloquence of Richard Henry Lee, the member from Virginia that moved the Declaration." Here the members of Congress retired to read, meditate, and discuss the many problems facing them; here the committees of Congress responsible for the conduct of the war met. Here, too, members of the Constitutional Convention met to consider, informally and in committee, the problems to be surmounted before the states could be joined together in a federal government. John Dickinson recalled attending the committee meeting there at which, "...after some conference, James Maddison took a Pen and Paper, and sketched out a Mode for Electing the President agreeably to the present provision."

East Piazza and Wing The office structures on either side of the main building were erected to provide office space for various agencies of the province; the arcades connecting them to the main building served only to shelter the staircase leading to the second floor of the wings. During the State House period such officers as the Recorder of Deeds, Register General, Comptroller General, and Loan Office Trustees kept office in

the East Wing. Before the Revolution, Indian delegations visiting the city were housed in its second floor. In 1779 and for some years thereafter, the Secretary of Congress kept his office there.

West Piazza and Wing Like the East Wing, the West Wing was erected to provide space for agencies of the province, and for most of the period the secretary of the province and his successor under the state government kept office there. However, the building was made to serve other purposes as well. In 1739, the Library Company of Philadelphia obtained permission to keep its books and scientific apparatus in the second floor, a privilege exercised until 1773. By 1745, the doorkeeper of the Assembly lived in the building with his family, and he and his successors continued to live there throughout the period. After the Library Company moved in 1773, various state offices were kept in the building until 1790. In that year, all of the West Wing, except the doorkeeper's apartment, was turned over to the United States House of Representatives and for the next ten years was used as the office of the Clerk of the House and as House committee rooms.

Long Gallery This was the hall of state where receptions, state dinners, and entertainments were held. Large double doors in its south wall admitted Governor and Council to their chamber on the west and committees of the Assembly to the chamber on the east. It may have been the setting for Philadelphia's first big civic banquet, the one tendered his fellow citizens by Mayor William Allen in 1736. In ensuing years it was the scene of dinners or entertainments on such occasions as the visit of Lord Loudoun,

General Braddock, General Forbes, the repeal of the Stamp Act, the retirement of Governor Richard Penn, and the adjournment of the first Continental Congress. During the British occupation it served a grimmer purpose; wounded American prisoners were confined to it.

Assembly Committee Chamber The East Room, second floor, was designed as "Committee of Assembly Chamber" on an early floor plan and served as a committee room upon its completion. By 1774, however, it was no longer used for this purpose, and one or two thousand stands of the firearms belonging to the city were stored there. These arms were soon moved if they had not already been issued to the Philadelphia Militia, for in 1775 the Assembly, upon relinquishing their own room to Congress, moved upstairs to this room. Eleven days after adoption of the Declaration of Independence, a convention assembled in furtherance of a Congressional recommendation to the states to form new governments, assumed all powers of government, and drafted a state constitution. The Assembly continued to meet there, enlarging the room after the British occupation, until about 1785.

Council Chamber The west room, second floor, was, from 1747 to 1776, the meeting place of the Governor and Council. In it the governor conducted negotiations with Indian delegations, and to it the Assembly went to learn the fate of acts passed and sent to the governor for approval. To it also the mayor of Philadelphia came each year to take his oath of office. Then, from 1776 until 1790, the Supreme Executive Council of the State met there, and from 1790 to 1799 the governor kept his office in it.

Museum Period, 1800-1828

The state government left Philadelphia in 1799. While Independence Hall then ceased to be the state capitol, various state and county offices remained in its wings, state and city courts continued to sit in the Supreme Court Chamber and Assembly Room, and private organizations met throughout the first floor and wings.

In 1802, Charles Willson Peale inveigled the legislature into granting him use of the second floor and Assembly Room for his natural history museum and portrait gallery. This museum, which made a unique contribution to American life and culture as the first museum to attempt scientific classification and arrangement of its exhibits, the first to exhibit its natural history collections in habitat groups, and one of the first to combine enjoyment with popular education, remained in the building until 1828.

Municipal Building Period, 1818-1897

The City of Philadelphia had used Independence Hall for various purposes since 1736, and, when the state decided to sell the property, the city purchased it. The city acquired title on March 14, 1818, but not until Peale's museum moved out in 1828 did it acquire full control of the structure.

Acquisition of Independence Hall by the city had no immediate effect upon use of the building. The state agencies and private organizations which had used it during the Museum period continued to do so.

Gradually, however, the structure became a purely municipal building. Various city agencies took over the wings, the Mayor's Court occupied the Supreme Court Chamber, and city officials used the Assembly Room as a reception room for visiting dignitaries. Finally, in 1854, City Councils moved into the second floor.

The years that saw Independence Hall become a municipal building also saw its development into an historic shrine. This movement had begun even before Lafayette's visit to the building in 1824, but this visit did much to awaken public interest in the building and in the great events which had taken place there. This awakened interest led in 1828 to the reconstruction of the old steeple, a conscious attempt to restore an historic structure which may well mark the first solid achievement of the historic preservation movement in this country. There is not space here to trace the development of Independence Hall from a utilitarian building into a shrine. The Assembly Room, on which for years public interest centered to the exclusion of the rest of the building, passed through successive "restorations." In 1896-1900 the building underwent a thoroughgoing but ineffectual restoration and entered its Shrine period.

Shrine Period, 1898-present

The physical restoration of 1898 and the veneration for the building represented by it mark the end of the evolution of Independence Hall from a utilitarian public building into an historic shrine. In 1943 it was declared a National Historic Site. Finally, on January 1, 1951,

under the terms of Public Law 795 (80th Congress, Second Session), the National Park Service accepted jurisdiction over the building, and it became the focal point of Independence National Historical Park.

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Independence Hall is the most important historic structure in the United States.

'Are and of right ought to be, free and independent...'
'Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness...'
'We the people...'

These words, written and spoken in the building's Assembly Room, are in the creed of all Americans. The sense of great events and the presence of their doers are everywhere in the building.

Historic Structures Report,
Part I, on Independence Hall

The oft-restored Assembly Room bears no resemblance to the "neat but not elegant" room in which the founding fathers penned the great charters of the nation.

The stretch of bare brick pavement at the corner of the building does nothing to recall a "very elegant apartment," where Congress' executive boards met to prosecute the war, the Constitutional Convention's committee on style shaped our frame of government, and Washington escaped John Adams' laudatory phrases, which once stood there.

The restored East Wing building, wrong in dimensions and modern of interior, does all too little to convey a sense of the building where Secretary of Congress Charles Thomson's office was located and where Timothy Matlack engrossed the Declaration of Independence; the stairless open arcade does even less to remind us of the closed piazza down whose stairs the Secretary daily carried Congress' minutes and secret journals to the Assembly Room.

Gross errors of misguided restorers have denuded the Supreme Court Chamber of those very features encountered by the patriots who ceremoniously removed the King's Arms on July 8, 1776.

The restored steeple, inharmonious with the building's architecture, differs in dimension and detail from the one whose bell proclaimed "Liberty throughout all the land."

Bare gable walls are made conspicuous by the absence of the beautiful and unique clock faces which once graced them.

Those original values which remain intact were identified in the Part I report. Cognizance was also taken in that report of those elements of the fabric which are accurate restorations. Recommendations for the preservation, protection, and recording of these originals and accurate restorations were also put forth and they are hereby reaffirmed.

Recommendations were also made in the Part I report for restoration of some of the inaccurately restored and vital, long lost features. Those recommendations did not go nearly far enough. Halfway measures will not suffice. Until Independence Hall has been returned to its 1776 appearance, ... thoroughly and uncompromisingly, it will not possess the integrity the American people assume that it has. Until then, interpretation of it perforce will be ineffective or misleading.

Since the Part I report was completed, a thoroughgoing structural rehabilitation of Independence Hall has been programmed and is now underway. Architectural research undertaken concurrently with this work has uncovered

new evidence of original conditions, and will uncover more evidences as the work proceeds.

The historical research recommended in the Part I report has been undertaken and has produced a wealth of new evidence of original conditions.

These factors will make possible the carrying out of the following recommendations:

The main building's roof line has changed as the original framing has been built up with successive layers of roofing materials. Among these layers are evidences of roofing materials of the historic period. It is recommended that these evidences be studied to determine what was in place in 1776 and that the roof be restored during the current program of structural rehabilitation.

Other exterior features of the main building which are not original include the front steps and drainspouts. The front steps are not original, nor do they represent accurately the original steps, as they are granite rather than a stone in use in this locale during the historic period. Restoration of the front steps guided by early prints and thorough study of physical evidence is recommended during the current program. The drainspouts were circular and of lead composition. Restoration of the originals can be made on the basis of knowledge now available. It is recommended that they be replaced with spouts of the type shown in early prints and that the flanges to the top brackets bearing the date "1733" be removed.

The steeple--clock faces and all--has long been associated in the public mind with Independence Hall. There is also a body of opinion which

regards it as important in its own right as perhaps the first restoration attempted in this country (it dates to 1828). However desirable an accurate steeple might be, it is felt that the present one can be reconciled with a building perfectly restored in other respects and should be retained.

A small turret for the clock-bell was on the roof of Independence Hall throughout the historic period. It should be restored with a view to recovering and replacing the old clock-bell. This should be done during the current program.

The clock case adjacent to the west wall of the main building is neither original nor an accurate restoration of the original. The elaborate carvings and scale of the original clock case, and those of the identical clock case on the east wall, were among the qualities of Independence Hall which so impressed eighteenth century Americans. They should be restored during the current program.

The wings and arcades are highly inaccurate restorations of the original wings and piazzas. Neither can be remodelled with the desired effect. It is recommended that they be removed and wing buildings and piazzas of the correct size and character built. The deferred reconstruction of the Portico should be undertaken in conjunction with restoration of the West Wing.

The historic and well-documented Library and Committee Room should be reconstructed with a view to exhibiting it as Congress' Committee chamber.

The glazed brick floor of the hallway and tower room is neither original nor an accurate restoration; it differs from the 1776 floor in

material, level, and perhaps in pattern. It is recommended that an investigation of these floors be undertaken to establish the 1776 floor levels, paving materials, and, if possible, paving patterns so that these floors can be accurately restored.

The pediments over the hall doors should be restored.

The panelling, doors, steps, and judges' bench of the west wall of the Supreme Court Chamber were installed during the 1896-1898 restoration and are inaccurate. It is recommended that all panelling be removed from this wall and an architectural investigation of the brick face behind it be undertaken to determine the appearance of these features in 1776 so that they can be accurately restored. Consideration should be given to replacement of the broken pedimented frame shown in Illustration No. 51.

The entablature of the walls in the Supreme Court Chamber was installed in 1896-1898 and is inaccurate. It is recommended that this entablature be replaced by a restoration of the original.

The panelling and decorative woodwork now in the Assembly Room is an inaccurate restoration and bears no relationship whatsoever to the appearance of the room in 1776. Upon completion of the current architectural investigation the information provided by it should be used, together with the findings presented herein to restore the room to its appearance of 1776.

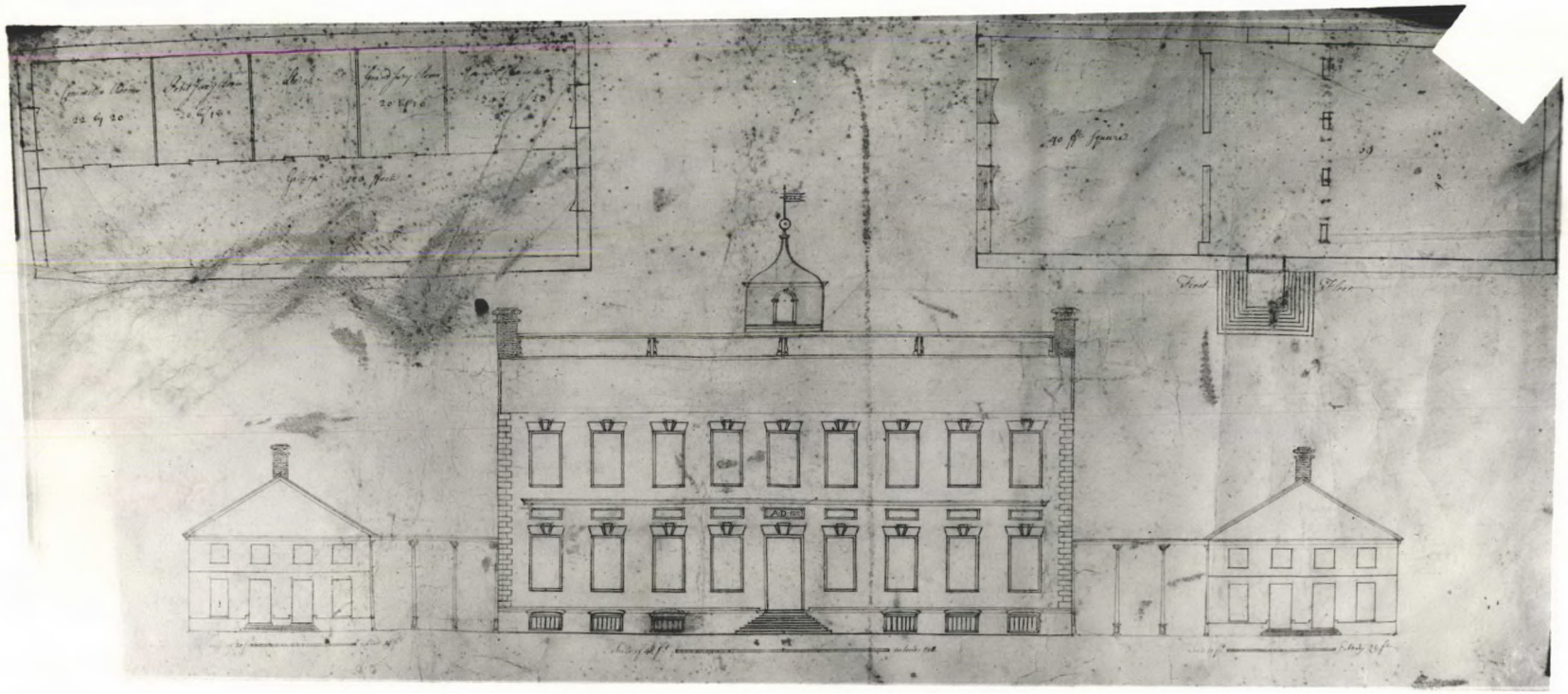
The woodwork, partitions, ceilings, and other elements of the second floor of the main building date from the restoration of 1922-1924. Their accuracy in some particulars is open to question. The current

rehabilitation program should reveal physical evidences required to correct earlier errors.

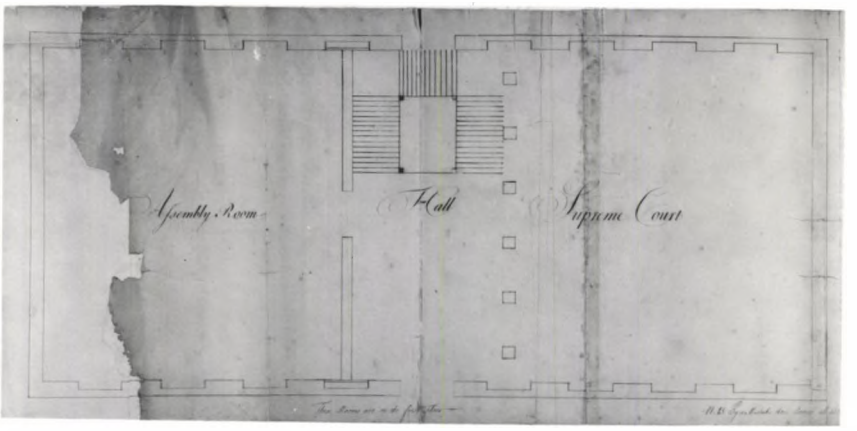
There are many modern intrusions in Independence Hall, such as call boxes, snap-locks, hot air registers and thermostats from an earlier heating system, fire extinguishers, pneumatic door stops, and so forth. It is recommended that all such modern intrusions by removed or concealed.

The present rear steps lack the nosings of the originals, as shown in Illustration No. 71. A determination should be made of their age and if not original, they should be replaced by steps like those in this illustration.

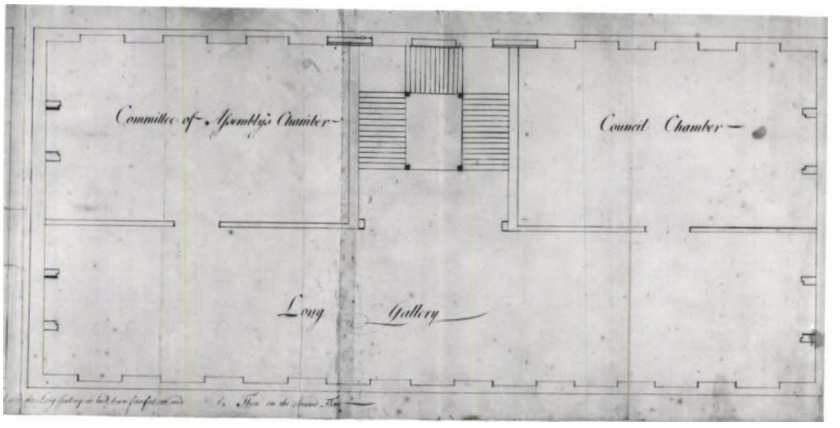
ILLUSTRATIONS



Plan of State House, 1732, found about 1890 in John Dickinson Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Facade is close approximation of main structure as built. First floor plan was adhered to closely, but second floor was simplified. Drawing shows only known representation of turret (cupola). Wing buildings and piazzas are at variance with those built to 1733 and 1743 plans. Note faint delineations of arches in piazza on left. Fireplaces as drawn indicate arched openings. Design is discussed in Appendix B. Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

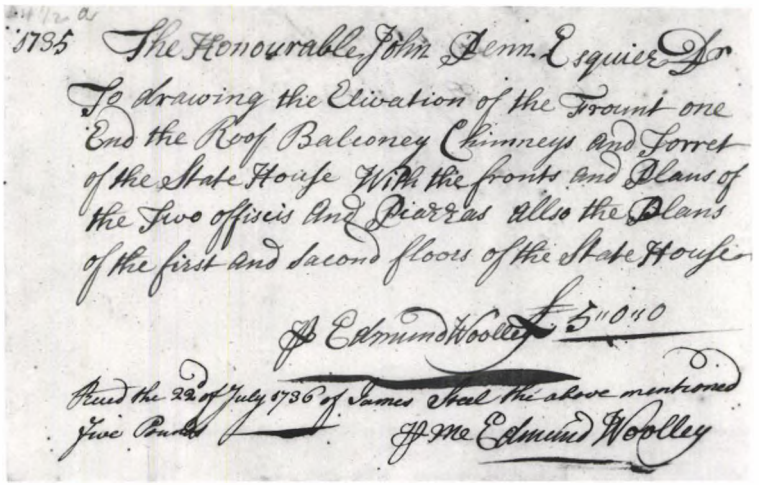


Undated drawing from Penn Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is believed to be one of set prepared by Edmund Woolley for John Penn in 1735 (see section 1, p. 12). This view of first floor shows arrangement of "Hall" before construction of tower and stairs in tower, with exception of indicated piers between "Hall" and Supreme Court Chamber. Indication is that this plan was copied from earlier drawing not carried out in this regard. Absence of fireplaces in Supreme Court Chamber accords with "open" character of room. Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



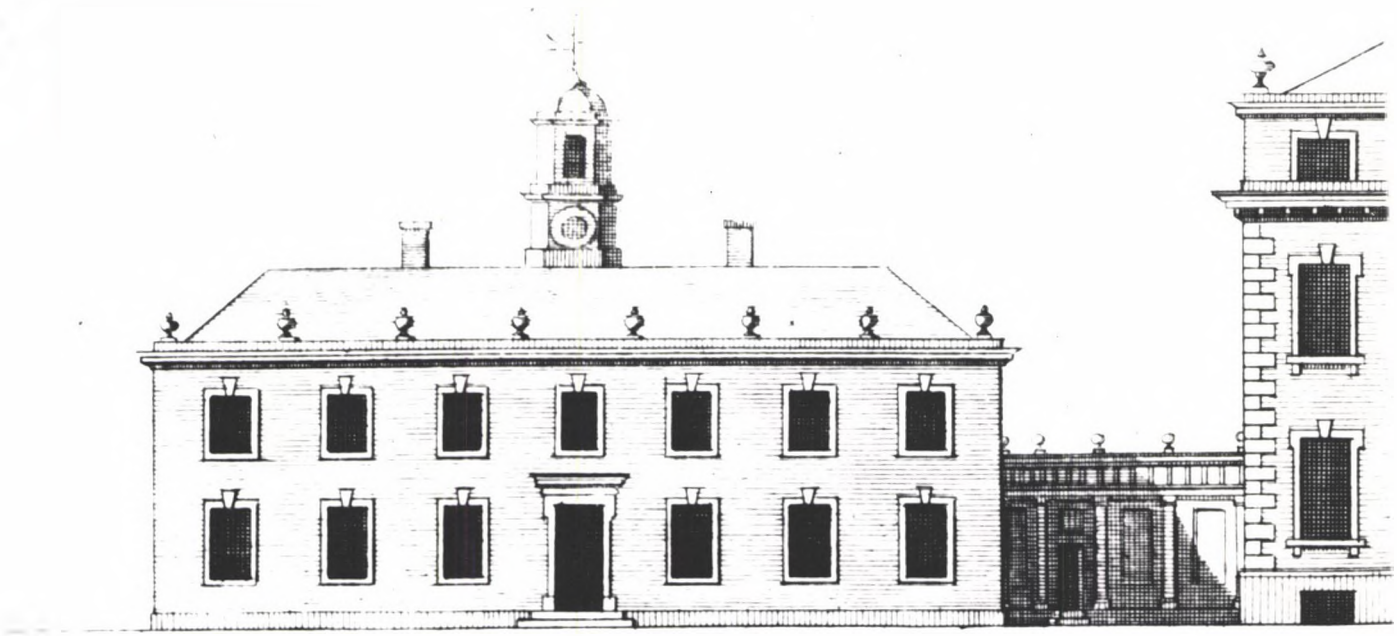
Companion drawing to one above shows second floor in all probability as it was until 1779. Indication of pilasters on either side of wide opening between Long Gallery and stairhall was rejected during second floor restoration, but is believed to have prevailed through 1779 at least. No doorways are shown between stairhall and Council Chamber or Committee Room.

Notation at bottom reads "N.B. By a Mistake these Rooms all save the Long Gallery are laid down four feet too wide." Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



1735 The Honourable John Penn Esquier Dr
To drawing the Elivation of the Frount one
End the Roof Balconey Chimneys and Forret
of the State House With the fronts and Plans of
the Two offices and Piazzas Alls the Plans
of the first and Sacond floors of the State House
£ 5"0"0
Edmund Woolley
Recd the 22 of July 1736 of James Steal the above mentioned
five Pound
Edmund Woolley

Photograph of receipt signed by Edmund Woolley for payment received of John Penn's agent, James Steel. The last sentence is believed to cover plans shown in Illustration No. 2.



A Book of Architecture by James Gibbs (London, 1728) shows many plates with similarities in scheme and detail with those of the State House.

Plate 39, "The Plan and Upright of the Right Honorable Earl of Litchfield's House at Ditchley, Oxfordshire," could well have been the start from which developed the State House group.

In this case, one of the former buildings, a stable or kitchen, becomes the main building in the new design. The materials, brick and stone, are retained and the central doorway, the row of keystoned windows, the quoins, cupola, and colonnades containing the stairs, need but the addition of marble panels between the first and second story windows and a change in roof and minor details to become a reasonable facsimile of the State House. The seven windows in the 80 foot front become nine in the new 107 foot front, maintaining approximately the same scale, and the addition of the marble panels, the gable ends and balustrade adds height and changes the proportion of the building in conformity with the transformation from stable to State House.

Chapter II
Illustration No. 5

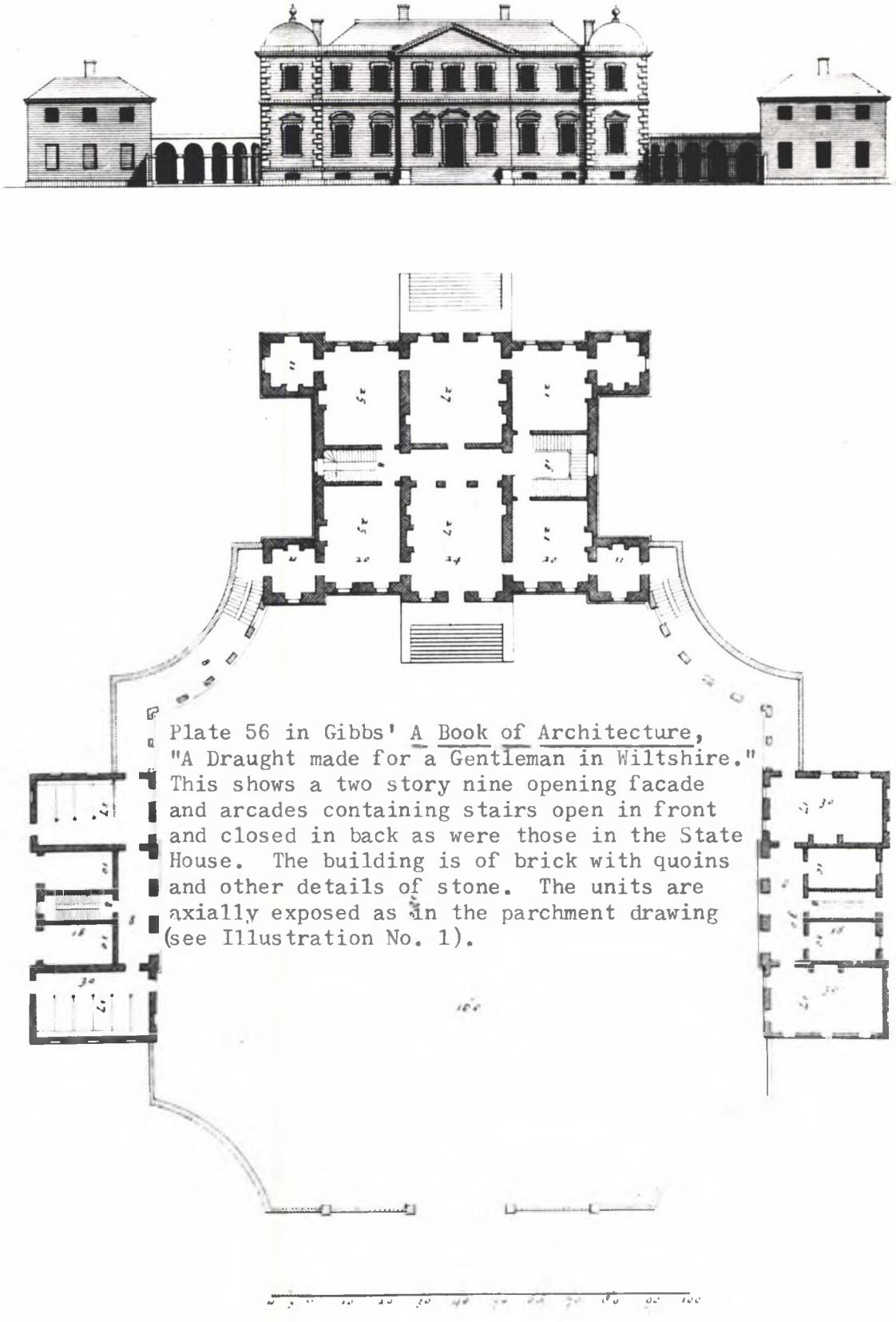
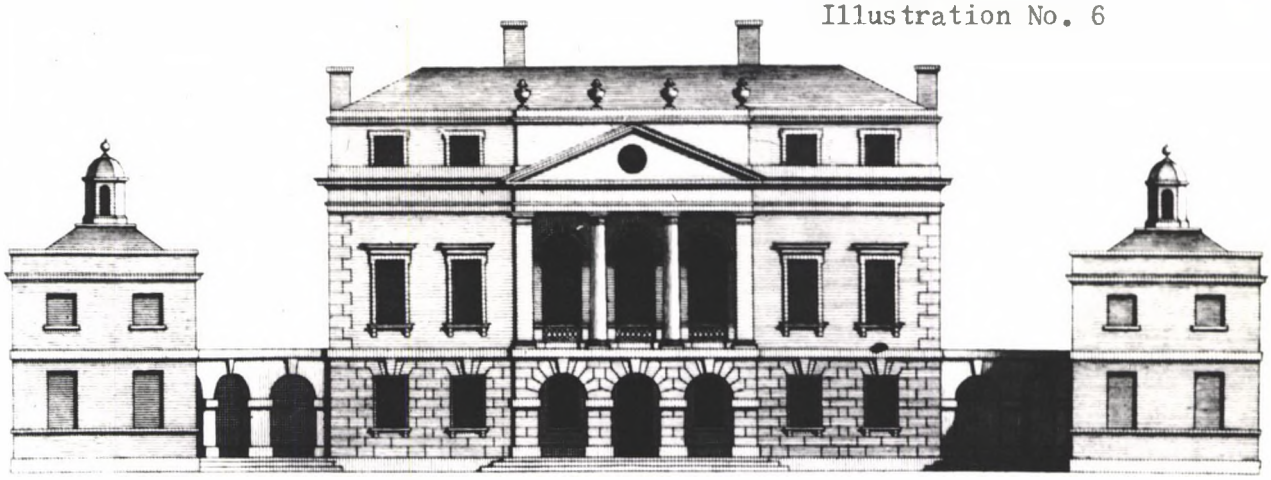


Plate 56 in Gibbs' A Book of Architecture, "A Draught made for a Gentleman in Wiltshire." This shows a two story nine opening facade and arcades containing stairs open in front and closed in back as were those in the State House. The building is of brick with quoins and other details of stone. The units are axially exposed as in the parchment drawing (see Illustration No. 1).

Jacobs Gibbs Architecto



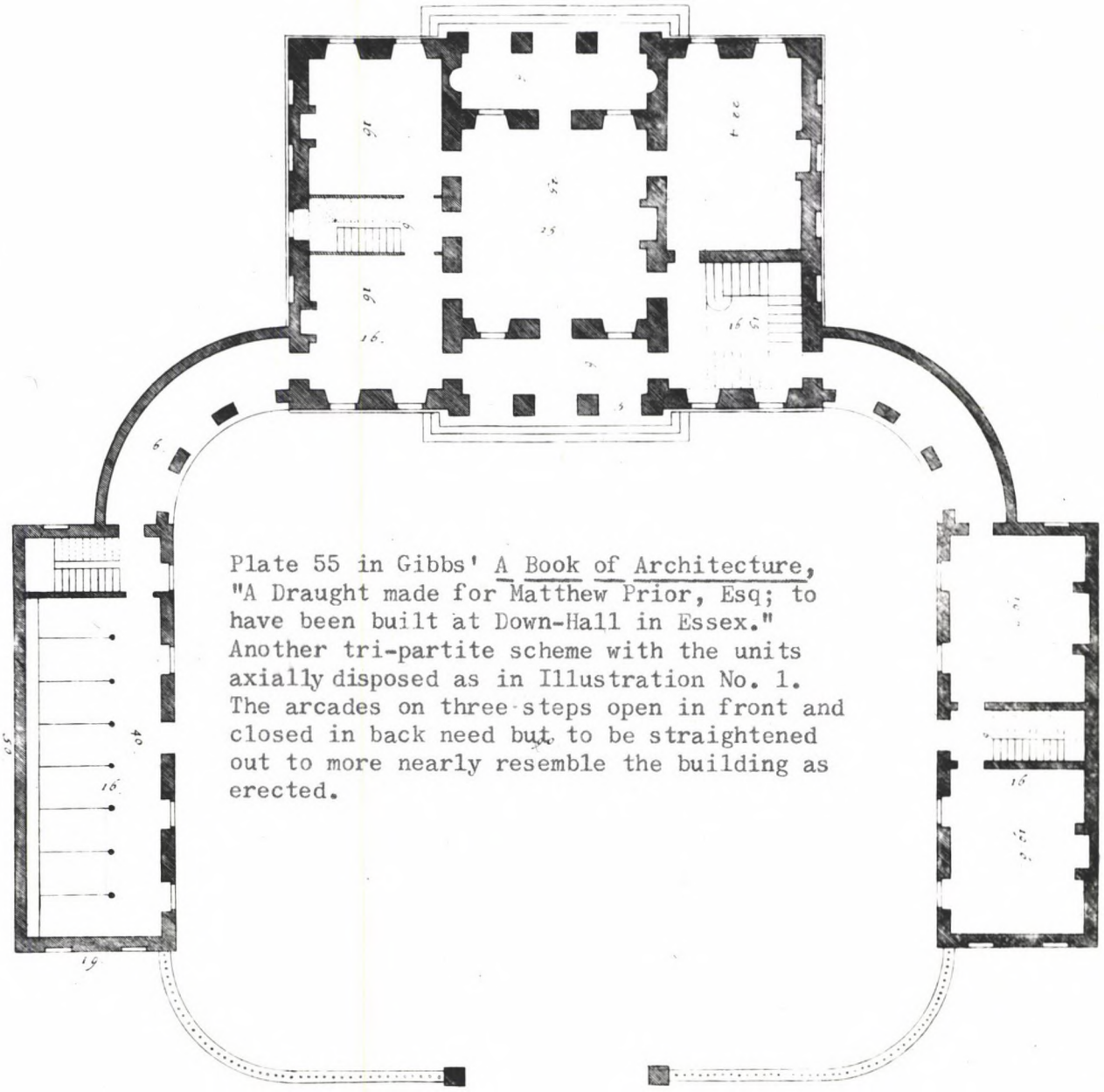
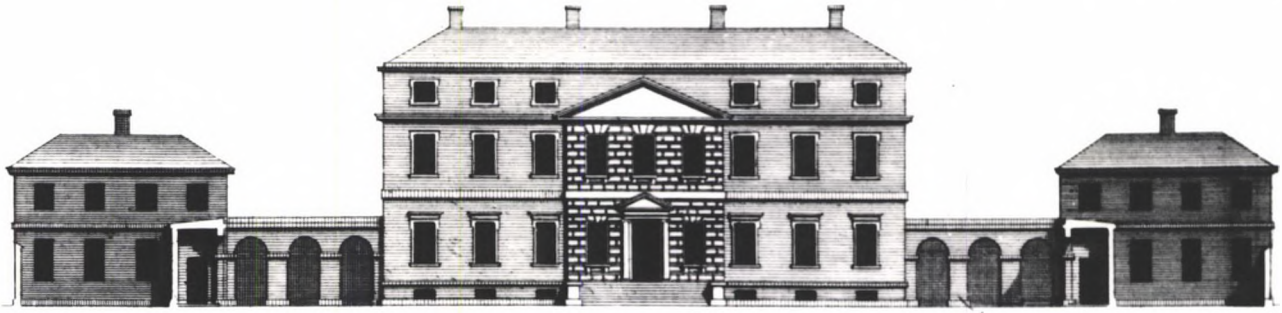


Plate 55 in Gibbs' A Book of Architecture, "A Draught made for Matthew Prior, Esq; to have been built at Down-Hall in Essex." Another tri-partite scheme with the units axially disposed as in Illustration No. 1. The arcades on three steps open in front and closed in back need but to be straightened out to more nearly resemble the building as erected.

Chapter II
Illustration No. 7



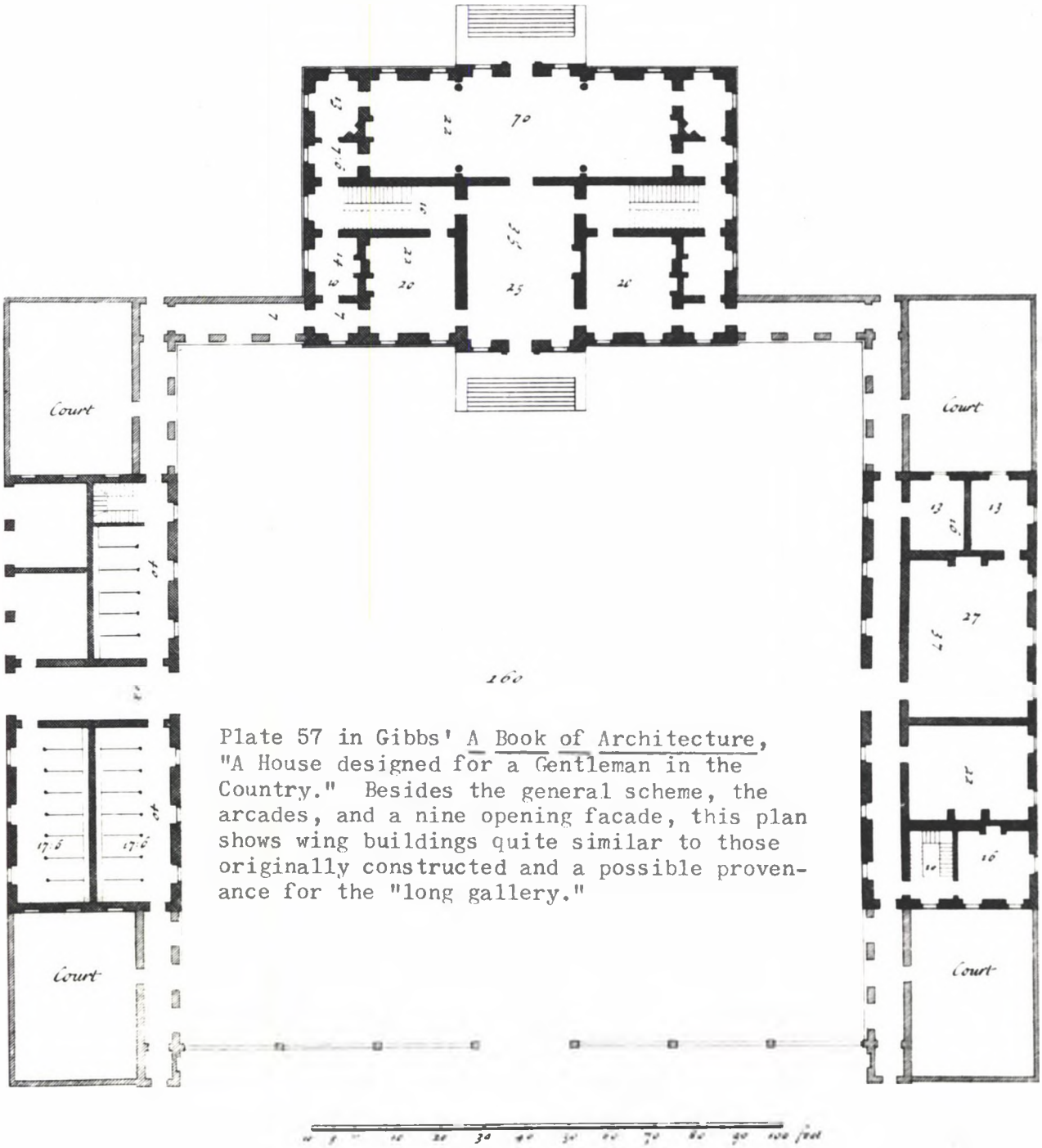
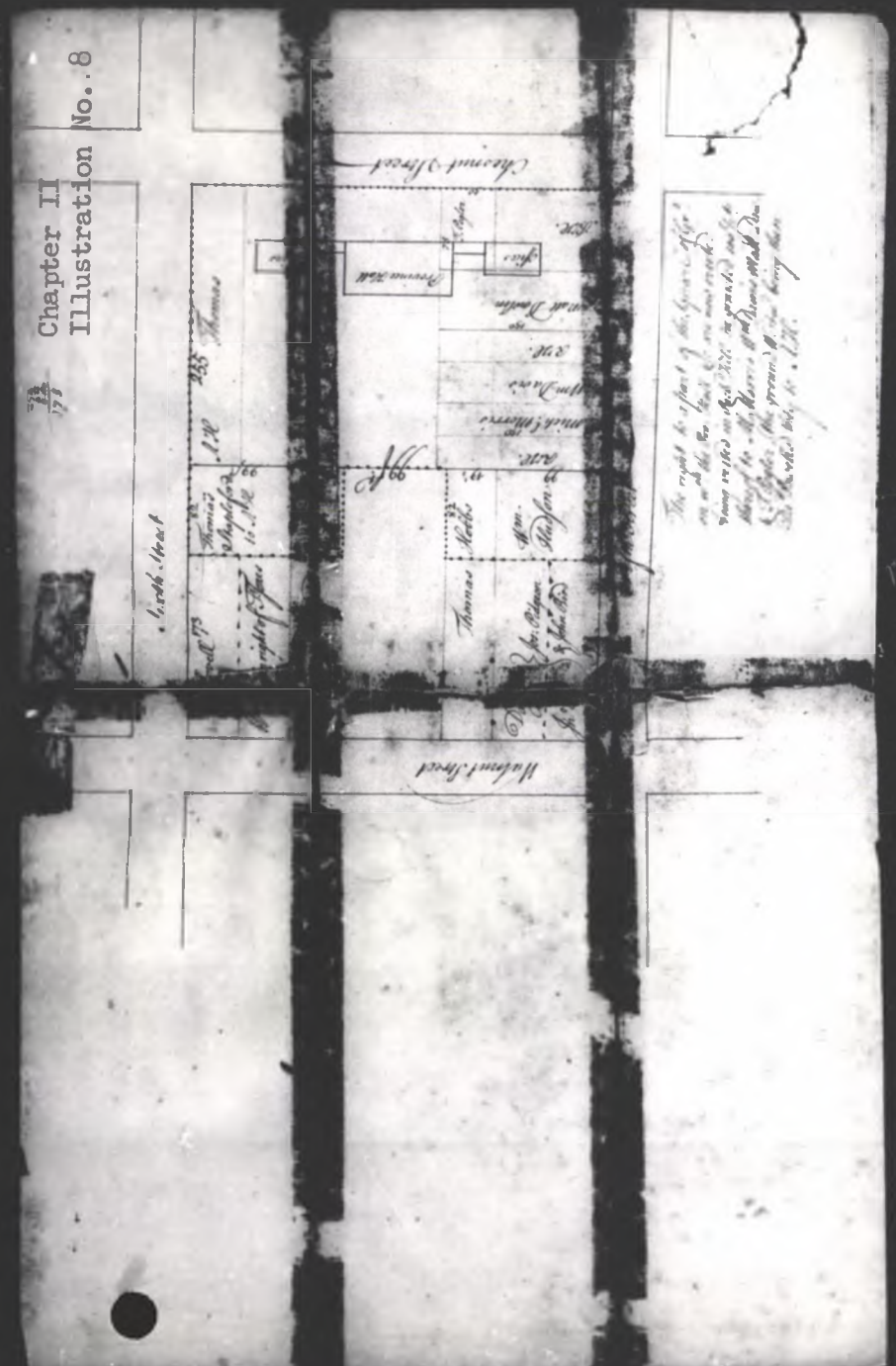


Plate 57 in Gibbs' A Book of Architecture, "A House designed for a Gentleman in the Country." Besides the general scheme, the arcades, and a nine opening facade, this plan shows wing buildings quite similar to those originally constructed and a possible provenance for the "long gallery."

James Gibbs Architecto

H Hulsbergh Sculp

Chapter II
Illustration No. 8



WILLIAM S. LIVENGOOD, JR.
SECRETARY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

WARREN J. DANIEL
DIRECTOR OF LAND OFFICE BUREAU

COMMONWEALTH of PENNSYLVANIA

To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:

THAT IN TESTIMONY THIS IS A PHOTO COPY OF AN ORIGINAL Record REMAINING ON FILE IN THE LAND OFFICE BUREAU OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

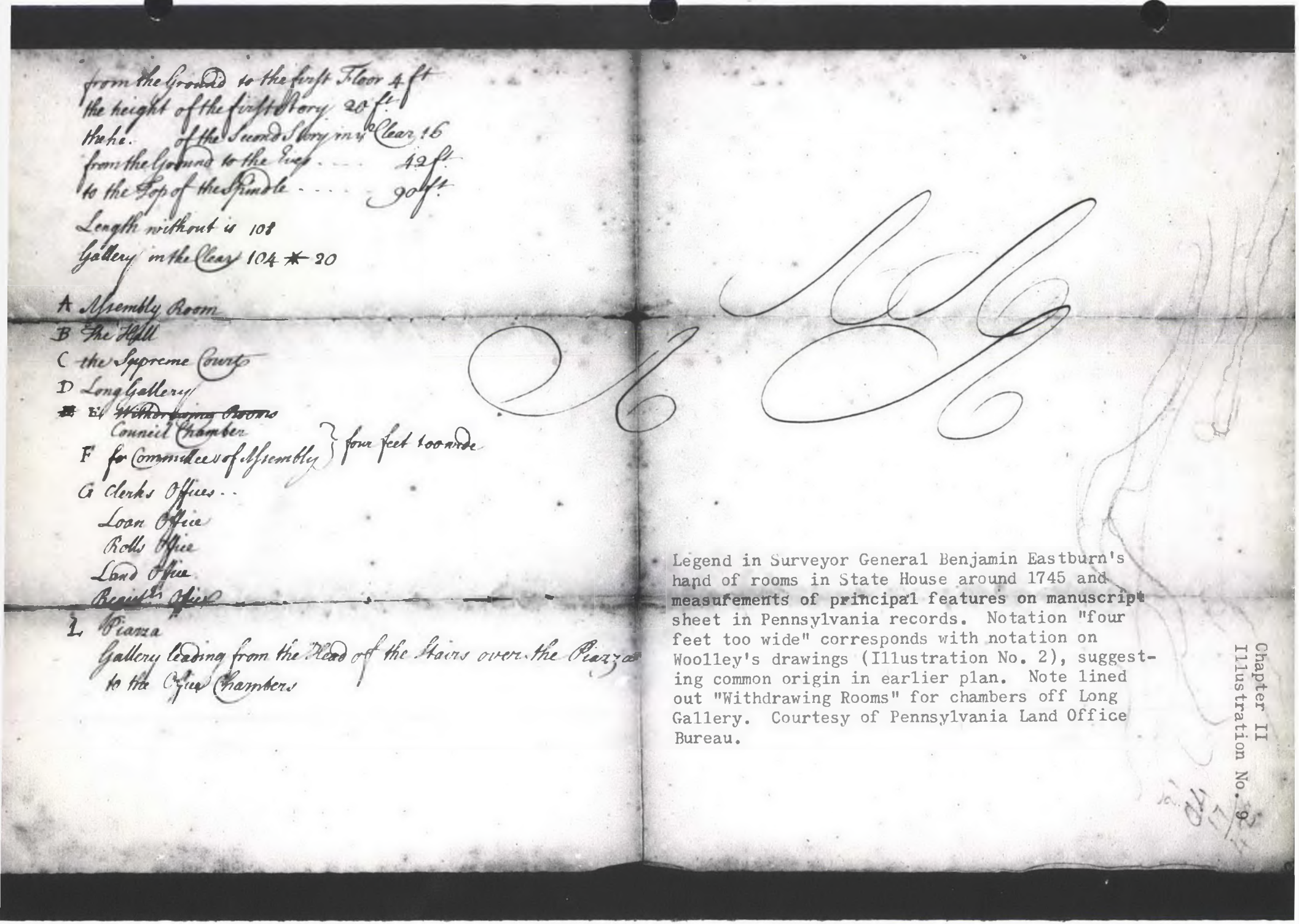
I HAVE HEREUNTO SET MY HAND AND CAUSED THE SEAL OF SAID DEPARTMENT TO BE AFFIXED AT HARRISBURG THIS 30th DAY OF April A.D. 1952

S. C. BRAUCHER,
DEPUTY SECRETARY OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

State House Square

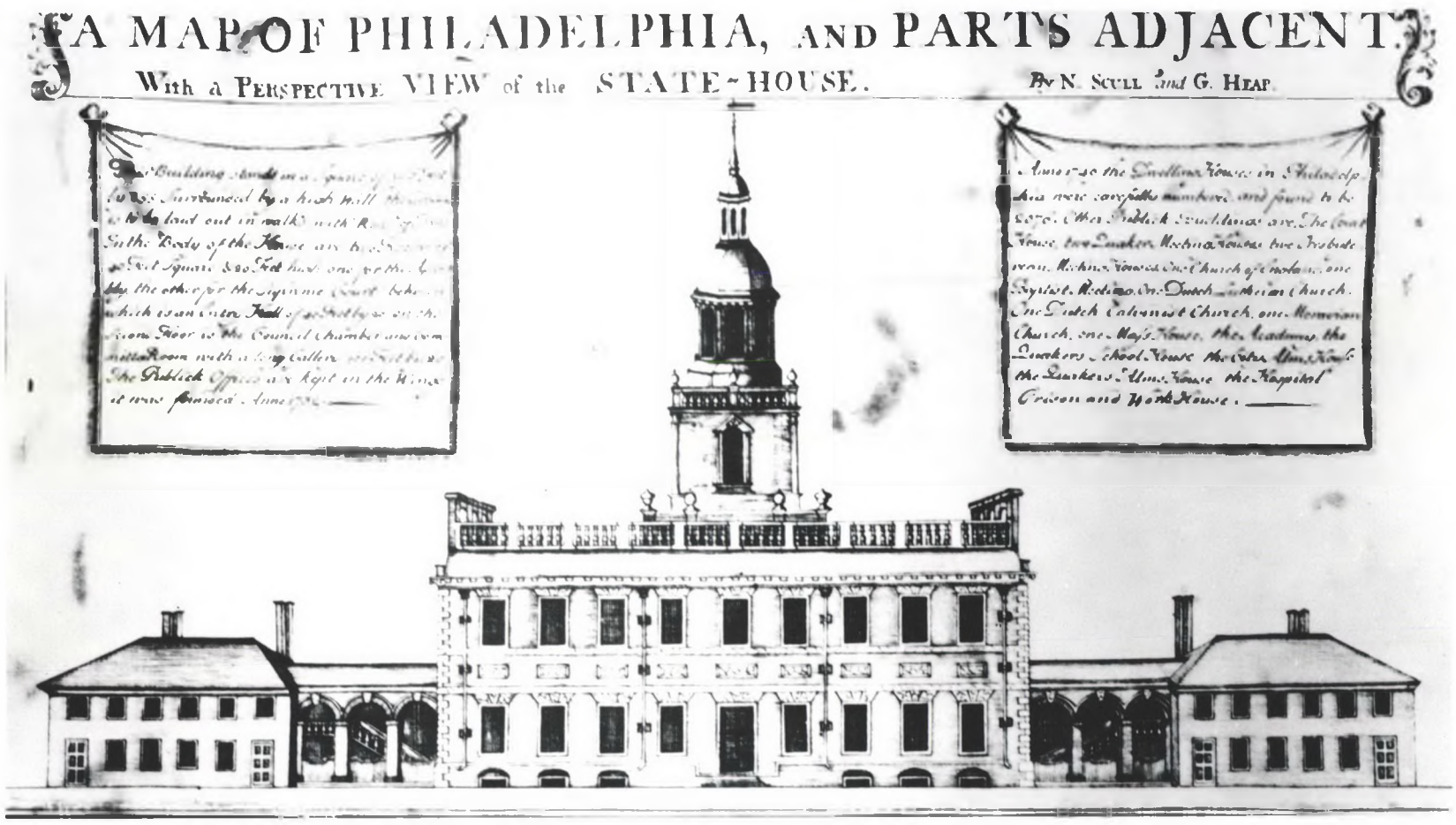
LD 86-263

No 149



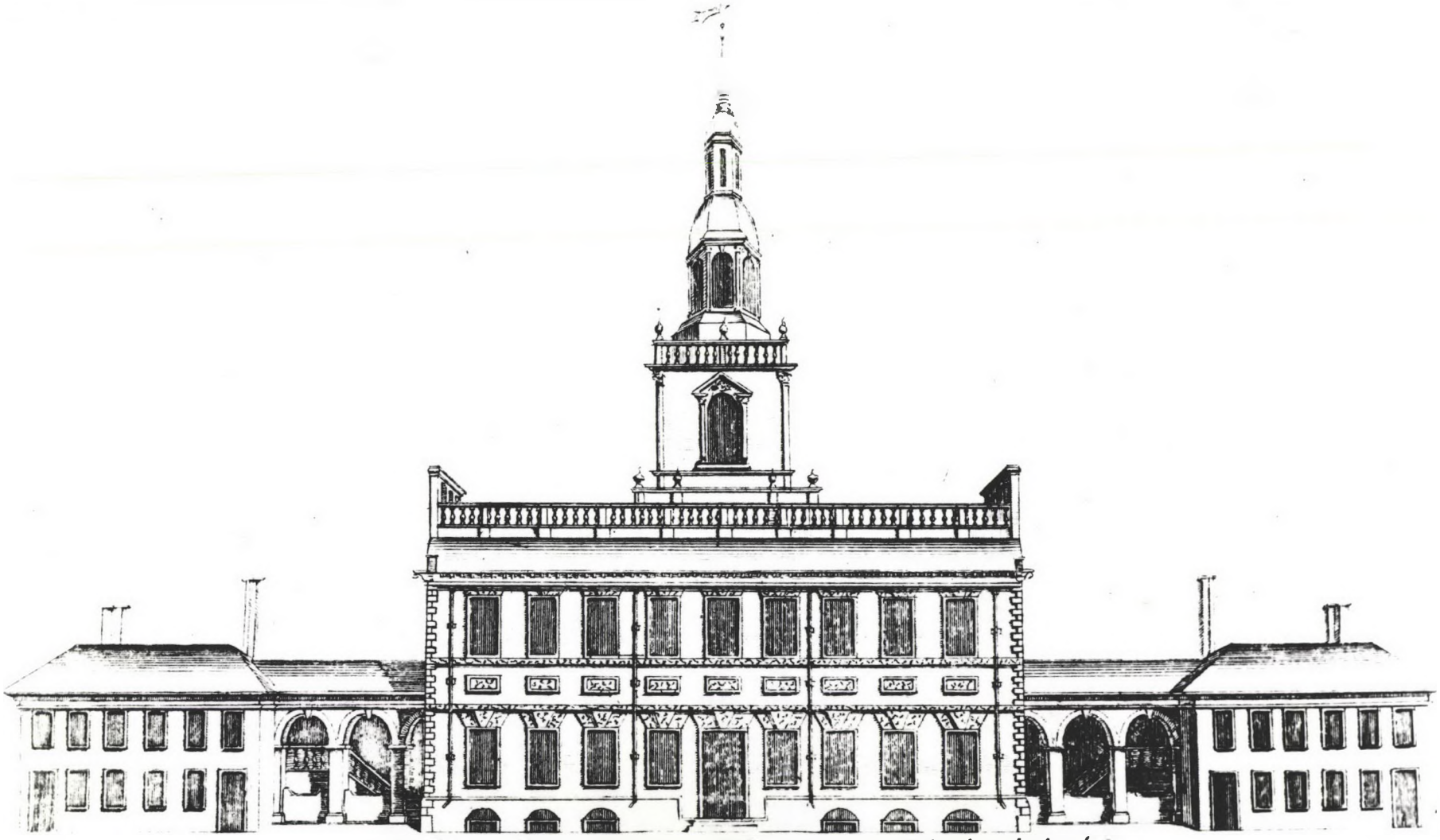
Legend in Surveyor General Benjamin Eastburn's hand of rooms in State House around 1745 and measurements of principal features on manuscript sheet in Pennsylvania records. Notation "four feet too wide" corresponds with notation on Woolley's drawings (Illustration No. 2), suggesting common origin in earlier plan. Note lined out "Withdrawing Rooms" for chambers off Long Gallery. Courtesy of Pennsylvania Land Office Bureau.

Chapter II
Illustration No. 9



Earliest known view of State House, made before erection of steeple (1750-1752), from Scull and Heap map. Among characteristic features are Gothick pedimented windows, caps, columns, and urns of steeple. Ten unit balustrade (now twelve), round downspouts, battlemented chimneys, and decorative stone effects of facade. Note ramped hand-rail of staircase in piazza on right and details of fences in piazza archways. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Chapter II
Illustration No. 10



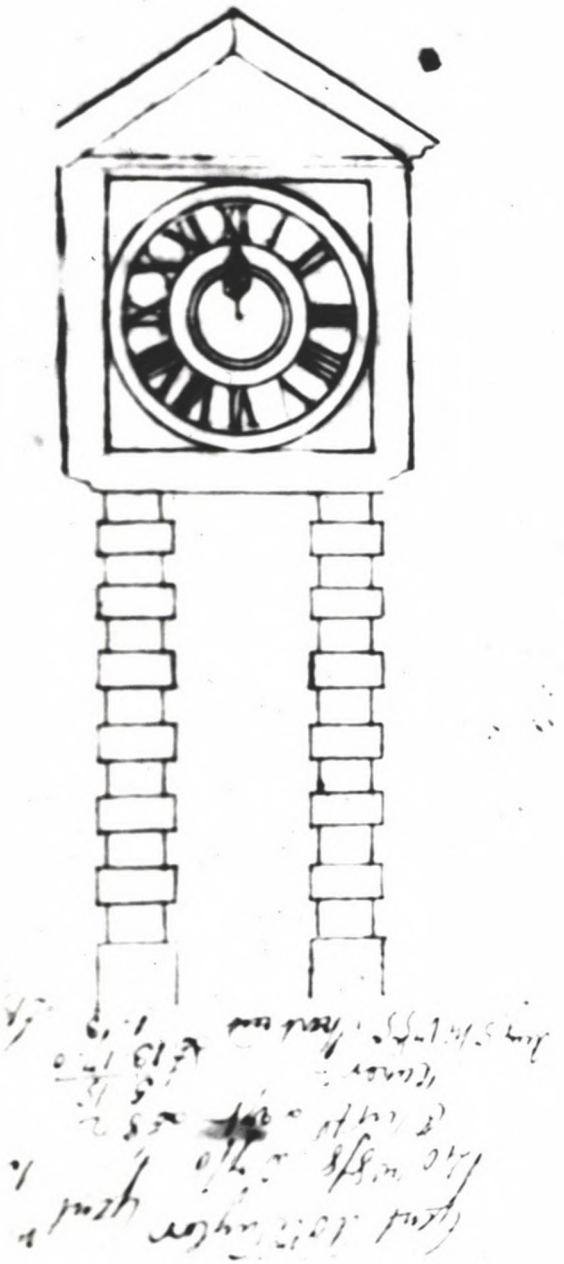
A View of the State-House in Philadelphia.

Adaptation of Scull and Heap map dated 1752.
Courtesy of Philadelphia Free Library.

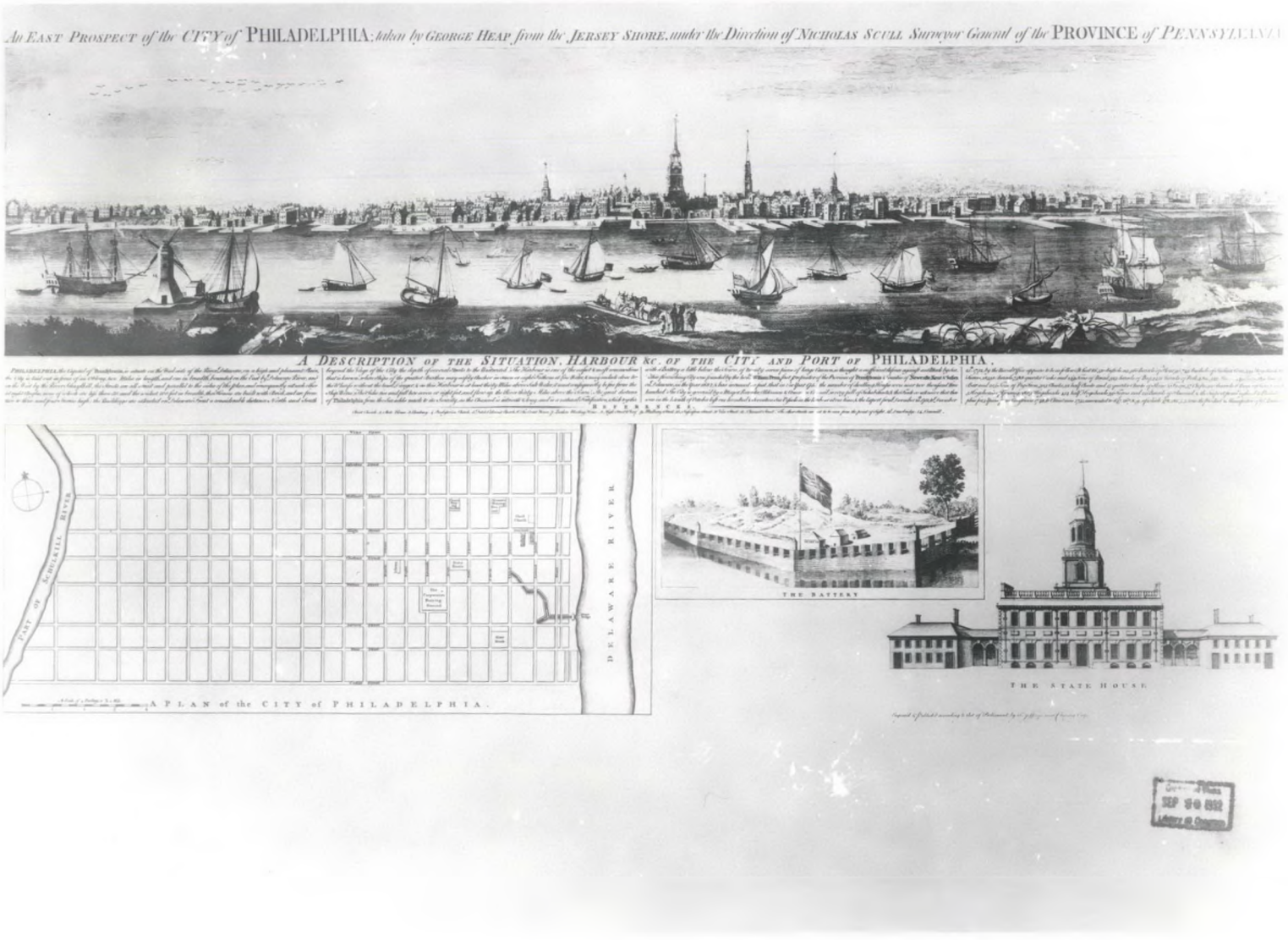


Undated drawing of State House in papers of Horace Wells Sellers, deposited in American Philosophical Society by National Park Service, believed to date from 1750-1759. Believed to be from the Norris Papers.

Chapter II
Illustration No. 12



Drawing of clock found in Norris Papers, showing rusticated clock case. Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



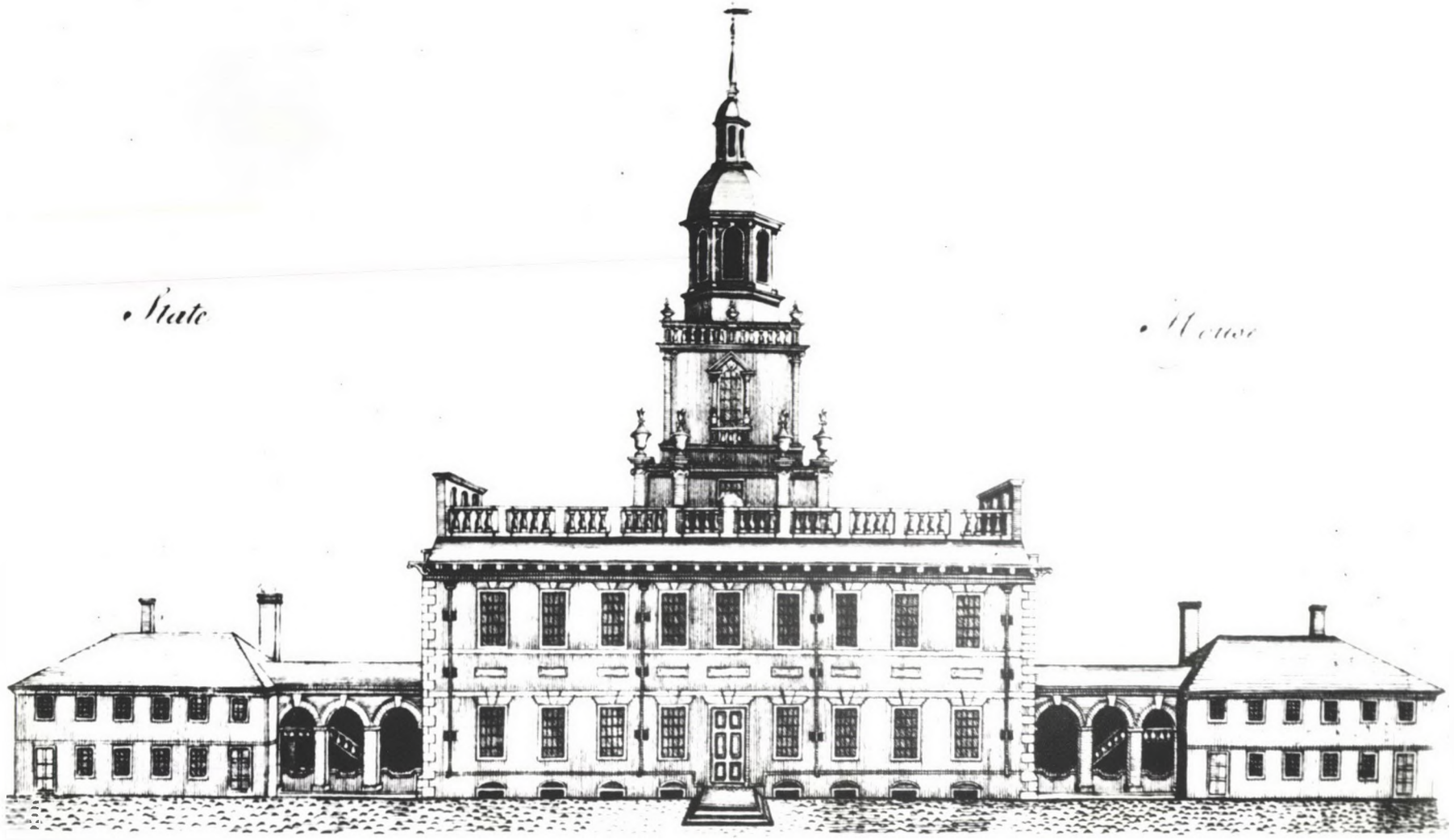
Another Scull and Heap adaptation, dating from 1753. "The Jefferys Map." Courtesy Library of Congress.

Chapter II
Illustration No. 14

Chapter II
Illustration No. 15



Yet another Scull and Heap adaptation, 1769; engraver R. Bennett.



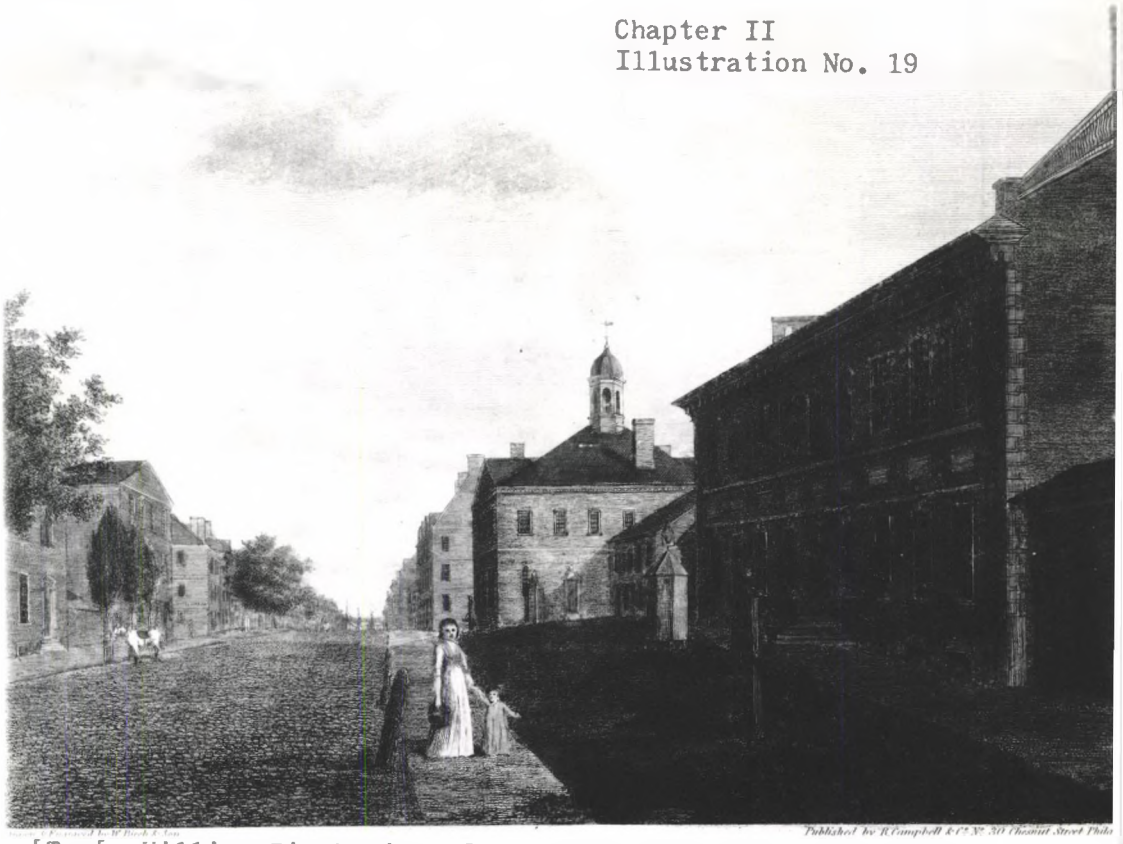
The John Reed view of the State House from 1774 map.
Note details of sash, band courses on wing buildings,
gothic windows showing balusters.



View of State House--engraving from C. W. Peale portrait of Conrad Gerard by Thackara, 1790, published in Columbian Magazine. Note quoins of clock base and sheds.



View of State House from Benjamin Davies map of 1794, following removal of steeple. Fences shown in all pre-Revolutionary prints have disappeared from archways (burned during occupation of Philadelphia?). Note especially doorways under piazza stair landings.



[Top[William Birch view of State House, 1799. Note lamp over front door.

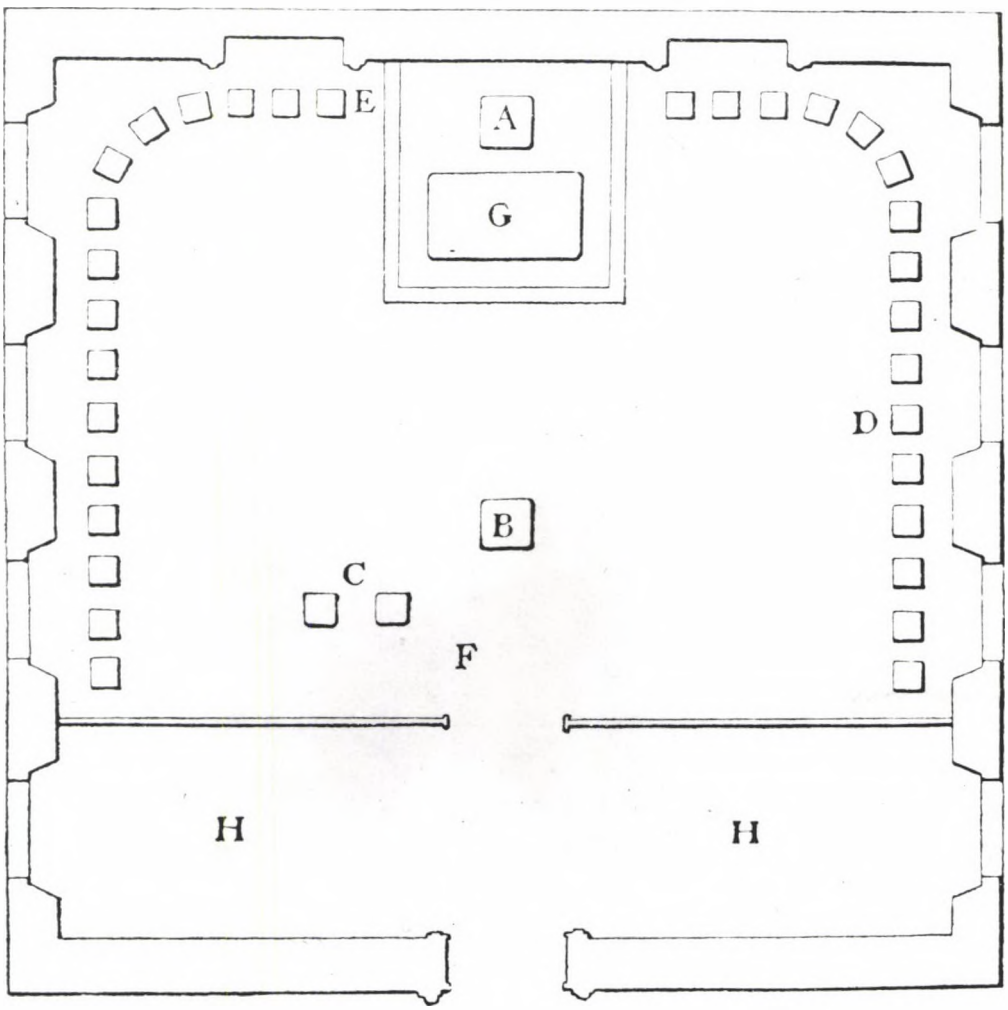
[Bottom] William Birch view, "Back of State House--1799," stovepipes protruding from window, showing tower after removal of steeple in 1781. Lamp over tower door



shows clearly. Note details of clock dial, case, and base, bell turret, and rear wall of piazza. Also steps on west wall of building.

PLAN

de la Seance du Congrès des Etats unis de l'Amerique
lors de la remise des lettres de creance
du Ministre Plenipotentiaire du Roi.

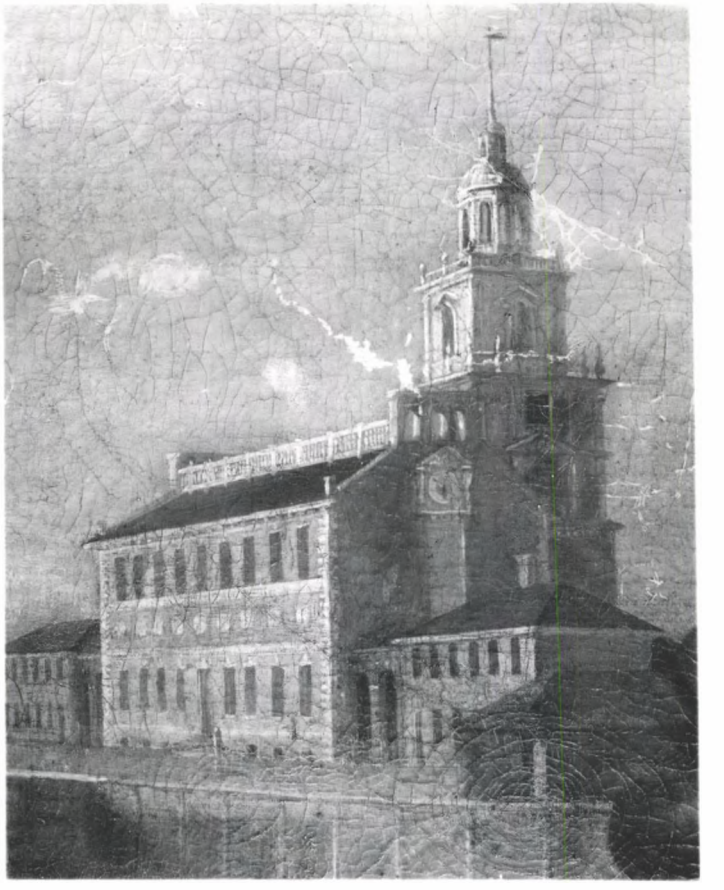


RENVOI.

A Fauteuil du Président
B Fauteuil du Ministre Plenipotentiaire
C Siéges du Comité
D Membres du Congrès
E Secrétaire du Congrès
F Secrétaire de Légation
en cortége debout
G Table couverte d'un tapis verd

Seating plan of the Assembly Room on August 6, 1778, when the French minister, Gérard, presented his credentials to the Congress. Courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania.

Chapter II
Illustration No. 21



The State House in 1778, a detail
from C. W. Peale's portrait of Gérard

Draft ground plan of State House and State House Yard, with dimensions, prepared in 1783. Note doorway in south wall of east piazza. This is the only known ground plan of the original piazzas and wings and of the Committee Room. Note very faint, and unexplained, penciled box at south side of Committee Room.

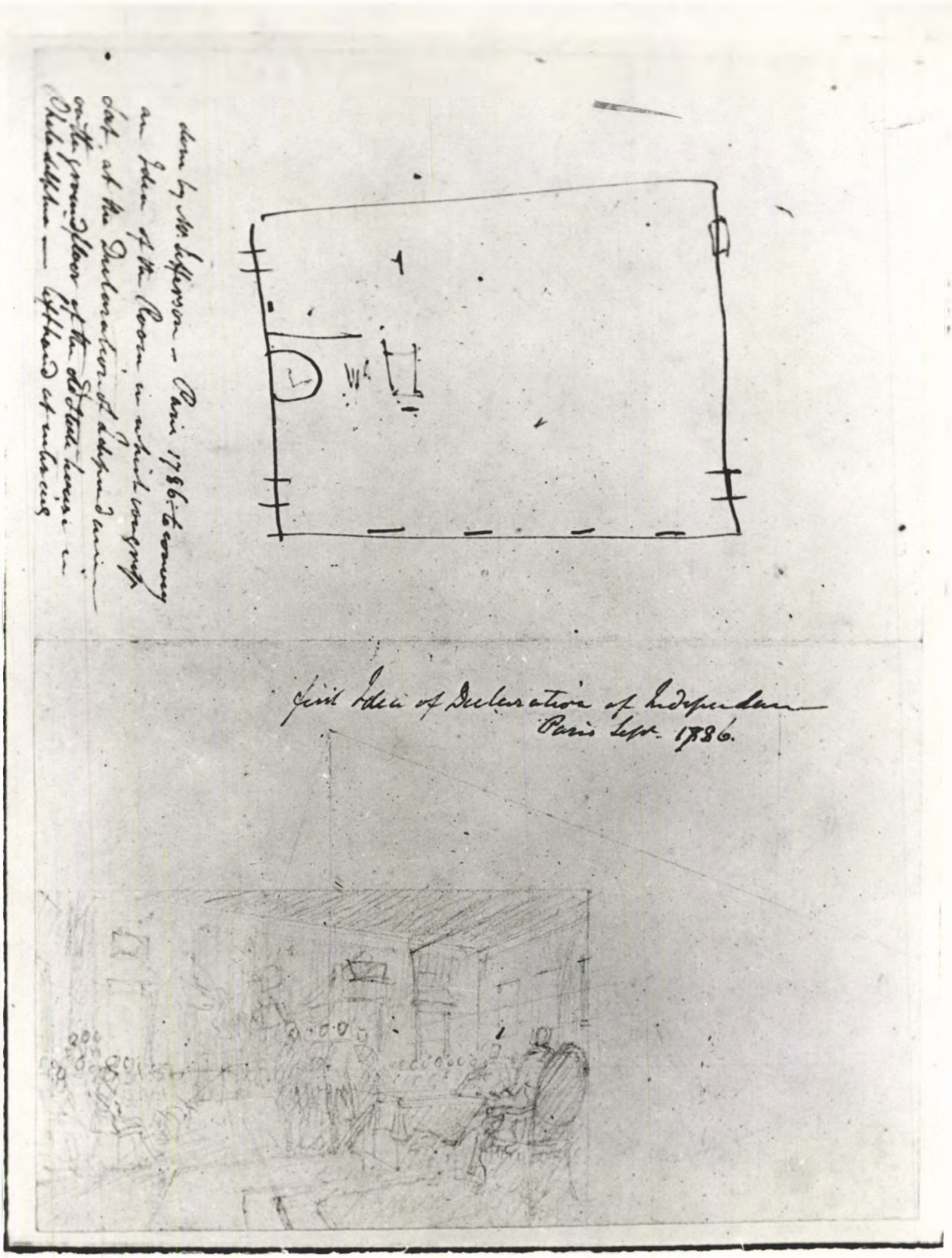


The above is the dimensions of the ground plan of the State House
Measured the 6th Day of November 1783

Ground plan of the State House dated November 6, 1783. Note doorway in south wall of west piazza. This seems to be a fair copy of Illustration No. 22.



"View of Several Public Buildings in Philadelphia" from Columbian Magazine, 1790. This is the only known view of the rear of the west wing (just to the right of Congress Hall) and of the Committee Room (to right of steeple). The original steeple is shown, though it had been razed nine years before this view appeared.



Sketches for John Trumbull's "The Declaration of Independence," made in Paris in September 1786. The floor plan was drawn by Jefferson, the sketch by Trumbull. Guided by the author of the Declaration, Trumbull elected to c atch the event from the doorway of the Library and Committee Room, the members' entrance to the floor of Congress. Courtesy of the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts.



First version of Trumbull's "The Declaration of Independence," completed in the 1790's. Courtesy of the Yale Gallery of Fine Arts.



The "rotunda" version of "The Declaration of Independence," completed in 1817 (reversed in printing).



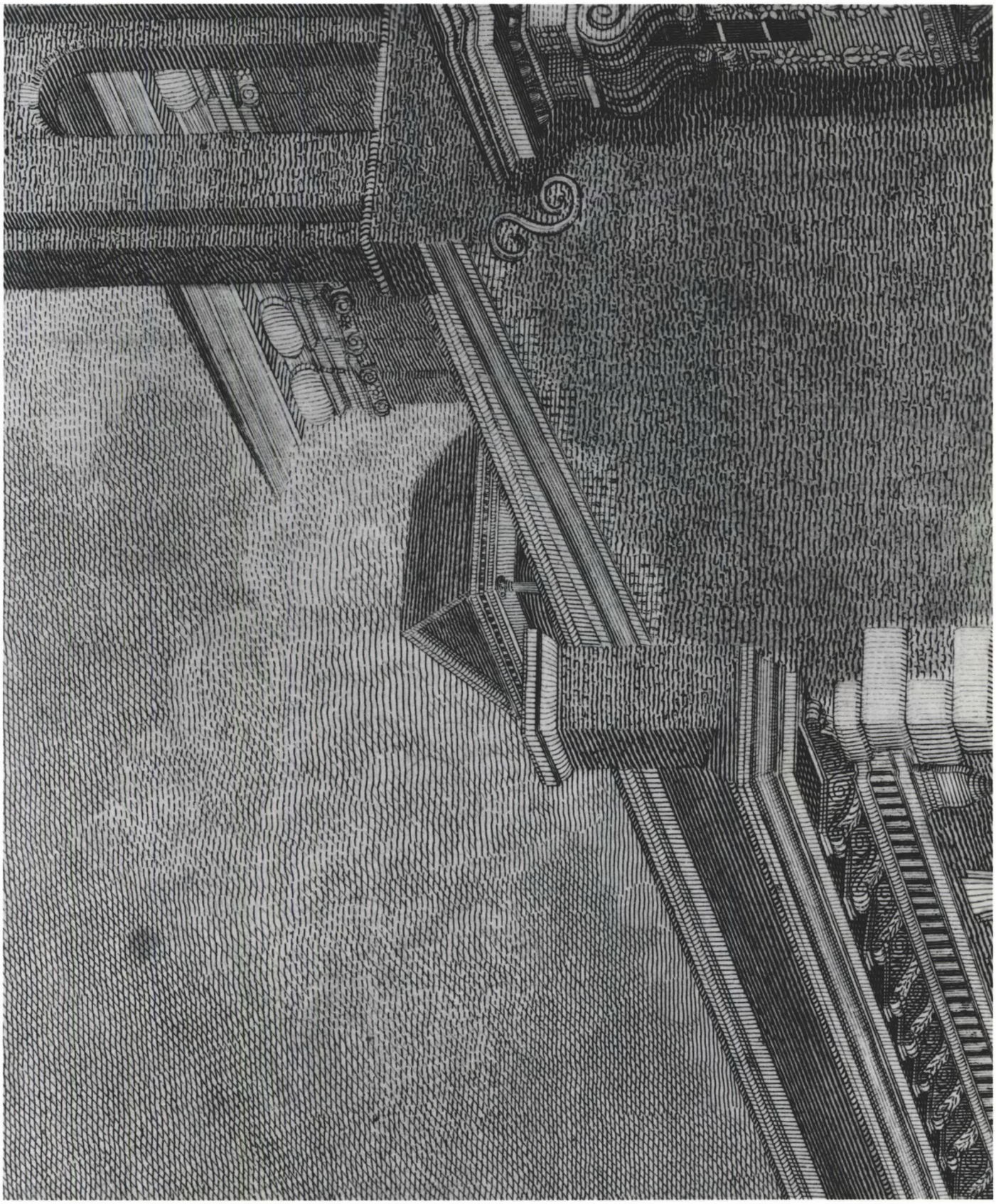
The Wadsworth Atheneum version of Trumbull's "The Declaration of Independence." Note the change in Trumbull's treatment of the room, especially the single door.

Birch view of Independence Hall from the west, made in 1804. Note Charles Willson Peale's museum sign over front door.



Old STATE HOUSE, CONGRESS HALL and TOWN HALL,

Chesnut Street PHILADELPHIA.

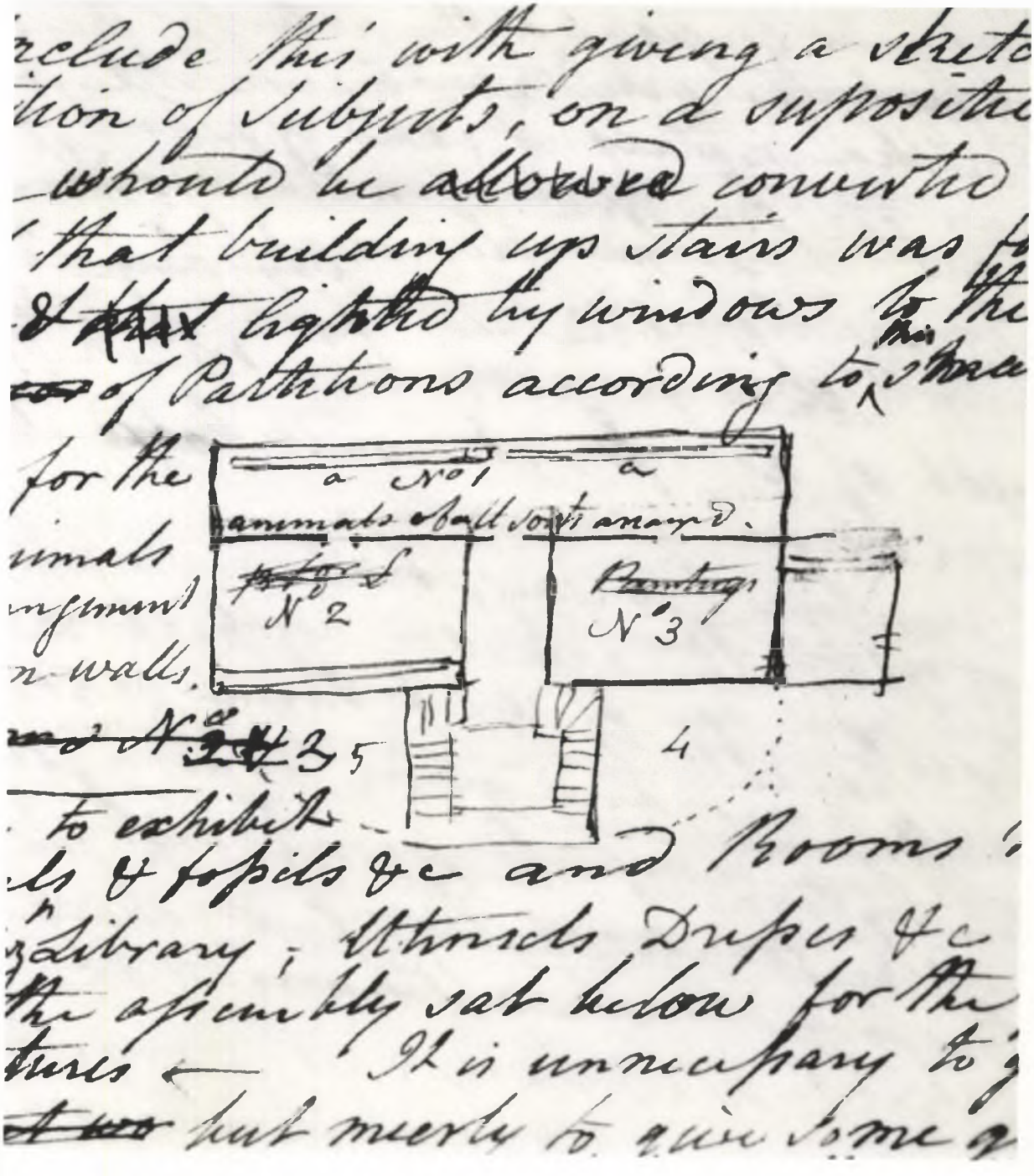


Detail from Krimmel's "Election Day--1815." Among other details, note especially the turret cornice. The report of the committee appointed to examine the condition of the State House, read September 9, 1784, recommended "The turret roof requires new shingling, and a plain cornice continued round it to cast the rain clear of the walls." The cornice, as shown, is quite elaborate and is supported directly without benefit of architrave or frieze on columns with Scamozzi Ionic caps, or maybe a variety of Corinthian.

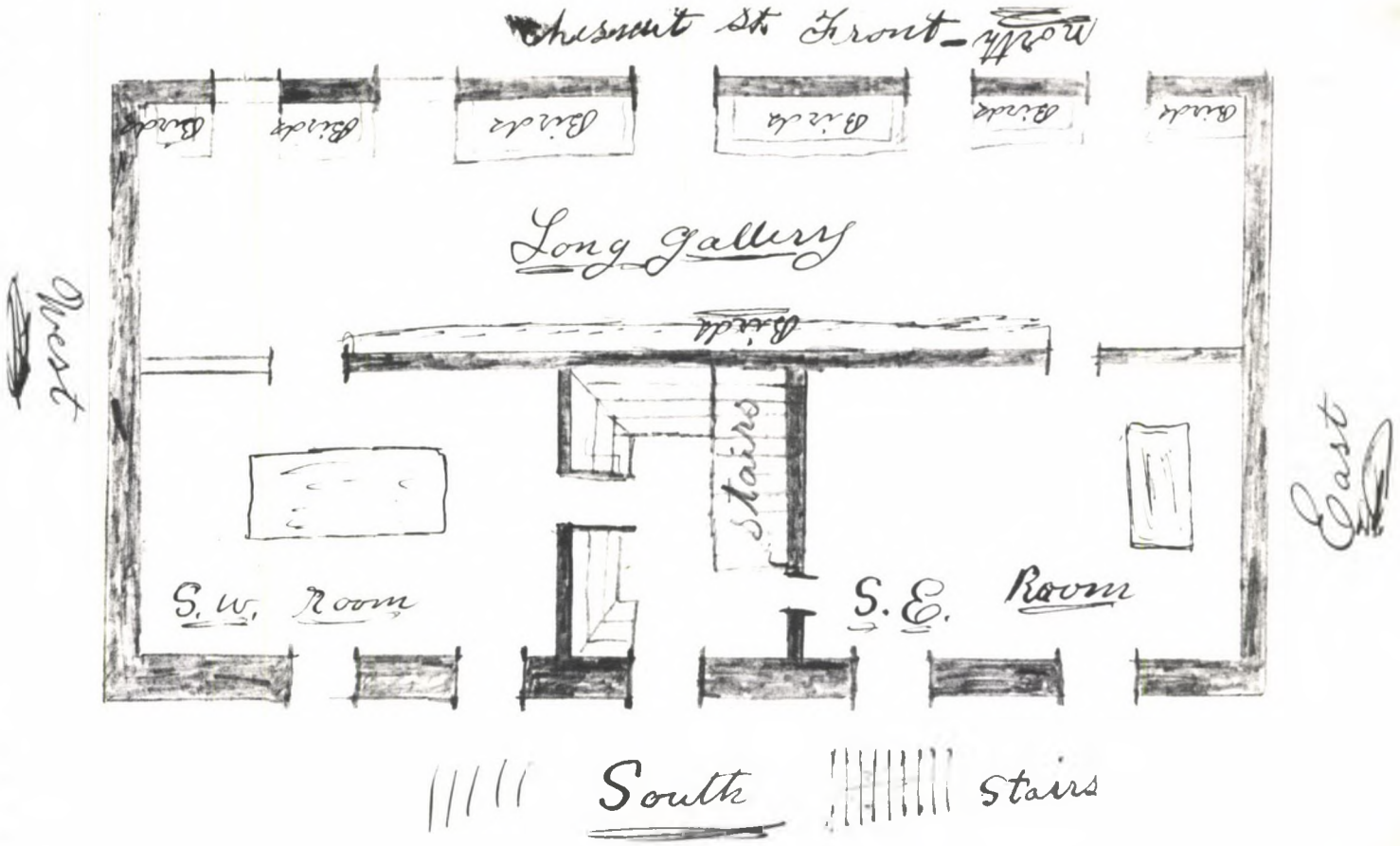
ETATS - UNIS



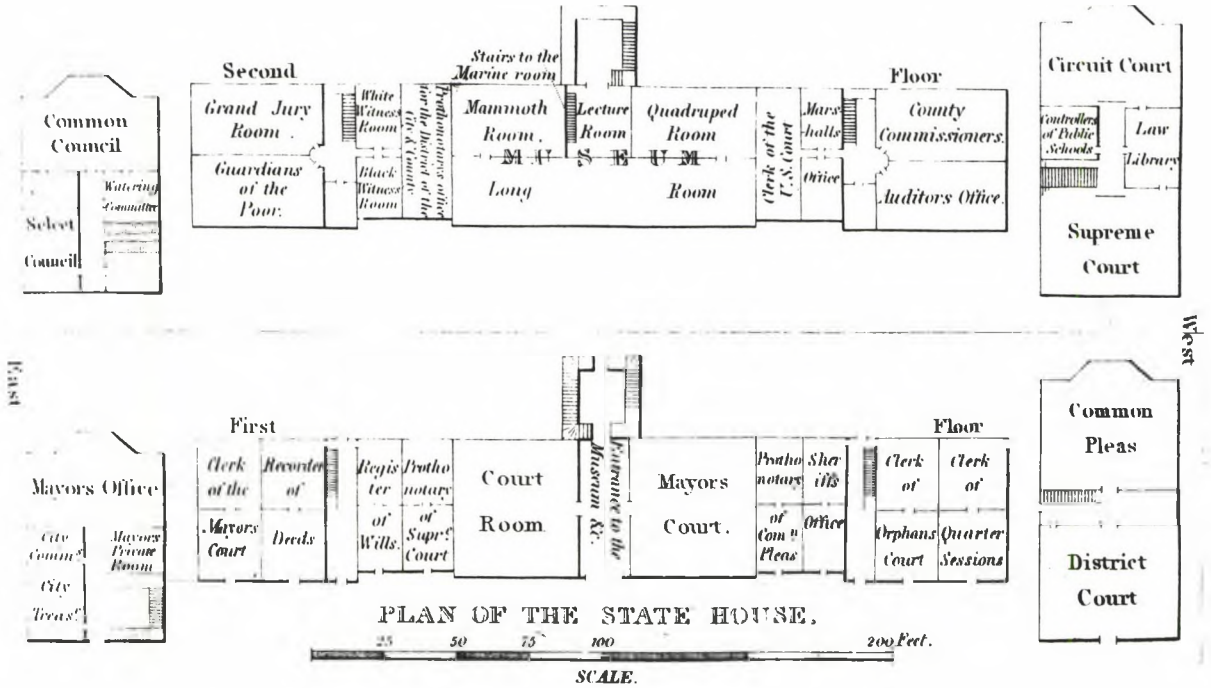
Independence Hall in 1825. Note details of bell turret cornice, center of roof.



Rough sketch of Peale's proposed arrangement of Second floor of State House, 1800, Peale Letterbooks, III, 68, American Philosophical Society. Note doorway between lobby and Long Room which was not included in later plans by Peale. Note also the inclusion of the Library and Committee Room. This is the only known representation of the location of the entrance to the Library and Committee Room from the State House Yard.



Rough sketch of second floor of State House while occupied by Peale's Museum, as recalled in 1872 by James Lambdin--Etting Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Note location of doorways in lobby and between the Long Gallery and the rooms flanking the lobby, the lack of direct entry from lobby to Long Gallery, and the stairs in the lobby leading to the Marine Room in the Tower. Note also the inaccuracy with regard to the number of windows, which may be attributed to the passage of time.



An 1824 floor plan of the State House. Note room use and arrangement in the State House and Mills buildings, the location of stairs in the lobby to the Marine room in the tower, and the door arrangement on the second floor.

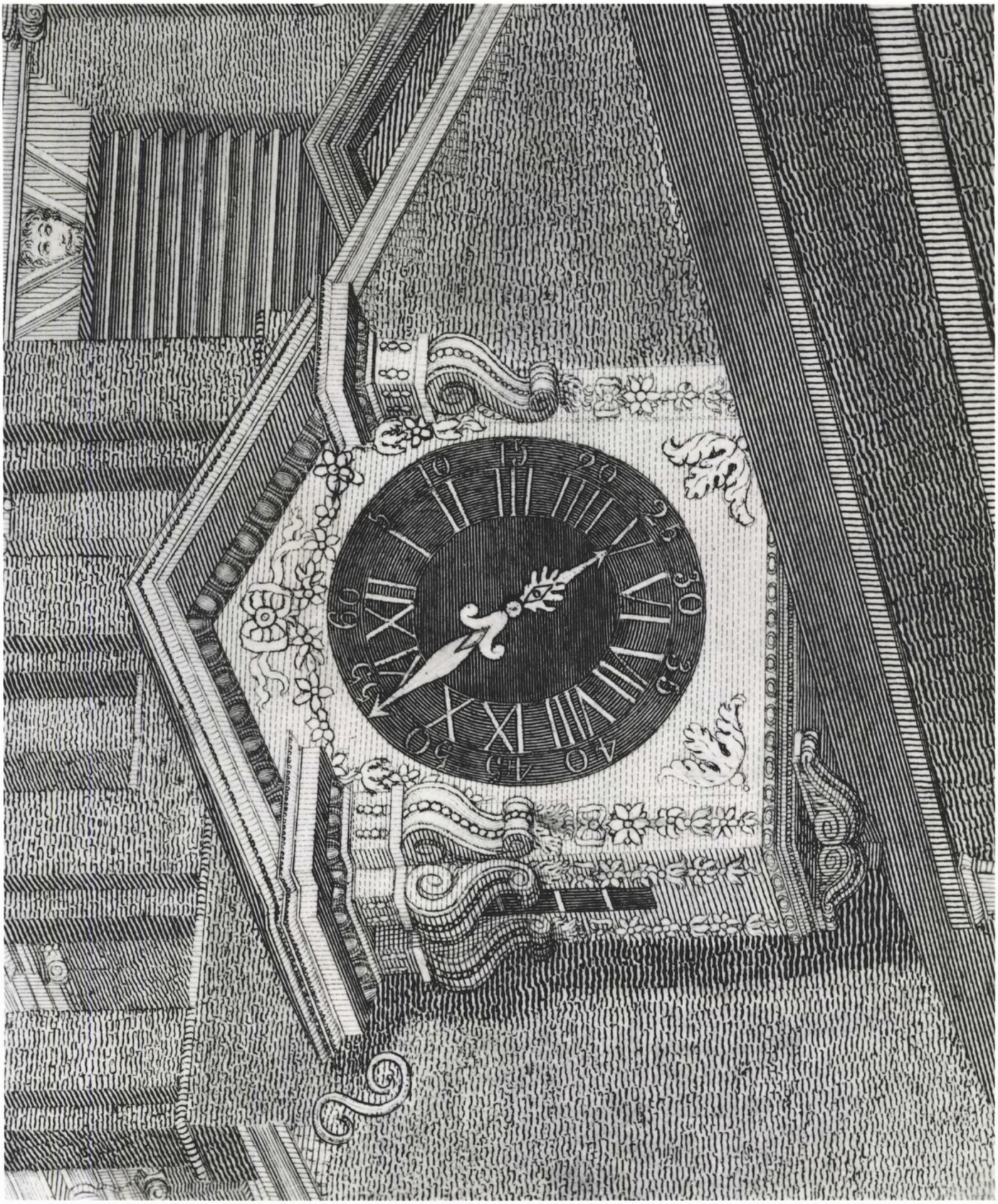


Titian Peale's watercolor, Interior of the Peale Museum. A view of the Long Gallery while in use by Peale to exhibit his portraits, natural history exhibit, and curiosities. Note cove ceiling, arrangement of exhibit cases, southern wall broken only by doors to the southeast and southwest rooms, and no direct access to lobby. Courtesy of Detroit Institute of Arts.

Chapter II
Illustration No. 35



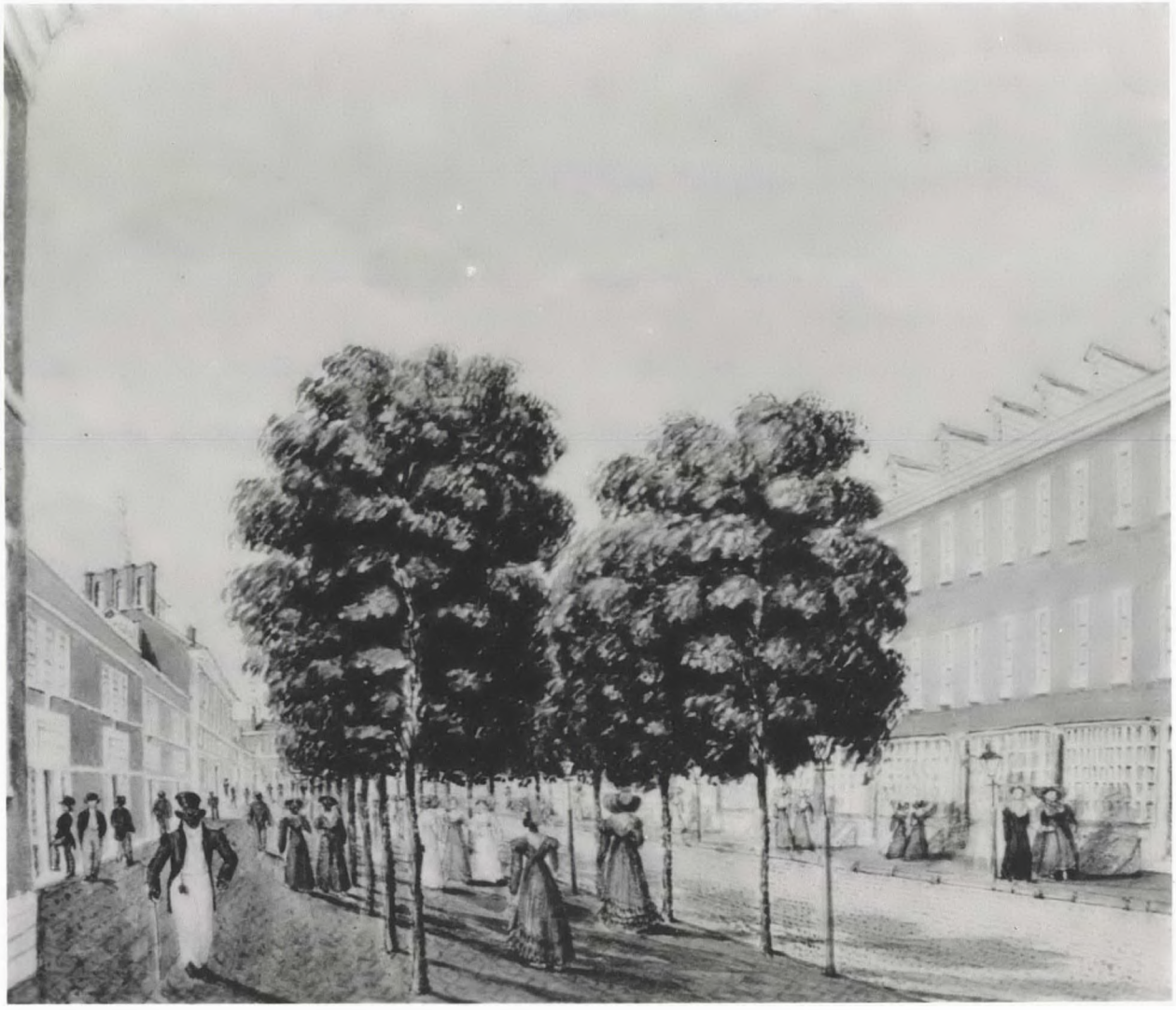
Detail of "Election Day, 1815," by John Lewis Krimmel. This delightful work by an artist known as the American Hogarth is the most detailed and accurate view of Independence Hall before the development of photography. It shows the building as it appeared just after completion of the Mills Buildings. Note round down spouts, the lamp over the front door and those on the piers between the first floor windows. The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum owns the original watercolor from which the engraving was made.



Detail of "Election Day--1815" by Krimmel. This view of the clock face on the west wall of the State House agrees with the bill of Samuel Harding, January 29, 1753, for carving of the clock on west wall. Note the carved face on the pediment on the tower, still in place after 208 years.



Parade Passing Independence Hall, 1821 by J. L. Krimmel. Note clock face on eastern wall of State House above Mills buildings. Courtesy of Springfield Art Museum, Springfield, Mo.

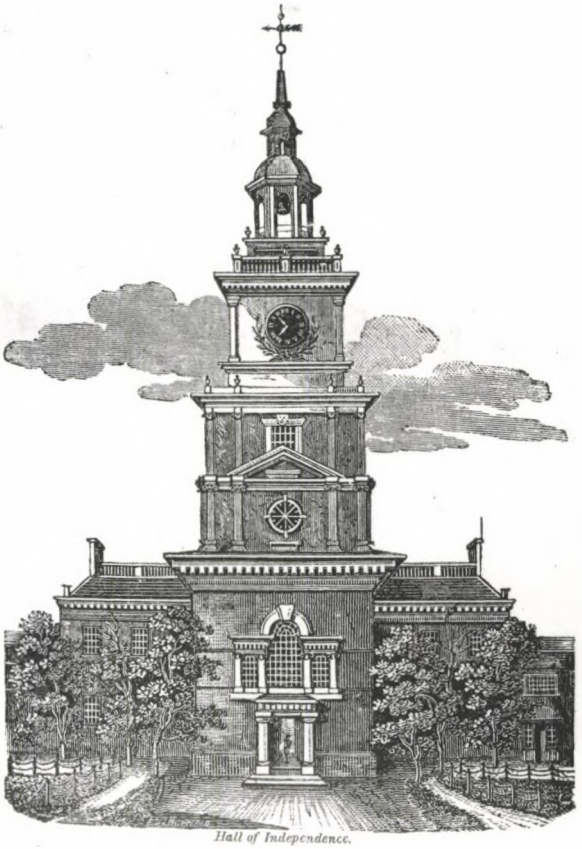


"State House at Philad. 1825." Note the Mills buildings, and the clock dial on eastern wall of State House. Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



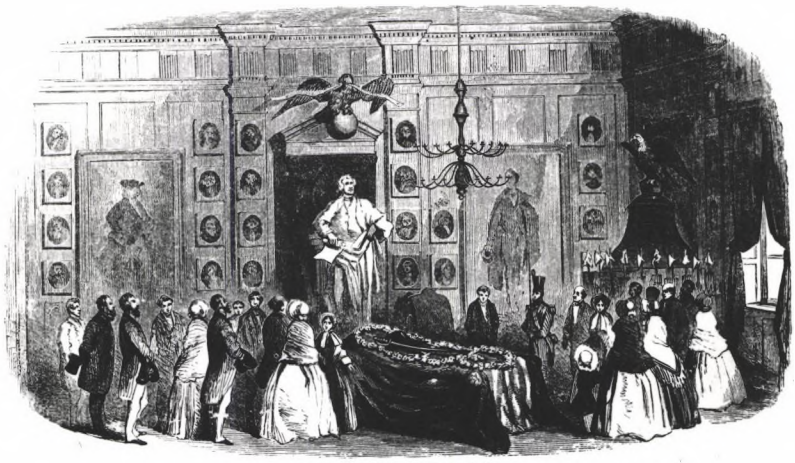
GENERAL LAFAYETTE'S ARRIVAL AT INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, SEPT. 28TH, 1824.

Independence Hall in 1824. Scene at State House at time of reception for Lafayette, with Strickland's Triumphal Arch in foreground.



Hall of Independence.

Independence Hall from Square in 1828. A very early view of Strickland's tower. Note bell in tower.



DR. KANE'S BODY LYING IN STATE,
In Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

View of Assembly Room in 1857 at time that explorer Elisha Kent Kane's body lay in state. Note the Haviland panelling, the entablature copied from Supreme Court Room (See Illustration No. 52) and the use of the room as a museum with the exhibition of a number of portraits, the Rush statue of Washington, and the Liberty Bell.

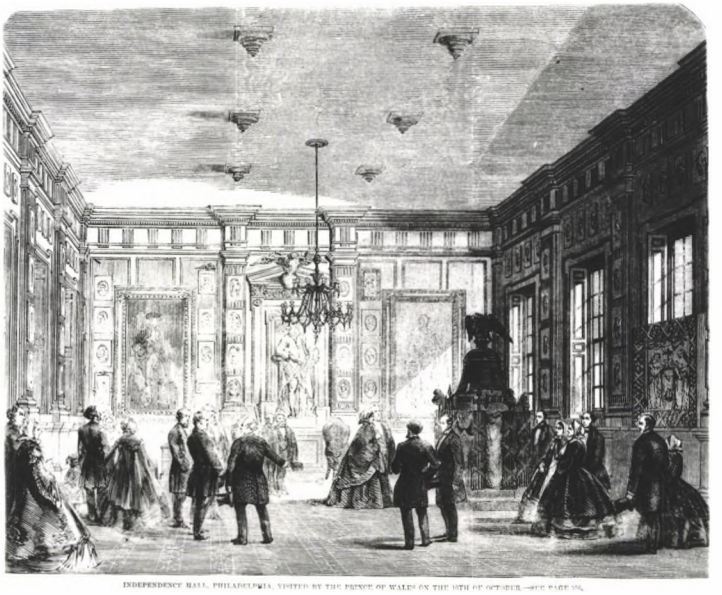


1859 - Rush's Statue of Wash

Photograph of East Wall of Assembly Room in 1859, showing Rush statue of Washington. Note Haviland panelling. Courtesy of Library Company of Philadelphia.



Photograph of Assembly Room before the Etting Restoration, in use as catchall for articles associated with the Revolutionary period, including the Rising Sun Chair and Liberty Bell.

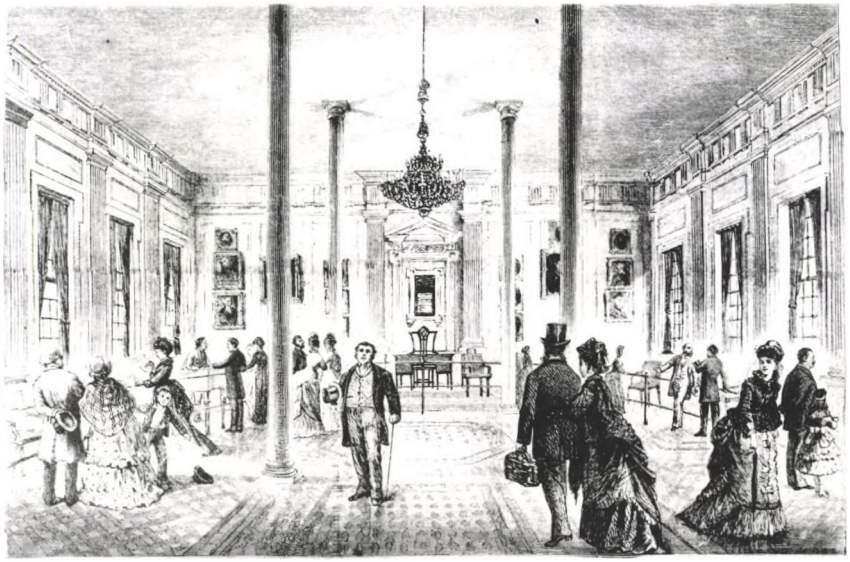


INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, VISITED BY THE PRINCE OF WALES ON THE 18TH OF OCTOBER.—SEE PAGE 376.

View of Assembly Room in 1860. Note the pendants from the hanger rods supporting the floor above.



Lithograph of the Assembly Room in 1856. Note the Haviland panelling, and the pendants against ceiling denoting rods from which hung the ceiling, and the tile floor.



Assembly Room in 1876 after the Etting restoration. Four pillars were installed by Etting in his attempt to restore the room. Courtesy of Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

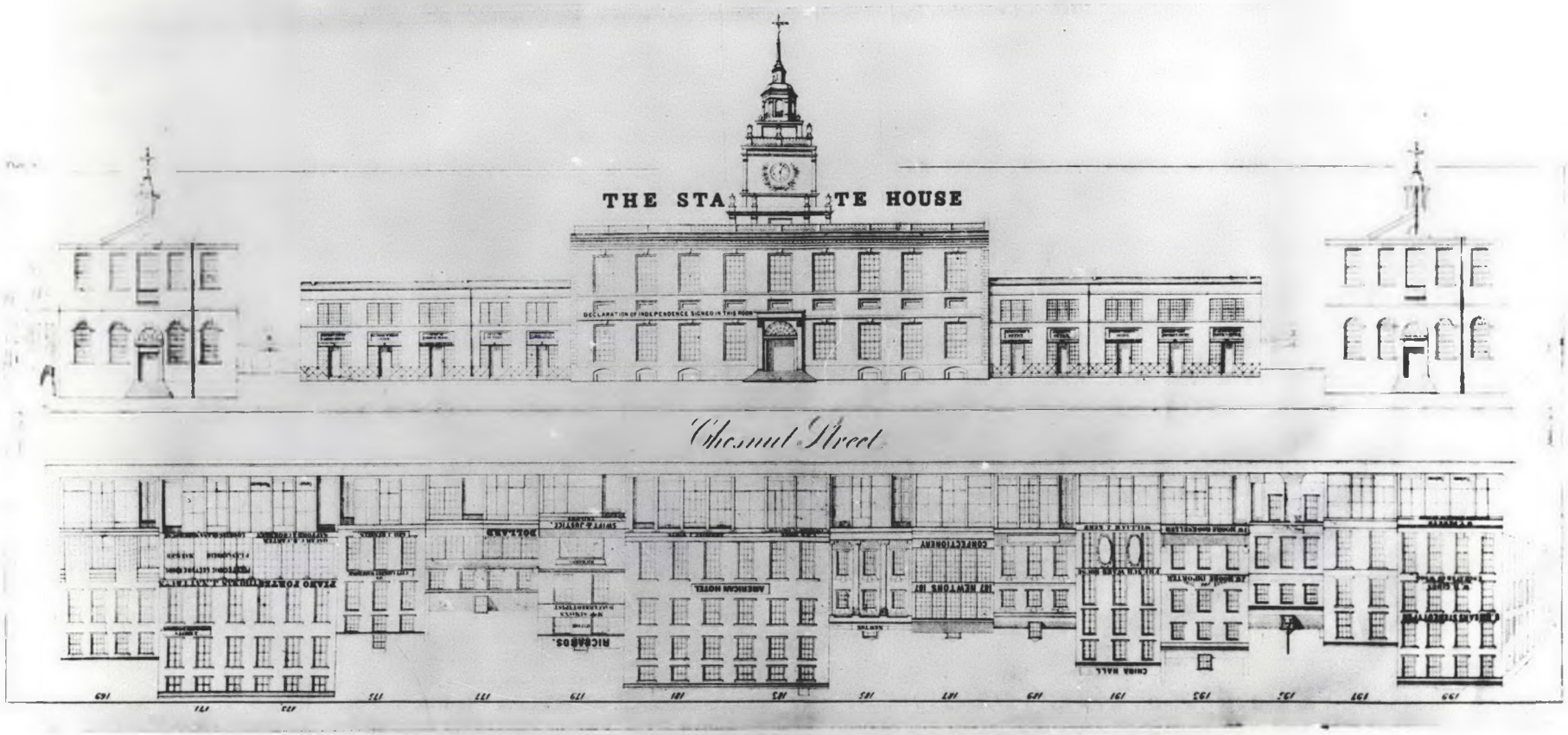
VIEWS IN NORTH AMERICA
taken from nature, June 1850, by the patent Talbotype process, by
W. & F. Langenheim, 216 Chestnut St. Phila. & 247 Broadway N. Y.
Series I. Penna.a
No 26.



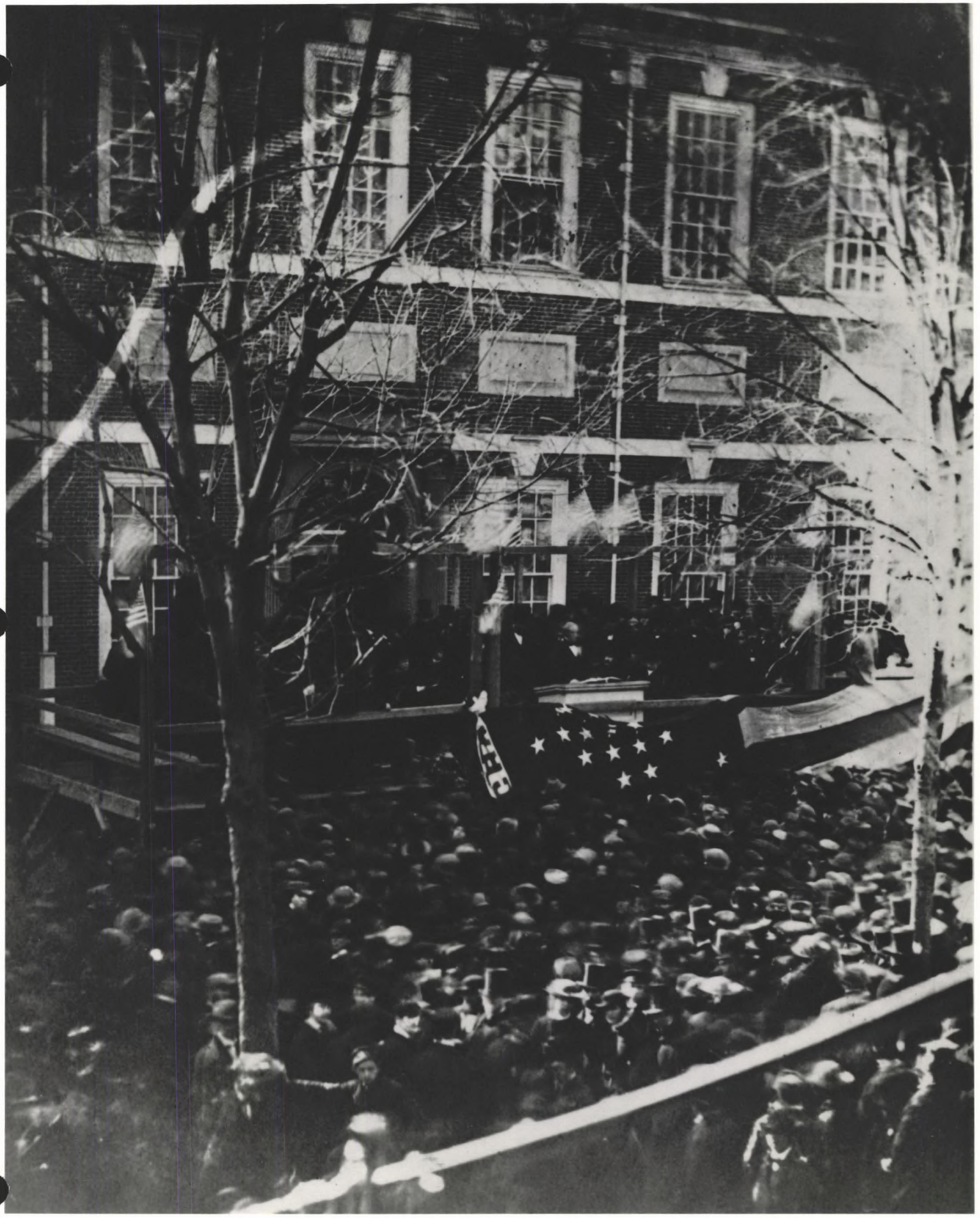
VIEW OF THE STATE HOUSE.

Phila. from the West.

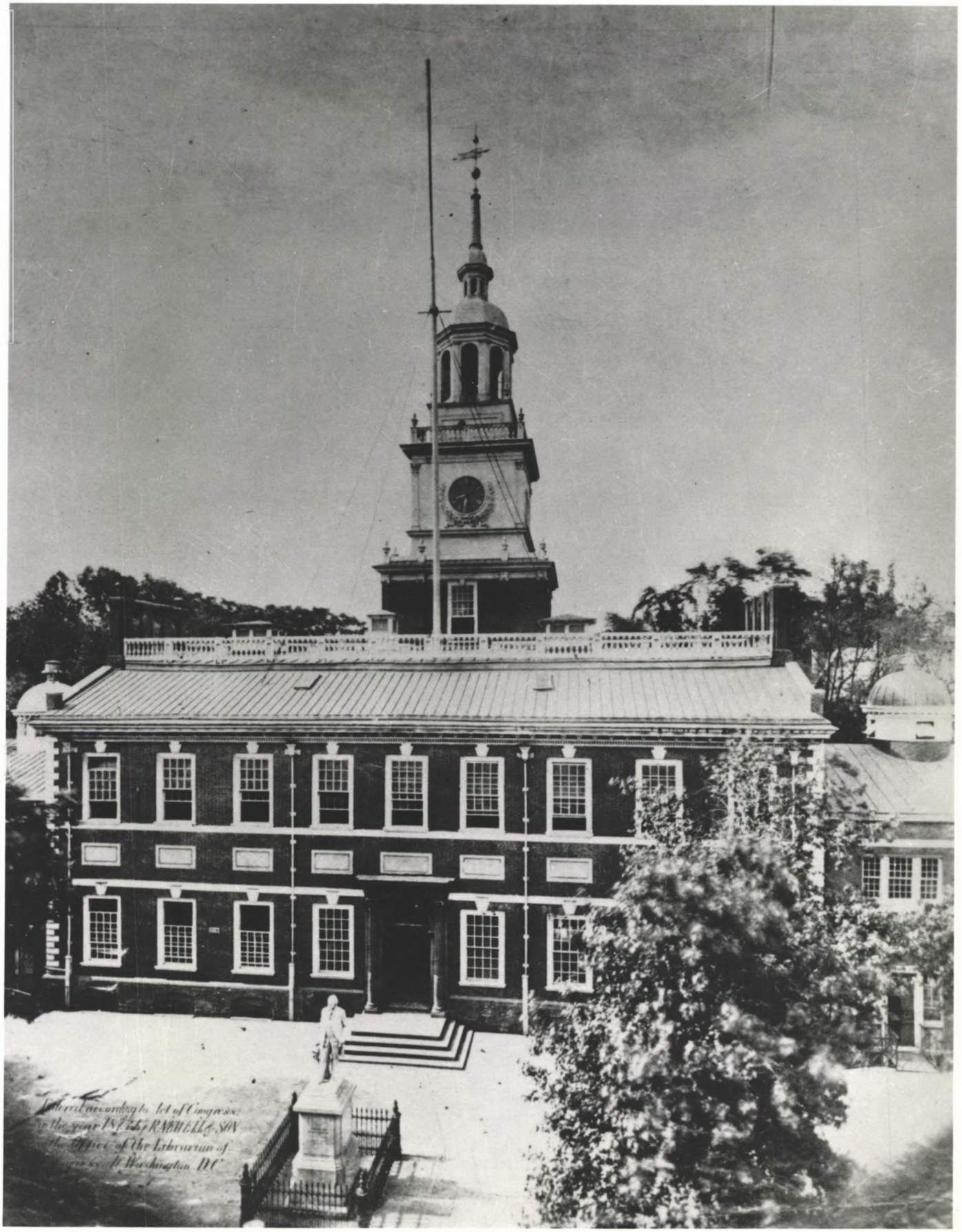
Photograph of Independence Hall in 1850, from the west. Note outline of clock-case on west wall.



Panorama of Chestnut Street from Fifth Street to Sixth Street, 1851, from Julio Rae's Philadelphia Pictorial Directory. Note Corinthian doorway. Courtesy of Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



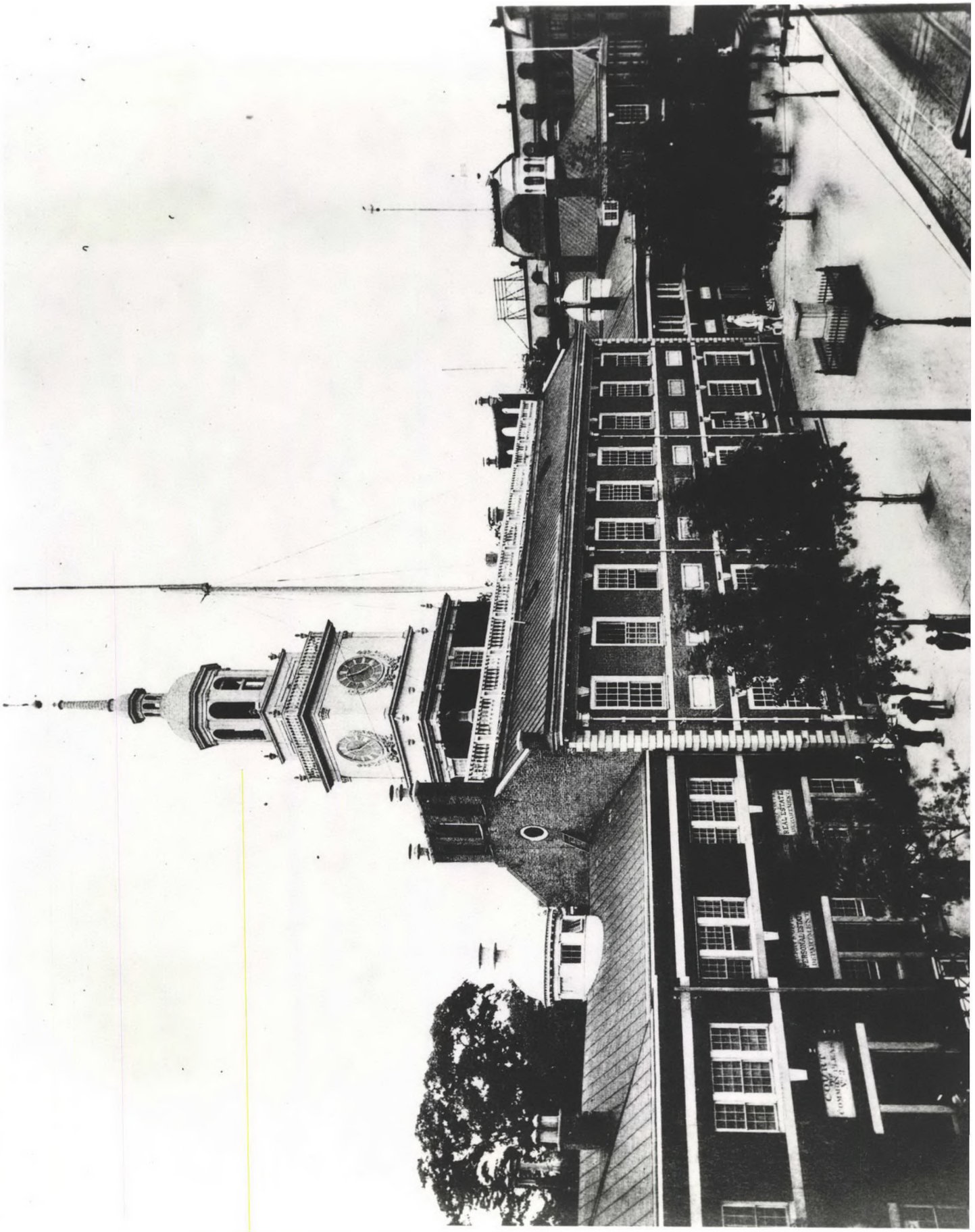
Photograph of ceremony at which Lincoln raised the flag at Independence Hall on February 22, 1861. Behind the speaker's platform is the Corinthian door treatment installed in 1816.



Independence Hall in 1873. Note Corinthian doorway, round down spouts, ventilators on roof over Council Chambers, and storm windows. Courtesy Historical Society of Pennsylvania.



View of Independence Hall about 1878. Note round down spouts, Corinthian doorway, front steps with railing, and flanges with date 1776, a result of the Etting restoration.



The Independence Hall group in 1890. Note round down spouts, storm windows, ventilators on roof, and details of Mills buildings.



"Old State House Row," 1895. Courtesy
of American Philosophical Society.



Northwest corner of Supreme Court Chamber about 1876. Broken pedimented frame behind eagle may have been place from which King's Arms was taken down on July 8, 1776. Note windows originally on west wall bricked up, the pillars supporting room above, use of room as museum, and the floor.

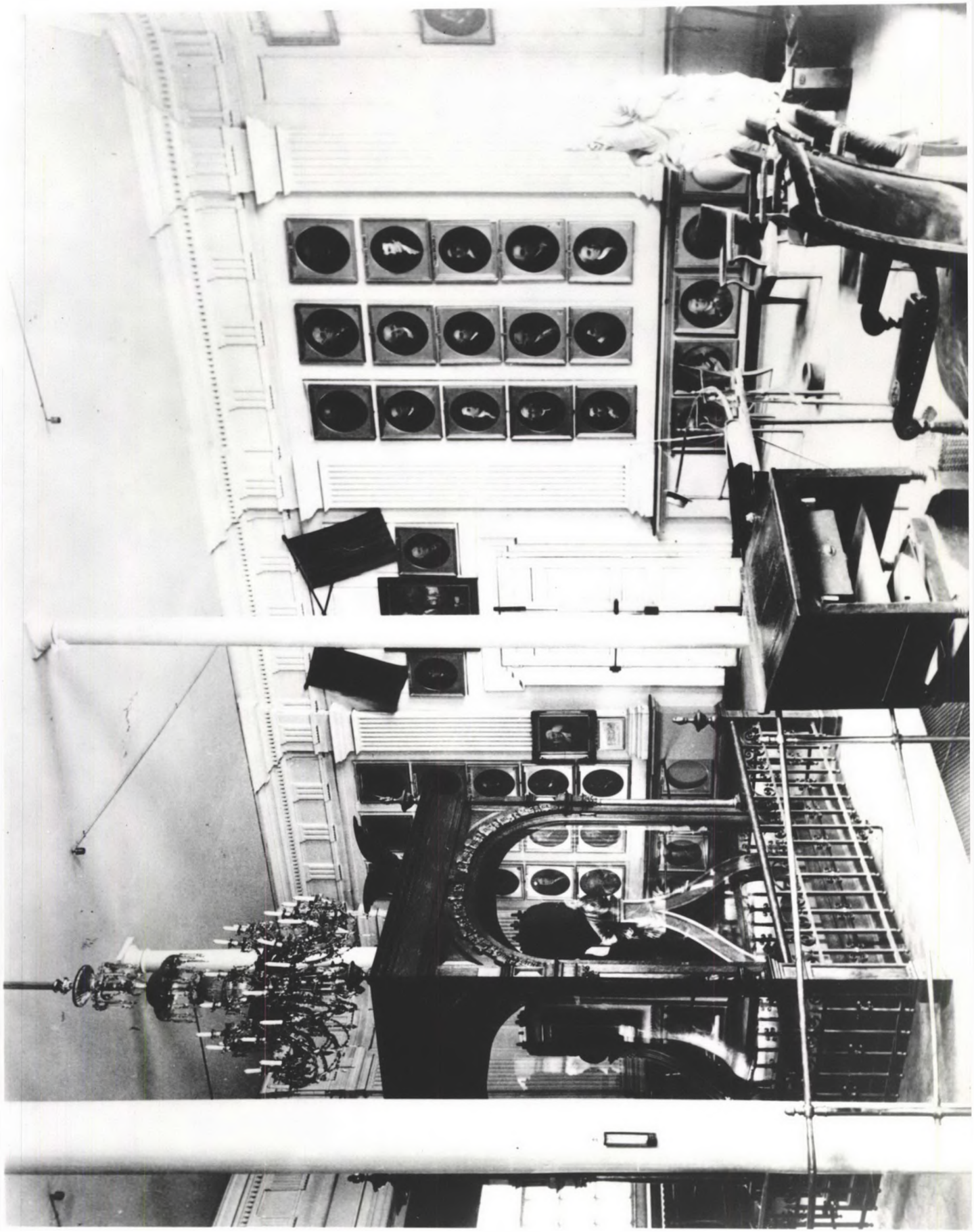
Looking west



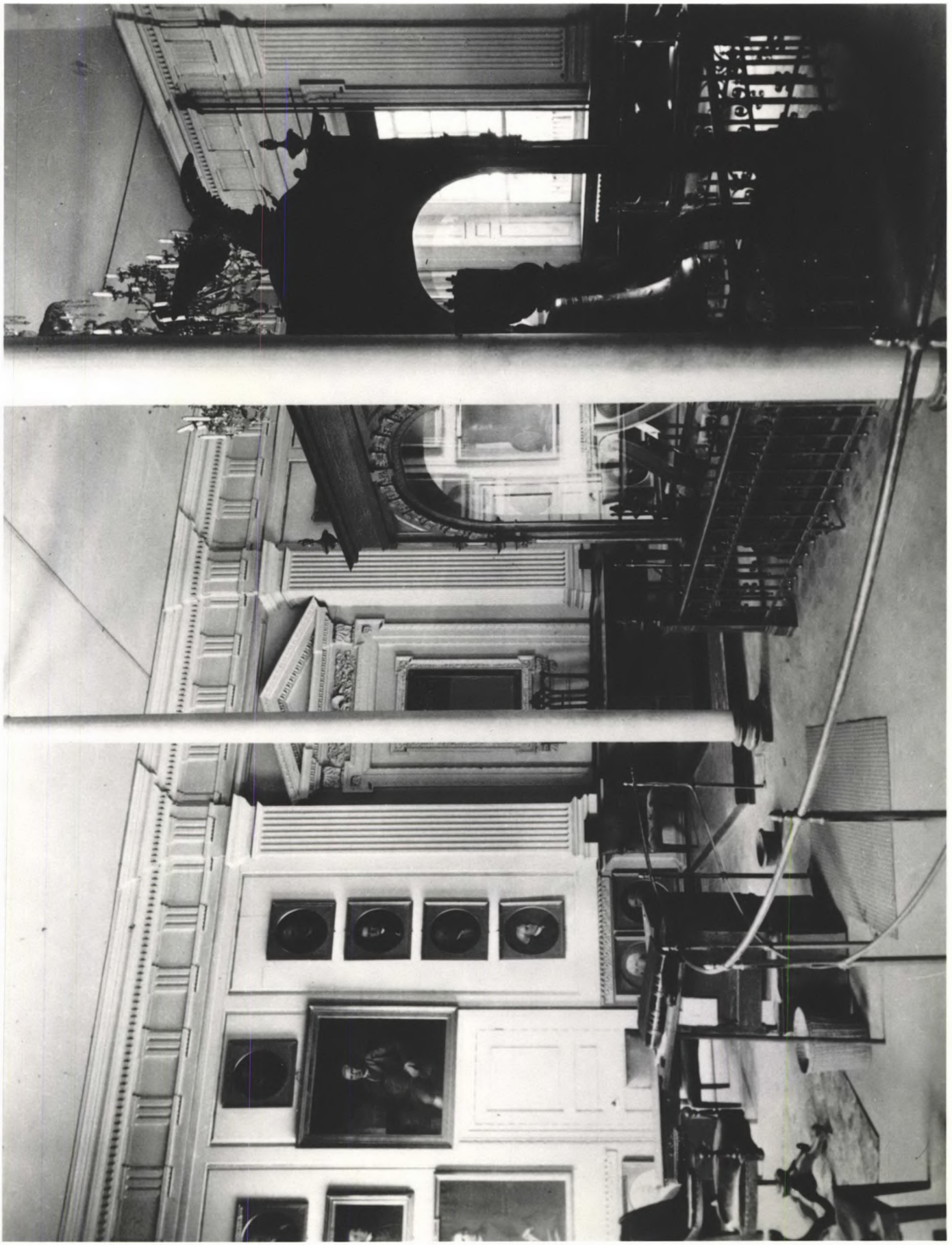
Looking east



The Supreme Court Chamber in 1896, before restoration, looking west and east. Note pillars supporting room above and the entablature copied by Haviland for use in Assembly Room in 1831. See Illustration No. 51 on frame behind eagle.



West wall of Assembly Room, 1896. The pillars had been installed by Etting during his restoration; the panelling by Haviland in 1831.



The Assembly Room in 1896. The panelling installed by Haviland in 1831 was still in place. The tile floor was put in by Etting. Compare with the Pine-Savage painting and engraving.



Looking east



Looking west

The Common Council Chamber, west end of second floor of Independence Hall in 1895, looking east and west.



Looking northwest



Looking northeast

Select Council Chamber, east end, second floor of Independence Hall in 1895, looking northwest and northeast. The tie rods were installed in 1854 when the second floor was altered for Councils.



Long Gallery during A.I.A. investigation of 1922, looking west. The "Cliveden" hall piece, the other wood work and the cornice installed by Rogers are visible. The original flooring is still in place below Rogers' floor.



Stairway leading from second floor landing of tower stairs to attic and steeple, installed in 1854 and removed in 1923-1924 restoration. The floor laid over the original flooring is also visible.



Looking south
toward tower.



Looking north
toward entrance.

The first floor hall of Independence Hall in 1896, before restoration. The floor is stone, and the arches leading to the Supreme Court Chamber are filled in.



North archway between hall and Supreme Court Chamber, in December, 1897, looking east from Court Room. This photo shows the original cornice being removed; the triglyphs are piled in the archway closet, but unpainted areas on the frieze panel show their original location.



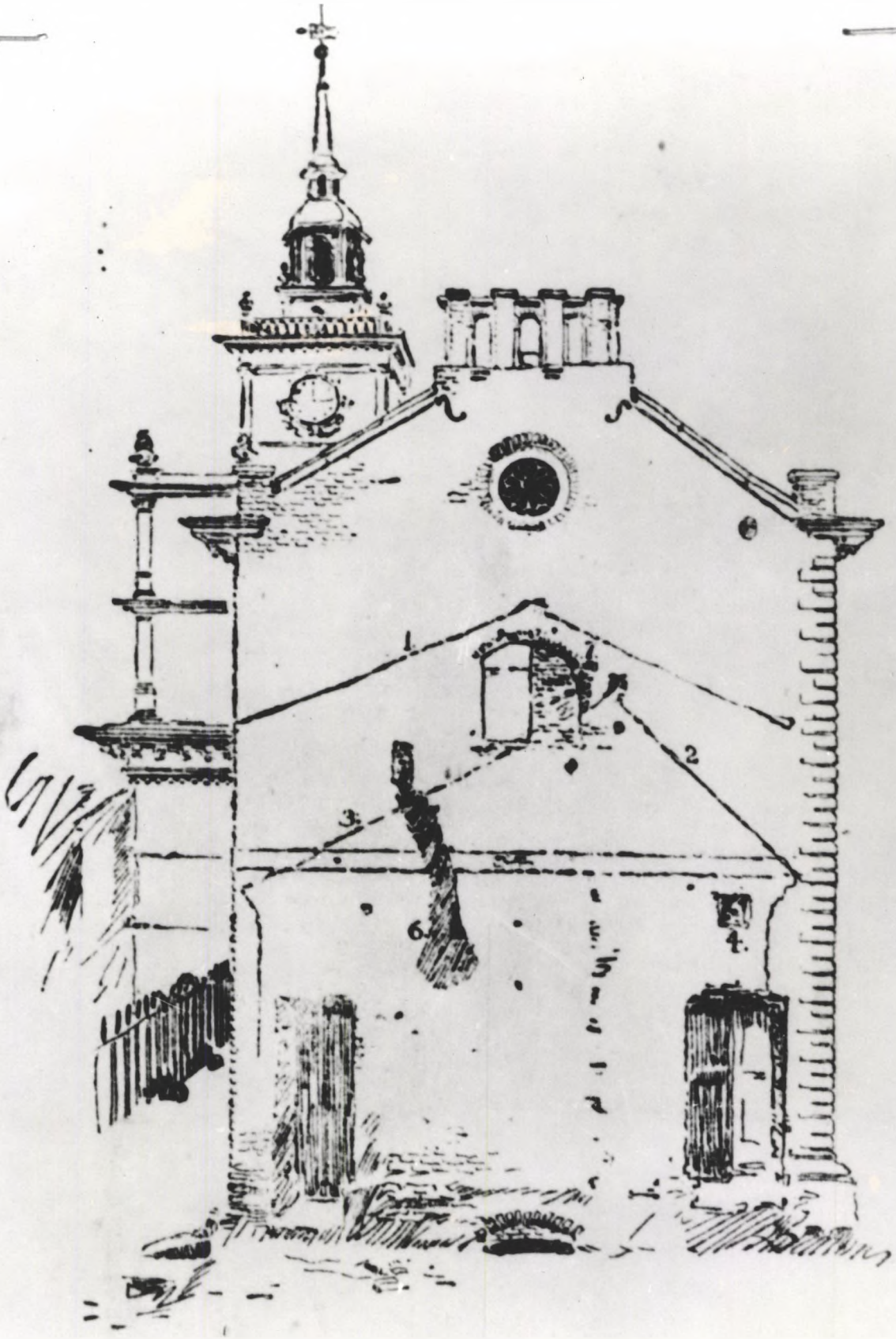
Southwest corner of first floor hall on December 20, 1897, during restoration. The south arch has been reopened by removal of the closet installed in it earlier and a new cornice is being installed in the Supreme Court Chamber beyond.



Supreme Court Chamber after restoration of 1897-98. The original cornice has been replaced by one copied from hallway.



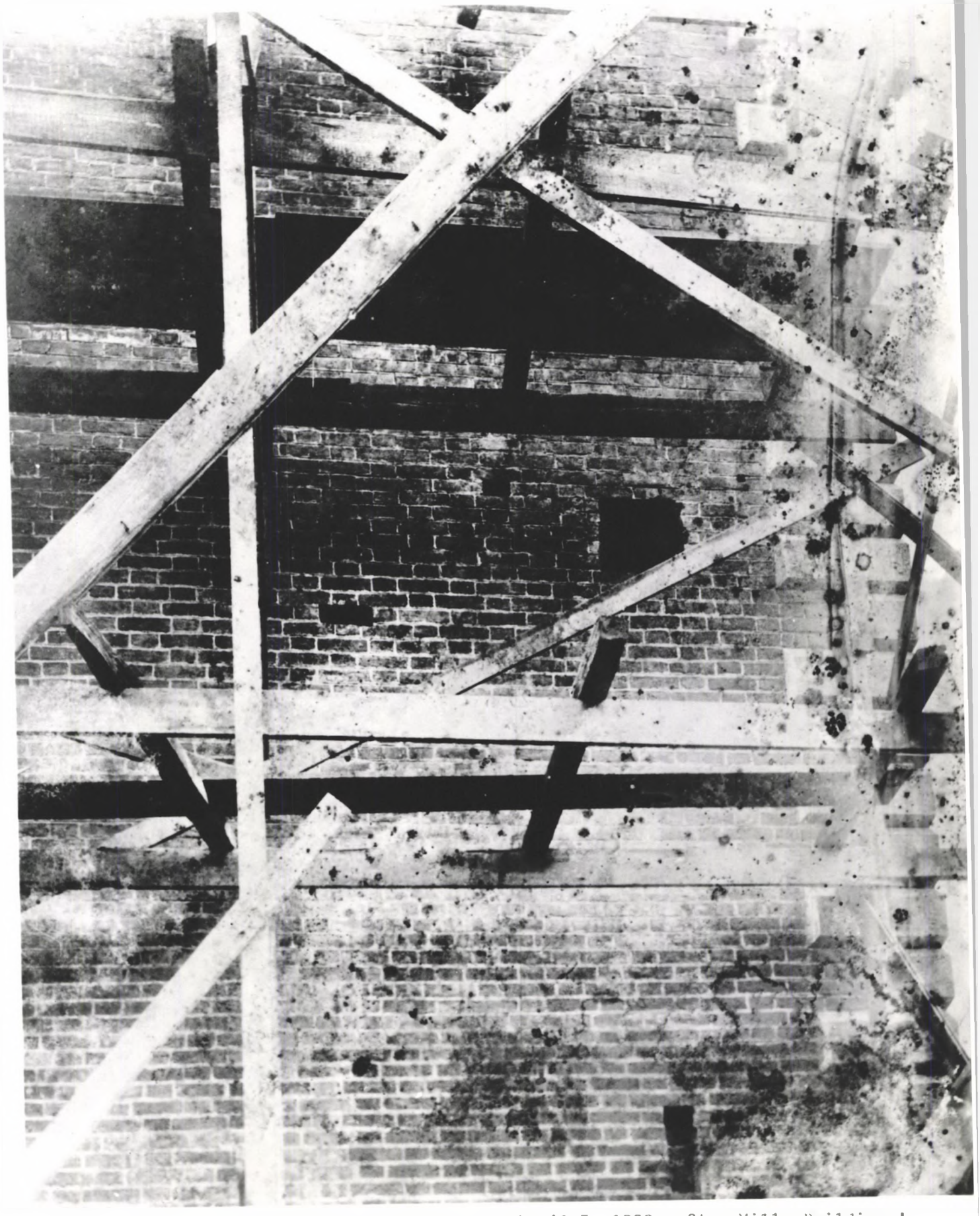
North fireplace, east wall of Assembly Room, on December 10, 1897, uncovered in course of restoration.



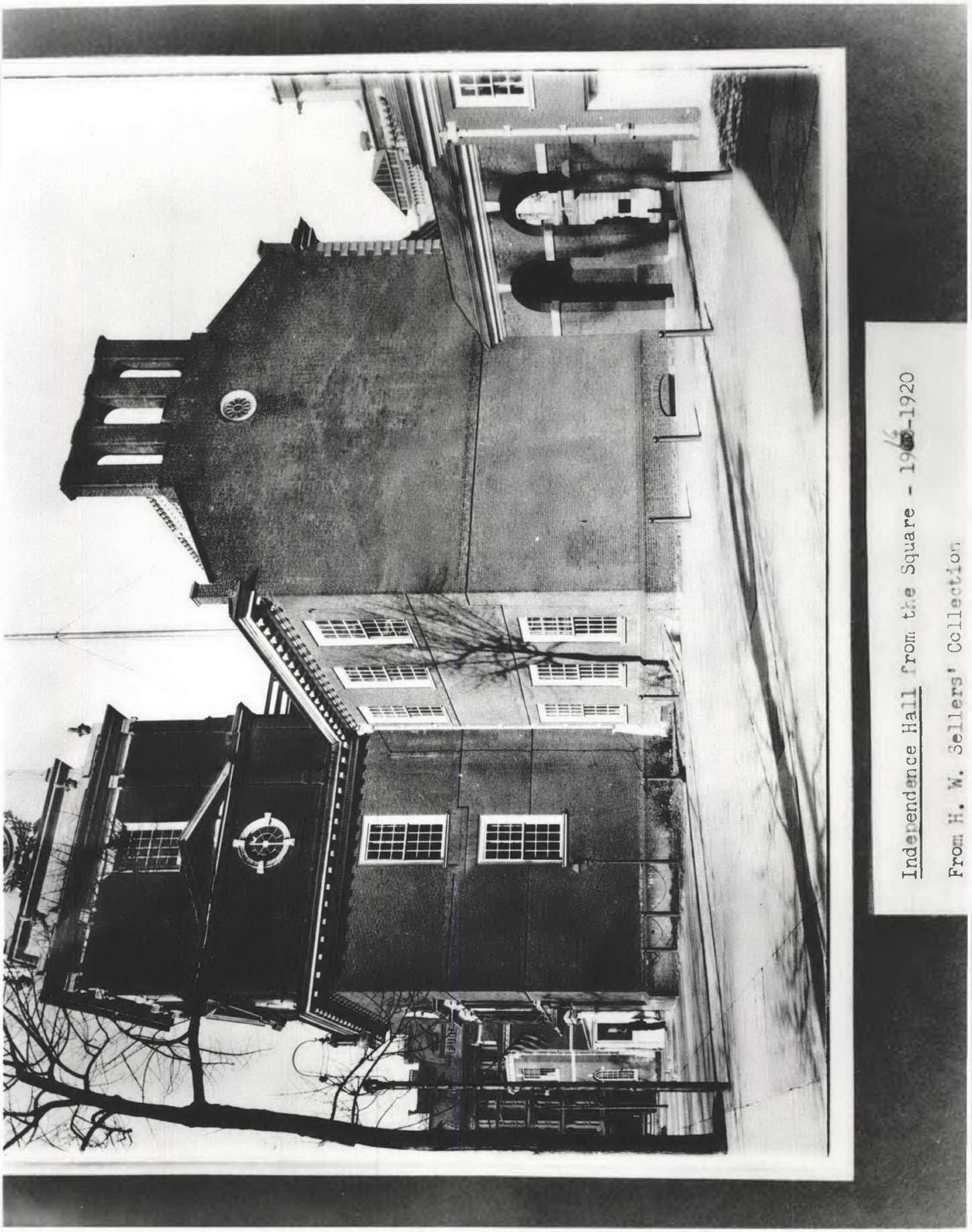
EAST WALL OF INDEPENDENCE HALL AS IT APPEARS AT PRESENT

1. Roof line of recent building. 2. Roof line of Arcade. 3. Roof line of Colonial Library. 4. Place of Belles. 5. Door into Independence Hall. 6. Fine from Library. 7. Remains of vault wall.

Newspaper drawing of evidence on east wall of Independence Hall revealed by demolition of Mills buildings, December 1, 1897. As caption notes, roof lines of original piazza and Committee Room and Library are visible, as are the door leading into the Library and possibly one leading into the piazza.



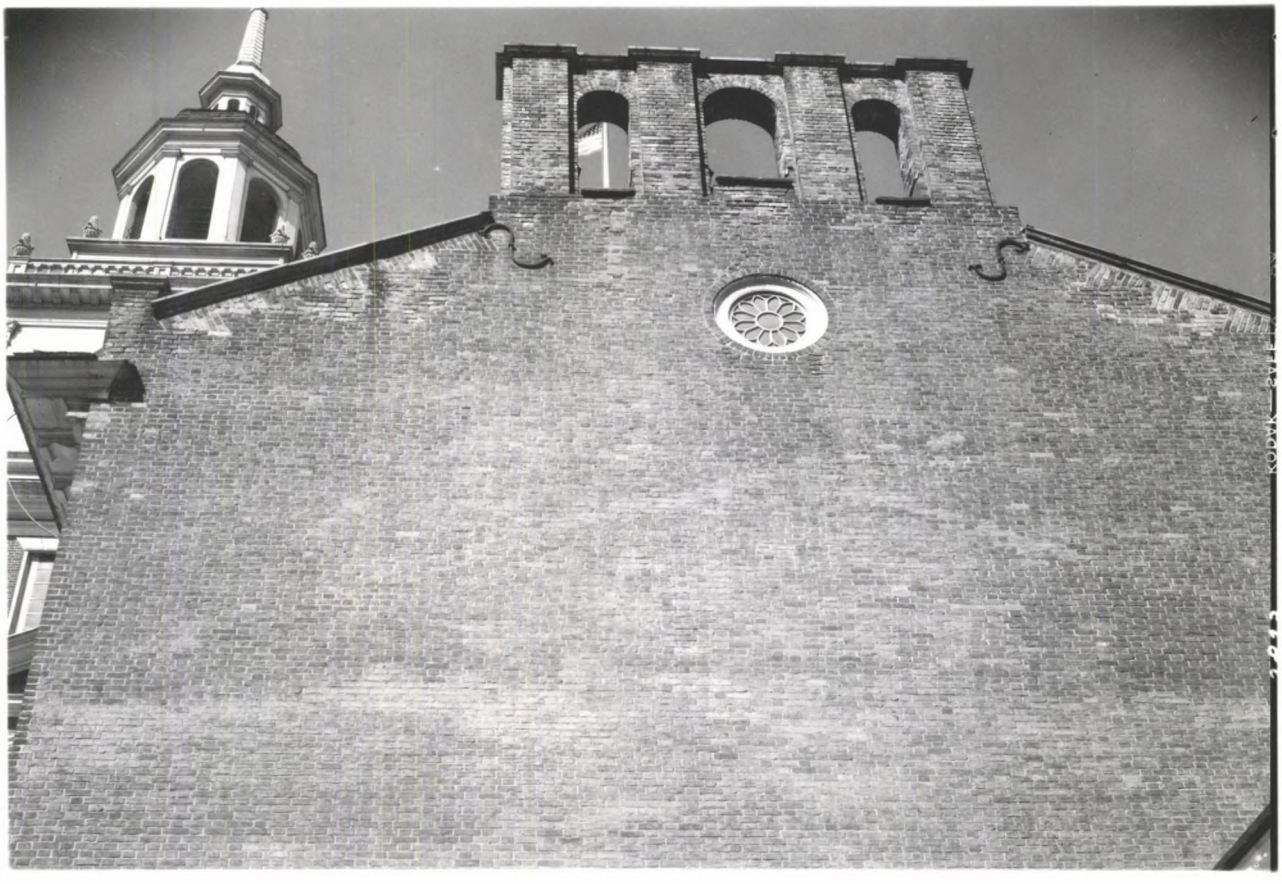
East exterior wall of Independence Hall on April 5, 1898, after Mills Buildings' demolition. The square opening between the scaffolding is that marked "4" on the previous illustration.



Independence Hall from the Square - 1906-1920

From H. W. Sellers' Collection

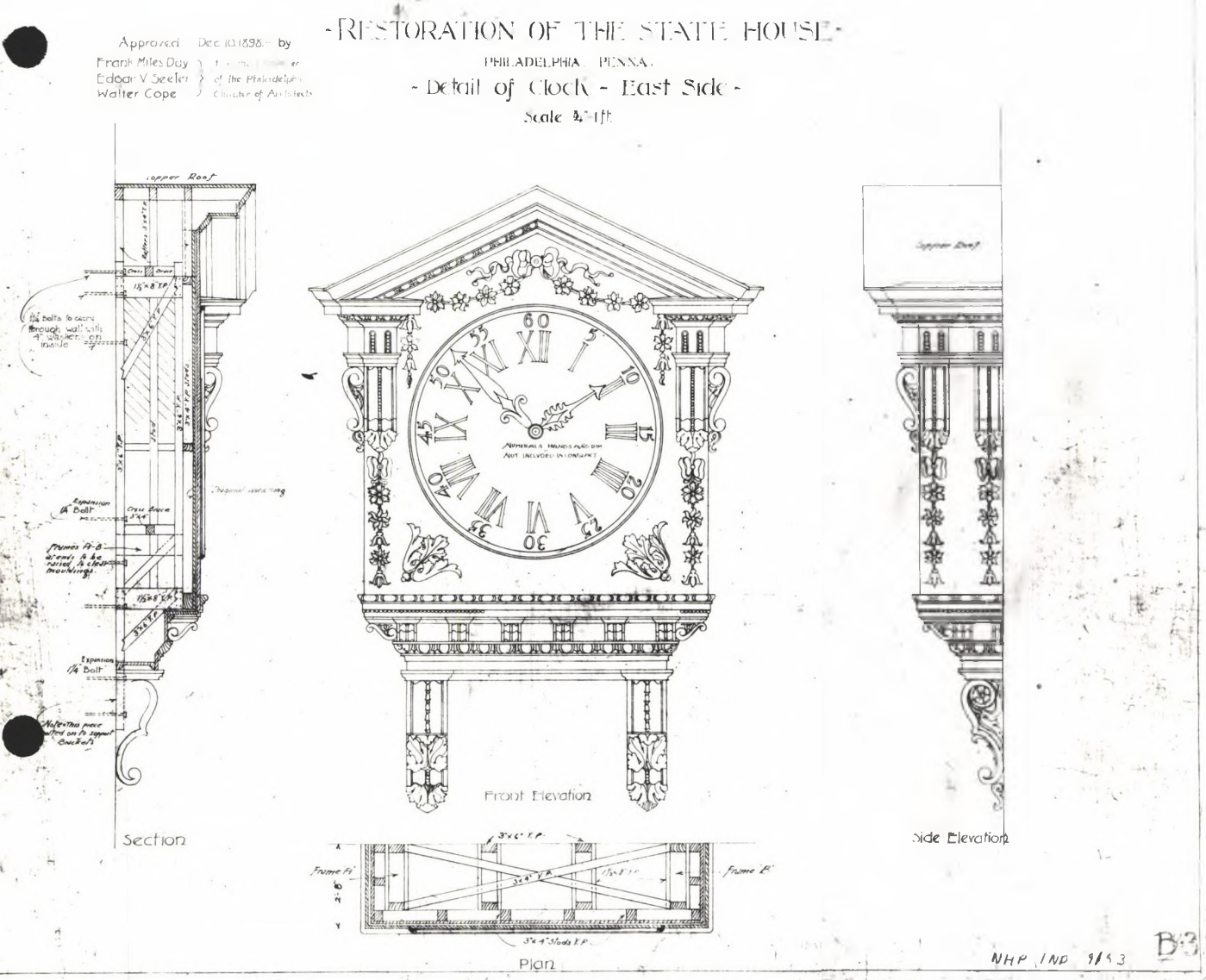
East wall of Independence Hall. The roof line of the Committee Room and Library is visible, though faint, and the outline of the door leading to it from the Assembly Room is clearly marked.



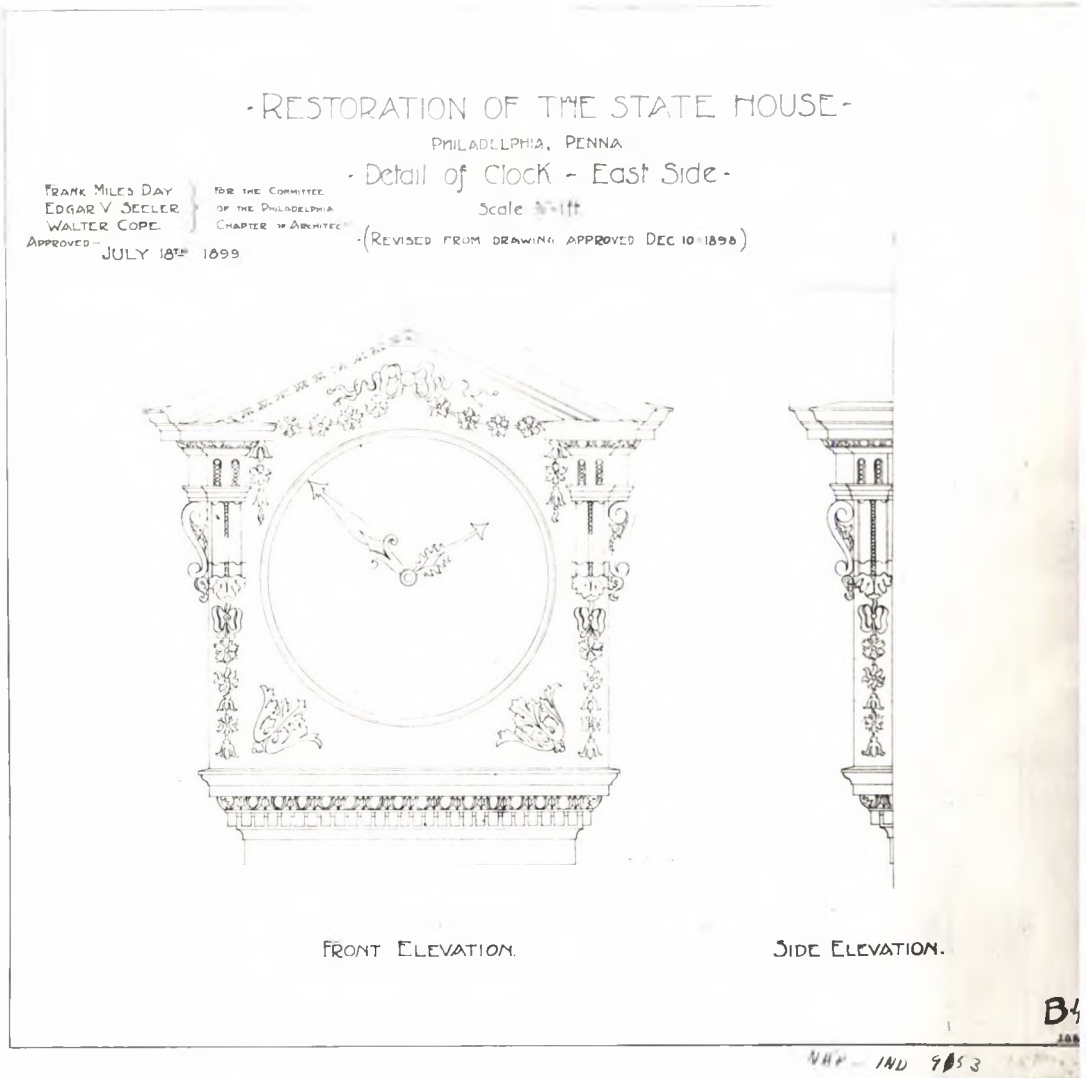
East wall of Independence Hall, 1951, before repairs. Note faint indication of Committee Room and Library roof line at bottom of photo.



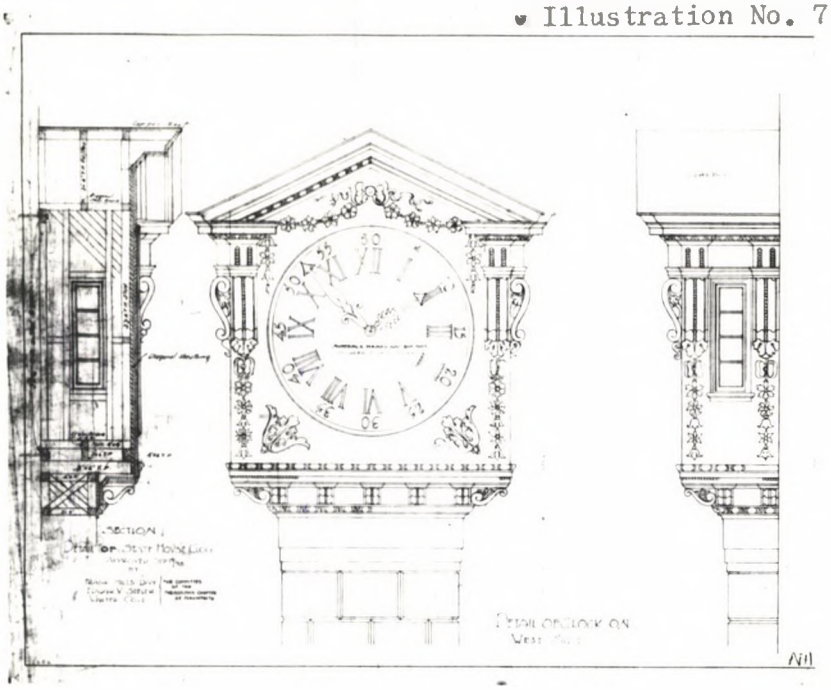
East wall of Independence Hall, after repointing. Note the Committee Room and Library roof line has been obliterated.



Drawing prepared by A.I.A. committee of proposed restoration of clock face on east wall of State House. The reliance of the committee on the Krimmel view of the State House in 1815 is evident from a comparison of this clock face with Illustration No. 37.



Revised drawing of proposed clock dial for east wall of State House, 1899. Revision of Illustration No. 68. Note the decreased depth of the clock case which is not in correspondence with available information on the east clock case as shown in Illustrations No. 38 and 39. Note also the change in the skirting at the base of the case which is not in accord with that shown on the clock in the Krimmel view, Illustration No. 37.

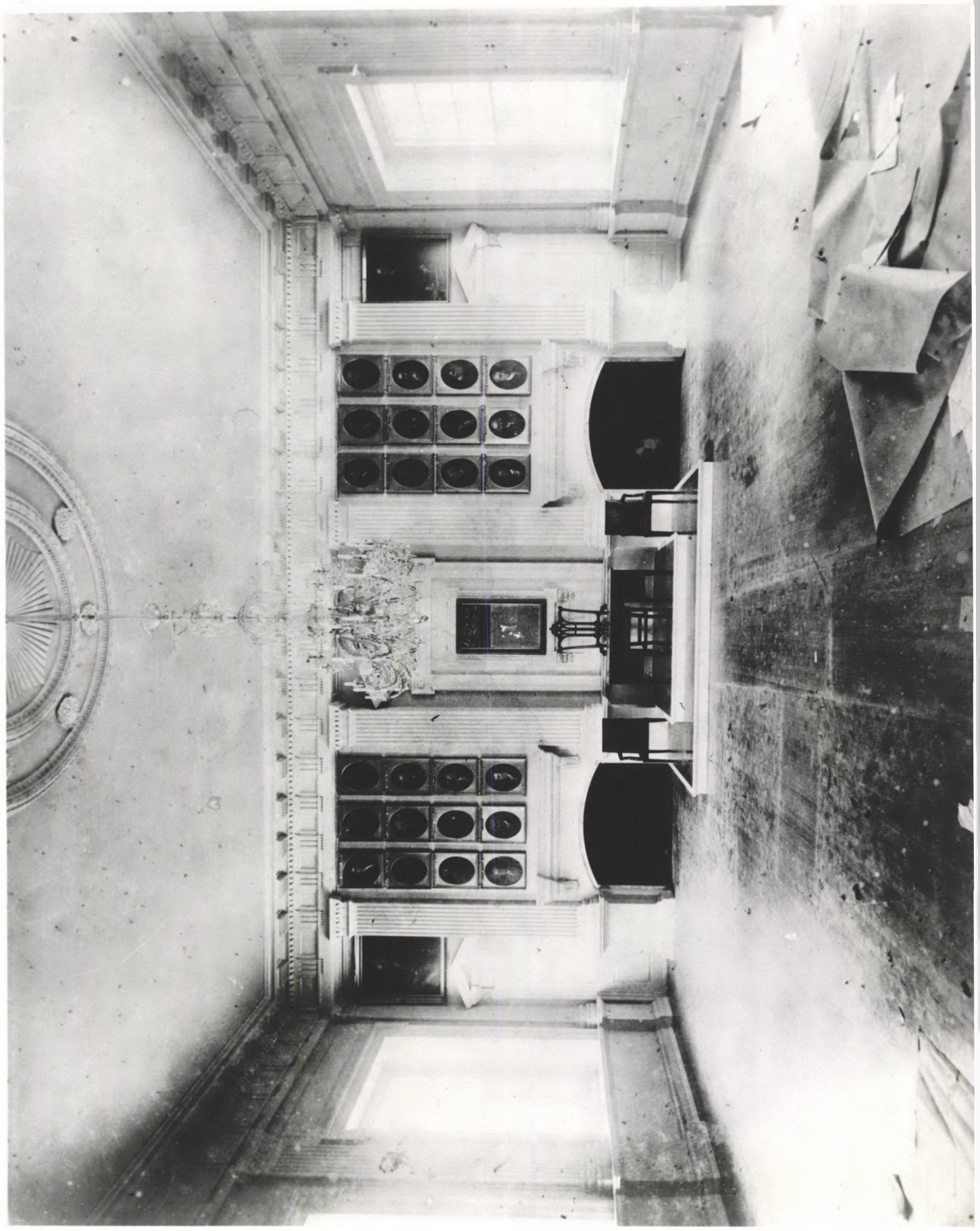


Drawing by A.I.A. committee in 1898 for the proposed restoration of the clock on the west wall of Independence Hall. This drawing agrees in detail with the clock in Krimmel's view of west wall. Compare this with Illustration No. 37.

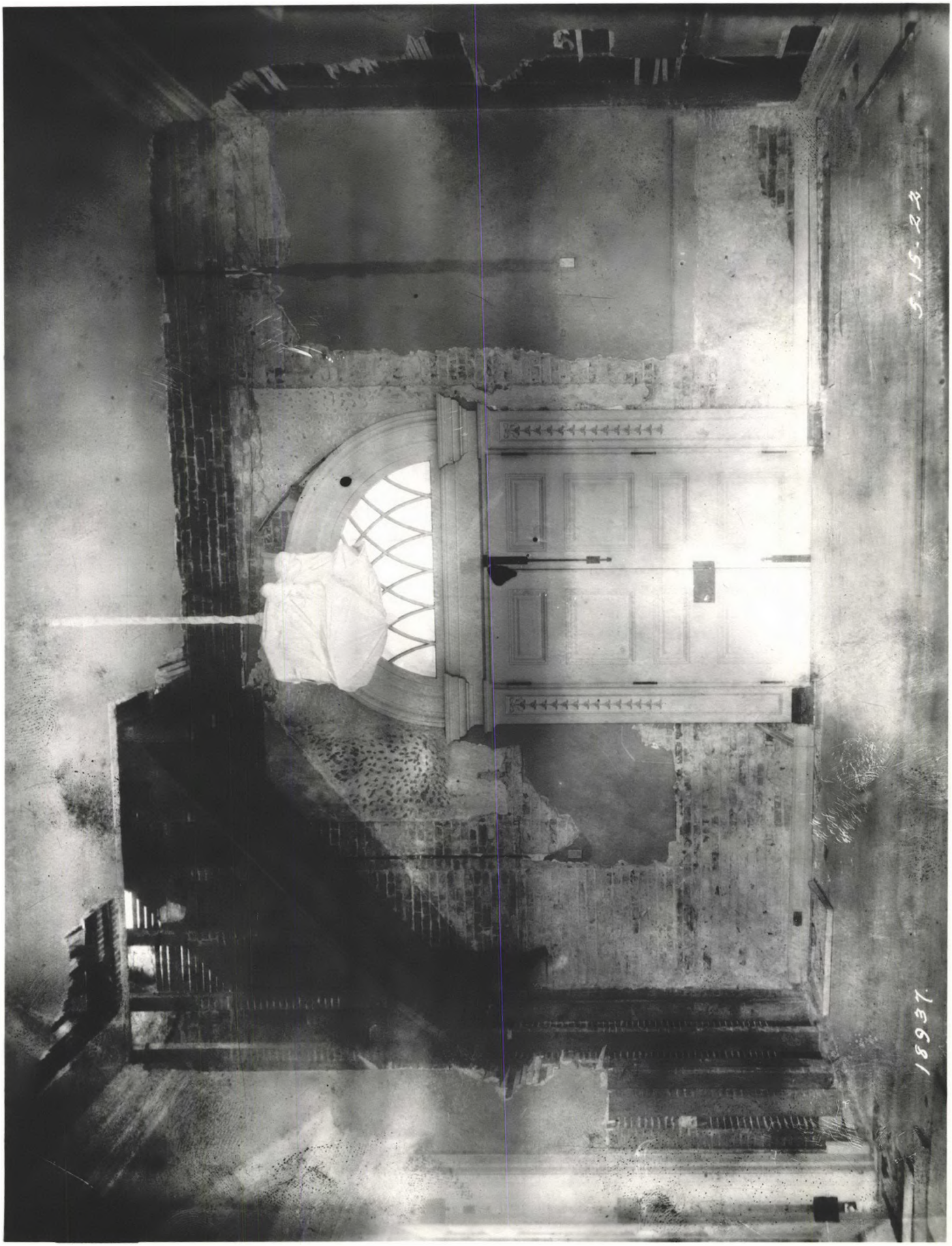




Tower entrance about 1876 [upper] and today. Note nosing on steps in the earlier photograph as compared with present steps.



The Assembly Room in 1898, after T. Mellon Rodgers restored it. Note use of modern narrow flooring, replaced in 1917.



South wall of second floor hall during A.I.A. investigation of 1922. Note evidence of stair to left of doorway.



First floor of steeple. Note access stairway as restored by A.I.A., and old stairway in tower.



Tower of Independence Hall. Note upright timbers imbedded in wall, a king post from structural system of original steeple.