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# Toward a New Approach to Evaluating Significance in Recent-Past Preservation Planning with a Case Study of 1960s Properties in Philadelphia County

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# Toward a New Approach to Evaluating Significance in Recent-Past Preservation Planning with a Case Study of 1960s Properties in Philadelphia County

## **Abstract**

In evaluating a stock of recent-past buildings, it is important to stay alert to the ways in which recent-past heritage is more difficult to assess, and what we might be prone to do to make it easier to assess. It is not enough to involve numerous people in the process and to articulate our method of analysis. We as preservation professionals must also consciously strive to avoid cognitive shortcuts. We must set evaluative standards and choose priorities, without simply dismissing a great portion of the built environment as “crap” or accepting self-evidence as a measure of significance. Complexity should not be a cause for despair. We must lead the public in a more self-reflexive view of built heritage, without getting stuck in never-ending philosophizing and debating. The field would benefit from a more systematic, methodical approach to championing pluralism in heritage and recognizing the polysemy in cultural objects, which nonetheless helps to uncover priorities of highest significance.

In sum, prior to, and in addition to, preservation advocacy efforts to publicize and popularize buildings of the recent-past, preservation planning efforts must establish better methods for identifying resources and assessing their significance. In light of the issues and caveats just introduced, this study asks: what is an optimal inventory method for a municipal/county-level commission or nonprofit organization to identify priorities for preservation planning for the recent-past?

## **Disciplines**

Historic Preservation and Conservation

## **Comments**

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TOWARD A NEW APPROACH TO EVALUATING SIGNIFICANCE  
IN RECENT-PAST PRESERVATION PLANNING  
WITH A CASE STUDY OF 1960s PROPERTIES IN PHILADELPHIA COUNTY

KRISTIN MARGARET HAGAR

A THESIS

in

Historic Preservation

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in  
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2011

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*& JZS*

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# Table of Contents

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.....	vi
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Recent-Past Advocacy Initiatives.....	2
1.2 The Concept of Significance and Its Expansion.....	9
1.3 Statement of the Problem.....	15
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW AND DISCUSSION OF ISSUES.....	17
2.1 What Entails an “Optimal” Methodology for Determining Significance?.....	18
2.1.1 Local Surveys and Historical Context Statements.....	18
2.1.2 “The Epistemology of the Significance Concept”.....	22
2.1.3 The Social Construction of Significance.....	27
2.1.4 The Privileging of Architectural Significance.....	32
2.1.5 Section Summary.....	43
2.2 How Is the Process of Determining the Significance of Recent-Past Resources Distinct?.....	45
2.2.1 Review of Literature on Recent-Past Preservation Planning.....	45
2.2.2 Four Factors Affecting the Assessment of Significance in Recent-Past Resources.....	51
2.2.3 Recent-Past Preservation Planning is a Challenge: So, Why Bother?.....	60
2.2.4 Section Summary.....	67
CHAPTER 3 MODERNISM IN THE 1960s.....	69
3.1 Enabling Forces behind New Buildings Types and Development Patterns.....	72
3.1.1 Federal and Municipal Programs.....	72
3.1.2 Corporate and Institutional Development.....	75
3.2 Modernism as an Architectural Movement.....	77
3.2.1 Modernism as Discourse.....	77
3.2.2 Major Points in Modernist Discourse in the 1960s.....	80

CHAPTER 3	MODERNISM IN THE 1960s <i>(continued)</i>	
3.3	Consumerism in Architecture.....	86
3.3.1	What is Consumerist Architecture?.....	86
3.3.2	Examples of Key Types of Consumerist Architecture of the 1960s.....	88
3.3.3	Relationship between Modernist and Consumerist Architecture of the 1960s.....	90
CHAPTER 4	PHILADELPHIA MODERNISM INITIATIVE, SUMMER 2010.....	93
4.1	A Great Project.....	94
4.1.1	Philadelphia Modernism Thematic Context Statement.....	95
4.1.2	Creating the Inventory, and Evaluating for Priorities.....	99
4.2	Reflections on the Initiative's First Phase.....	108
CHAPTER 5	A DIFFERENT APPROACH.....	117
5.1	The Criterion of Multiplicity.....	118
5.2	Sketching a Methodology.....	122
5.3	Conclusions from the Test.....	129
CHAPTER 6	CONCLUSION.....	138
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....		143
APPENDICES.....		154
A	Buildings Inventory: Philadelphia County, 1959-70, Chronological Order.....	154
B	Buildings Inventory: Philadelphia County, 1959-70, Alphabetical Order.....	161
C	Buildings Inventory: Selection of Inventory Processed in GIS Attributes Table.....	168
INDEX.....		171

## List of Illustrations

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Figure 1	National Products Building.....	4
Figure 2	Free Library of Philadelphia, Northeast Regional Branch (D. Merriam).....	40
Figure 3	Fairmount Park Welcome Center (L. V. Drapala).....	58
Figure 4	Mercantile Library (Philadelphia Department of Records).....	64
Figure 5	Mercantile Library.....	65
Figure 6	Mercantile Library (detail).....	65
Figure 7	“Canonical” 1960s Philadelphia Buildings (A).....	100
Figure 8	“Canonical” 1960s Philadelphia Buildings (B).....	101
Figure 9	“Canonical” 1960s Philadelphia Buildings (C).....	101
Figure 10	Hill Hall, University of Pennsylvania.....	102
Figure 11	Society Hill Towers.....	103
Figure 12	United Fund Headquarters.....	104
Figure 13	United Fund Headquarters, detail.....	104
Figure 14	The Shortlist, Summer 2010.....	107
Figure 15	Stein Flowers (B. Manning).....	110
Figure 16	Vanna Venturi House (Univ. of Penn., Fine Arts Library Image Collection).....	112
Figure 17	Selection of the 1960s Buildings Inventory Processed in GIS.....	124
Figure 18	Example of a Building Polygon and its Attributes Fields.....	125
Figure 19	Sample of the GIS Attributes Table.....	130
Figure 20	District Health Center No. 1 (L. Allen).....	132
Figure 21	District Health Center No. 1, detail (L. Allen).....	133
Figure 22	Free Library of Philadelphia, Northeast Regional Branch, detail (D. Merriam).....	134
Figure 23	Free Library of Philadelphia, Northeast Regional Branch (D. Merriam).....	134
Figure 24	Another Sample of the GIS Attributes Table.....	135
Figure 25	Examples of Radial-Shaped Public Schools.....	136
Figure 26	David Rittenhouse Laboratories, University of Pennsylvania.....	142



*Chapter 1 Introduction*

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### 1.1. *Recent-Past Advocacy Initiatives*

A trend is growing. Non-profit preservation organizations are launching recent-past<sup>1</sup> advocacy initiatives at an increasing rate, and they are focusing on the particular issue of public awareness. By contrast, older initiatives of the past two decades, by organizations such as DOCOMOMO International<sup>2</sup> and the Los Angeles Conservancy's Modern Committee, promoted assorted goals, ranging from documentation to development of conservation methods to prevention of demolitions. The ascendance of the issue of public awareness to a top priority is evident in web site statements for initiatives launched within

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1 Within the field of historic preservation, the term "*recent-past*" generally refers to buildings of all types that were built within the past 25-49 years; it is a moving window of time. This term and others, below, are often used interchangeably, which is confusing, especially because the others refer to static periods of history. The "*postwar period*" generally refers to 1945 through the 1950s, perhaps also including the early 1960s. "*Modernism*" refers to an architectural movement that developed in Europe during the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Influenced by the English Arts and Crafts movement, Art Nouveau, Frank Lloyd Wright, and the Deutscher Werkbund, Modernism developed in response to the impact of industrial technology and the question of how it could function in the service of society. Modernists embraced the machine and believed in its potential for social betterment, emphasizing functionalism and structural expressionism (though not necessarily structural honesty, which is a contemporary myth). Early Modernists rejected historical architectural conventions as no longer relevant to the age; however, many embraced Classicism's rational principles of simplicity, proportion, and order, as well as, in some cases, its symbolic potential for dignifying or monumentalizing the new machine forms. The Modernist movement gained currency in the UK and the Americas in the 1930s and acquired the name, the International Style, while at the same time evolving into divergent, locally influenced strains. By the 1950s and 1960s its proponents struggled with and debated the relevancy of the movement's original tenets vis-à-vis a very different postwar society, and increasingly embraced expressionism, historicism, symbolism, and even science. "*Mid-century modern, or modernism*," generally refers to Modernist design once it had evolved from avant-garde to mainstream, late-1940s to 1970s, growing popular not only in architectural design but also in interior and industrial design. It includes regional variations such as California Modern and Danish Modern. This study employs the "recent-past" as a concept, first and foremost, while it takes mid-century modern buildings for a case study.

2 The full name of DOCOMOMO is the International Committee for Documentation and Conservation of Buildings, Sites and Neighborhoods of the Modern Movement.

the last five years. The International Scientific Committee on 20<sup>th</sup> Century Heritage, established by ICOMOS<sup>3</sup> in 2005, names “lack of recognition of their significance, promotion and celebration” *first* among its issues to address.<sup>4</sup> The World Monuments Fund’s modernism initiative, launched in 2006, acknowledges the material threats that modernist buildings face but asserts that “public apathy...may be the greatest challenge.”<sup>5</sup> “Modernism + The Recent Past,” a program launched by the National Trust for Historic Preservation in the spring of 2009, “challenges the nation to change how we view, steward, and preserve the architectural and cultural heritage of the recent-past before more landmarks are lost.”<sup>6</sup>

Today the preservation field understands that if it does not do planning and advocacy work proactively, significant buildings may be lost. Losses are plentiful already. In Philadelphia, over the last five years, losses include the Liberty Bell Pavilion (Mitchell/Giurgola Associates, 1974, demolished 2006); the Philadelphia Life Insurance Company building annex (also Mitchell/Giurgola, 1963, demolished 2008); and the Youth Study Center (Carroll, Grisdale and Van Alen, 1953, demolished 2009). The Sidney Hillman Medical Center (Louis Magaziner and Herman Polss, 1950) seems likely to join the list

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3 The full name of ICOMOS is the International Council on Monuments and Sites.

4 “Heritage Alerts: Background,” ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on 20<sup>th</sup> Century Heritage, <http://icomos-isc20c.org/id3.html> (accessed April 28, 2011).

5 “Special Initiative: Modernism,” World Monuments Fund, [www.wmf.org/advocacy/modernism](http://www.wmf.org/advocacy/modernism) (accessed April 28, 2011).

6 “Modernism + The Recent Past,” National Trust for Historic Preservation, [www.preservationnation.org/issues/modernism-recent-past](http://www.preservationnation.org/issues/modernism-recent-past) (accessed April 28, 2011).

soon.<sup>7</sup> Other buildings were threatened, but saved, thanks to vigorous campaigns. The Philadelphia Historical Commission added the National Products Building (Sabatino and Fishman, 1957) and the Hassrick/Sawyer House (Richard Neutra with Thaddeus Longstreth, 1959) to the city's historic register in 2002 and 2007, respectively, following campaigns by the Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia. However, campaigns, which are typically



Fig. 1: National Products Building (Sabatino and Fishman, 1957), located on North 2nd Street adjacent to Elfreth's Alley, was added to the Philadelphia Register in 2002.

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7 Demolition of the Hillman Medical Center is expected following the December 2010 withdrawal by the Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia of its appeals to the decisions of the Philadelphia Historical Commission and the Zoning Board of Adjustments to permit demolition. See [www.preservationalliance.com/advocacy/issues\\_Hillman.php](http://www.preservationalliance.com/advocacy/issues_Hillman.php) (accessed April 28, 2011).

reactive, against-the-clock efforts that seek preservation through legal means (e.g., designation, injunctions), too often fail to save a threatened building. There is an increasing awareness in the preservation field about the limitations of piecemeal campaigning as a preservation strategy (even as preservationists recognize that such ad hoc efforts will always be part of their work).

The 2007 demolition of the Micheels House of Westport, CT (Paul Rudolph, 1972), was somewhat redeemed when the case yielded, in response, an important initiative by two advocacy organizations. The campaign to prevent this demolition had ended when a judge dismissed an injunction filed by the Connecticut Trust for Historic Preservation on the grounds that “he could find nothing to support the contention that the house had special significance.” In fact, its designer, Paul Rudolph, is one of the most celebrated, and debated, architects of the 1960s, especially during his tenure as chair of the Yale University Department of Architecture (1958-65). Rudolph created open yet visually complex forms through interlocking concrete planes and large expanses of glass, and the Micheels House, according to architectural critic Michael Sorkin, “shows Rudolph’s characteristic structural ingenuity and verve, his careful sense of orientation and climate, and his unshakeable dedication to joyful living.”<sup>8</sup> *Preservation* reported on the case recently. “We had to ask ourselves, “How did it get to that point?” says Christy MacLear, the first executive director of the Philip Johnson Glass House, the acclaimed National Trust Historic Site located in the

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8 “Modern Masterpiece Demolished in Westport,” Connecticut Trust for Historic Preservation, <http://cttrust.org/8767> (accessed April 28, 2011).

heart of New Canaan. ‘Why wasn’t this dealt with earlier?’ MacLear and others concluded they had to act swiftly to increase public awareness.”<sup>9</sup> Recognition of this failure thus spawned the Modern Homes Survey of nearby New Canaan, one the nation’s hotbeds of mid-century modern houses. Undertaken by the National Trust for Historic Preservation and the New Canaan Historical Society, and completed in 2009, the project followed three well-defined objectives: to identify and document the range of mid-twentieth century architect-designed Modernist houses, to develop and promote consistent methodology and nomenclature, and to adapt and apply standard criteria for evaluation in a replicable manner.<sup>10</sup> The response of the Modern Homes Survey was in line with an earlier statement given by the Connecticut Trust for Historic Preservation following the demolition of the Micheels House: “Connecticut can boast a collection of Modernist buildings that has national, if not international, importance. Because this collection has received only limited study, much of it is still not adequately understood. It is of vital importance that the preservation community broadens understanding and appreciation of Modernist buildings, lest the most important examples perish before they attain the 50-year age necessary for most preservation protections and incentives. Surveys and studies are the first step”<sup>11</sup>

The approach of the New Canaan Modern Homes Survey was successful—it had a well-defined focus, the terms of the project were clearly stated—but this approach is

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9 D. Hay, “Fighting Back,” *Preservation*, Sept/Oct 2010, [www.preservationnation.org/magazine/2010/september-october/sidebar-new-canaan-so10-1.html](http://www.preservationnation.org/magazine/2010/september-october/sidebar-new-canaan-so10-1.html) (accessed April 28, 2011).

10 “Project Goals,” New Canaan Modern Homes Survey, [www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/northeast-region/new-canaan-ct/about.html](http://www.preservationnation.org/travel-and-sites/sites/northeast-region/new-canaan-ct/about.html) (accessed April 28, 2011).

11 “Modern Masterpiece Demolished in Westport.”

not necessarily applicable to other cities. While New Canaan has an unusual concentration of buildings of the same type and architectural significance (single-family homes on relatively large suburban lots by vanguard architects catering to an upper-middle class demographic), in a municipality with diverse architecture, a survey method that predefines what it seeks, and searches for what it expects, may end up excluding a lot of buildings. The Boston Preservation Alliance's initiative, in contrast, claims to highlight "Boston's most important and interesting mid-century modern buildings."<sup>12</sup> Here, the use of vague criteria (whether intentionally or not) allows for a variety of buildings but perhaps muddles significance of each of them within the context of the whole selection. The National Trust's "Modernism + The Recent Past" casts a wide net in the interest of piquing broader interest about the wide-ranging values, and the urgent preservation needs, of buildings that are old but not widely considered as historical. Its web site and programming convey a sense of the myriad ways that modernism played out across the U.S., varying aesthetically, geographically, and socio-economically. The program name evinces a general ambiguity common among recent-past initiatives: is the program dealing with the Modernist movement (a particular historical-artistic event) or the recent-past (a general chronological construct)?

I will discuss one such initiative in detail in Chapter 4. The Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia produced an inventory in summer 2010 that included all types of buildings built in Philadelphia County between 1945 and 1980. The project

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<sup>12</sup> "Downtown Boston's Modern Buildings," Boston Preservation Alliance, [www.google.com/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&coe=UTF8&mmsa=0&msid=107240064959348378922.00046b0f2379649e47b2b](http://www.google.com/maps/ms?ie=UTF8&coe=UTF8&mmsa=0&msid=107240064959348378922.00046b0f2379649e47b2b) (accessed April 28, 2011).

expressly aimed to look beyond buildings already lauded in earlier publications that reflect the perspective of the architecture field, and uncover buildings valued by the community for other reasons.<sup>13</sup> Yet in this case the broad chronological and geographical scope proved challenging because the project sought to create not only a general inventory but also a shortlist of priorities that deserve designation on the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places, and to that end criteria for assessing significance are necessary.

These initiatives do not deserve harsh criticism. Their organizers are right to recognize that public awareness is an indispensable component of preservation advocacy work. And, as the Connecticut Trust noted, surveys and studies of an area's overall stock of buildings should precede and accompany those efforts toward public support. However, there remains room for improvement in the ways that recent-past initiatives assess significance. Some focus exclusively on architect-designed buildings; others include everything built within a defined time period, but do not explicitly define any evaluative criteria. None of the initiatives is *both* inclusive in content *and* well defined in evaluative criteria. In a campaign to save a threatened building, advocates focus on a single building whose significance they have clearly, often painstakingly, articulated. That statement of significance may conflict with values that others see (or do not see) in the building—precisely why a fight exists in the first place—but at least they are explicitly stated. Today's broad-scale initiatives do not adequately address several essential questions:

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13 "Modernism and Recent Past Initiative," Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, [www.preservationalliance.com/programs/modern.php](http://www.preservationalliance.com/programs/modern.php) (accessed April 28, 2011).



- *What is significant about the recent-past resources that organizations are choosing to advocate?*
- *What are the criteria for inclusion in the initiative?*
- *Which values do they prioritize? Which do they ignore?*
- *How do organizations make those decisions? What sources of information do they use, and which stakeholders do they involve in the process?*

### 1.2. *The Concept of Significance and Its Expansion*

Significance, as defined by geographer and preservation planner Randall Mason, is a “synthetic statement of a site’s value and the reason why it should be preserved.”<sup>14</sup> Significance may involve different types of values—aesthetic, economic, social, symbolic, technological, etc.—which are “constructed and shaped by the time, place, and people involved in articulating them.”<sup>15</sup> Significance might even change over time, as values evolve, recede, and grow. Values can be found in observable, material attributes of a building, or they can be based on intangible qualities that historical research and communication with stakeholders can reveal. *The Burra Charter* (1999; first draft 1979) is a pioneering, if problematic, document on the subject of cultural significance and the multivalence of values.<sup>16</sup> Also influential has been the scholarship on values-based heritage planning and management

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14 R. F. Mason, “Theoretical and Practical Arguments for Values-Centered Preservation,” in *CRM*, 3, 2 (Summer 2006), 32-33. For further discussion of values-centered preservation, see also E. Avrami, R. F. Mason, and M. de la Torre, “Report on Research,” in *Values and Heritage Conservation*, edited by E. Avrami, R. F. Mason, and M. de la Torre (Los Angeles: Getty Conservation Institute, 2000); and R. F. Mason, “Fixing Historic Preservation: A Constructive Critique of ‘Significance,’” in *Places*, 16, 1 (Fall 2003).

15 Mason, 2006, 33.

16 *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance 1999* (Burwood: Australia ICOMOS Incorporated, 2000). First edition drafted in 1979.

produced at the Getty Conservation Institute, Los Angeles.<sup>17</sup>

The concept of significance has been thrown wide open in the preservation field. From the 19<sup>th</sup> century, up until a couple of decades ago, preservation efforts centered on buildings that the architecture field deemed valuable, that current taste regarded as aesthetically pleasing, or that derived value from association with historical figures and events. Today, we focus ever-more attention on buildings that help to create a sense of place, strengthen group identity, foster broader community ties, and other socio-cultural reasons. We value buildings other than those designed by renowned architects—sometimes even buildings deemed “ugly” but understood to exemplify major historical trends in the American built environment. Progressive scholarship and professional protocols (such as the *Burra Charter*) have helped to broaden the significance concept; so have the pioneering efforts of recent-past advocates, who have championed, for example, for the National Register designation of the oldest surviving McDonald’s and a seminal postwar housing subdivision, Arapahoe Acres.<sup>18</sup> Today, preservationists are willing to consider that any type of building can contain heritage values. This is both a great step forward and a turn onto a more complicated route.

In a 2005 article for *Forum Journal*, written after he attended the National Trust’s Recent Past Forum in Phoenix, real estate consultant and preservationist Donovan Rypkema discussed his concern that the broadening concept of significance, in conjunction

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17 For a sampling, see E. Avrami, R. F. Mason, and M. de la Torre, eds., *Values and Heritage Conservation*; and J. M. Teutonico and G. Palumbo, eds., *Management Planning for Archaeological Sites* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Trust, 2003).

18 For a summary of early recent-past advocacy efforts, see K. Shapiro, “From Modernism to McDonald’s: Ideology, Controversy, and the Movement to Preserve the Recent Past,” *Journal of Architectural Education*, 61, 2 (Nov. 2007): 6-14.

with the (arguably) diminishing quality of the built environment over the past half-century, is leading us to lower our standards and preserve low quality, nominally significant buildings. “[I]f the preservation movement in America allows itself to abandon the measures of quality, significance, and value that have been the threshold to our saying ‘this is important to save’... we will quickly lose both our credibility and the impact on the quality of cities that preservation has begun to have.” He also expressed concern about a certain reluctance he perceives among preservationists to set priorities vis-à-vis the abundance of recent-past heritage.<sup>19</sup>

The importance of retaining measures of significance and setting priorities is indisputable. Cities must balance preserving significant buildings with facilitating new development. Preservationists cannot “save everything” (as they often are charged, fallaciously, with wishing to do), and must strive to make stronger cases for those buildings that really matter. But how do we define what *really matters*? Rypkema believes that significance is self-evident, at least in some cases. “Mount Vernon and McDonald’s are not equally important. Period.”<sup>20</sup> He continues in another essay for the National Trust’s *Forum Journal*: “I’m not against designating the first McDonald’s. But if an upcoming generation of preservationists thinks there is equivalence between Mount Vernon and McDonald’s, I’m burning my National Trust membership card.”<sup>21</sup>

Underlying Rypkema’s sharp-tongued concern is the distaste he feels toward recent-past architecture and urbanism, categorically. “Many of the buildings advocated for

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19 D. D. Rypkema, “Saving the Recent Past: A Philosophical and Practical Dissent,” *Forum Journal*, 20, 1 (Fall 2005).

20 Ibid.

21 D. D. Rypkema, “Making Historic Preservation Relevant for the Next 50 Years,” *Forum Journal*, 24, 3 (Spring 2010), 16.

preservation by the recent-past proponents require not just revising but lowering standards.

... Well, let me write what most of us intuitively know: The vast majority of what has been built in America in the last 50 years is crap.”<sup>22</sup> Cultural critic James Howard Kunstler began his popular book, *The Geography of Nowhere*, with such a sentiment, which many Americans share:

Eighty percent of everything ever built in America has been built in the last fifty years, and most of it is depressing, brutal, ugly, unhealthy, and spiritually degrading—the jive-plastic commuter tract home wastelands, the Potemkin village shopping plazas with their vast parking lagoons, the Lego-block hotel complexes, the ‘gourmet mansardic’ junk-food joints, the Orwellian office ‘parks’ featuring buildings sheathed in the same reflective glass as the sunglasses worn by chain-gang guards, the particle-board garden apartments rising up in every meadow and cornfield, the freeway loops around every big and little city with their clusters of discount merchandise marts, the whole destructive, wasteful, toxic, agoraphobic-inducing spectacle that politicians proudly call ‘growth.’<sup>23</sup>

Indeed, many preservationists were catapulted into the field by their reactions to precisely this sort of placeless, consumerist “sprawl.”

Yet even professionals charged with municipal-level preservation can fall back on inaccurate assumptions about recent-past architecture. In the case of the Sidney Hillman Medical Center (classified as “contributing” but not “significant” within the Rittenhouse-Fitler Historic District), the Philadelphia Historical Commission went on record acknowledging its significance loosely “as an unusual example of Mid-Century Modernism... and as

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22 Ibid., 14.

23 J. H. Kunstler, *The Geography of Nowhere: The Rise and Decline of America’s Man-Made Landscape* (New York: Touchstone, 1994), 10. This passage is reprinted on the Pennsylvania Museum and Historical Commission website, “Pennsylvania’s Historic Suburbs: Postwar Suburbs 1945-1965,” [www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/postwar\\_suburbs\\_1945-1965/18881](http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/postwar_suburbs_1945-1965/18881) (accessed April 28, 2011).

a labor union medical center.”<sup>24</sup> However, off-the-record accounts indicate that some local preservation leaders see Hillman as an outlier: it does not fit into the International Style canon, was not designed by a celebrated architect like Richard Neutra or I. M. Pei, therefore it is not a priority.<sup>25</sup> Numerous professors of architecture and history see it very differently, as a vital part of the city’s social history as well as an extraordinarily distinctive example of Philadelphia Modernism.<sup>26</sup> (Ultimately, the Commission avoided having to make any decisions based on the building’s significance, for its functional obsolescence led the owner to claim financial hardship, in which case the Commission is required to deliberate and rule irrespective of significance.) The urge to reassert limitations over the scope of the field can be understandable, driven by a desire to preserve the field’s credibility or to make workloads more manageable in understaffed offices. Nevertheless, insofar as it happens on an implicit level, decision-making is less transparent, and that is not good. I suspect that the imminent loss of the Hillman would sting slightly less were the building not so misunderstood and dismissed on the basis of current taste.

Two sets of factors converge remarkably in the issue of recent-past preservation planning today. The preservation field has liberalized and democratized over the past two decades, creating one set of factors at play here. The concept of significance in buildings has expanded to include socio-cultural values as well as traditional artistic and historical values. The field, for the most part, claims to reject *a priori* restrictions over what it will

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24 J. Farnham, “Re: ‘Hillman Center’s Demise Will Signal Larger Problem with Architectural Legacy Here,’” July 1, 2009, PlanPhilly, <http://planphilly.com/node/9286> (accessed April 28, 2011).

25 For a narrative of Philadelphia modernism that does note the Hillman Medical Center, see M. Clendenin, with Introduction by E. T. Cooperman, “Thematic Context Statement: Modernism: 1945 to 1980,” [www.preservephiladelphia.org/wp-content/uploads/HCSModernism.pdf](http://www.preservephiladelphia.org/wp-content/uploads/HCSModernism.pdf) (accessed April 28, 2011).

26 F. G. Matero, “Hillman Center’s Demise Will Signal Larger Problem with Architectural Legacy Here,” June 24, 2009, PlanPhilly, <http://planphilly.com/node/9189>. A. Jaffe, “Preservation Row: Hillman Medical Center,” June 1, 2009, PlanPhilly <http://planphilly.com/node/9021> (both accessed April 28, 2011).

consider potentially significant, for example, restrictions based on building typology and distinctions between high and low culture. More and more lay people make cases for preservation in their communities, in addition to scholars and professional preservationists. We understand that preservation functions not just in documenting history and displaying art, but also in creating place and fostering community, today.

This conceptual expansion has paralleled the emergence of a new batch of buildings, that of the mid-twentieth century, which is particularly complex, creating another set of factors. The unprecedented quantity of new buildings, the use of new materials and construction techniques, the experimentation with different styles, the broad cultural and socio-spatial changes, all of which characterize mid-twentieth century building stocks, make them a challenge to assess. Municipalities and the public know of a select few buildings—usually buildings that were first recognized by architectural critics or are particularly showy or kitschy—but understanding beyond that is considerably weaker. Scholarship on the lasting significance of mid-century development is limited (a natural fact of its newness) and has yet to diffuse into mainstream consciousness. Many people see little heritage value in mid-century buildings categorically. Others feel the time is too soon to consider the artistic, historical and/or socio-cultural values in the total stock. All in all, a certain ambivalence pervades the idea of mid-twentieth century heritage, and a holistic understanding of the mid-century landscape is lacking.

The expanded concept of built heritage is well accepted in theory, but in the face of new heritage from the mid-twentieth century, it can quickly fall apart. Architectural historian Richard Longstreth noticed over a decade ago a “disconcerting close-mindedness”

among preservationists toward mid-century resources, commenting that “[a]s it matures, the historian-preservationist’s approach seems to be becoming somewhat brittle, even reactionary.”<sup>27</sup> A core problem in recent-past preservation planning today is this: practitioners are susceptible to *implicitly reassert* limitations over the category of built heritage in order to identify priorities. Limitations include categorical thinking (“*it’s all crap*” or “*x buildings are not significant because they are not examples of the y style*”); reliance on taste (“*x is significant because I think it is great*” or “*y is ugly and not significant*”); reliance on architectural history that tends to emphasize high-art masterpieces (“*it is well established that x, y, and z are significant*”); and other cognitive shortcuts.

### 1.3 Statement of the Problem

In evaluating a stock of recent-past buildings, it is important to stay alert to the ways in which recent-past heritage is more difficult to assess, and what we might be prone to do to make it easier to assess. It is not enough to involve numerous people in the process and to articulate our method of analysis. We as preservation professionals must also consciously strive to avoid cognitive shortcuts. We must set evaluative standards and choose priorities, without simply dismissing a great portion of the built environment as “crap” or accepting self-evidence as a measure of significance. Complexity should not be a cause for despair. We must lead the public in a more self-reflexive view of built heritage, without getting stuck in never-ending philosophizing and debating. The field would benefit from a

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27 R. W. Longstreth, “Architectural History and the Practice of Historic Preservation in the United States,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58, 3 (Sept. 1999), 330.

more systematic, methodical approach to championing pluralism in heritage and recognizing the polysemy in cultural objects, which nonetheless helps to uncover priorities of highest significance.

In sum, prior to, and in addition to, preservation advocacy efforts to publicize and popularize buildings of the recent-past, preservation planning efforts must establish better methods for identifying resources and assessing their significance. In light of the issues and caveats just introduced, this study asks: what is an optimal inventory method for a municipal/county-level commission or nonprofit organization to identify priorities for preservation planning for the recent-past?



*Chapter 2 Literature Review & Discussion of Issues*

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## 2.1. What Entails an “Optimal” Methodology for Determining Significance?

### 2.1.1. Local Surveys and Historical Context Statements

National Register Bulletin no. 24, *Guidelines for Local Surveys*, first published by the National Park Service (NPS) in 1977 and revised in 1985, provides the national standard for determining significant buildings through the preservation planning process.<sup>28</sup> For this reason, it is important to review how the document defines the concepts and outlines the process. In fact, the *Guidelines* presuppose the possibility for a certain objectivity in the process, which, professional historians are well aware, may not be possible.<sup>29</sup>

The NPS defines an *historic resource*, or *property*, as “a district, site, building, structure, or object significant in American history, architecture, engineering, archaeology, and culture. ... It may be of value to the Nation as a whole or important only to the community in which it is located.” A *survey* is “a process of identifying and gathering data on a community’s historic resources.” It typically uses a standardized form to record the physical features of properties within a given area, as well as secondary research on the property’s designer or builder, date of construction, and so forth. The resulting mass of raw data is subsequently winnowed down to those that “meet defined criteria of historical,

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28 A. Derry, et al, *National Register Bulletin 24: Guidelines for Local Surveys: A Basis for Preservation Planning*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., revised by P. L. Parker (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, 1985).

29 For a comprehensive review of the critique of objectivity in the history profession as it developed over the course of the twentieth century, see P. Novick, *That Noble Dream: The “Objectivity Question” and the American Historical Profession* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988).

architectural, archaeological, or cultural significance,” resulting in the *historic resource inventory*, the “organized compilation of information on those properties that are evaluated as significant.”<sup>30</sup>

The NPS strongly advises that practitioners use *historic context statements* as the framework through which to evaluate survey data and winnow it down to an inventory of significant properties. The Bulletin defines an historical context as “a broad pattern of historical development in a community or its region that may be represented by historic resources.”<sup>31</sup> State Historic Preservation Offices and other government agencies produce historic contexts, often on a statewide or regional scale, as well as the practitioners undertaking the survey effort, on a local scale.

In the latter case, the NPS advises that practitioners with professional qualifications in history carry out primary and secondary research into an area’s social/demographic development, economic development, political structure, distinctive natural features, and architectural and infrastructural development.<sup>32</sup> Practitioners with professional qualifications in history, architectural history and/or historical architecture then evaluate property information obtained during the field survey vis-à-vis the broader historical development and those themes identified as distinctive. “The importance of taking historic contexts into account cannot be overemphasized” as they target survey work toward important themes, help to

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30 Derry, et al, 2.

31 Ibid., 14.

32 For the National Park Service’s recommendations on professional and non-professional qualifications for survey work, see Derry, et al, 22-24.

elucidate important resources, and prevent uncontrolled biases.”<sup>33</sup>

*Guidelines for Local Surveys* lists ten types of data that are important to gather during the field survey and consider within the historical context:

Historically significant events and/or patterns of activity associated with the property.

Periods of time during which the property was in use.

Specific dates or period of time when the resource achieved its importance (e.g. date of construction, date of a specific event, period of association with an important person, period of important activity).

Historically significant persons associated with the property (e.g., its tenants, visitors, owner).

Representation of a style, period, or method of construction.

Persons responsible for the design or construction of the property.

Quality of style, design, or workmanship.

Historically or culturally significant group associated with the property, and the nature of its association.

Information which the property has yielded or may be likely to yield (especially for archaeological sites and districts).

Cultural affiliation (for archaeological sites and districts).<sup>34</sup>

The NPS approach to identifying significance posits that by tracking the above information (and/or other types of information) in each of the properties surveyed, and then evaluating that data within the context of the historical themes, priorities will emerge. A *statement of significance* for any property should develop “as a reasoned argument, first identifying the historical context or contexts to which the property could relate, next discussing

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33 Ibid., 14-15.

34 Ibid., 45.

the property types within the context and their relevant characteristics, and then showing how the property in question does or does not have the characteristics required to qualify it as part of the context.”<sup>35</sup>

The historic context statement-based survey is useful in bringing to light buildings whose significance is based on qualities that can be seen in the material fabric—buildings that are rare in age-value, for example, or exceptional in their architecture or construction technique. It also directs practitioners to note buildings that are well known in their associations with individuals or events, though it may not reveal many surprises. In any case, the survey depends on the quality and thoroughness of the historical research carried out for the context statement, which establishes the themes to which a property contributes or does not contribute. One weakness of this approach is that it is vulnerable to the practitioners’ preconceived ideas about what historical themes are important. A related problem is the risk that practitioners will decide, first, that a property is significant, and then include information in the statement to accommodate that decision. At the root of these weaknesses is a practical problem in preservation practice: in our time of ever-decreasing SHPO budgets, federal programming cuts, and underfunded nonprofits, historical context statements are produced by small teams, typically headed by one professional with the support of volunteers or graduate students. They may consult with several historians and local community groups, but the fact remains that a limited number of voices, not necessarily incorporating alternative views or advanced scholarship, informs the project.

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35 Ibid.

2.1.2. “The Epistemology of the Significance Concept”

There is an additional weakness in the standard, context-statement-centered approach to identifying priorities, which involves a caveat in the very concept of significance. Two years before the revised edition of National Register Bulletin 24, historian and anthropologist Joseph Tainter and archaeologist John Lucas published a seminal study that remains one of the most important critiques of the way that the preservation field assesses significance in historical cultural resources. They argue that “there are definite limits in the extent to which significance may be used as a planning, management, and preservation tool” because, contrary to long-standing assumption, significance is not self-evident in material or fixed over time.<sup>36</sup> The perception of significance, or non-significance, depends on the particular cultural perspective from which it is assessed.

Preservation on the federal level, they explain, is steeped in a tradition of empiricist-positivist thought, dating to the late 19<sup>th</sup> century and still evident in contemporary policy, which assumes significance is based on tangible attributes that are visually “observable and recordable in much the same way as its dimensions, condition and content.” A site either possesses or lacks significance.<sup>37</sup> This conceptualization explains the tautological language of the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, for example, defining *significant* properties as

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36 J. A. Tainter and J. G. Lucas, “Epistemology of the Significance Concept,” *American Antiquity*, 48, 4 (1983), 710.

37 Ibid., 710-12.

those that possess *significance*<sup>38</sup>; or, in Bulletin 24, advising local surveyors to collect data on *significance* (among other types of data collected in a field survey) in order to make accurate decisions about *significance*.<sup>39</sup>

Tainter and Lucas point out that research of the late 1950s and 1960s (Feyerabend [1962], Hanson [1958], Kuhn [1962]) destabilized empiricist-positivist epistemology, revealing how the “theories to which we subscribe, as well as our education and training, fundamentally influence our sense experiences.”<sup>40</sup> Consider the different assessments that different people from different socioeconomic backgrounds might make of a Louis Kahn-designed urban renewal housing complex. The observed features that we choose to count (e.g., modernist design principles) and those that we ignore (the isolating effect of open spaces), as well as non-observed information that we count (Kahn is a renowned architect) or discount (urban renewal projects exacerbated racially based poverty), indicate the existence of a particular, non-neutral orientation. Consider, also, as Tainter and Lucas do, how “the specific features that we use to classify observed objects tacitly commit us to a particular

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38 Ibid., 709-710. The National Register Criteria for Evaluation are stated in P. W. Andrus, *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed., revised by B. L. Savage and S. Dillard Pope (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, 1997), 2: “The quality of *significance* in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and: (A) That are associated with events that have made a *significant* contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or (B) That are associated with the lives of persons *significant* in our past; or (C) That embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a *significant* and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or (D) That have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history” (emphases added).

39 Derry, et al, 41-45.

40 Tainter and Lucas, 713.

orientation.<sup>741</sup> For example, if we classify Philadelphia buildings according to artistic intent, then we will perceive high significance in the Vanna Venturi House (Venturi and Rauch, 1964); but if we classify according to building technology, then we will perceive little significance at all. Since the time of this article (1983), continued rise of poststructuralist and social constructionist ways of thinking have further destabilized the empiricist-positivist position.

Tainter and Lucas conclude that the meaning signified by a cultural object is culturally assigned, not fixed; based on tangible attributes as well as intangible values; subject to different readings, not objectively observable; and mutable over time. “Here...lies the flaw in the historic significance concept. We cannot speak of significance as an inherent attribute of cultural properties, waiting only to be discerned (even though this is precisely what the federal legislation and regulations require us to do). Significance, rather, is a quality that we assign to a cultural resource based on the theoretical framework within which we happen to be thinking. ... [I]f significance is assigned rather than inherent, then, like meaning, it can vary between individuals and change over time.”<sup>742</sup>

Yet the authors see the significance concept as nonetheless an indispensable tool in the preservation field, the use of which practitioners must address squarely and critically, especially to reduce damage done by contemporary assessments of *non-significance* that may reverse in the future. While they do not provide an alternate methodology, they

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41 Ibid., 713.

42 Ibid., 714.



make the following recommendations:

- Practitioners produce statements of non-significance as an essential part of the evaluative process, with the same detail and rigor typical in statements of significance.
- While practitioners may use contemporary criteria to identify priority, they should not form the basis for denying priority. In other words, statements of non-significance should not rely on contemporary criteria alone, but rather should prove a history of non-significance.
- Practitioners should not assess a property's significance unless that property is immediately threatened, since assessments of significance are laden with consequences and risks that are better off avoided unless necessary.<sup>43</sup>
- In cases of federal properties that have been declared eligible for the National Register, those properties' agencies in-charge should not be compelled to proceed in adding them to the Register. (The status of eligible, as is, protects them through Section 106 review.<sup>44</sup>)
- Given the mutability of significance, and the need to periodically reassess significance, federal agencies should not be burdened with one more step in the process.<sup>45</sup>

In cases where Section 106 reviewers find a cultural resource in the way of a proposed federal development project, and it is feasible to redesign the project to avoid the resource, redesign should occur, irrespective of the current assessment of that resource's significance.<sup>46</sup>

One respondent, a member of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation, accepted Tainter and Lucas's theoretical critique but was dubious to the possibility of

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43 If fact, avoidance can be counterproductive, especially for the purposes of county/municipal preservation and land-use planning. The potentially harmful consequences of holding off inventory and assessment of a recent-past building stock will be discussed in Section 2.2.3, at the end of this chapter.

44 Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 requires that any federal, federally funded, or otherwise federally supported project undergo a review process assessing the potential effects of that project on National Register-listed or -eligible properties. The review is open to comment by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation and any interested parties. If adverse effect is expected, it must be mitigated in some way, and a memorandum of agreement is usually issued among the involved parties.

45 Paraphrased.

46 Tainter and Lucas, 716-17.

its implementation into federal policy. Significance must be a fixed determination—or the concept becomes impotent. Frequently enough, he explains, organizations try to evade or debate their responsibilities toward National Register-eligible properties, and so reconceptualizing significance as malleable and refraining from making designations proactively will only strengthen anti-preservation arguments. “The simple response to this sort of obstructionism...is the premise that significance is inherent, not assigned. ... ‘An orange is an orange, regardless of whether the Secretary of the Interior has peeled it and pronounced it to be an orange.’”<sup>47</sup> He concludes, “While I think Tainter and Lucas are undoubtedly right, at their level of discourse, that the ‘inherent significance’ idea makes no sense, at the nitty-gritty level of dealing with agencies that seek every excuse to avoid having to identify and think about historic properties that are threatened by their actions, it has served us well. ... On such agencies, the elegance of the argument advanced by Tainter and Lucas is lost.”<sup>48</sup>

Since the early 1980s, conversation has opened up around the significance concept. The preservation field has accepted the ideas that Tainter and Lucas asserted, at least on an academic level: the meaning of a cultural object is culturally assigned, not fixed; it is based on tangible attributes as well as intangible values; it is subject to different readings, not objectively observable; and it is mutable over time. Yet these more complex definitions of meaning might suggest a weaker concept of significance. (The field may make use of a different concept of significance, but a *weaker* concept is not in order!) Practitioners must

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47 T. F. King, “If an Orange Falls in the Forest, Is It Eligible?” *American Antiquity*, 50, 1 (Jan. 1985), 171.

48 Ibid., 172.

account for these realities of cultural meaning while making statements of significance that are strong and clear nonetheless, able to stand up against counterclaims from federal agencies, real estate developers, and countless others with different land-use interests. The next section will discuss ways that the field has attempted to harness the malleability, mutability, and multiplicity of meaning in cultural objects into a workable methodology that produces equitable, defensible claims of cultural significance warranting preservation measures.

### 2.1.3. *The Social Construction of Significance*

The Australia ICOMOS *Burra Charter* is a seminal example of an increasingly prevalent approach to cultural resource management planning, *values-centered planning*, which posits cultural significance as the essential subject of preservation, not the material fabric/ physical landscape. While the document speaks directly to site management, it is pertinent to a discussion of surveying and inventorying in its expansion of the concept of significance to include multiple types of values: a property may be significant not only for its aesthetic and/or historical values (the traditional foci of preservation), but also, more inclusively, for its social and spiritual values (catalyzed by Australia's need to consider Aboriginal interests in addition to those held by European descendents). The *Burra Charter* also emphasizes that these types of values are not mutually exclusive; a single site is likely to contain multiple values.

Because of this potential plurality of values in a site, including values that are

not “written on the walls” or commonly known, the *Burra Charter* recommends an inclusive, methodical procedure for establishing significance. It calls for practitioners not only to develop an understanding of a site’s historical context and to collect information pertaining to building fabric and landscape morphology—usual steps—but also to understand all of the stakeholders who have ever used or been associated with the site, and to involve current stakeholders in the assessment process. In a county-wide survey of tens or hundreds of thousands of properties, local stakeholders would include neighborhood associations, planners and community developers, local historians, church groups, etc., offering their views of the most valuable properties among many, as well as businesses, organizations and homeowners that have used properties already known to be standouts. The *Burra Charter* then asks practitioners to consolidate their assessments into “succinct,” “clear and pithy” statements of significance, and to make this information publicly accessible. In cases where values conflict—that is to say, they are incompatible—the *Burra Charter* strongly encourages coexistence.<sup>49</sup>

As timely and pivotal as the *Burra Charter* has been for the preservation field, the ways that its process plays out in practice are rarely as clear and straightforward as the document suggests. Subsequent work by the Getty Conservation Institute has further explored how heritage management is a *social practice*—and a potentially contentious one, too.<sup>50</sup>

In their introduction to a Getty Conservation Institute (GCI) collection of

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49 *Burra Charter* 1999, 5, 20-21.

50 Avrami, et al, 3.

research published in 2000, Erica Avrami, Randall Mason, and Marta de la Torre write:

“Echoing a great deal of social science and humanities research on culture in the postmodern era, heritage should be considered a very fluid phenomenon, a process as opposed to a static set of objects with fixed meaning. Building on this insight, preservation should be recognized as a bundle of highly politicized social processes, intertwined with myriad other economic, political, and cultural processes.”<sup>51</sup> Over time certain parts of the built environment acquire cultural value that extends beyond their original function or purpose: “[whether through academic discourse, archaeological excavation, a community movement, or political or religious trends,” or countless other forms of socio-cultural discourse, they come to be seen not just as physical artifacts but more consciously as cultural heritage. Heritage professionals, ranging from museum curators to municipal commissioners, then enter the scenario to assess and protect the resource, a process that may generate additional value or, if not done well, actually diminish the existing value.<sup>52</sup>

For example, city residents begin showing interest in a peripheral neighborhood of strong historical value, strong but latent aesthetic value, and weak economic value. They buy properties and restore and rehabilitate them, for the most part in accordance with the Secretary of the Interior’s *Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties*, and eventually nominate the neighborhood to the National Register as an historic district.<sup>53</sup> Consequently,

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51 Ibid., 6.

52 Ibid., 3-4, 7-9.

53 K. D. Weeks and A. E. Grimmer, *The Secretary of the Interior’s Standards for the Treatment of Historic Properties with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitating, Restoring and Reconstructing Historic Buildings* (Washington, DC: US Department of the Interior, 1995).

the economic and aesthetic values of the neighborhood increase. Or, for another example, a neighborhood that had been suffering disinvestment for several decades is finally showing signs of revitalization. A group of longtime residents decides to capitalize on the positive momentum and nominates to the local historical register a place that one day, years ago, had been the site of an important workers' rights protest. The neighborhood remains largely working-class, and the residents fashion this site as a new landmark of community pride. Or, to give an example of diminishing value, a heritage nonprofit acquires a highly historical schoolhouse, invests in meticulous restoration of the building and in acquisition of authentic furnishings, and opens it as a small museum. However, the building is in an economically challenged area, not conducive to tourism. The elementary school nearby could have benefitted from a hands-on history site for class lessons and after-school programs, but instead the site has become a burden to its nonprofit owner, failing to provide enough visitor revenue or to attract grant funding for a sustainable educational function.

As the GCI researchers emphasize, significance “can no longer be a purely scholarly construction but, rather, an issue negotiated among the many professionals, academics, and community members who value the object or place—the ‘*stakeholders*.’”<sup>54</sup> Moreover, while the *Burra Charter* encourages the coexistence of different values, in reality, often, the preservation practitioner “cannot maximize all kinds of value at once.”<sup>55</sup> Site management demands the practitioner make choices over incompatible values, while in cases

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54 Avrami, et al, 9.

55 Mason, 2003, 69.

of preservation planning for a large stock of buildings, s/he must establish priorities for designation and other land-use options. The schoolhouse cannot display museum collections in all their glory while also functioning as a children's education space; the municipal historical commission cannot accommodate both the residents' desire to commemorate a protest site and a local developer's desire to redevelop that site amidst favorable market conditions.

Values-based planning also demands that the practitioner acknowledge and cope with the *malleability* of significance. In "Fixing Historic Preservation: A Constructive Critique of 'Significance,'" Mason (2003), echoing Tainter and Lucas, maintains that the significance concept is "exceedingly important to the practice of historic preservation" but that problems have beleaguered the concept and its application. Foremost is that "the preservation field fails to fully appreciate [the] contingent nature" of significance. Mistakenly, assessments are "narrowly drawn," then fixed for time indefinitely, and the preservation professionals who make the assessments operate too unreflectively and uncritically.<sup>56</sup>

The "essential nature of significance," Mason asserts, "is that as an expression of cultural meaning, it must be expected to change, involve multivalence and contention, and be contingent on time, place, and other factors."<sup>57</sup> He gives important points to remember when taking the "values-based" approach to evaluating significance:

- Any particular site in the built environment may contain multiple values, which provide the source of its significance. These values may be historical, cultural, and aesthetic, as well as economic, social, perhaps even ecological.

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56 Ibid., 64.

57 Ibid., 65.

- Values are constructed and situational, not inherent. The practitioner must recognize them as products of the particular time and place, and assess them self-reflexively and with the input of stakeholders.
- Values conflict. Multiple stakeholders may assert multiple claims of significance, but the practitioner may have to accept one, or some, over others. Nonetheless, the practitioner must attempt to comprehend all the possible values in a site when making a decision about it, and honestly, vigorously consider all of them.<sup>58</sup>

Mason concludes: “The challenge of preservation planning and policy, therefore, is to strike and sustain a reasonable balance of values. Preservationists do not have to advocate all the values of a heritage site, but they should have to understand them.” They must make their decisions professionally, in a rigorous, analytical, and transparent manner.<sup>59</sup>

It must be said, the mandate of values-based planning in certain ways makes the process of determining priorities more difficult for professionals. They must involve more people in the process, obtain more information, juggle more variables. And they find themselves more frequently in a position of having to referee and make calls, and then to defend those calls in the face of the stakeholders and the public at large.

#### *2.1.4. The Privileging of Architectural Significance*

Since the 1970s, and especially since the late 1990s, the focus of the preservation field has been evolving from the artistic, historic, material, and supposedly timeless aspects of cultural heritage to the broadly cultural, intangible, and contingent aspects.

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58 Paraphrased.

59 Ibid., 68-71.



Part and parcel of this evolution has been the ascendance of significance as a central concept in the field, one that is both essential and problematic. Cultural objects present different meanings for different people, and they evolve different meanings over time. A common belief in the preservation field today is that we must give equal, fair consideration to all meanings. “Good and bad criteria for significance do not exist,” archeology professor Bernard Knapp wrote in 1996, describing the archaeology field under an emergent atmosphere of postmodernism, “and all interpretations become equally valid.”<sup>60</sup> The postmodern condition that pervades the preservation field as well would seem to leave practitioners in a tricky position, having to make choices and determine priorities among values that are—theoretically, at least—are all equally valid.

In practice, old precepts die hard. While practitioners are in a trickier position than they were a half-century ago, having now accepted pluralism in society and the polysemy of cultural objects, a tendency remains very much intact to privilege a particular category: buildings that have primarily artistic value and were designed by architects whose personal reputations have been made in the pages of architecture journals and art history books.

Urban sociologist Herbert Gans brought this tendency to public attention in 1975, when, via the op-ed pages of the *New York Times*, he criticized the New York Landmarks Preservation Commission for “tend[ing] to designate the stately mansions of

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60 A. B. Knapp, “Archaeology without Gravity: Postmodernism and the Past,” *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory*, 3, 2 (June 1996), 136.

the rich and buildings designed by famous architects” and “allow[ing] popular architecture to disappear.” This effectively “distorts the real past” by recasting the city’s architectural history as being predominantly about “affluence and grandeur.” In a subsequent letter to the editor, Gans bolstered his argument with statistics: ninety-three percent of the buildings designated at that time were by major architects, with an astounding twenty-two percent by a single firm, McKim, Mead and White; eighty-one percent were located in Manhattan; and sixty-eight percent of historic districts were originally neighborhoods for the affluent elite.<sup>61</sup> Architectural critic Ada Louise Huxtable responded to Gans by defending the Commission. She argued that New York’s designated buildings “are a primary and irreplaceable part of civilization. Esthetic singularity is as important as vernacular expression.” Huxtable’s response suggests that she missed or ignored Gans’ point. He was advocating not merely the inclusion of both high art and vernacular culture but, more broadly, the practice of historic preservation in support of public history as opposed to architectural criticism. The point applied particularly to municipal preservation practice. “Private citizens are of course entitled to save their own past,” he clarified, “but when preservation becomes a public act, supported with public funds, it must attend to everyone’s past.”<sup>62</sup> We are well versed in Gans’ perspective today. Still, the preservation field continues to privilege artistically valuable buildings by big-name architecture firms—what Garry Stevens calls the “favored circle.”

In *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction*,

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61 Gans analyzed only those designated buildings that were erected after 1875.

62 Discussed in D. Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1995): chap. 1.

architectural sociologist Garry Stevens uses the social theory of Pierre Bourdieu as a lens through which to illuminate the remarkable extent to which the architecture that a society values is influenced by social processes that serve the interests of the architecture field itself.<sup>63</sup> According to his research, the architecture profession historically has worked hard to drive taste and define the best buildings and designers in society from within its own closed circle. Because of the peculiar way that taste operates, the tastefulness of those buildings and designers seems self-evident, rather than what it really is: the dictate of one social group to others.

It was urban sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu who first illuminated how taste functions socially as a tool of power, insofar as it generates “cultural capital.”<sup>64</sup> A concept that he introduced, cultural capital takes four forms: *institutionalized* (acquiring educational degrees, academic credentials, professional affiliations), *objectified* (owning objects invested with value), *social* (having connections to people who can provide assistance, resources, and other support), and *embodied* (the extent to which one appears invested with cultural capital, such as through speech, attitudes, preferences in consumer goods, and interests). Taste is an expression of embodied cultural capital. It depends upon a personal allegiance with certain cultural objects, resources and practices, which is,

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63 G. Stevens, *The Favored Circle: The Social Foundations of Architectural Distinction* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998).

64 P. Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984). Gans, too, was an astute observer of the social function of taste. See H. J. Gans, *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Basic Books, 1999).

according to Bourdieu, one of the primary ways that privileged groups reproduce their place in society. Taste is more potent than other forms of social power in three ways: the seeming “naturalness,” or inevitability, that privileged groups prefer certain things; the “embodiment” of taste in the group members, accrued over a lifetime and expressed too subtly to acquire or feign; and the “misrecognition” among the whole society that these preferences are functioning in the service of power.

The architecture profession, like other design professions, is particularly invested in cultural capital—after all, its economic capital largely depends upon cultural capital. The architect provides neither a service nor a product that is necessary for living; buildings can be produced by carpenters, masons, engineers, contractors, or even ordinary people if they learn basic construction skills as people have for millennia. Architects provide design, aesthetics, and symbols, and they must have symbolic power in order to compel others to pay a premium for their work. As distinct from physical and economic power, symbolic power is “the ability to wield symbols and concepts, ideas and beliefs, to achieve ends.”<sup>65</sup> Cultural capital generates symbolic power, which is then expressed through “name, renown, prestige, honor, glory, authority” and in terms of a distinction between “the ‘distinguished’ possessors and the ‘pretentious’ challengers.”<sup>66</sup>

A little-known essay in the 1957 edition *Yearbook* of the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects cleverly dramatizes the importance of symbolic power

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65 Bourdieu’s concept of “symbolic capital” paraphrased in Stevens, *The Favored Circle*, 59.

66 Bourdieu, 1984, 251.

to the architecture field at a time when International Style Modernism was at its popular peak. While the author claims not to lament the loss of Beaux-Arts academicism, he muses how “it must have been nice in the old days... to belong to that elite within the community which, alone, knew how to turn, in accordance with ancient ritual, a fine Ionic column.”<sup>67</sup> The Beaux-Arts system, both in Europe and as it carried over to America, used traditional, legible (at least among architects) vocabulary, based value on classical aesthetic principles, and usually demanded craftsmanship in construction. International Style modernism, by comparison, struck this *Yearbook* writer as open in meaning, lacking clear-cut standards by which to judge value, and demanding simply the ability to make and sell open space. He was concerned that an untutored nouveaux-riche patron, personified as “Mr. Gotrocks,” lacked the subtlety of taste to distinguish between a midrange, sufficiently stylish, cheap, and profitable modernist high-rise and a “fine” Modernist high-rise, both of which are similar in volume, fenestration, and lack of ornament.

To Mr. Gotrocks, [architects, historically,] had a Sure Thing in their proprietorship of the impressive materials of their craft, cunningly worked and commanding respect, worth the price. But fine solid matter they no longer purvey; they just sell space, layers of empty space. ... For something to brag about, he buys a *schuklbeispiel* Rembrandt. Occasionally, on the next level, a Great Name in finance seeks out a Great Name in modern architecture because he is aware of prestige and insists upon it in all his transactions. The result is a pavilion of soap or a cathedral of blended whisky, and very often a genuine contribution to the story of contemporary design. But even the Great Name in finance must secretly be nagged by the thought that, with a building that has nothing more impressive to show than its bones and a lot of glass, he might have got the same effect for half the cost by putting his head together

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67 G. C. Manson, “Architecture in a Crystal Globe,” *American Institute of Architects, Philadelphia Chapter, Yearbook* (1957), 6.

with his contractor's.<sup>68</sup>

The “pavilion of soap” and the “cathedral of blended whisky” refer, respectively, to Gordon Bunshaft’s Lever House (completed 1952) and Mies van der Rohe’s and Johnson’s Seagram Building (completed 1958). The Seagram Building is made of impressive material (marble, travertine, ample exterior bronze) arguably worth its extraordinarily high price, and the Lever House, as the first curtain wall skyscraper in New York, is arguably more than layers of empty space. But these are the exceptions, rare and eminent. The author, in his time, senses that as International Style Modernism permeates the commercial mainstream, stripped of radical potency and cheapened by real estate imperatives, what constitutes a “fine” building becomes difficult for the average eye to detect. Mid-century modern buildings are streamlined, un-ornamented, de-materialized—“judged [not] by the material which it uses but by the material which it doesn’t.”<sup>69</sup> Architectural historian William Curtis concurs, “the critical exercise of distinguishing the genuine from the fake required greater subtlety: good and bad might even share the same features (simple geometrical forms, concrete frames, flat roofs).”<sup>70</sup> The architecture field had liberated itself from the confines of traditional design and materiality over the first half of the twentieth century, yet, this 1957 essay reveals, it felt itself losing its place in society as a result.

In fact, while Modernism seemed to throw a wrench into settled notions of

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68 Ibid., 7.

69 Ibid., 8.

70 W. J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture since 1900* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1983), 344-45.

taste, architectural legibility, and the architect's authority, the architecture profession had always felt (and continues to feel) anxiety about, and inclination to lampoon, parvenus like Mr. Gotrocks. Their livelihood depends on their symbolic power in society. If anything, like Howard Roark in Ayn Rand's *The Fountainhead*, modern vanguard architects felt compelled to further champion the singular and avant-garde aspects of their work, effectively relying on their cultural capital to an even greater degree than their predecessors.<sup>71</sup> While most contemporary architects work in ordinary offices, serve their clients, and never achieve lasting renown for pivotal masterworks, Garry Stevens maintains that the existence of an elite few—the “favored circle”—is necessary for the purposes of setting design standards, propagating the high degree of cultural capital that the field depends upon, and maintaining the field's reason for being. He writes, “Those buildings we call ‘architecture’ are invariably buildings of power and taste made for people of power and taste, buildings for society's heroes. And their creators, the great architects, stride like colossi through the history books, fighting to actualize their singular visions.”<sup>72</sup>

Huxtable would insist that these buildings should not be stigmatized just because they had brilliant visionaries and generous budgets behind them. They stand among the greatest artistic and technological achievements of the twentieth century, and do not receive an inordinate amount of attention. Gans, on the other hand, would remind us that the preservation field does not exist in the service of architecture, but rather in the service

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71 A Rand, *The Fountainhead* (first publ. 1943) (New York: Scribner Classics, 2000).

72 G. Stevens, “How the Invisible Stays That Way: Sociology on Architects,” *Thresholds*, 19 (1999), 54.

of public history. It should strive to balance the preservation of examples of high art with buildings significant in social function and popular expression.



Deborah Merriam

Fig. 2: Free Library of Philadelphia, Northeast Regional Branch (Geddes, Brecher, Qualls and Cunningham, 1963).

But, consider, there is yet another factor at work that leans the preservation field toward privileging high-art architecture. To do its work the preservation field relies on works of architectural history, and, as scholars including Stanford Anderson and Dell Upton have shown, architectural history has long been in the service of the architecture profession. Not until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century did architectural history begin to emerge a distinct and independent discipline. Before that, architecture students, teachers, and practitioners



produced architectural history, for whom it provided a repository of information and a broader tradition in which to place their work.<sup>73</sup> For example, the teachings of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts rest on principles of art and building culled from Ancient and Renaissance Rome. The production of architectural history by architects took on an additional function, Upton notes, in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century: to legitimize architecture as a refined profession in nascent commercial societies. Architects distinguished themselves from builders and craftsmen by asserting that they had expertise based in knowledge of a normative canon gained from specialized education.<sup>74</sup> They were cultivating, in other words, a kind of institutionalized cultural capital. In the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, architectural criticism joined in this service to suggest that architectural professionals had superior taste—something more personal than training—which they may share with others—clients, magazine readers, anybody who observes the aesthetic judgments they pronounce.<sup>75</sup> And so the architect, as arbiter of taste, increased his embodied cultural capital as well. By the time architectural history was recognized as a distinct discipline in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, its functioning “as the public relations branch” of the architecture profession was well ingrained. Upton sees this service continuing in contemporary times. Architectural historians, he says, “have accepted in principle the design profession’s account of architectural invention as a master narrative of

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73 S. Anderson, “Architectural History in Schools of Architecture,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58, 3 (Sept. 1999), 282; D. Upton, “Architectural History or Landscape History?” *Journal of Architectural Education*, 44, 4 (Aug. 1991), 195.

74 Upton, 1991, 195.

75 Ibid.

the creation of the human landscape.”<sup>76</sup>

The core of Upton’s argument is that analytical assumptions that served the imperatives of the architecture profession in the 19<sup>th</sup> century continue to pervade the architectural history discipline today.<sup>77</sup> Much architectural-historical work continues to assume the premise that certain universal aesthetic principles (for example, a causal relationship between mathematics and art, a lucid relationship between form and function) establish the basis of architectural vocabulary, and it assumes that the objective of architectural history is to track the relatively linear evolution in the usage of these principles. Much historical scholarship credits the architect for autonomously investing a building with its meaning through his usage of these principles (whether adherence to, or knowing deviation from), and assumes that people in turn “read” or otherwise visually perceive that meaning. Much scholarship assumes that structural norms of perception determine, for the most part, the meaning that the architecture signifies to the viewer; even if a viewer or user does discern a different meaning, the work privileges the designer’s intent. The unit of analysis is the individual work of architecture, not the messy, adulterated, collective landscape. Such assumptions of architectural historians contribute to the opposition that people continue to pose between “high” and “low,” high style and vernacular, in architecture.<sup>78</sup> They pervade the preservation field, particularly in our assessments of significance. They are evident in how much weight we give to the architect’s artistic intent over, in Upton’s words, “the human experience of its own

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76 Ibid.

77 Ibid., 196-97.

78 Ibid., 198.

landscape.”<sup>79</sup> Singular artistic intent and the great architectural advancements are a part, not the whole, of the built heritage that the preservation field aspires to curate.

### 2.1.5. Section Summary

As the preservation field moves into post-structural ways of thinking about significance, it continues to rely upon architectural history narratives as a major part of its knowledge base, and, as Upton suggests, architectural history continues to rely upon old-fashioned, structural assumptions. These assumptions support the architecture profession, where the heroic creator is alive and well. “Major architects—like Frank Gehry, Renzo Piano, Rem Koolhaas, Richard Meier, Santiago Calatrava, Zaha Hadid, Daniel Liebeskind, and others,” Nathan Glazer comments, “have recently attained remarkable prominence in popular perception and popular media. These ‘starchitects’ are often presented as potential saviors of declining cities through exciting advanced design.”<sup>80</sup> The architecture profession presents these chosen ones to the media and the public as such (not the other way around) in the ongoing effort to maintain and increase the profession’s cultural capital.

There is a theoretical disconnect yet practical dependency between the preservation and architectural history fields, which can cause preservation practitioners to make recourse to the very archicentric attitudes that we claim to have transcended. Instead,

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79 Ibid.

80 N. Glazer, *From a Cause to a Style: Modernist Architecture’s Encounter with the American City* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 3.

preservationists ought to be weighing creator intent and canonical context as but two factors among many in the assessment of cultural significance.

2.2. *How Is the Process of Determining the Significance of Recent-Past Resources Distinct?*

If significance is constructed, and changes over time, then it follows that there should be no fundamental difference between the older past and the recent-past in determining significance. However, several important differences do warrant careful consideration. Before delving into those particularities, this section will begin with a review of existing scholarship on the general subject of recent-past preservation planning.

2.2.1. *Review of Literature on Recent-Past Preservation Planning*

International and regional conferences galvanized professional attention toward the subject of recent-past preservation planning in the 1990s. Among the first were the Council of Europe's "Twentieth-Century Architectural Heritage: Strategies for Conservation and Promotion" in Vienna, and APT's "Preserving What's New" in Chicago, both in 1989.<sup>81</sup> The first of DOCOMOMO's biennial conferences followed in Eindhoven, Netherlands, in 1990, and the first of its publications, in 1991.<sup>82</sup> Discussions at these early conferences ranged from the philosophical to the technical, but on the whole they focused on material conservation more than preservation planning.<sup>83</sup> Journals *APT Bulletin* and

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81 The full name of APT is the Association for Preservation Technology International.

82 H. J. Henket and W. De Jonge, eds., *Conference Proceedings: First International DOCOMOMO Conference* (Eindhoven: DOCOMOMO, 1991).

83 For an overview of early conferences and scholarship, see S. D. Bronson and T. C. Jester, "Conserving the Built Heritage of the Modern Era: Recent Developments and Ongoing Challenges," and "Mending the Modern: A Selected Bibliography," both in *APT Bulletin*, 28, 4 (1997): 4-12; 59-60.

*CRM: The Journal of Heritage Stewardship* published special issues devoted to recent-past topics in 1991 and 1993, respectively.<sup>84</sup> Three more conferences convened in 1995: “Modern Matters” in London, presented by English Heritage; the “Seminar on 20<sup>th</sup> Century Heritage” in Helsinki, organized by ICOMOS with the UNESCO World Heritage Centre and ICCROM<sup>85</sup>; and “Preserving the Recent Past” in Chicago, cosponsored by the National Park Service and the Historic Preservation Education Foundation. All three conferences spawned publications.<sup>86</sup> The same year (1995), the National Trust for Historic Preservation published its first *Forum Journal* issue devoted to recent-past topics, with additional special issues following every five years.<sup>87</sup> The National Park Service and the Historic Preservation Education Foundation organized a second “Preserving the Recent Past” conference in 2000, in Philadelphia, and published another book of essays.<sup>88</sup> The year 2008 marks the publication of Theodore Prudon’s definitive *The Preservation of Modern Architecture*, which discusses in detail both the philosophical distinctions of the recent-past and the technological challenges of modern materials conservation. Although the book’s overall focus is materials

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84 M. Jackson, guest ed., Preserving What’s New, *APT Bulletin*, 23, 2 (1991). R. A. Shiffer, guest ed., Cultural Resources from the Recent Past, *CRM*, 16, 6 (1993).

85 The full name of UNESCO is the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The full name of ICCROM (founded by UNESCO) is the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property.

86 S. Macdonald, ed., *Modern Matters: Principles and Practice in Conserving Recent Heritage* (Shaftesbury, UK: Donhead Publishing, 1996). “ICOMOS, Seminar on 20<sup>th</sup> Century Heritage, Helsinki, June 18-19, 1995” (working papers). D. Slaton and R. A. Shiffer, eds., *Preserving the Recent Past* (Washington, DC: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 1995).

87 *Forum Journal*: 10, 1 (Fall 1995); 15, 1 (Fall 2000); 20, 1 (Fall 2005); 24, 4 (Summer 2010).

88 D. Slaton and W. G. Foulks, eds., *Preserving the Recent Past 2* (Washington, DC: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 2000).

conservation (and its author shows particular interest in the issue of material-versus-conceptual authenticity), it warrants mention in this literature review for being the first major text written by a single author on the subject on mid-century modern architecture preservation.<sup>89</sup>

A review of topics at these conferences and in special journal issues reveals how perspectives on the evaluation of significance in recent-past resources have evolved over the past two decades. In 1989, recent-past buildings were at “the nadir of their popularity [and had] few people advocating their preservation.”<sup>90</sup> The case had to be made for their significance, and it was a controversial one, not only among the lay public but also within the field. Richard Longstreth pointed out that the historian “must apply rigorous methods of scholarship to achieve the necessary distance and make every effort to cleanse the inquiry of overt, subjective, critical associations that many other people retain. There is no room for muddled thinking here, for an assessment formed in large part by esthetics, personal taste, or emotion will probably render little insight on the past and make a case for preservation that is easily challenged.”<sup>91</sup>

Here it sounds as though Longstreth believes that there is objective historical value to be found recent-past buildings, even though much of the public does not see it—a view that would squarely oppose the poststructuralist, values-based orientation called for by Tainter and Lucas, Avrami, Mason, et al. Yet more to the point, and what comes through the examples he gives in this article, is precisely his acceptance that people’s appraisals of

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89 T. H. M. Prudon, *The Preservation of Modern Architecture* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley, 2008).

90 T. Fisher, “Preservation: Lost or Threatened Modernism,” *Progressive Architecture* (April 1989).

91 R. W. Longstreth, “The Significance of the Recent Past,” *APT Bulletin*, 23, 2 (1991), 15.

buildings change over time. If the historian discerns historical value in it—for example, as an exemplar of a Lustron house or as a pioneering regional shopping mall—chances are that value will appreciate over time. It is the historian who is likely to be the first advocate among many more to follow later. S/he must advocate, but in a serious, cogent manner, or more buildings may be lost.

By the mid-1990s, preservationists (as one wrote at the time) “have finally begun to devote serious attention to the immense challenge of documenting, evaluating, and conserving cultural resources from the twentieth century.”<sup>92</sup> The focus on the discourse on recent-past preservation planning evolved from “why?” to “how?” In advocating the preservation of sites that the public has not embraced as culturally significant, how can we avoid estranging ourselves from the public as “Mandarin elitists” or “purveyors of weirdness?”<sup>93</sup> Do World Heritage List criteria need amending in order to allow inclusion of recent-past masterpieces?<sup>94</sup> How should we determine what is significant in a freshly surveyed Southern postwar suburb containing endless mass-produced houses?<sup>95</sup> How should we approach sites of “dark” history, which many people still experience through raw memories they would

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92 H. W. Jandl, “Preserving the Recent Past: An Introduction,” *Forum Journal*, 10, 1 (Fall 1995).

93 R. Striner, “Scholarship, Strategy, and Activism in Preserving the Recent Past,” *Forum Journal*, 10, 1 (Fall 1995).

94 T. C. Jester, “International Perspectives on 20<sup>th</sup>-Century Heritage,” *CRM*, 18, 8 (1995). The World Heritage List is administered by UNESCO and advised by ICOMOS and ICCROM. See <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list>.

95 C. R. Brown, “Surveying the Suburbs: Back to the Future?” in D. Slaton and R. A. Shiffer, eds., *Preserving the Recent Past* (Washington, DC: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 1995).



rather forget, not yet evolved into a desire to commemorate?<sup>96</sup> Such questions begin to shed light on the philosophically distinct implications that recent-past preservation presents.

By the early 2000s, preservationists were debating those questions of “why” and “how” with ever more sophistication and nuance. One of the first articles to explicitly posit the need for a distinctive approach to evaluating significance in recent-past resources, Abele and Gammage’s “Shifting Signposts of Significance,” argued that the traditional measure of “uniqueness” (whether deriving from rarity in survival or exceptionality in art or technology) is not the most appropriate measure for the country’s postwar stock of mass-produced buildings-as-commodities. They call upon the field to develop different criteria within a nonetheless systematic methodology, reserving emotion for energizing advocacy support only.<sup>97</sup> Others noted the “wide range of opinion regarding the standards of integrity to which recent-past resources should be held,” and debated the merits of applying deliberately higher standards when assessing recent-past properties for National Register eligibility.<sup>98</sup> Another argued that the curricula of architecture and preservation programs alike should include the theory and design of alterations appropriate for valuable recent-past buildings,<sup>99</sup> an issue echoed at the 2004 DOCOMOMO conference, which focused on how to mitigate

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96 W. R. Luce, “Kent State, White Castles and Subdivisions: Evaluating the Recent Past,” *Forum Journal*, 10, 1 (Fall 1995).

97 D. E. Abele and G. Gammage, Jr., “The Shifting Signposts of Significance,” in *Preserving the Recent Past 2*, edited by D. Slaton and W. G. Foulks (Washington, DC: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 2000).

98 J. H. Ernstein, A. M. Hartig, and L. G. Hoyos, “Setting the Bar: The Pros and Cons of Holding the Recent Past to a Higher Standard,” *Forum Journal*, 20, 1 (Fall 2005).

99 D. G. De Long, “To Save History by Design,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 58, 1 (March 1999).

the perceived divide between architects and preservationists in order to address functional obsolescence in mid-century masterworks.<sup>100</sup> Possibly the greatest philosophical divide in recent-past preservation within the field has been over the relative value of uniqueness, with some recent-past advocates lamenting what they see as a loosening of standards, others seeing and appreciating greater inclusivity.

Today, discussion surrounding the significance of the recent-past includes very challenging subject matter and philosophical questions (even as earlier questions remain open). Several recent papers have discussed how to advocate the preservation of buildings that symbolize “bad urbanism” for most people today (preservationists included), for example, large-scale urban renewal projects, suburban sprawl-type development, highly energy-dependent buildings—precisely the societal ills that preservation efforts have historically sought to mitigate!<sup>101</sup> One preservationist might say that a select few of these types of buildings are innovative and well designed; moreover, they exemplify the politics, technology, and general *Zeitgeist* of their times. Another might say that the recent-past presents us with the opportunity for preservation explicitly oriented toward the ordinary landscape, with all the challenges that entails, Peirce Lewis’s axioms in hand.<sup>102</sup> Bearing in mind this cleavage, others have asked us to reevaluate for whom and for what we do preservation work. Do

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100 B. Brown, “Designing for the Past,” *Architecture*, 93, 11 (Nov. 2004).

101 Abele and Gammage. A. Hess, “Coming to Terms with the Sixties,” *Forum Journal*, 24, 4 (Summer 2010). Luce.

102 P. F. Lewis, “Axioms for Reading the Landscape: Some Guides to the American Scene,” in *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes: Geographical Essays*, edited by D. Meinig (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979). “The basic principle is this: that all human landscape has cultural meaning, no matter how ordinary that landscape may be,” 12.

we work in the service of architectural history or public history? If we work in the service of public history, should we alter our course if members of the public express dislike? If an historian intellectually sees value in a postwar suburban shopping center, but the community sees it as “crap,” whose opinion prevails (and garners the resources and capital at stake)? Preservationists have argued both sides, and for the very same reasons, in fact: to ensure the continued relevance and the credibility of the field over time.<sup>103</sup>

*2.2.2. Four Factors Affecting the Assessment of the Significance of Recent-Past Resources*

From all of the various discussions over the past two decades, four key distinctions can be extrapolated about recent-past resources that affect the evaluation of their significance: recent-past buildings are (generally speaking) more numerous, more ambiguous in values, more questioned in historicity, and their assessment more susceptible to taste and current fashion.<sup>104</sup>

*Volume*

The volume of resources to address has expanded in three ways. First, more recent-past buildings are extant than older buildings. Second, among recent-past buildings, often there are many examples of a building type or construction approach, a consequence of

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103 Longstreth, 1991. Rypkema, 2010.

104 Abele and Gammage highlight number, age, and attitude as special considerations in the evaluation of significance in post-World War II resources specifically. While this section is mostly considering recent-past resources generically, as distinct from distant-past resources, there is some natural overlap with Abele and Gammage’s discussion of postwar period resources.

the flood of federally subsidized building in the mid-twentieth century and standardization of the process. The type or approach itself may be historically significant, but not all of the examples are significant.<sup>105</sup> Third, the scope of what may qualify as a significant building worthy of preservation is wide open: quotidian roadside buildings, ubiquitous residential development—the field considers nothing categorically too humdrum if people see values.<sup>106</sup>

On the one hand, having a large quantity of potentially historic buildings is positive. It is precisely what enables preservation professionals to act proactively rather than reactively, or lament losses. It gives us room to speak to people, do research, produce inventories, identify priorities to monitor and designate. It increases the capacity for professionals to sensitively, informatively manage the change that will inevitably happen. In addition to leading the campaign and organizing the meetings, we can also set broader agendas. On the other hand, large quantity presents real challenges. Professionals have to do more work (in a time of decreasing government funding, incidentally). Professionals have to make more choices, for, indeed, even “[i]f we initially examine everything, there is still the need to prioritize for preservation purposes.”<sup>107</sup> Not all that remains is worth preserving, nor is it feasible to do so. The responsibility may make us feel anxious, as our decisions may carry legal and financial, as well as cultural, implications. The traditional preservation criteria of scarcity and rarity can make for an appealingly straightforward decision-making process: those few that remain from a bygone culture, and those few that are masterpieces of

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105      noted by Luce.

106      noted by Abele and Gammage. Luce.

107      Longstreth, 1991, 15.

artistic intent and building technology, are worth preserving. With so many more buildings to consider, the onus is on the professional to make ever more researched and detailed statements of significance.<sup>108</sup>

*Ambiguous Values*

Unfortunately, just as we need more information in order to justify an argument for one among the many, there is often a dearth. With any stock of buildings, recent-past or distant past, scholarly and popular assessments are essential to the practitioner's ability to make decisions insofar as they reveal the meanings and values that are attached to buildings. The limited historical analysis of newer building types and trends, and the lack of attention that communities tend to give to its recent-past buildings, exacerbate the decision-making challenges facing the professional.

On the question of limited historical analysis, Longstreth offers important insight. Critical assessments of recent-past buildings typically accumulate before measured historical interpretations, and, considering the role of the critic, to be opinionated and stimulate thought, they tend to be highly subjective and can only speculate about broader cultural significance. Scholarship that does emerge early on typically comes from the architectural history discipline, which, as discussed earlier in this chapter, too often takes an architect-centered focus. Analysis pertaining to "ideology, artistic expression, and a very limited

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108 A. Saint, "Principles of Modern Conservation," in *Modern Matters: Principles and Practice in Conserving Recent Architecture*, edited by S. Macdonald (Dorset: Donhead Publishing, 1996), 17. Referenced in B. R. Beier, "Preserving the Work of Mitchell/Giurgola Associates" [Masters Thesis] (University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, 2006), 15-16.

range of technical innovations” tends to precede other such topics as patronage, reception, popular symbolism, commercial architects, practical building technologies, and so forth.

As a result, we know a great deal about the *neue Sachlichkeit* in Weimar Germany and the origins of metal-frame construction, but hardly a thing about the development of airport terminals or how air conditioning has affected architecture since the 1920s. Dozens of scholars have worked on Frank Lloyd Wright... but scant attention has been paid to Rapp and Rapp or Victor Gruen. ... Our knowledge of the twentieth century is far narrower in scope than could be the case, and these limitations stem in part from longstanding ties between historians of modern architecture and contemporary architectural practice.<sup>109</sup>

Consequently, preservation priorities tend to be skewed toward a limited group. It is easier to advocate buildings that people have already commented on, researched, and produced contexts studies for—Eero Saarinen’s Dulles Airport (completed 1962), for example, was granted National Register eligibility sixteen years after it opened—and, conversely, it is all too easy to dismiss those about which little is known.<sup>110</sup> It has been preservationists, notably, who have helped to augment architectural historical studies: for example, Alan Hess’s *Googie: Fifties Coffee Shop Architecture* (1986), Chester Liebs’s *Main Street to Miracle Mile: American Roadside Architecture* (1985), and Richard Longstreth’s *City Center to Regional Mall: Architecture, the Automobile, and Retailing in Los Angeles, 1920-1950* (1997).

A 1995 study examined the properties that the National Park Service decided met the “exceptional significance” criterion for inclusion to the National Register before

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109 Longstreth, 1991, 13.

110 Longstreth, 1991, particularly 12-14.

reaching fifty years old. The vast majority of those properties met criterion C as “important examples of a building type, architectural style, historic period, or method of construction,” for which scholarly research was already available and able to be referenced in nominations. The group showed far fewer properties deemed “exceptionally significant” for reasons involving social history, politics/government, commerce, transportation, and engineering. The authors identify a correlation between National Register listing/eligibility and extent of historical scholarship, noting that “those who claim significance and those who dispute it must thoroughly document their cases ... [and] the evidence that a place has historic value is found in the persuasiveness of the documentation presented.”<sup>111</sup> For as much as historians and preservationists have not yet articulated the architectural significance of recent-past buildings (as Longstreth pointed out), even less has been researched and documented about the socio-cultural values of recent-past buildings. Perhaps this is appropriate: lasting socio-cultural values in buildings may be longer to reveal than architectural significance. But it certainly makes work more challenging for the preservation planner or advocate.

To make an important clarification: while it is true that the meaning of a cultural object or place is culturally assigned, not inherent, often people are just not actively aware of a building or place that they do in fact value—hence the tendency not to think about preserving a building until we are threatened with losing it. People lead busy lives and take their surroundings, and what they value in it, for granted. The historian and the preser-

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111 C. D. Shull and B. L. Savage, “Trends in Recognizing Places for Significance in the Recent Past,” *Forum Journal*, 10, 1 (Fall 1995).

vationist play essential roles in calling attention to places of value, articulating the “*what*” and the “*why*,” to which many will respond, “*oh, yes.*”

For example, “[r]esearch and documentation about how the automobile has changed our history and surveys to identify the places that illustrate this impact,” the National Register researchers note, “have been critical steps necessary to establish significance in the public mind.”<sup>112</sup> Similarly, in the UK, in 1988 the Historic Buildings Council proposed 70 postwar buildings for government listing, of which 52 were promptly rejected. Within five years, after English Heritage carried out extensive research on postwar building types and helped the government to understand their significance, a new batch of recommendations was accepted in full for listing. Martin Cherry, then head of listing for English Heritage, attributed the rejection to the “lack of a coherent and consolidated body of research work on these buildings [which] made it difficult for ministers of members of the public to place them securely in context.”<sup>113</sup> Knowledge, greater understanding, brought about a dramatic reversal in perception of value. Sometimes this may indeed play out as historians and preservationists “educating” the public about normative values that they should attribute to certain buildings, but more often than not, this is rather about raising awareness of values that people already attribute, or can readily perceive upon a small throw of light.

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112 Shull and Savage.

113 M. Cherry, “Listing Twentieth-Century Buildings: The Present Situation,” in *Modern Matters*, 10-11.



*Historicity Questioned*

People tend to reflexively question the historical value of recent-past buildings. There is an undeniable phenomenon of emotional resistance to considering buildings of one's own generation, even one's own lifetime as historical. While a psychological or sociological inquiry into *why* has yet to be undertaken (although David Lowenthal offers some hints), the phenomenon is undisputed among preservationists and historians.<sup>114</sup> Virtually all scholarship on the subject of recent-past preservation notes it as an unavoidable aspect of the project.

Preservation scholar Frank Matero describes recent-past buildings as being temporarily stuck “in that awkward teenage phase—no longer an adolescent and not quite an adult.” They are no longer up-to-date, but too young to have their historicity recognized and appreciated.<sup>115</sup> Part of the problem is the functional obsolescence of some recent-past buildings. Real estate developers, urban redevelopments, along with much of the public at large, see recent-past buildings as “standing in the way of progress,” notes Lisa Ackerman, Executive Vice President of the World Monuments Fund.<sup>116</sup> The problem of functional obsolescence is exacerbated by physical deterioration. The case for investing in rehabilitation and retrofitting is much harder to make when the building looks terrible to begin with, and

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114 D. Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

115 quoted in A. Jaffe, “Modernist Structures Need Watchdog.”

116 Ibid.

some of the materials of modernism do not age well.<sup>117</sup> Of course, glass curtain walls will require repair and replacement; but also exposed concrete, while durable, will become dirty over time, yet painting the concrete risks diminution of integrity. Machine-age materials, such as plastics and aluminum, appear cheapened over time. Myopically viewed from the present, rather than through an historical lens, recent-past buildings easily appear old and disposable.<sup>118</sup>



Fig. 3: The Philadelphia Hospitality Center (Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson, 1961), now known as the Fairmount Park Welcome Center, located in JFK Plaza/"Love Park" (Edmund Bacon, Vincent Kling, 1967).

117 Technical obsolescence is an issue specific to Modernism and may or may not apply to recent-past buildings of the future. Functional obsolescence, changes in buildings' usages, is an inherent concern of recent-past preservation.

118 Longstreth, 1991. Luce.

Some degree of unappealing paradox may factor in, as well, when buildings billed as “new” and “futuristic” in one’s own lifetime no longer are so. The original Philadelphia Hospitality Center in Love Park (Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson) was “in the vanguard of pavilion design as both a functional statement and a symbol of modernity for its time” upon its opening in 1961. Located in the heart of Center City’s business district and across from City Hall, undoubtedly one of the most well trafficked parts of Philadelphia, today it is “very much invisible to the passerby.” People simply do not register it today.<sup>119</sup>

*Susceptibility to Taste and Current Fashion*

Popular taste tends to replace historicity in assessments of recent-past buildings, to a negative conclusion: recent-past buildings are in bad taste. Robert Venturi, in a 1991 interview (around the time that discussions of the recent-past were gaining ground in preservation and architecture circles), observed:

... it’s very hard to understand, and very hard to remember, the recent-past. It’s much harder, maybe, than with the distant past. And in terms of taste, it’s probably harder to *like* the recent-past. For example, you might look at the wedding photograph of your parents and say, ‘Oh, what a funny dress my mother has on.’ But if you looked at the wedding photograph of your grandparents, you’d probably say, ‘That’s a nice dress.’ You can more easily like things from the distant past, because of the way cycles of taste work.<sup>120</sup>

As in all the design fields, the new concepts in architecture are valuable, while those from an immediately preceding generation (or year, or season) are devalued. In

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119 F. G. Matero, quoted in A. Jaffe, “Modernist Structures Need Watchdog.”

120 S. Wrede, “Complexity and Contradiction Twenty-five Years Later: An Interview with Robert Venturi,” in *American Art of the 1960s*, edited by J. Leggio and S. Weiley (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1991), 143.

economic terms, the new negates the old in order to accrue symbolic value and marketability. We are less certain about the psychological reasons why we appreciate new and very old but not recently old. Intellectually understanding recent-past architecture is only a part of the challenge; transcending emotional resistance to it poses an even greater challenge.

*2.2.3. Recent-Past Preservation Planning is a Challenge: So, Why Bother?*

Why not simply wait? Why not wait, following Venturi's theory about taste, until another architectural generation passes and Modernism becomes our cherished grandmother (and we rebel against the 1980s)? Why not wait until historians produce more scholarship, and developers undertake more adaptive reuse and restoration projects, demonstrating how aesthetically and economically valuable recent-past buildings can continue to be, and people gain better understanding of what they personally value in that stock of heritage?

The project of evaluating recent-past resources is a planning project. It is, in nature, predictive and speculative. We cannot know with certainty which buildings will accrue heritage value over time; we can only make educated, well-reasoned forecasts based on past and current valuations. It is a particularly difficult planning project because current valuations tend to be under-formed or categorically negative toward recent-past buildings. In fact, the project may seem antithetical to today's mode of values-based planning, the premise of which is to start with the values that stakeholders have invested in cultural resources. How can we really "start with the values" (as we hear so frequently in the field) if values have

been articulated only to a limited extent? The answer lies in avoidance of a simple Catch-22: “to accrue meaning over time,” Longstreth reminds, “the work itself must endure.”<sup>121</sup>

*Prevention of Loss*

As we have learned from the losses and near-losses experienced already, if we do not begin to plan early and proactively, we (or our successors) will almost certainly regret the result. As regularly as writers comment on the resistance to viewing recent-past buildings as historical, writers also acknowledge such buildings’ likely value to subsequent generations. The favorite example, at least in Philadelphia, is the oeuvre of Frank Furness, nearly all destroyed by the mid-twentieth century yet championed and praised by the late-twentieth century. Careless losses are destined to become case studies of shame and myopic stupidity—and only a single generation later. It takes a relatively short time for the historical value to begin to accrue.

The real estate market seriously threatens recent-past resources. Development and redevelopment occur at an ever-increasing rate, especially in cities. As typical mortgages amortize in thirty years, long-term leases expire sooner, and land can be worth more than the building on it (in addition to the factors of mobility and population change), the likelihood is high that commercial buildings will be altered or demolished before the fifty-year mark, when preservationists and planners traditionally assessed for historical eligibility. Carol Shull and Beth Savage of the National Park Service note that many structures document-

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<sup>121</sup> R. W. Longstreth, “What to Save? Midcentury Modernism at Risk,” *Architectural Record*, 188, 9 (Sept. 2000), 59.

ing the impact of the automobile on American culture have been lost.<sup>122</sup> Cycles of turnover, especially in dense urban and suburban areas, result in buildings being most vulnerable between ages thirty and fifty. Too old to be current but too young to be deemed historic, buildings in this age-bracket are, in many cities, the most endangered.

The need and the desire to update or expand buildings also threaten recent-past resources. While Levittown originally contained over 17,000 homes, comparatively few retain their original integrity today.<sup>123</sup> In a way, individualizing one's cookie-cutter house into a "home" was (and continues to be) an integral part of the experience of tract house ownership. In Westchester County, New York, the congregation of Louis Kahn-designed Temple Beth El is approaching double what the structure can accommodate; naturally, its leaders have commissioned an addition. However, it took two Italian tourists in the summer of 2010 to bring these plans to the attention of architects and scholars, many of whom have concluded that the addition design is insensitive to this, Kahn's only surviving, synagogue. "People will look back at Beth El and ask how [this project] was allowed to go forward," commented emeritus professor of architecture David De Long.<sup>124</sup>

It went forward (if it does) because, apparently, preservationists were not monitoring it. It is essential that preservation planners maintain awareness of the recent-past buildings in their area, along with a sense of the appropriate measures for each of them.

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122 Shull and Savage, "Trends in Recognizing Places for Significance in the Recent Past."

123 "Levittown, PA: Building the American Dream," State Museum of Pennsylvania, <http://edisk.fandm.edu/tim.brixius/levittown> (accessed April 28, 2011).

124 E. Willis, "Addition to Louis Kahn's Synagogue Draws Criticism," *Preservation*, 27 Aug. 2010, [www.preservationnation.org/magazine/2010/todays-news/critics-kahn-synagogue.html](http://www.preservationnation.org/magazine/2010/todays-news/critics-kahn-synagogue.html) (accessed April 28, 2011).

While Kahn's Beth El would likely qualify for designation on the basis of its architect and its rarity, very few recent-past buildings warrant designation straightaway. However, the management of recent-past resources may take a variety of forms in collaboration with stakeholders. Preservation planners and advocates can communicate with an individual property owner about her/his building's significance to encourage maintenance and alterations that honor the significant aspects. They can collaborate with planning commissions so that growth is planned in conjunction with preservation. They can promote good candidates for adaptive reuse to developers. They can inform real estate agencies of significant properties on the market, and encourage agents in turn to inform potential buyers of their properties' additional values. They can publicize the option for property owners to place tax-deductible easements on their buildings. They can advise and assist residents in a significant housing development through the process of establishing a conservation district. Through a variety of channels of communication, preservation planners and advocates can propagate awareness about recent-past resources beyond preservation circles. All of these opportunities begin with early inventorying and monitoring.



Fig. 4: The Mercantile Library (Martin, Stewart and Noble, 1954) a Center City branch of the Free Library of Philadelphia, won the Philadelphia Chapter AIA Gold Medal of 1954, as well as the AIA's Pittsburgh Plate Glass Award. It was the first postwar building added to the Philadelphia Register, in 1990.





Figs. 5 and 6: These photos show the building, located at 1021 Chestnut Street and owned by Chestnut Associates, in July 2010. Its critically dilapidated condition is all the more alarming given its status on the Philadelphia Register, and reminds us that designation in no way covers the need to monitor. The failure to monitor in this case has effectively stripped a designated building of its significance.

*Credibility and Good Practices for the Preservation Profession*

Abele and Gammage write, “While the popular perception is that ‘Hysterical Preservationists’ decide that buildings are important only to stop them from being torn down, those involved in the professional practice of the field know this is far from true. Over the past century, one of the greatest accomplishments of the preservation movement has been a refinement of the process to evaluate the significance of cultural resources.”<sup>125</sup> While it is true, as preservation consultant and writer Ned Kaufman emphasizes, that emotions infuse preservation work with a unique and vital power, highly charged *reactive campaigns* are potentially damaging to the field’s public relations efforts and not a professional strategy.<sup>126</sup> Our ability to plan for recent-past resources with a cogent, systematic, replicable methodology is imperative.

Escalating preservation activity, in conjunction with the inherently high volume of recent-past buildings, demands planning efforts. The number of buildings on the National Register and myriad local registers is higher than ever before, and will only increase. Preservation activity, more and more, dovetails with the work of economic development and urban redevelopment. It carries implications for long-term transportation planning. It aligns with environmental planning as evermore Americans care about land protection, avoidance of sprawl development, and reuse of existing buildings and lots. Planning professor William Baer recognized this confluence of factors early on, calling upon the preservation field in

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125 Abele and Gammage, 2.

126 N. Kaufman, *Race, Place and Story: Essays on the Past and Future of Historic Preservation* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

1995 to consider adopting the long-range, predictive approach of city and regional planning. In the midst of shared interests, which we are inclined simply to celebrate, he astutely identified a potential point of conflict:

In the past, there may have been no need for such systematic planning, because preservation efforts were limited, and had few overall effects on our cities. ... But the growing interest in preservation, not only of historic resources but of natural resources as well, means that considerable land both in the city and the hinterlands is being removed from the prospect of new development. Planners must face more explicit trade-offs between preserving the past—whether built or natural—and accommodating construction in the future.<sup>127</sup>

Preservationists must take their role seriously and professionally as collaborators in the planning of the built environment. “Trade-offs for space” between the past and the future are inevitable, he notes. When preservation regulation bars new development at a particular site, developers and other interested parties must look to another site, maybe the site of another potentially significant structure. Suffice it to say, the need to pick our battles wisely is only going to increase in the future.

#### *2.2.4. Section Summary*

As discussed earlier in this chapter, the values-based approach at the forefront of preservation planning today has four main components:

- *gathering information and identifying values;*
- *analyzing values and articulating significance;*

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127 W. C. Baer, “When Old Buildings Ripen for Historic Preservation: a Predictive Approach to Planning,” *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 61, 1 (Winter 1995), 82.

- *assessing current conditions, both material and managerial; and*
- *making policy decisions and formulating action strategy.*

That recent-past resources are numerous, often “invisible,” and ignored, presents hurdles in the identification phase, while the limited scholarly and popular discourse, and the tendency to dismiss on the grounds of taste, not historicity, complicates analysis and assessment of priorities. The *values* of recent-past buildings that should form the basis for evaluations of significance are not well understood. Without a keen sense of the values, what does the preservation professional have to work with? S/he is in a difficult position, fortunate just to get to stages three and four.

Given the expansion of the significance concept and the pluralistic climate in which preservation planning now plays out, in conjunction with the ambivalence and lack of understanding surrounding recent-past resources, the professional is susceptible to reflexively following popular taste and existing architect-centered assessments, which provide cognitive shortcuts toward making decisions and getting work done. For all the progress that preservationists have made through the vibrant recent-past discourse of the past two decades, these tendencies remain. (How they played out in Philadelphia in summer 2010 will be discussed in Chapter 4.) Yet to avoid assessing recent-past resources altogether carries heavy consequences, putting both future heritage and the profession’s credibility at risk.

*Chapter 3 Modernism in the 1960s*

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This study so far has focused on the recent-past as a theoretical construct. It will now turn toward a watershed moment in recent-past architecture: the 1960s. Following the definition of the recent-past as a moving window of roughly 25 to 49 years before the present, the 1960s constitute the older recent-past. This chapter will provide an overview of the modern architectural landscape in the US in the 1960s. Chapter Four will examine the approach that one advocacy organization, the Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, took to assessing mid-century modernism as it manifested in Philadelphia and to identifying sites of highest significance. Essential for the following chapters is a review the key terminology, noted below.<sup>128</sup>

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128 Within the field of historic preservation, the term “*recent-past*” generally refers to buildings of all types that were built within the past 25-49 years; it is a moving window of time. This term and others, below, are often used interchangeably, which is confusing, especially because the others refer to static periods of history. The “*postwar period*” generally refers to 1945 through the 1950s, perhaps also including the early 1960s. “*Modernism*” refers to an architectural movement that developed in Europe during the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Influenced by the English Arts and Crafts movement, Art Nouveau, Frank Lloyd Wright, and the Deutscher Werkbund, Modernism developed in response to the impact of industrial technology and the question of how it could function in the service of society. Modernists embraced the machine and believed in its potential for social betterment, emphasizing functionalism and structural expressionism (though not necessarily structural honesty, which is a contemporary myth). Early Modernists rejected historical architectural conventions as no longer relevant to the age; however, many embraced Classicism’s rational principles of simplicity, proportion, and order, as well as, in some cases, its symbolic potential for dignifying or monumentalizing the new machine forms. The Modernist movement gained currency in the UK and the Americas in the 1930s and acquired the name, the International Style, while at the same time evolving into divergent, locally influenced strains. By the 1950s and 1960s its proponents struggled with and debated the relevancy of the movement’s original tenets vis-à-vis a very different postwar society, and increasingly embraced expressionism, historicism, symbolism, and even science. “*Mid-century modern,*” or *modernism*, generally refers to Modernist design once it had evolved from avant-garde to mainstream, late-1940s to 1970s, growing popular not only in architectural design but also in interior and industrial design. It includes regional variations such as California Modern and Danish Modern. This study employs the “recent-past” as a concept, first and foremost, while it takes mid-century modern buildings for a case study.

What was modernism in the 1960s? Architectural historians present conflicting assessments. Some focus on Modernism, the architectural movement, and see a state of relative crisis, still robust in spirit but manifesting anxiety over new directions and continued relevance.<sup>129</sup> Others see a “late Modernism” sputtering in spirit.<sup>130</sup> The latter assessment stands at odds with the view of a prominent critic of the period, who claimed an ascendant Modernism was entering its “classical” period.<sup>131</sup> Meanwhile, historians looking not at the vanguard but at the professional mainstream conclude that mid-century modernism was largely self-assured and thriving.<sup>132</sup> By all accounts, modernism in the 1960s was multifaceted, prolific, and pivotal. The architectural landscape was the product not only flows of ideas among architects but also of a gamut of political, social, economic, technological, and cultural factors. The following two sections will give a context sketch of architect intent and enabling forces, which will be loose and open-ended but necessary for framing subsequent discussions of significance. It is essential to recognize that my account does not aim to present a comprehensive picture of the whole culture of design and building in this period, and, for the purposes of preservation work, it should be understood as a group of sketches (guiding lines) rather than a context *statement* (a clear picture).

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129 Curtis.

130 C. Jencks, *Late-Modern Architecture and Other Essays* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980). H. Klotz, *The History of Postmodern Architecture*, trans. R. Donnell (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988).

131 P. Collins, *Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture, 1750-1950* (first publ. 1965) (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975).

132 Hess, 2010. Liebs, 1985. Longstreth, 1997.

3.1. *Enabling Forces behind New Buildings Types and Development Patterns*

3.1.1. *Federal and Municipal Programs*

Postwar demand for decent, inexpensive housing, coupled with discomfort over increasingly mixed demographics, attracted whites to the vast suburban developments cropping up all over the peripheries of American cities. Federal highway and home ownership policies fed this movement, and the socioeconomic composition of many older cities changed, along with the size of their property tax bases. At the same time, cities were losing manufacturing centers, not just because of general processes of industrial restructuring and deindustrialization, but also because of Truman Administration policies, which sought to protect American industry from the A-bomb and other Cold War threats by offering significant tax benefits to industries that dispersed to areas outside central cities.<sup>133</sup> The deconcentrated, low-rise industrial park thus began to supplant the factory as the dominant form of industrial architecture in the 1950s and '60s. Often regulated by design restrictions from developers and municipalities, this new workplace was well landscaped and innocuous enough to fit into the new suburbs.<sup>134</sup> Mass-produced housing developments nearby commonly featured split-levels and, toward the end of the 1960s, neo-colonials that melded, for example, modern ribbon windows with hipped roofs or Dutch gables with vinyl siding.

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133 M. P. O'Mara, *Cities of Knowledge: Cold War Science and the Search for the Next Silicon Valley* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005): chap. 1.

134 Ibid., 64-65.



The problems of the inner city that resulted from this federally subsidized wave of socio-spatial change—including loss of population, loss of manufacturing bases, downtown disinvestment, racially-based poverty, and more—were empirically well known, though debate carried on over causes and appropriate remedies.

Following the Housing Act of 1949, which incentivized slum clearance for redevelopment, the Housing Act of 1954 offered assistance with comprehensive urban planning to states and municipalities in order to cope with seemingly competing forces of suburban growth and urban decline in a more rational, proactive manner. In effect, it shifted administrators' focus from piecemeal public housing to broader, commercially driven urban redevelopment, from the New Deal model of welfare to Keynesian-style public-private partnerships.<sup>135</sup> It led to “the new convergence of power” of mayors, planners and other experts, and business interests to facilitate urban redevelopment through economic development.<sup>136</sup>

Transportation policy of the time aided goals of urban economic development by connecting downtowns and the more prosperous suburbs through faster, less congested routes. While the Federal-Aid Highway Act of 1956 focused on the construction of the national highway system, the subsequent 1962 Highway Act focused on linking cities with their regions, requiring that cities engage in ongoing, comprehensive transport and land-use planning at the metropolitan level as a prerequisite to receiving federal funding for particular

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135 R. M. Flanagan, “The Housing Act of 1954,” *Urban Affairs Review*, 33, 2 (Nov. 1997), 265-86.

136 *Ibid.*, 279-80, quoting Salisbury (1964).

transportation projects.<sup>137</sup> Many American cities constructed extensive road and mass transit networks during the 1950s and '60s, utilizing eminent domain over historical fabric wherever planners deemed clearance necessary.

The public-private approach to urban redevelopment in the mid-1950s through 1960s dealt largely with symptoms rather than causes: remove the “blight” and infuse cities with upscale residential complexes, high-concept downtown shopping plazas, and impressive office towers in order to attract the middle class back. The resulting infusion of tax revenue would trickle down to those in need. Many city governments also invested liberally in municipal building projects, commissioning landmark administration buildings and high-quality designs for libraries, schools, etc. A primary goal was to project “an image of vigor” that would attract both people and investment.<sup>138</sup> In hindsight, we see how the trickle-down effect was not guaranteed but, rather, contingent upon the extent to which municipalities redistributed tax revenue in a successful, sustainable way. Too often, municipalities neglected that crucial stage in the process. Redevelopment authorities relocated impoverished residents but without adequate assistance; planning commissions mislabeled stable but “in the way” businesses as blighted and effectively stamped them out.

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137 E. Weiner, “Urban Transportation Planning in the US: A Historical Overview,” prepared for the US Department of Transportation, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (1992), [ntl.bts.gov/DOCS/UTP.html](http://ntl.bts.gov/DOCS/UTP.html) (accessed April 28, 2011). K. T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

138 Flanagan, 280.

3.1.2. Corporate and Institutional Development

Section 112 of the Housing Act of 1959 extended federal redevelopment subsidies to the development projects of urban universities. Already, universities felt pressure to expand their physical plants in response to dramatically increased applications projected to begin in the mid-1960s as the Baby Boomers hit the college age. However, Section 112 enabled urban universities, and public-private partnerships involved with them, to receive federal funds to address both capital development *and* “renewal” of ostensibly blighted neighborhoods surrounding them. Section 112 increased the impetus toward university-related development *as a method of* renewal, rather than two efforts happening concurrently.<sup>139</sup> The joint activities of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission, Redevelopment Authority, and the West Philadelphia Corporation, a consortium of institutions formed in 1959 among the University of Pennsylvania, Drexel University, Presbyterian Hospital, and others, exemplify this trend. The policy spurred construction of numerous new buildings on university campuses across the country, but it also exacerbated racial/socioeconomic spatial divisions, heightened perceptible tensions, dismantled empowering social networks, and diminished local culture in some urban university neighborhoods. These and other effects of urban renewal Jane Jacobs discussed in her landmark 1961 book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*.

Big corporations commissioned some of the largest scale, highest profile projects of the decade. They used architecture as “an increasingly important form of public

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139 O’Mara, 155.

relations” through which “to fix their public images... and in the process gave architects like Mies [van der Rohe], [Philip] Johnson, and Skidmore, Owings and Merrill opportunities to realize the normative, universal, and technically pure architecture they had been advancing for twenty years.”<sup>140</sup> Yet, by the 1960s, the Miesian approach had become formulaic—banal and ubiquitous—as the construction industry appropriated streamlined structural techniques and real estate interests saw in it an instrument for maximizing profit.<sup>141</sup> Whereas in the early 1950s High Modernism was the bastion of the “architectural aristocracy,” Ada Louis Huxtable announced in 1965 that it “is here to stay. It is no longer a crusade; it is the structural norm, the speculator’s tool, the routine designer’s rubber stamp, the only practical way to build.”<sup>142</sup>

The thousands of International Style buildings erected across the country in the 1960s lacked the power of the refined, radiant, outrageously expensive Lever House and Seagram Building. Seeking to make a stronger visual impact upon clients, some corporate patrons requested firms create “the total design” including landscaped grounds, interior design, and coordinated furnishings. Architectural historian William Curtis quips, “The American architect was constantly demoted to a sort of exterior decorator for business interests.”<sup>143</sup> Others corporations, though far fewer, commissioned cutting-edge designers to produce headquarters memorable for the innovative structures themselves. Here one thinks

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140 L. M. Roth, *A Concise History of American Architecture* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1979), 277.

141 Curtis, 344.

142 “Modernism: USA,” in A. L. Huxtable, *On Architecture: Collected Reflections on a Century of Change* (New York: Walker, 2008).

143 Curtis, 349.

of Roche and Dinkerloo's Ford Foundation Building in New York (1967), I. M. Pei and Associates' Hancock Tower in Boston (1969), or Pietro Belluschi's Rohm and Haas Building in Philadelphia (1965). According to Curtis, "American corporations needed to express their power, their efficiency, their belief in advanced technology, their preoccupation with styling: the sharp-edged minimalist creations... were able to supply them with just the right imagery."<sup>144</sup>

### *3.2. Modernism as an Architectural Movement*

#### *3.2.1. Modernism as Discourse*

Those relatively few architects fortunate enough to work at the vanguard of the profession responded to the conditions of 1960s society and the requirements of patrons and projects, all the while engaging, on some level, the broader artistic movement of Modernism. It is easy to want to define Modernism in the 1960s in contrast to prewar "International Style" precedent and conclude that 1960s Modernism was in its "late period," or its "classic period," and so forth. Yet this tendency has the effect, architectural historian Sarah Williams Goldhagen points out, of reducing architectural Modernism to a discrete style based on visual attributes: buildings treated as volumes enclosed by surface skins, expressing the regularity of the structural frame, avoiding applied ornament or historical

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144 Ibid., 350.

building conventions, etc.<sup>145</sup> Modernism is not a style, she insists; rather it is a *discourse*.

The International Style was but one strand of Modernist discourse, which was codified in the 1930s and '40s by critics—most notably, Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, Nikolaus Pevsner, and Sigfried Giedion<sup>146</sup>—who followed turn-of-the-century German art-historical theory viewing style as a formal pattern that is naturally produced by the structural and cultural conditions of a given time.<sup>147</sup> The International Style definition was a distillation of 1920s Modernist buildings, namely buildings by Corbusier, Gropius, and Mies, emphasizing formal features stripped of radical intent. It was an artificially narrow definition from its inception, though popular for some time, as reflected in building production.

Likewise, it is inaccurate and mystifying to see the architectural culture of the 1960s as a transition between styles—“an interregnum between an expiring modernism and a dawning postmodernism” when commercialism co-opted avant-garde Modernism and in its place historicism was the dominant insurgent, along with a messy, fleeting pluralism of other approaches. Modernism neither died nor was in the process of dying in the 1960s.<sup>148</sup>

Historians have made innumerable cases revealing how Modernist architects, since the

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145 H.-R. Hitchcock and P. Johnson, *The International Style: Architecture since 1922*, 2nd edition (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1966).

146 S. Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture: The Growth of a New Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941). N. Pevsner, *Pioneers of the Modern Movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (London: Faber and Faber, 1936).

147 S. W. Goldhagen, “Something to Talk about: Modernism, Discourse, Style,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 64, 2 (June 2005). S. W. Goldhagen and R. Legault, “Introduction: Critical Themes of Postwar Modernism” and “Coda: Reconceptualizing the Modern,” in *Anxious Modernisms: Experimentation in Postwar Architectural Culture*, edited by S. W. Goldhagen and R. Legault (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2000).

148 Goldhagen and Legault, 2000, 11.

movement's inception in the early twentieth century, deviated from the orthodox Modernist stylistic principles, whether in particular buildings or over their career trajectories, and theorists have shown how those principles were in fact never integral to the movement's practitioners. Yet while the narrative of a unified, stylistically coherent Modernism has received plenty of critical scrutiny, the view of a normative International Style plus variations has persisted.<sup>149</sup>

Goldhagen offers a new framework for understanding the trends of 1960s architectural culture as a whole, as opposed to a constellation of divergent paths. "Modernism in architecture is a set of arguments that cohere around a core cluster of propositions and have produced a plurality of patterned difference in the answers given, the ends sought, and the architecture proposed and built—including its stylistic inclinations."<sup>150</sup> Modernism included core cultural, political, and social dimensions, reflecting the times, but within each of those dimensions, Modernists pursued, debated, and championed different points. The *cultural dimension* maintained that architectural tradition, as tradition, commands no authority. Some Modernists responded to this essential conviction by playing with architectural traditions in a nontraditional, innovative way; others avoided use of historical precedent altogether. The *political dimension* held that architects should use the tools of the discipline to facilitate social progress. Positions ranged from those who believed in the existing political and economic systems (whom Goldhagen term "*consensual*"), to those who believed that the

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149 Goldhagen, 2005, 157-59.

150 Ibid., 162.

existing systems needed help (“*reformist*”), to those who had no faith in the existing systems and sought radical change (“*negative-critical*”). Modernism’s *social dimension* maintained that industrial technology fueled contemporary society and that architects must address the effects and implications of this. Some Modernists saw reason to celebrate (“*machine-oriented*”); others, to mitigate (“*situated*”).<sup>151</sup>

### 3.2.2. Major Points in Modernist Discourse in the 1960s

Postwar society inspired neither rupture from earlier ideas nor continuation of them, but it did compel architects to debate vigorously the role of architecture and the goals for architecture vis-à-vis societal changes. The machine-oriented “consensual” perspective, i.e., the International Style, was epitomized by Gropius and Mies and infused the architecture education at Harvard University’s Graduate School of Design and the Illinois Institute of Technology, which they respectively led.<sup>152</sup> While its stylistic tropes became ubiquitous in mainstream building, disconnected from original political intent, this genuinely politicized perspective was in decline by the mid-1960s. Neither machines nor capitalism seemed particularly liberating. The Pan-Am Building near Grand Central Terminal in New York (Emery Roth and Sons, with Walter Gropius and Pietro Belluschi, 1963) is one prominent ‘60s example, in fact a monumental feat and failure. Historian Meredith Clausen writes:

After the Second World War, ... modernist ideals of rationality and functionalism, of a

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151 Goldhagen, 2000: Coda.

152 Ibid., 309-10.



social utopia based on the use of new industrial materials and new modes of production to generate new, efficient, clean-lined forms, were displaced by the imperatives of a capitalist economy, and instead of the decent housing for growing urban populations modernists promised, flagship buildings for corporations were built. No building proved the point more poignantly than the Pan Am. Profoundly disillusioning the public as well as the profession, it marked the shattering of the modernist dream.<sup>153</sup>

Modernist architects working from a “situated” perspective recognize industrial technology’s potential to exert deleterious effects on community identity, personal freedom, sense of place, and so forth, and believe that they should try to lessen that potential by “situating” buildings in particular contexts (social, regional, historical, etc.). This perspective is usually coupled with a political stance of ambivalence toward capitalism, not optimistic acceptance, as technology drives capitalism’s globalizing, homogenizing tendencies. Louis Kahn, Richard Neutra, and Paul Rudolph are American examples of this perspective.<sup>154</sup> Belluschi, in spite of his collaboration of the Pan Am project, is as well. Whether through historical allusions, regional references, elements of nature, abstract symbolism, even non-Western references, a fundamental goal of design was “buttressing community by encouraging users to remember their common bonds.”<sup>155</sup> This position ascended over the course of the 1960s.

Yet, if a major point of Goldhagen’s work is to debunk a bifurcated view of twentieth century modernism as “International Style plus others” (my words), other architec-

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153 M. L. Clausen, *The Pan Am Building and the Shattering of the Modernist Dream* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2005), 387.

154 Goldhagen, 2000, 312-15. See also Glazer.

155 Ibid., 315.

tural historians—William Curtis, for example—emphasize how the 1960s were nonetheless pivotal. An important contemporaneous review of architectural literature by historian and critic Colin Rowe supports the assessment that Modernism was in decline. Rowe wrote in 1967:

Not so many years ago, when modern architecture was allegedly no more than an objective approach to building, implicitly it was much more. Implicitly it was a prophetic illustration of the shape of things to come, the revelation of a world in which difficulties would vanish and conflicts be resolved. The modern building was both a polemic and a model, a call for action and an assertion of those ends to which action should lead; and therefore it is not surprising that the architect should have often conceived of his buildings, not only as the *images* of a regenerated society, but also as the *agents* which were destined to bring that society about. The future of yesterday, one might suggest, is the present which we now occupy; and, evidently, it is not quite the anticipated future. Modern architecture now exists in abundance; but the hoped-for utopia has scarcely ensued. Nor is it clear that mankind is so very much further ahead on the road to its redemption; and hence, with the prophetic tone of modern architecture that much diminished, there has followed a certain deflation of optimism. Such is one interpretation of today's situation. It is the predicament which anyone wishing to understand recent architecture must accept as some sort of base line.<sup>156</sup>

Rowe was reviewing two books, which he saw as representing the “polar extremes between which architecture now oscillates”: Reyner Banham's *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* and Robert Venturi's *Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture*, both published in 1966. Venturi, deeply influenced by his Rome Prize Fellowship (1954-56) and liberal exposure to art-historical texts during his Princeton education, sought “a mannerist architecture for our time,” referring to mannerism in the generic sense as both using and

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156 C. Rowe, “Waiting for Utopia,” *New York Times*, September 10, 1967.

breaking an established formal order.<sup>157</sup> His early work of the 1960s demonstrates his conviction that a valid architecture of the time is patently Modernist yet includes historicist details, or symbolic elements, or parts that are redundant or ambiguous in their functioning. Venturi sees mannerism's relevance to modern architecture in its capacity to both foster meaningful art and accommodate complex functions, unlike orthodox modern architecture, which he condemns as reductive—functionally unaccommodating and aesthetically “boring.” His work was proving extraordinarily influential by the late 1960s, in spite of (or perhaps because of) the polarizing effect it had on the vanguard architectural community.

Like Venturi's work, New Brutalism was a response to the deflation of the early Modern movement, but its proponents took cue from the later work of early Modernists, namely Corbusier, and from the revisions they made to the polemic theory of the *Congrès internationaux d'architecture modern* (CIAM). Not unlike the relationship between 1920s Modernism and 1950s International Style, New Brutalism, a socially progressive, technologically oriented, European movement, became Brutalism, a style, as designers outside the movement appropriated the key formal elements. In this case, it was *beton brut*, or raw, often rough-hewn, poured-in-place-concrete. Corbusier was again, unintentionally, a link. Although he constructed only Harvard University's Carpenter Center (1961-64) stateside, his use of raw concrete in heavy piers, boxy fenestration, and sunscreen façades beginning in the late 1940s influenced American designs for corporate,

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<sup>157</sup> R. Venturi and D. Scott Brown, *Architecture as Signs and Systems for a Mannerist Time* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 7, 9.

institutional, and government buildings, especially by the mid-1960s. The intent here was different than the New Brutalists' use of *beton brut* to express their conviction to work with tough social realities and materials "as found."<sup>158</sup> Buildings made of *beton brut* could appear rough, masculine, and monumental, thus well suited for American cities desiring symbols of strength and endurance in the face of the beatings their downtowns were taking. Kallmann, McKinnell and Knowles's Boston City Hall (1963-68) and Paul Rudolph's Art and Architecture Building at Yale University (completed 1963) are two noted examples of American Brutalism.

Colin Rowe noted how Venturi's and Banham's texts, while overtly very different, converge in addressing "the gaping chasms" between theory and practice evident in Modernist architecture by the late 1950s. Banham is concerned about an apparent loss, in practice, of explicitly ethical architecture achieved through scientific methodology and technological means—that is, the original Modernist aim. Venturi sees the use of scientific methodology in architecture as highly fraught, and deeply appreciates the aesthetic pleasures of complicated, deliberately irrational architecture.

Rowe, a leading theoretician, was clearly influenced by his thesis advisor, art historian Rudolf Wittkower, who wrote *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (1949), a ground-breaking text on Italian Renaissance architecture. Rowe believed in a neo-Platonic sense that geometry and proportion could produce inherently meaningful architecture, applicable in modern times as much as in the Renaissance. Though his beliefs

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158 R. Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?* (London: Architectural Press, 1966).

would evolve over the course of his career, the parallels that Rowe extrapolated from works of Palladio and Corbusier in a series of essays and lectures beginning in the late 1940s, in turn influenced the emergent “New York Five”—Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Richard Gwathmey, John Hejduk, and Richard Meier—christened after a Museum of Modern Art exhibition in 1967 and a book, *Five Architects*, in 1972. Almost mythologizing early Modernism for its creations of ideal form, theirs became an inward-looking, rigorously theoretical orientation (toward buildings that sometimes, notoriously, malfunctioned).

Other architects, the so-called “New Formalists” of a slightly earlier period (late ‘50s to mid ‘60s) sought to meld Classicism with Modernism, but in a markedly different way. The work of Philip Johnson, Wallace K. Harrison, Edward Durell Stone, and others, was not necessarily based upon an appreciation of ahistorical mathematical principles, but rather in a sense of the expressive, often monumental potential of Classical precedent. In designs for public-oriented buildings (music halls, banks, government buildings), they fashioned explicitly historical idioms in modern materials in order to infuse these spaces with meaning and essentially celebrate the public realm. Examples include Harrison’s Metropolitan Opera House at Lincoln Center in New York (1966) and Johnson’s Amon Carter Museum of American Art in Fort Worth, Texas (1961).

Questions of meaning in Modernist architecture were central in the postwar period, wide open by the 1960s, and, as Rowe’s review of Banham and Venturi indicates, wider still toward the end of the decade. Banham, and the New Brutalists, maintained the

classically Modernist belief that meaning in architecture comes from the social impact it makes. Venturi and others, such as Charles Moore, believed that meaningful architecture signifies ideas and functions primarily communicatively. Colin Rowe, Peter Eisenman and others, though they would veer onto divergent paths later, believed that meaning derives from timeless principles of ideal form; in other words, geometry and proportion carry meaning inherently. The core Modernist principle that architecture should facilitate social progress was in serious doubt among architects, and in this sense, following Goldhagen's framework, Modernism was in decline by the end of the 1960s. Architectural discourse centered much less on social betterment and societal improvement in the 1970s, and more on (variously) communication and pure form.

### *3.3. Consumerism in Architecture*

#### *3.3.1. What Is Consumerist Architecture?*

There were other intents in building in 1960s America besides the Modernists' tripartite intent to transcend traditional practices and authorities, use architecture to foster social progress, and address the technocratic *Zeitgeist* (or, expressly not to). Also during this decade, the consumerism that exploded in the postwar years continued to permeate all parts of American life. Consumerist architecture is "an architecture self-con-

sciously concerned with selling the products or services that it houses.”<sup>159</sup> It grew exponentially in the postwar America, which John Kenneth Galbraith dubbed “the affluent society” in 1958 in part because of the emphasis on stimulating consumption in order to balance overproduction.<sup>160</sup>

Consumerist architecture is an important strain of commercial vernacular architecture. In contrast to historical commercial vernacular, which directly accommodated a particular set of commercial demands and was rooted in particular geographic and cultural place, consumerist architecture often appears to be something that it’s not, seeks to create moods and emotional settings, is stylistically eclectic, employs symbolic references that matter more than compositional unity and architectural authenticity, and functions as advertisement in a self-conscious, if not entirely transparent, manner.<sup>161</sup> Venturi, Scott Brown and Izenour’s *Learning from Las Vegas: The Forgotten Symbolism of Architectural Form* (1972) is the seminal analysis of this type of architecture.

As urban designer John Chase points out, a consumerist building is just as much a rigorously designed object as a high-art modernist building. However, architect intent is different. With consumerist buildings, the architect’s concern, first and foremost, is the building’s relationship to its audience, not philosophical ideas about architecture internal to the field. Marketing strategies largely determine the form—or, the appearance. Consum-

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159 J. Chase, “The Role of Consumerism in American Architecture,” *Journal of Architectural Education*, 44, 4 (August 1991), 214.

160 J. K. Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1958).

161 Chase, 1991, 213-15.

erist architecture is primarily about communication for the purposes of cultivating desire to consume, and communication entails both literal information and literary story; both straightforward, descriptive information about what is offered for sale; and a fantasy narrative to set it apart from others in the marketplace or the townscape.<sup>162</sup>

### 3.3.2. Examples of Key Types of Consumerist Architecture of the 1960s

Shopping malls evolved over the course of the 1960s as a new form of public space. Fully enclosed shopping malls, enabling the consumer to move from shop to shop while remaining inside, were relatively new in the beginning of the decade. Architect Victor Gruen had pioneered the concept in 1956 with the Southdale Center outside Minneapolis-St. Paul.<sup>163</sup> Gruen's design for the one-million square foot Cherry Hill (NJ) Mall (1961) was driven by his desire to provide an antidote to suburban anomie, to replace parking lot-centered strip mall development with a place that would be more conducive to community gathering, analogous to the ancient Greek Agora, the medieval marketplace, and the dying downtown square.<sup>164</sup>

Recognizing how consumers shop for products and services as much as for atmosphere and experience, Gruen's enclosing the space was the first step toward a controlled

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162 Ibid., 215-16.

163 M. J. Hardwick, *Mall Maker: Victor Gruen, Architect of an American Dream* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004).

164 S. Dyer, "Designing Community in the Cherry Hill Mall," in *Constructing Image, Identity, and Place: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture*, vol. IX, edited by A. K. Hoagland and K. A. Breisch (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), 264.



environment. Subsequent elements of novelty and fantasy increased competitive edge. By the decade's end, themed shopping malls were on the horizon. The Galleria in Houston (1970) was developed by Gerald D. Hines, a leading American real estate developer of the twentieth century. Featuring a spectacular, glass barrel-vault ceiling, the shopping center was said to be modeled after the 19th century Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II in Milan. Though the viewer can draw few formal comparisons beyond the barrel vault, Hines recognized that connotation is what matters in consumerist architecture.

“Right around 1960, banks began to experiment with more unusual forms. Led by savings and loans, which always had been more open to progressive design, banks with tilted roof planes, and exaggerated geometries appeared regularly throughout the country. Banks, because of their single function, independent ownership, substantial budgets, and pursuit of modern efficiency, were well suited to receive unusual buildings.”<sup>165</sup> Circular buildings and the use of pre-cast concrete were especially prevalent in 1960s banks.<sup>166</sup> Influenced as much by the expressionistic formalism of Edward Durrell Stone as by the nation's fascination with all things “space-age,” 1960s banks also featured more unusual shapes—from sine-wave roofs to parabolic arches—and novel accents such as “scalloped or pierced roof overhangs, polished aggregate finishes, and attenuated columns often terminating in Gothic-inspired arches.”<sup>167</sup>

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165 Chase, 1986, 47.

166 C. Dyson and A. Rubano, “Banking on the Future: Modernism and the Local Bank,” in *Preserving the Recent Past 2*, edited by D. Slaton and W. G. Foulks (Washington, DC: Historic Preservation Education Foundation, 2000).

167 Chase, 1986, 47-49.

In addition to the consumerist building/complex that appears to be an integral part of the goods or services offered (the themed shopping center, for example), the speculative office park is designed to indirectly enhance the public image of the businesses or institutions renting inside. It employs simpler imagery to suggest professional qualities such as respectability, trustworthiness, discreet taste, resounding success, environmental conscientiousness, and so forth. These types of buildings appeared increasingly in the 1960s in and around new suburban communities. Given the developer's dual-aim of profitability and marketability, this type of building typically displays conspicuous exterior ornamentation and relatively lavish, "pastoral" landscaping, while lacking distinguishing features and using cheap materials in some interior areas (e.g., hallways, office ceilings).<sup>168</sup>

### *3.3.3. Relationship between Modernist and Consumerist Architecture of the 1960s*

If we consider reception in addition to intent (minding Upton's call), high-style architecture as it appeared to many people in the 1960s had become "a package in which the ambiguities and complexities of modern institutions were ruthlessly wrapped in sleek, monotonous continuities. It became reductive and exclusive, eliminating untidy functions to conform to a vision of society as the architects thought it ought to be, rather than according to the way it was. This arrogant heroicness continued through the 1960s when, under the influence of a new generation of architects, it simply exchanged its bland

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168 Chase, 1991, 216. O'Mara, 65.

uniformities for more sculptural forms.”<sup>169</sup>

Commercial vernacular architecture, even in its most consumerist format, offered something different. “The consumer expects the amusement park, the theme restaurant, and the resort to address emotional needs precisely because the rest of his environment does not. ... Consumerist buildings are the release from the overwhelming rationality and uncommunicativeness of the rest of the environment.”<sup>170</sup> In this way, consumerist architecture and “reformist situated” modernism are two sides of the same coin: both reacting (whether tacitly or explicitly) to “consensual” machine-oriented modernism, both accepting of the existing political-economic structure of society and happy to work within it, but cognizant of its weaknesses.<sup>171</sup> They aspire to compensate through design for the sense of disorientation, dislocation, and emotional repression that technology and advanced capitalism bring to everyday life—whether by presenting a building as something that it’s not in order to cultivate desire to consume, or by mitigating those negative effects by, for example, integrating a building in a naturalistic landscape, utilizing regional design elements, or allowing for flexibility and personalization in floor plans. If much of modernism was failing to succeed in communicating with the broader public in the 1960s, consumerist architecture was getting better and better at it. By the late 1970s the Postmodernists’ emphasis on communication and imagery can be seen as tacit admission that commercial vernacular was better than high architecture at identifying and meeting a clear, undeniable function of

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169 Roth, 277.

170 Chase, 1991, 217-18.

171 Recalling the terminology of Goldhagen, 2000: Coda.

architecture in society: if high architecture couldn't go so far as to improve society, at least it could speak more directly to particular facets of it.

*Chapter 4 Philadelphia Modernism Initiative, Summer 2010*

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#### *4.1. A Great Project*

The Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia launched the city's first modernism advocacy initiative in 2010. While the Alliance had presented public programs and published articles pertaining to particular modern buildings, and supported nominations of modern buildings to the local and national registers, this marked the first broader-scale initiative on the subject of Philadelphia's stock of recent-past buildings. The initiative was related to a larger Preservation Alliance initiative, launched in 2008, to plan a methodology for conducting a citywide survey of historic resources in Philadelphia.<sup>172</sup> One conclusion of this study was that multiple historic context studies should be created for Philadelphia, organized by neighborhood clusters and/or thematically; Modernism was one of the thematic context statements recommended. The Alliance commissioned two architectural historians to produce an historic context statement, "Modernism 1945 to 1980," published in July 2009.<sup>173</sup> The following summer, the Alliance moved forward with the creation of the advocacy initiative, and commissioned me to work with the Alliance's Advocacy Director, Ben Leech, under the guidance of the Executive Director, "to increase awareness of the significance of mid-20th century modern architecture." The initiative pursued the following objectives:

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172 Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, "Summary Report: Historic Context Statements and Survey Methodology" (2009), Preserve Philadelphia, [www.preservephiladelphia.org/wp-content/uploads/SummaryHCSandSurvey.pdf](http://www.preservephiladelphia.org/wp-content/uploads/SummaryHCSandSurvey.pdf) (accessed April 28, 2011).

173 M. Clendenin, with E. T. Cooperman, for the Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, "Thematic Context Statement: Modernism: 1945 to 1980" (2009), Preserve Philadelphia, [www.preservephiladelphia.org/wp-content/uploads/HCSModernism.pdf](http://www.preservephiladelphia.org/wp-content/uploads/HCSModernism.pdf) (accessed April 28, 2011).

- to compile the city's first inventory of Philadelphia County buildings built between 1945 and 1980;
- to identify a shortlist of high-priority sites that warrant protective measures and/or monitoring;
- to select two top priorities for nomination to the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places; and
- to produce communications and programs that would publicize the initiative and involve the public in it.

This chapter will focus on the first three objectives.<sup>174</sup>

#### *4.1.1. Philadelphia Modernism Thematic Context Statement*

The “Philadelphia Modernism” context statement (2009) reveals Philadelphia’s unique interactions with Modernist currents in design and development. Authors Malcolm Clendenin and Emily Cooperman highlight three important influences: municipal planning initiatives associated with the visionary, if controversial, Edmund Bacon<sup>175</sup>; the unavoidable presence of history in the existing landscape; and the faculty at the University of Pennsylvania’s School of Fine Arts, culminating in the “Philadelphia School” of architects and planners of the 1950s and 1960s.<sup>176</sup> Bearing these influences in mind, they proceed to

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174 I participated in the fourth objective to a lesser degree.

175 Bacon served as Executive Director of the Philadelphia City Planning Commission from 1949 to 1970.

176 Architectural critic J. C. Rowan coined this appellation in “Wanting to Be: The Philadelphia School,” *Progressive Architecture*, 42 (April 1961): 131-63. It must be remembered that “the Philadelphia School” is just as potentially fraught of a construct as the “International Style,” sometimes suggesting allegiances that never actually existed, as well as potentially overshadowing other currents of thought and design in Philadelphia at the time.

a broader discussion organized around eight themes of design and development, revealing “a complicated modernity” through exemplary projects and designers: “Commercial and Corporate Design, Vincent Kling and the International Style” (highlighting, for example, Carroll, Grisdale and Van Alen’s Pennsylvania State Office Building, 1958, 1400 Spring Garden St.); “Housing, Private and Public” (e.g., Roth and Fleisher’s Parkway House, 1953, 2201 Pennsylvania Ave.; Stonorov and Haws’ Schuylkill Falls Public Housing, 1955, demolished); “Building for the City of 2,000,000” (e.g., Martin, Stewart and Noble’s Mercantile Library, 1954, 1021 Chestnut St.); “Design for Educational Institutions” (e.g., Vincent Kling and Associates’ Foerderer Pavilion of Jefferson University, 1954, 125 S. 11th St.); “Society Hill and Architectural Design around Independence Mall” (e.g., Mitchell/ Giurgola’s Eli Zebooker House, 1968, 110-12 Delancey St.); “Market Street East and The Gallery” (e.g., Bower and Fradley’s 1234 Market Street, 1972); “Mitchell/ Giurgola” (e.g., their Penn Mutual Tower, 1975, 510 Walnut St.); and “The Decorated Shed” (e.g., Ueland and Junker’s Mummies Museum, 1976, 1100 S. 2nd St.).

“Philadelphia Modernism” presents an architect-centered account of the development of Philadelphia in the 1960s. Clendenin and Cooperman discuss designers who already are well known and lauded within the Philadelphia region and, some, internationally. Not all of the noted architects produced avant-garde work—Vincent Kling, for example, had always worked in the professional mainstream. Not all of the highlighted projects were heralded Center City projects—the authors include public schools in challenged neighborhoods along with the prestigious corporate commissions, demolished housing projects as



well as one of the most artistically celebrated houses in the world. The authors acknowledge several important sociopolitical and cultural influences over design, including municipal planning for the projected population increase and the undeniable presence of Philadelphia's colonial architecture. And they provide some information about the public reception of various buildings.

Nevertheless, this is an account that prioritizes quality design over history—or, more accurately, the contemporary reflections on “quality” design, judged on standards of taste emanating from art history and the architectural profession itself. For example, the document covers the Mill Creek, Southwark and West Park low-income housing projects but in the context of, respectively, the history of Modernism, the typologically analogous but upscale Hopkinson House and Society Hill Towers, and the *Siedlungen* of 1920s Germany. Such contextualizing is useful in helping the reader to understand the formal genealogy of these buildings; however, it offers little in the way of social history. The reader is left with little understanding of which Philadelphia buildings have been particularly loved, or reviled, by residents over the decades, and why. This document also ignores consumerist trends in banks, shopping centers (apart from the heralded Gallery at Market Street East) and Center City storefronts, as well as the postwar swell of development in Northeast Philadelphia, when neighborhoods such as Mayfair and Rhawnhurst doubled and tripled in size.

Regarding the latter point, the authors acknowledge that Northeast Philadelphia “underwent rapid, often unthinking, development during these decades,” however, with

the exception of Greenbelt Knoll, feel the Northeast “is interesting more as a sociological study than as quality design.”<sup>177</sup> But we should remember that developers think, too! Only they may have different ideas than architects and planners (whose ideas are not necessarily better for everyone equally). Moreover, the Far Northeast *was* subjected to planning efforts by Ed Bacon, who developed a master plan, zoning guidelines that speculative developers had to follow, and the idea of replacing the city’s standard orthogonal grid with a concentric, greenbelted Garden City-inspired layout.<sup>178</sup> Safe to say, Bacon would have regarded his work in planning and urban design as “quality.”

The architect-centered perspective is an important one, an enlightening one, and a historiographically valid one. Still, it is only one perspective among many pertaining to Philadelphia’s development in the mid-twentieth century. As a work of architectural history, “Philadelphia Modernism” does not necessarily warrant criticism, but insofar as it functions as a foundation for preservation work, the document is insufficient. Other perspectives on the built environment need representation in a context narrative that serves as an inclusive guide for preservationists’ use.

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177 Clendenin and Cooperman, 13. Green Belt Knoll, 1-19 Longford Street (Morris Milgram, developer; Montgomery and Bishop, architects; Margaret Lancaster Duncan, landscape architect; Louis I. Kahn, consultant; 1957) was the first racially integrated development in Philadelphia, and consists of single-family Modernist houses well integrated into a wooded setting (Philadelphia Register of Historic Places, 2006; National Register nomination pending as of 11/30/10).

178 D. Hassebroek, “Philadelphia’s Postwar Moment,” *Perspecta*, 30 (1999), 88-89..

4.1.2. *Creating the Inventory, and Evaluating for Priorities*

Implicit in the Alliance's objective to compile the city's first inventory of 1945-1980 buildings was a desire to expand beyond the Philadelphia Modernism statement, which referenced fewer than fifty buildings. But before expanding beyond, an important first step was to strengthen our understanding of the local architectural canon. In addition to the aforementioned context statement, we identified four more lists of Philadelphia notable mid-century buildings.<sup>179</sup> All produced by architects or architectural historians but varying chronologically (the earliest from 1968), these lists reflect both contemporary and historical assessments of mid-century buildings from the archicentric perspective. My work thus began in summer 2010 by recording all of the buildings that these authors included in their lists (those built between 1945 and 1980) into a master inventory spreadsheet. Following are the most frequently included buildings from the 1960s.<sup>180</sup>

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179 C. A. Evers, "A List of Philadelphia's Modern Monuments," *The Philadelphia Architect* (May 1997) (endorsed by American Institute of Architects, Philadelphia Chapter, Historic Resources Committee), Bryn Mawr College [www.brynmawr.edu/iconog/modern.html](http://www.brynmawr.edu/iconog/modern.html) (accessed April 28, 2011). J. A. Gallery, *Philadelphia Architecture: A Guide to the City*, 3rd ed. (Philadelphia: Paul Dry Books, 2009). R. W. Longstreth, *A Survey of Architecture in Philadelphia* [unpublished manuscript] (written 1968, available from University of Pennsylvania Architectural Archives). E. Teitelman, with R. W. Longstreth, *Architecture in Philadelphia: A Guide* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1974).

180 I have included buildings completed in the years 1959 through 1970 in my definition of 1960s buildings.

Chapter 4 Philadelphia Modernism Initiative, Summer 2010

Phila. Register	Primary Name	Alternate or Historical Name(s)	Date Compl.	Architect/Builder	St. No.	Street Name/ Intersection
individual designation, 2004	Guild House		1964	Venturi and Rauch	711	Spring Garden Street
unprotected	Hill Hall, University of Pennsylvania	Hill College House	1960	Eero Saarinen and Associates	3333	Walnut Street
unprotected	International House, University of Pennsylvania		1970	Bower and Fradley	3701	Chestnut Street
individual designation, 2009	Margaret Esherick House	Parker House	1960	Louis I. Kahn	204	Sunrise Lane
unprotected	Municipal Services Building		1965	Vincent Kling and Associates	1417	John F Kennedy Boulevard
unprotected	Police Administration Building	Philadelphia Police Headquarters	1963	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls	700	Race Street
individual designation, 2004	Richards Medical Research Laboratory, University of Pennsylvania		1961	Louis I. Kahn	3700-800	Hamilton Walk
unprotected	Rohm and Haas Building		1965	Pietro Belluschi	100	Independence Mall West
individual designation, 1999	Society Hill Towers		1964	I. M. Pei and Associates	200-20	Locust Street
unprotected	Vanna Venturi House	Mother's House	1964	Venturi and Rauch	8330	Millman Street

Fig. 7: Buildings completed in the 1960s that appear in all five sources on Philadelphia architecture.

Chapter 4 Philadelphia Modernism Initiative, Summer 2010

Phila Register	Primary Name	Alternate or Historical Name(s)	Date Compl.	Architect/Builder	St. No.	Street Name/ Intersection
unprotected	1500 Walnut Street Addition	First National Bank Addition	1963	Bower and Fradley	1500	Walnut Street
unprotected	Dorothy Shipley White House	Mrs. Thomas Raeburn White House	1963	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	717	Glengary Road
unprotected	Five Penn Center		1970	Vincent Kling and Associates; Emery Roth and Sons	1601	Market Street
unprotected	Four Penn Center	Reliance Insurance Building	1964	Vincent Kling and Associates; Emery Roth and Sons	1600	John F Kennedy Boulevard
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Franklin Roberts House		1969	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	228-30	Delancey Street
individual designation, 2009	Hassrick/Sawyer House		1959	Richard Neutra	4030	Cherry Lane
unprotected	N. William Winkelman, Jr., House		1959	Montgomery and Bishop	4141	Apalogen Road
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Society Hill Townhouses	Dock Street Superblock	1962	I. M. Pei and Associates	281-93	Locust Street
individual designation, 2010 (November)	United Fund Headquarters	United Way of Southeastern Pennsylvania Headquarters	1970	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1709	Benjamin Franklin Parkway
unprotected	University Museum Parking Garage, University of Pennsylvania	Garage No. 2	1968	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	3200	South Street
unprotected	Walnut Street Parking Garage, University of Pennsylvania	University Parking Garage	1964	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	3201	Walnut Street

Fig. 8: Buildings that appear in four of five sources.

Phila Register	Primary Name	Alternate or Historical Name(s)	Date Compl.	Architect/Builder	St. No.	Street Name/ Intersection
unprotected	Casa Farnese Apartments	Casa Fermi Apartments	1962	Stonorov and Haws	1300	Lombard Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Eli Zebooker House		1968	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	110-12	Delancey Street
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, South Phila. Branch		1965	Nolen and Swinburne	1700	S Broad Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Hopkinson House		1963	Stonorov and Haws	604-36	Washington Square S
within district: Society Hill, 1999	James McClennen House		1968	Louis Sauer Associates	127	Pine Street
demolished, 2002	Mill Creek Public Housing, Phase II Housing and Community Center		1963	Louis I. Kahn; Kenneth Day; Louis E. McAllister; Anne Tyng		Fairmount Avenue, 44th to 46th Streets
unprotected	Philadelphia Electric Company Building		1970	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larson	2301	Market Street
unprotected	Robert Brasler House		1966	Joel Levinson	4122	Apalogen Road
unprotected	West Park Public Housing		1963	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larson		44th and Market Streets

Fig. 9: Buildings that appear in three of five sources.



Fig. 10: Hill Hall (Eero Saarinen and Associates, 1960) at the University of Pennsylvania.



Fig. 11: The Society Hill Towers (I. M. Pei and Associates, 1964) at 200-20 Locust Street.



Figs. 12 and 13: The United Fund Headquarters (Mitchell/Giurgola Associates, 1970) on the Benjamin Franklin Parkway, in front of the domed Cathedral Basilica of Saints Peter and Paul.





We may consider these—particularly the top tier (Fig. 7)—as the 1960s contributions to the Philadelphia architectural canon. With this knowledge in mind, my next step was to augment the inventory. My supervisors and I agreed that I would consult with local architects, historians and planners for guidance, and conduct research using the annual *Yearbooks* published by the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, the Philadelphia Architects and Buildings database, journal articles of the time, old photographs, theses, and more.<sup>181</sup> We set as a particular goal to supplement the existing lists' generous coverage of well-known architects, the tall-office and residential types, and the Center City area, so I was especially intent on finding buildings once noted but under-appreciated or forgotten today, to a wider range of building types in general, and to underrepresented geographic areas of the city. The work of photojournalist Betsy Manning, real estate agent Craig Wakefield, and architectural historian Bill Whitaker, and others well acquainted with areas outside Center City proved invaluable. In addition to driving and walking through the city, the following online resources Google Maps, Google Earth, and the Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network were also invaluable for locating and referencing buildings identified in conversations and research.<sup>182</sup> My inclusion of a building in the inventory did not mean that I, or others, had assessed it and concluded it was significant; only that it met

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181 Philadelphia Architects and Buildings, part of the American Architects and Buildings database, supported by the William Penn Foundation and administered by the Athenaeum of Philadelphia. See [www.philadelphiabuildings.org](http://www.philadelphiabuildings.org) (accessed April 28, 2011).

182 Greater Philadelphia GeoHistory Network, funded in part by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, and produced by the Philadelphia Area Consortium of Special Collections Libraries, City of Philadelphia Department of Records, and the Athenaeum of Philadelphia. See [www.philageohistory.org](http://www.philageohistory.org) (accessed April 28, 2011).

the following criteria:

- located within Philadelphia County; and
- built between 1945 and 1980; and
- one or more of the following:
  - exhibits architectural or technological characteristics representative of the time;
  - exhibits architectural or technological characteristics innovative for the time;
  - is exemplary of a building type;
  - is the work of a nationally or locally noted architect or architectural firm; and/or is associated with a culturally significant event or person.<sup>183</sup>

For the period 1959-70, this work resulted in over 100 buildings added to an original list of fewer than 75, including many more low-rise commercial buildings, university buildings, city-funded buildings (schools, libraries, police and fire stations), and recreational sites.

At the same time that I was expanding the inventory, staff and I focused our attention on two other goals for this initiative: identifying a shortlist of priorities that warrant protective measures and/or monitoring, and selecting two top priorities for nomination to the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places. Despite the inventory's expansion to several hundred buildings through research and conversations, we based our first shortlist, which we used in discussions about nominations, on those aforementioned buildings most frequently cited in existing lists of notable Philadelphia buildings. In other words, we adhered to the canon. The one exception was the Anne Tyng House. (I will criticize this

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<sup>183</sup> These criteria are fraught in ways that I perceive more clearly now than I had in summer 2010. *Representative of what in particular? Innovative by whose standards?*

strategy in the next section of this chapter.) To assist the focus of this paper, only those from the 1960s are included here.<sup>184</sup>

Phila. Register	Primary Name	Alternate or Historical Name(s)	Date Compl.	Architect/Builder	St. No.	Street Name/ Intersection
unprotected	Apalogen Road Houses		1950s- mid-1960s	Montgomery and Bishop, Joel Levinson, Frank Weise, et al	4000-4200	Apalogen Road
unprotected	Hill Hall, University of Pennsylvania	Hill College House	1960	Eero Saarinen and Associates	3333	Walnut Street
unprotected	1500 Walnut Street Addition	First National Bank Addition	1963	Bower and Fradley	1500	Walnut Street
unprotected	Police Administration Building	Philadelphia Police Headquarters	1963	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls	700	Race Street
unprotected	Vanna Venturi House	Mother's House	1964	Venturi and Rauch	8330	Millman Street
unprotected	Municipal Services Building		1965	Vincent Kling and Associates	1417	John F Kennedy Boulevard
unprotected	Rohm and Haas Building		1965	Pietro Belluschi	100	Independence Mall West
unprotected	Anne Tyng House		1967	Anne Tyng	2511	Waverly Street
unprotected	Philadelphia Electric Company Building		1970	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larson	2301	Market Street
(in summer 2010, unprotected)	United Fund Headquarters	United Way of Southeastern Pennsylvania Headquarters	1970	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1709	Benjamin Franklin Parkway

Fig. 14: “The shortlist,” summer 2010.

We asked fourteen local experts—including architects, architectural historians, critics, planners, and one developer—to rank the shortlist in the order of the most notable, specifying that their responses would be used to help the Alliance decide on two buildings to nominate to the Philadelphia Register. Nine out of fourteen experts responded by e-mail.<sup>185</sup> While we had defined criteria for inclusion in the inventory (however broad it was), we offered no particular criteria for choosing priorities other than “notable,” which is an ambiguous if not meaningless criterion in this context. In fact, we had framed this as strategic, to avoid swaying respondents in one direction or another and, instead, to see what

184 To clarify, only buildings not already on the Philadelphia Register of Historic Places were considered for the shortlist.

185 As it was July, I received out-of-the-office messages from some.

criteria they individually chose to guide their decisions. We asked the experts to indicate not only their priorities but also their criteria. Despite the apparent reasonableness of our intentions, the lack of evaluative criteria established at the outset complicated the task.

Some respondents chose to assess according to the impact that a building made on the streetscape and surrounding built environment. Others noted buildings that had influenced the mainstream architecture profession and inspired trends in materials and techniques. Many examined buildings through the lens of architecture criticism, ranking according to artistic achievement. One chose to use current threat as the determining factor, above her consideration of the buildings' values. As different people championed different priorities, it became difficult to identify points of consensus about the significance of mid-century buildings. It also suggested that respondents felt uncertain as to what exactly they were being asked to evaluate. It cannot be emphasized enough how many different ways there are to evaluate significance, and how convoluted a planning process will become if criteria are assumed to be self-evident, i.e., "the best" or "the most notable."

#### *4.2. Reflections on the Initiative's First Phase*

The summer 2010 phase of the Philadelphia Modernism initiative was complicated and slowed by our neglect and conscious choice not to do certain things at the outset. A better approach to producing the inventory and evaluating priorities of highest significance would involve the following steps. (1) Consult with architecture and planning

professionals, as well as people who are not architecture and planning professionals, early in the process. (2) Establish clear criteria for determining priorities, and set a range of specific goals. (3) Implement a transparent decision-making process to help prevent reliance on personal opinions and popular taste.

The Alliance recognized the integral role that the public plays in an advocacy initiative, however, postponed non-professional involvement to a later phase of the initiative. Over the summer, at the same time that the inventory work was underway, staff was planning a public poll as a way to generate awareness and stimulate support. Presented in September 2010 on the Alliance's blog, Field Notes, the "I Like Mod" poll asked Alliance supporters and blog readers to vote on their "favorites" among "a mix of well-known [mid-century modern] buildings and hidden neighborhood gems from across the city," grouped into ten typological categories. The poll attracted enough interest to receive more than 1,600 votes over four months.<sup>186</sup> During the summer, however, neither the poll results nor the expanded content of the inventory were available. Because we created the shortlist early in the initiative, it adhered, unsurprisingly, to the canon. The canon was our knowledge. Several suggestions for non-canonical but locally valued landmarks that staff members happened to know about—for example, George Neff's Stein Flowers in the Far Northeast—were rejected as "not notable enough" compared to other candidates.

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186 Field Notes from the Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, [fieldnotesphilly.wordpress.com](http://fieldnotesphilly.wordpress.com); "Philadelphia Likes Mod," [fieldnotesphilly.wordpress.com/ilikemod](http://fieldnotesphilly.wordpress.com/ilikemod) (accessed April 28, 2011).



Betsy Manning

Fig. 15: Stein Flowers (George Neff, 1950), located at 7059 Frankford Avenue, a family-owned business, is a landmark in the Mayfair section of Northeast Philadelphia.

Yet consider the example of the Vanna Venturi House. Architectural historians have called this one-and-a-half story house at 8330 Millman Street in Chestnut Hill “the biggest small building of the second half of the twentieth century,”<sup>187</sup> and “one of the great buildings of the last half of the twentieth century.”<sup>188</sup> Nearly every expert who responded to the Alliance’s shortlist placed it unequivocally at the top; some were incredulous that it was not already designated. As one expert spoke for the rest in declaring, “Venturi’s Mother’s House is the top for obvious reasons,” it appeared indisputable that this was a shoe-in for designation straightaway. Yet, while our group of experts agreed that the Vanna Venturi House was the most significant building in Philadelphia yet designated, the poll respondents found it to be one of the least noteworthy. It garnered fewer votes than the Margaret Esherick House (Louis I. Kahn, 1960), the Hassrick/Sawyer House (Richard Neutra, 1959), and the Frank Weise House and Studio (Frank Weise, begun 1955). The Dorothy Shipley White House (Mitchell/Giurgola, 1963) won the single-family house category.<sup>189</sup> This outcome perhaps exemplifies the ambiguous values of recent-past buildings: the Vanna Venturi House is a complicated, pivotal building whose enduring significance may not yet be comprehended outside the architecture circles that have studied it, whereas the Shipley House is a white, boxy, archetypically “Modernist” house. But even the Weise House

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187 V. Scully, “Everybody Needs Everything,” in *Mother’s House: The Evolution of Vanna Venturi’s House in Chestnut Hill*, edited by F. Schwartz (New York: Rizzoli, 1992), 39.

188 D. G. De Long, “Seeking a Rational Mannerism,” in *Out of the Ordinary: Robert Venturi, Denise Scott Brown and Associates* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), 122.

189 [fieldnotesphilly.wordpress.com/ilikemod\\_residential](http://fieldnotesphilly.wordpress.com/ilikemod_residential) (accessed April 28, 2011). Note, the Esherick House and the Hassrick/Sawyer House are already designated on the Philadelphia Register.

and Studio, a gloriously eccentric, arguably ostentatious personal project located in conservative Rittenhouse Square, fared better than the Vanna Venturi House.



Fig. 16: The Vanna Venturi House (Venturi and Rauch, 1959-1964), in Chestnut Hill, is “the biggest small building of the second half of the twentieth century,” arguably.

The point here is not that the Vanna Venturi House does not deserve designation for its tremendous artistic value, but to highlight the fact that significance is not inherent, fixed, self-evident, not even in the “very best” buildings. To encounter an example of such pronounced disparity between experts’ and non-experts’ assessments about the significance of this site underscores the need for the professional to seek out a broad range of views, to consider all of them honestly, and to make a decision in an analytical, transparent



manner. This is especially true in a citywide buildings inventory, the goals of which include securing legal protections for some buildings and influencing land-use decisions surrounding the change of the city. Granted, Philadelphia's Historic Preservation Ordinance permits the designation of buildings on the basis of architectural merit without broad public support.<sup>190</sup> Nevertheless, practitioners should be knowledgeable about how different segments of the Philadelphia public perceive and value its buildings before making decisions. Practitioners also should be utterly vigilant about avoiding assumptions of self-evident significance.

Furthermore, it is not only ethical and professional but in the practitioner's own interest to solicit local stakeholders' input in the production of a recent-past buildings inventory, if s/he is committed to avoiding cognitive shortcuts. Given the large volume of recent-past buildings to consider, it seems unimaginable that a small team of practitioners could take on this task every few years and do it thoroughly, without falling back on canons, current taste and personal opinions. As I was expanding the inventory, a feeling weighed heavily on me that many significant buildings were yet unidentified. And if I did identify what seemed to be a hidden gem, how should I determine whether to invest my limited time into researching it further? The task is simply too big and nebulous without the input of

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<sup>190</sup> “(5) Criteria for Designation. A building, complex of buildings, structure, site, object or district may be designated for preservation if it: ... (c) Reflects the environment in an era characterized by a distinctive architectural style; or, (d) Embodies distinguishing characteristics of an architectural style or engineering specimen; or, (e) Is the work of a designer, architect, landscape architect or designer, or engineer whose work has significantly influenced the historical, architectural, economic, social, or cultural development of the City, Commonwealth or Nation; or, (f) Contains elements of design, detail, materials or craftsmanship which represent a significant innovation; or, ... .” City of Philadelphia, Code of General Ordinances, §14-2007 Historic Buildings, Structures, Sites, Objects, and Districts, [www.phila.gov/historical/ordinance.html](http://www.phila.gov/historical/ordinance.html) (April 28, 2011).

others. As discussed in Chapter 2, local stakeholders including neighborhood associations, local historians, longtime residents, community developers, and business owners can let us know, for example, about a library that is particularly cherished, or about a house valued for reasons not readily apparent to the observer. It is essential to recognize that no stakeholder or group represents the whole local community. However, stakeholders and community members can impart more information than we would have on our own, which we can then consider critically with the other information we have.

Once we have consulted with both professionals and non-professionals and assembled an inventory of significant buildings, how should we decide the criteria we will use to comparatively evaluate what might well be a highly heterogeneous group? The different criteria that our experts chose for judging significance—which, in each expert’s opinion, was the most appropriate criteria to choose—resulted in different priorities. This illustrates Tainter and Lucas’s earlier point about the epistemology of cultural significance: significance “is a quality that we assign to a cultural resource based on the theoretical framework within which we happen to be thinking.”<sup>191</sup> And these were *all architecture and planning professionals*, who we supposed shared a relatively similar way of looking at buildings. Consider again the debate between Herbert Gans and Ada Louise Huxtable. Hayden writes about the confusion of terminology between them: “In this exchange from two decades ago, a leading urban sociologist and a distinguished architectural critic [both of whom we would consider within the ambit of the architecture and planning professions] were unable (or unwilling) to

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191 Tainter and Lucas, 714.

understand each other's language. When he said 'architecture,' he meant all urban buildings, or the built environment. When she said 'architecture,' she meant buildings designed by professionally trained architects operating with aesthetic intent, or perhaps one percent of the built environment. When he said 'vernacular' he was classifying buildings by social use, referring to definitions of social class and accessibility, and implying tenements, sweatshops, saloons, and public bathhouses. When she said 'vernacular,' she meant that the architect was unknown, and the classification was by architectural style and/or typology, such as Greek Revival side-hall row house, so that, in her terms, there would be many 'vernacular' town houses on the wealthy Upper East Side, as well as in more modest areas. When he said 'neighborhood' he meant a complex network of social as well as spatial ties, and implied a work-class population, giving examples like Williamsburg and Bushwick. She said 'neighborhood' and meant the physical line bounding a historic district such as the Upper East Side or Greenwich Village."<sup>192</sup>

Their disagreement illustrates Upton's caveat that "high-style" vs. "vernacular" does not offer a useful distinction. In evaluating buildings for cultural significance, whether we are oriented toward high-style or vernacular or anything else, we may use categories that are creator-oriented and grounded in empirical (usually visual) attributes, but we also may use categories that are user- or audience-oriented and based on intangible qualities of social use and experience. And professionals use different criteria just as much as non-professionals.

It would appear that the best we can do is explicitly state a criterion, acknowl-

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192 Hayden, 4.

edging its inherent limitedness, then state another criterion, and another criterion, and end up with parallel but disparate categories: *this group of buildings are valuable for x reasons, this group of buildings is valuable for y reasons*, and so forth. Where that approach leaves workaday agencies and professionals charged with setting priorities for preservation attention will be addressed in the following chapter.

Finally, I should not end without briefly calling attention to the amount of subjective opinion that some individuals allowed to dominate the evaluation process. Statements e-mailed or made in meetings included, “It’s based on my own likes and dislikes ... but then I roughly ordered it by buildings of international standing” and “Boston’s Modernist buildings are just so much more attractive [than Philadelphia’s stock].” Of course, our subjective, taste-based opinions are unavoidable; professionals are no less situated in their own perspective than anyone else. However, professional training presumably provides the ability to bring in perspectives that differ from one’s own—to know who to contact, how to research, how to set up a work process that facilitates inclusiveness, and how to identify and articulate one’s evaluative criteria. Our new information will never wipe out our personal assessments of “good” and “bad,” but it can help us to discount them in lieu of more comprehensive information with which to work. Use of subjective opinion without considering various sources of information is different than use of professional judgment or discretion after considering various sources of information.

*Chapter 5 A Different Approach*

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### *5.1. The Criterion of Multiplicity*

In the first phase of its modernism initiative, carried out in the summer of 2010, the Preservation Alliance ultimately privileged “the favored circle” of celebrated architecture firms (borrowing Stevens’ term), taking an approach that Huxtable would support (for highlighting the great artistic and technological achievements of Philadelphia) and Gans would criticize (for considering as secondary buildings that are less valuable architecturally but socially resonant). The Alliance expressed a desire to move outside the favored circle, and, indeed, more than doubled the inventory and produced a public poll that highlighted architects’ masterpieces alongside community landmarks, presenting no distinction. They also featured these broader products of mid-century modernism in lectures and other programming. Despite such efforts, they preemptively excluded buildings from their “best of the best,” reserving the top tier for the favored circle of the architecture profession. This strategy was influenced by time considerations in addition to lingering dated assumptions about architectural significance.

But what would an alternative approach look like? If we approached the assessment of priorities giving equal consideration to all of the buildings on the expanded inventory, on what criteria would we make our decisions? Would we give priority to those buildings that received the most votes from the poll respondents? But that would effectively de-prioritize buildings such as the Vanna Venturi House, which shows low popularity today but which architects, critics, and historians all insist has extraordinarily high artistic value.

Even though we are working as preservationists first, not architectural historians, do we really want to discount buildings that are considered among the most architecturally significant in the world? Giving priority to the poll results would also effectively privilege current assessments, without considering how people have assessed the buildings in the past. This might prove inconsequential, or it might cause us to grossly undervalue buildings that are merely at a taste-based lull but will soar in value in the future (like Victorians), if they survive. Furthermore, the poll results do not convey the reasons for the respondents' assessments, the artistic, cultural, economic, social, and symbolic values that respondents saw, or did not see, in each building, so it is difficult to interpret the results beyond relative popularity.

Most importantly, whom should we assume the "poll respondents" represent? Why should we trust that they represent the public? Chances are, they do not. Given that they are either supporters of the Preservation Alliance or other readers of a preservation issues blog, they are likely to have more of a background in architecture, planning, and/or history than the public at large, but do not necessarily know what their neighbors value. If we turned to neighborhood associations, community development corporations, any group with a stake in the locality, we would still receive only a partial, not truly representative, account of what's important. If we wanted to base our local opinion in a genuine, rigorous way, we would have to ask for a vote from every household in the city, and begin our work from there.

The preservation field should relinquish its decision-making authority to the public no more than it should work within an elitist bubble or remain beholden to archi-

ecture profession. Without doubt, community outreach in the form of “favorites” polls, public lectures, newspaper articles, and advocacy rallies, is essential to preservation work in their cultivating of broader interest in preservation work. And in the project of producing an inventory, practitioners depend on the information they receive outside the field as one of several sources of knowledge. However, community interests should not make decisions for the practitioner. What we need is a more enlightened, inclusive, replicable method for professionals to use to identify highly significant buildings, which considers multiple types of values as well as values over time.

This study thus proposes multiplicity as a primary criterion in assessing priorities among a stock of recent-past buildings. Of course, most buildings contain multiple values—economic value, social value, sometimes historical value, always arguable aesthetic value. But in some buildings, we can identify multiple layers of significance, high concentrations of value coming from more than one source. These buildings warrant attention from the practitioner.

It is important to note how the criterion itself can function instrumentally, beyond positing multiplicity as an end unto itself. Coexistence of multiple layers of significance in a building over time may not be feasible, or appropriate, as a management goal. Economic value ultimately may override historical value; architectural value may grow over social value. Choices will be made over time—necessary choices, valid choices—that will cause a diminution in the values that we perceive in buildings today. That is okay.



Moreover, simply setting multiplicity as a primary criterion in the inventory process would be beneficial in that it would stimulate critical thinking. It would encourage the practitioner to look at buildings from a range of different perspectives, to actively seek out alternative ways of seeing and valuing. It would dissuade practitioners from assuming that s/he already knows the reason for a building's significance—yes, but why else might it be significant? The criterion of multiplicity calls for more than one reason. As a tool, it helps us to identify buildings that are significant from a range of perspectives and, therefore, deserve careful attention among preservationists, planners, developers, and others who influence their futures.

The use of GIS helps to systematize the process. A relatively simple and practical methodology to recent-past inventorying will go a long way in helping practitioners to resist reasserting limitations over the scope of this inherently challenging project. We must address head-on the pervasive usage of such cognitive shortcuts as archicentric assumptions, personal taste, and categorical thinking. GIS can cut the labor over time as prior work remains in the system and new work simply builds upon it. The particulars of the methodology will be discussed in the next section. Crucial to note, this is not a scientific methodology, and it requires professional discretion and decision-making in order to work. Multiplicity of values is an indicator of priority but it is not the determination. The professionals involved in the process will have to make the decision nevertheless. Perhaps more importantly, as there will still be cases of extraordinary single significance, the professional must be able to make the case for when, and why, a building that may not be valued on other fronts warrants

prioritization due to its one singular value. This process makes difficult decisions more transparent, so that interested (or contentious) parties can understand exactly how and why a decision was made.

### *5.2. Sketching a Methodology*

My methodology for a GIS-based inventory process was influenced by English Heritage's GIS-based approach to county-level landscape management, known as "historic landscape characterisation" (HLC). Developed in the early 2000s, HLC utilizes contemporary digitized maps and geo-referenced aerial photographs of a county or similarly sized region, along with historical information sources and the specialized knowledge of local project consultants, to create GIS shapefiles comprised of polygons representing land parcels and coded with data pertaining to landscape attributes. The method defines three types of attributes: geographical information about the location; morphological information, i.e., shape, structure, color, and pattern; and information about the contemporary and historical landscape character. The practitioner can then group these attributes, through GIS, in any number of ways to reveal the patterns that characterize the landscape.<sup>193</sup>

I have not replicated English Heritage's method of landscape management here, but I have been inspired by its approach to begin to formulate a GIS-based method of inventorying buildings of the recent-past. What follows is an initial formulation. Rather

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<sup>193</sup> Characterisation Team, English Heritage, "Historic Landscape Characterisation: Template Project Design," 1<sup>st</sup> edition (Dec. 2002).

than track features of the historical landscape, this method records the various significances of recent-past buildings as they manifest in various sources of information, which we should expect the practitioner to consult.

I began by creating a new shapefile and setting up a range of attribute fields in which to record information about buildings. In addition to basic information pertaining to address, architect, and year completed, I established four fields, or categories, pertaining to significance that some buildings have acquired over time. I then began to draw GIS polygons around the footprints of the buildings in the inventory (access to a municipal shapefile of building footprints is essential to this step).<sup>194</sup> As I created the building polygons, I entered information about them into the attributes table. Each row in the attributes table refers to one polygon, that is, one building. I created all of the polygons within a single shapefile, which represents the sum total of buildings in the Philadelphia 1959-70 inventory. The use of a single shapefile eliminates the need to redraw building polygons as my knowledge about the buildings grows. Each polygon is fixed as the building itself, while the attribute fields within each polygon are editable and potentially endless, capturing the information about the building's significance over time. Each of the categories that I established in the attributes table pertains to an information source that I accessed to gain knowledge about the buildings.

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<sup>194</sup> [PhiladelphiaBuildings200712.shp](#), courtesy of the University of Pennsylvania Department of Historic Preservation.

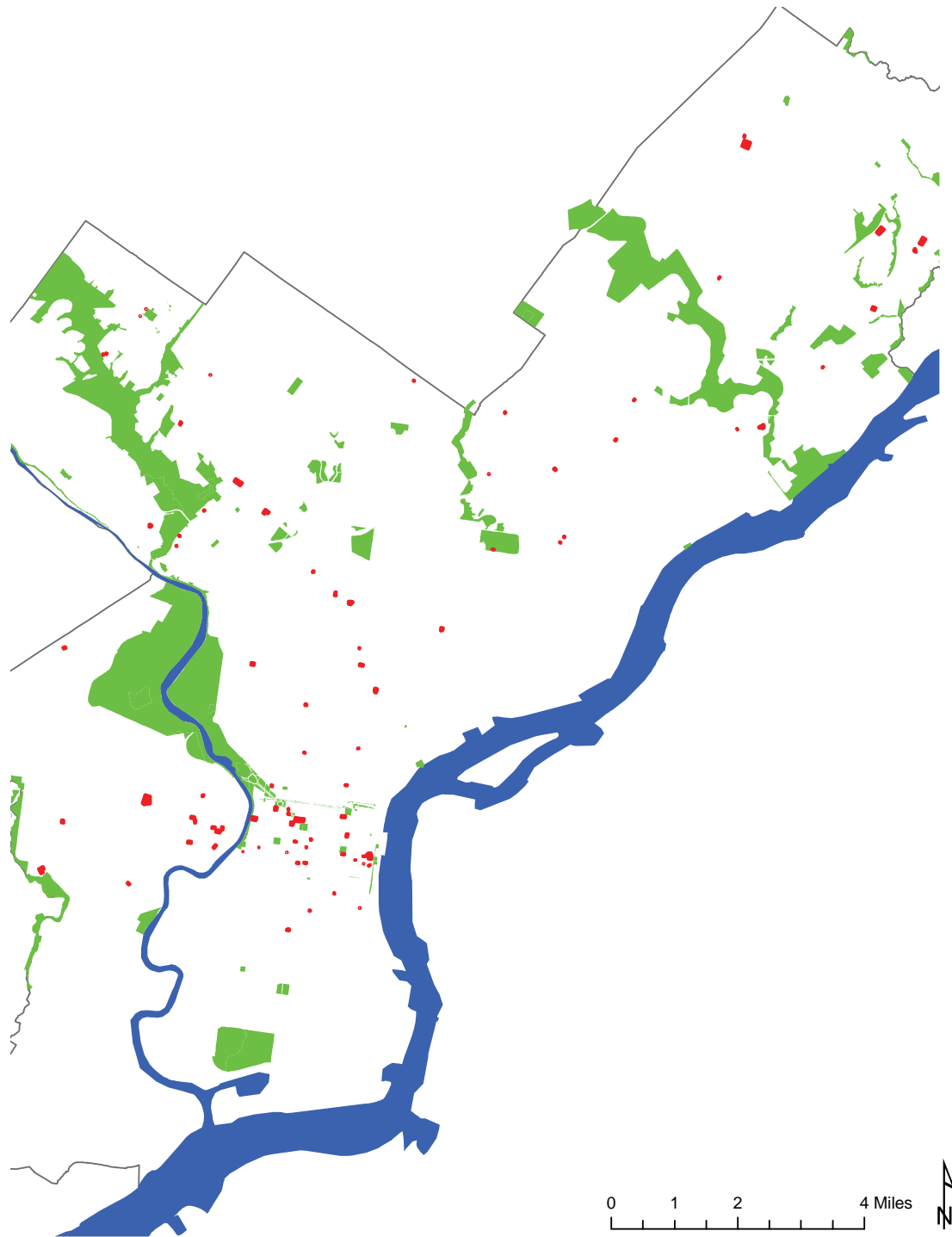


Fig. 17: The red specks indicate a selection of the 1960s buildings inventory that I have noted for containing various types of significance.

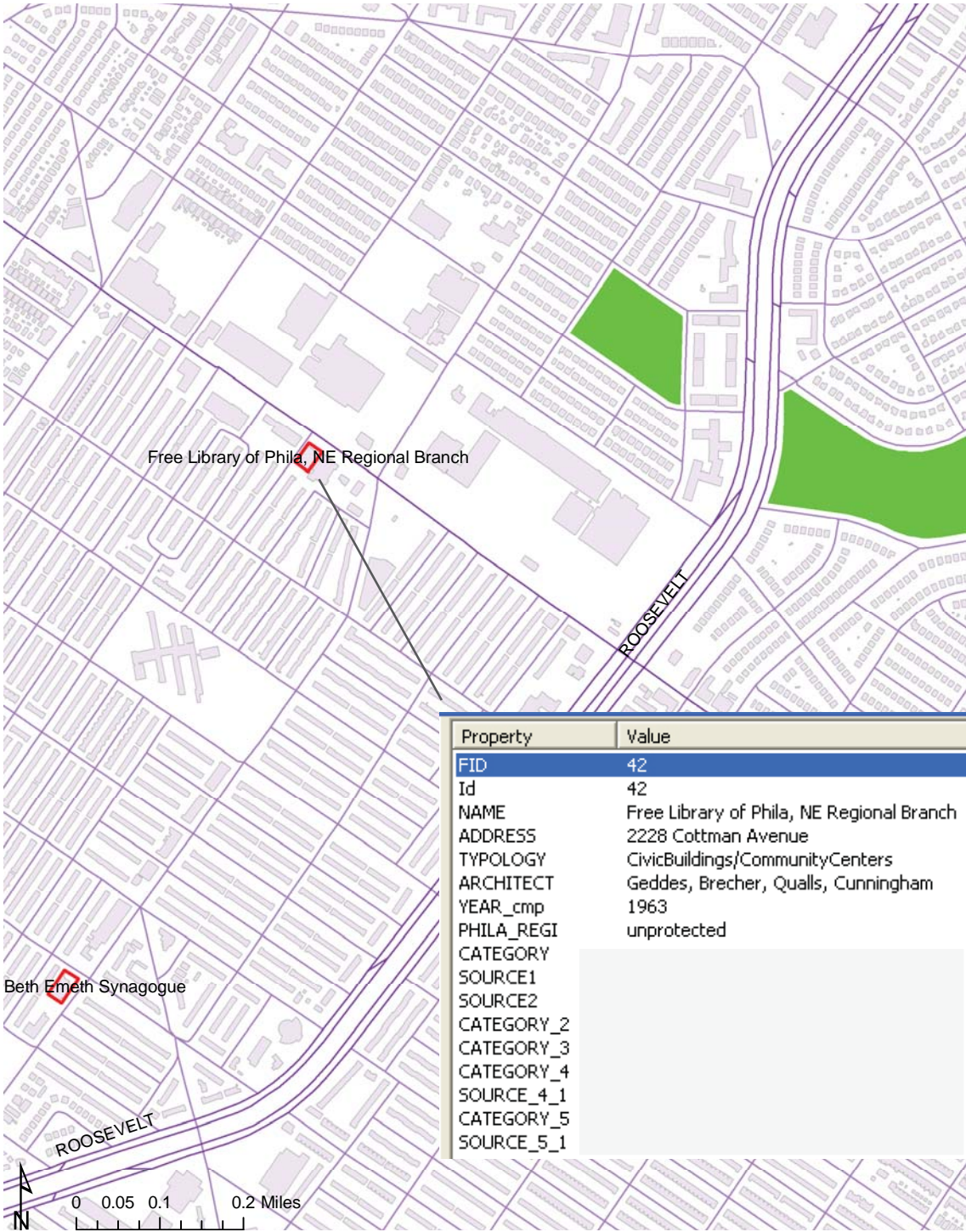


Fig. 18: Example of a building polygon and its attributes fields (not yet completed).

When gathering information about the values of a stock of historical buildings, the source of information is hugely influential. The source of information that the preservationist chooses determines the values that the preservationist will discern, which in turn will influence priorities that the preservationist advocates. A wide variety of information sources can reveal values, both current and past, of recent-past buildings. Therefore, practitioners must consider more closely what sources we use, and, most importantly, strive to utilize a range of different types of sources. Types include:

- *historic context narratives*
- *contemporary architectural-historical assessments*
- *international architecture journals of the historical time*
- *local chapter AIA yearbooks and awards*
- *regional building industry publications*
- *evolutionary mapping*
- *current local values*

When the practitioner obtains information from contemporary architectural-historical assessments, for example, his/her own valuation of the buildings will be based upon the same judgment criteria used in the information sources: innovation in artistic expression, advancement in construction or materials, or aesthetic merit (exceptional formal composition, proportion, ornamentation, etc.). The practitioner will implicitly favor whatever buildings have already made it into books or inventories that are written or compiled by scholars, which, as Richard Longstreth has shown, can be quite arbitrary. The practitioner will end up neglecting buildings that are significant to local communities for social, symbolic, and com-

memorative reasons, as well as types buildings that were once commonplace, patently unexceptional, but now carry historical significance as representative of a past time.

These buildings are among the very, very few buildings that are noted by people around the immediate community or region. But while they are well known, they are not necessarily regarded by people on a personal level and may bear little relevance to the locality. Within this inherently small category, the number of buildings that the practitioner prioritizes will be relatively few, and given that scholars and other experts have already articulated points of merit, they are typically easier to designate or otherwise protect. However, overemphasis on buildings from this category may alienate the public and perpetuate misrepresentations of preservation work as exclusive and irrelevant.

When the practitioner obtains information from the local lay community (i.e., outside the professional architecture and preservation communities), his/her own assessment will consider the social, economic, and symbolic values of buildings. Indication from stakeholders that (as the National Trust's catchphrase goes) "this place matters," for whatever reasons, will compel that practitioner to include it in the inventory. Included are buildings that appear architecturally ordinary but are valued for a particular reason, often based in the building's use or its association with an event or person, as well as buildings that may mean little to people outside the local community who do not live in them, use them, see them, on a regular basis. Neglected when the practitioner follows local community values are buildings whose architectural qualities are not appreciated today because of style trends,

or not well understood today, though may be appreciated by future generations. Also, it is important to note that even when we obtain information about local values, we may still be neglecting other local values. Within the overarching local “Community” are myriad communities—ethnic communities, associations based in profession, longtime residents, recent transplants—who have distinct interests and find different buildings valuable.

The practitioner also might look for geographic areas of concentrated development, which indicates where government and commercial developers chose to invest during a particular time. S/he will note, for example, areas that received federal redevelopment funds; areas surrounding a new stadium or museum that reaped the broader economic development of a major anchor project; areas where the city planning commission forecasted growth and build new municipal services in response; areas of major housing developments. This approach highlights broader patterns of development and redevelopment, which may be historically significant insofar as they reflect important social, economic, and/or political trends. It can help the practitioner transcend common assumptions of where the important areas are. In Philadelphia, for example, a disproportionate amount of attention is given to resources in Center City, and, secondarily, in noted historic neighborhoods such as Chestnut Hill, Germantown, and Powelton Village. Map work emphasizes, for example, the concentration of mid-century modernist houses in East Falls, and helps correct certain misconceptions about the Far Northeast.

Contrary to what the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation argued,



in the world of preservation, an orange is not necessarily an orange.<sup>195</sup> And here we are comparing apples with oranges that are not necessarily oranges. Puns aside, the process of identifying a few buildings of highest significance can become quite convoluted after accepting that significance derives from multiple different types of values. Different sources of information reveal the discrete ways of assessing the significance of buildings. To be sure, we should not anticipate any coherence among assessments, though it may happen. A building can signify entirely different meanings to different people, or when looking from different orientations. This is a process of identifying overlapping, but not necessarily related, layers of values. As we begin to explicitly consider the various sources of information and the implications of their use, we begin to understand just how partial of an inventory we would produce if we did not use the criterion of multiplicity as a guiding light.

### *5.3. Conclusions from the Test*

I created four categories of what I will call *significance-layers*. The contemporary architectural-historical assessment is represented by the lists of notable mid-century buildings produced by Charles Evers in 1997 and Malcolm Clendenin in 2009. Buildings with potential historical significance reflecting the development of the city in the 1960s are tracked according to those that the city funded, as well as those in the burgeoning Lower and Far Northeast that the Philadelphia Chapter AIA *Yearbooks* noted. The buildings that

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195 In reference to King, 172.

received the first-, second-, and third-most votes (in categories of ten) in the Preservation Alliance’s “I Like Mod” poll of fall 2010 indicate buildings that appeal to area residents today (albeit partial indication).

Attributes of 1959-1970_ALLBUILDINGS							
	Id	NAME	ADDRESS	TYOLOGY	ARCHITECT	YEAR	PHILA_REGI
	0	Hill Hall, Univ of PA	3333 Walnut Street	Resid-MultiFamily/Hotel/	Eero Saarinen and As	1960	unprotected
	1	Richards Medical Research Lab	3700-800 Hamilton Walk	Edu-University/Laborato	Louis I Kahn	1961	2004, individual c
	2	West Park Public Housing	44th and Market Streets	Resid-PlannedCommunit	Harbeson, Hough, Livi	1963	unprotected
	3	International House, Univ of PA	3701 Chestnut Street	Resid-MultiFamily/Hotel/	Bower and Fradley	1970	unprotected
	4	Graduate Student Housing, Univ	3600-50 Chestnut Street	Resid-MultiFamily/Hotel/	Richard Neutra	1970	unprotected
	5	Margaret Esherick House	204 Sunrise Lane	Resid-SingleFamily	Louis I Kahn	1960	2009, individual c
	6	Vanna Venturi House	8330 Millman Street	Resid-SingleFamily	Venturi and Rauch	1964	unprotected
	7	Dorothy Shipley White House	717 Glengarry Road	Resid-SingleFamily	Mitchell/Giurgola Ass	1963	unprotected
	8	J Pennington Straus House	719 Glengarry Road	Resid-SingleFamily	John Lane Evans	1963	unprotected
	9	Police Administration Building	700 Race Street	Municipal/Federal	Geddes, Brecher, Qu	1963	unprotected
	10	Guild House	711 Spring Garden Stre	Resid-MultiFamily/Hotel/	Venturi and Rauch	1964	2004, individual c
	11	Rohm and Haas Building	100 Independence Mall	Commerc-Retail/Office-	Pietro Belluschi	1965	unprotected
	12	Hopkinson House	604-36 Washington Squ	Resid-MultiFamily/Hotel/	Stonorov and Haws	1963	1999, within Soc

CATEGORY	SOURCE1	SOURCE2	CATEGORY_2	CATEGORY	CATEGORY_4	SOURCE_4
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin	1997, Evers				
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin	1997, Evers			CommunityValued	PAGPpoll
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin			CityFunded		
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin	1997, Evers				
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin					
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin	1997, Evers			CommunityValued	PAGPpoll
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin	1997, Evers				
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin				CommunityValued	PAGPpoll
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin					
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin	1997, Evers		CityFunded	CommunityValued	PAGPpoll
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin	1997, Evers				
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin	1997, Evers		CityFunded	CommunityValued	PAGPpoll
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin					
ContemporaryArchHist	2009, Clendenin	1997, Evers			CommunityValued	PAGPpoll

Fig. 19: Sample of the attributes table (split to fit the page).

I carried out a limited test of the proposed methodology. Additional categories of significance should be added to enable more thorough assessments, and I do not present the following results as conclusive in any way. However, they are useful in demonstrating the sort of results that this methodology can lead toward. This methodology suggests the following five buildings are highly laden with significance:

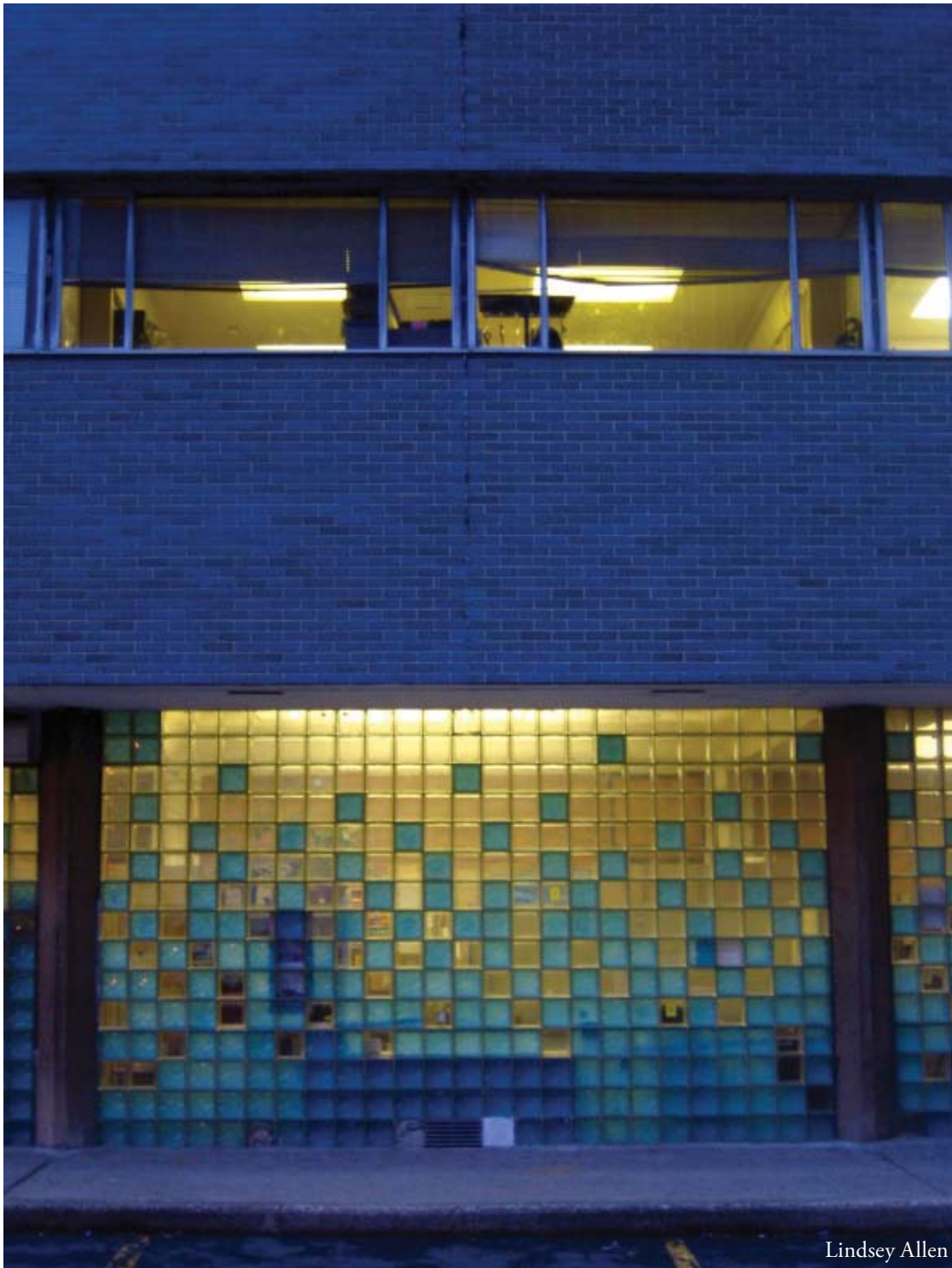
- *District Health Center No. 1*
- *Free Library of Philadelphia's Northeast Regional Branch*
- *Municipal Services Building*
- *Police Administration Building*
- *Rohm and Haas Building.*

Among the significance-layers that I included in the attributes table, these buildings were cited most frequently, in three out of four categories. The Northeast Library was part of the historically significant explosion of development in the Far Northeast in the 1960, *and it was* made possible by the City of Philadelphia, *and it is* currently valued by community members (as represented by the limited sample of the Preservation Alliance's poll respondents). The other three buildings are considered architecturally significant, for their aesthetic merit and/or advancement in construction or materials, *and they were* made possible by the City of Philadelphia, *and they are* currently valued by community members. The presence of multiple significance-layers does not mean that these buildings necessarily warrant designation at the present time, but it does indicate that they warrant documentation, monitoring (of both condition and usage), and perhaps further historical and ethnographical research. It suggests buildings that will remain valued over time: even if one layer

of significance diminishes, others will remain.



Fig. 20: The District Health Center No. 1 (Montgomery and Bishop, 1960), on South Broad Street at Lombard, also known as the Public Health Services Building.



Lindsey Allen

Fig. 21: The District Health Center No. 1 (Montgomery and Bishop, 1960) at dusk.



Deborah Merriam

Figs. 22-23: Character-defining architectural features of the Free Library of Philadelphia, Northeast Regional Branch (Geddes, Brecher, Qualls and Cunningham, 1963).



Deborah Merriam

This sample attributes table lacks types of categories that should be included in a real-life application of this method. It should contain multiple sources for the Community-Valued category. It should also include a category pertaining to commercial buildings. The Philadelphia Chapter AIA *Yearbooks* and regional building industry publications are two sources of information on commercial buildings trends of the time. Such publications might

Attributes of 1959-1970_ALLBUILDINGS												
id	NAME	ADDRESS	ARCHITECT	YEAR	PHILA_REG	CATEGORY	SOU	SOU	CATEGORY_2	CATEGORY_3	CATEGORY_4	SOURCE
0	Hill Hall, Univ of PA	3333 Walnut Street	Eero Saarinen and As	1960	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997				
2	West Park Public Housing	44th and Market Street	Harbeson, Hough, Livi	1963	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009			CityFunded		
3	International House, Univ of P	3701 Chestnut Street	Bower and Fradley	1970	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997				
4	Graduate Student Housing, Uni	3600-50 Chestnut Str	Richard Neutra	1970	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009					
6	Vanna Venturi House	8330 Millman Street	Venturi and Rauch	1964	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997				
7	Dorothy Shipley White House	717 Glengarry Road	Mitchell/Giurgola Ass	1963	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009				CommunityVal'd	PAGPoll
8	J Pennington Straus House	719 Glengarry Road	John Lane Evans	1963	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009					
9	Police Administration Building	700 Race Street	Geddes, Brecher, Gu	1963	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997		CityFunded	CommunityVal'd	PAGPoll
11	Rohn and Haas Building	100 Independence Ma	Pietro Belluschi	1965	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997		CityFunded	CommunityVal'd	PAGPoll
16	Library Company Annex	1314 Locust Street	Carroll, Grisdale, Van	1965	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009					
17	Casa Farnese Apartments	1300 Lombard Street	Stonorov and Haws	1966	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009					
18	Municipal Services Building	1417 John F Kennedy	Vincent Kling and As	1965	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997		CityFunded	CommunityVal'd	PAGPoll
19	Four Penn Center	1600 John F Kennedy	Vincent Kling and As	1964	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997				
20	Philadelphia Electric Company	2301 Market Street	Harbeson, Hough, Livi	1970	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009					
21	University Museum Parking Ga	3200 South Street	Mitchell/Giurgola Ass	1968	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997				
23	District Health Center #1	500 S Broad Street	Montgomery and Bish	1960	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009			CityFunded	CommunityVal'd	PAGPoll
24	Free Library of Phila, South Phi	1700 S Broad Street	Nolen and Swinburne	1965	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009			CityFunded		
25	Student Teaching Building, Te	3440 N Broad Street	Nolen and Swinburne	1967	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009					
26	District Health Center #2	1720 S Broad Street	Norman Rice	1965	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009			CityFunded		
27	Clarence Pickett Middle School	5700 Wayne Avenue	Geddes, Brecher, Gu	1970	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009			CityFunded		
28	Robert Brasler House	4122 Apalogen Road	Joel Levinson	1966	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997				
29	N William Winkelman Jr House	4141 Apalogen Road	Montgomery and Bish	1959	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997				
31	Free Library of Phila, Lovett M	6945 Germantown A	Montgomery and Bish	1959	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009			CityFunded		
33	1500 Walnut Street Addition	1500 Walnut Street	Bower and Fradley	1963	unprotected	ContempArchHist		1997				
34	Moore College of Art	1916 Race Street	Carroll, Grisdale, Van	1964	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997				
37	Anne Tyng House	2511 Waverly Street	Anne Tyng	1967	unprotected	ContempArchHist		1997				
38	Five Penn Center	1601 Market Street	Vincent Kling and As	1970	unprotected	ContempArchHist	2009	1997				
40	University Lutheran Church	3637 Chestnut Street	Pietro Belluschi	1969	unprotected	ContempArchHist		1997			CommunityVal'd	PAGPoll
41	Walnut Street Parking Garage,	3201 Walnut Street	Mitchell/Giurgola Ass	1964	unprotected	ContempArchHist		1997				
42	Free Library of Phila, NE Regio	2228 Cottman Avenu	Geddes, Brecher, Gu	1963	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded	CommunityVal'd	PAGPoll
43	Archbishop Ryan Catholic Hig	11201 Academy Roa	Dagit Associates	1968	unprotected				NEDevp			
44	Benjamin Rush Junior High Sc	11081 Knights Road	Thalheimer and Wetz	1968	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
45	FitzPatrick School	11061 Knights Road	Oskar Stonorov	1959	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
46	Free Library of Phila, Welsh R	9233 Roosevelt Boule	Stonorov and Haws	1968	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
47	John Hancock Public School	3700 Morrell Avenue	Sabatino and Fishman	1967	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
48	Adams Dental (Broad Street Tr	801 Adams Street	Aaron Colish	1963	unprotected				NEDevp			
49	Beth Emeth Synagogue	6652 Bustleton Aven	Sabatino and Fishman	1959	unprotected				NEDevp			
50	CitizensBank-Frnkfrd (GirardTr	4700 Frankford Aven	Garner and White	1962	unprotected				NEDevp			
51	Free Library of Phila, Frankfor	4634 Frankford Aven	Louis McAllister	1959	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
52	Free Library of Phila, Lawncre	6098 Rising Sun Ave	Hatfield, Martin, White	1960	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
53	Glading Memorial Presbyterian	1267 E Cheltenham A	TBD	1961	unprotected				NEDevp			
54	Engine 36	7818 Frankford Aven	Demchick, Berger, Da	1969	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
55	Fire Station (TBD)	9197 Frankford Aven	Supowitz and Demchi	1966	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
56	Holmecrest Homes	8133 Erdrick Street	Geddes, Brecher, Gu	1966	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
57	Mount Zion Baptist Church	8101 Erdrick Street	Mansell, Lewis, Fugat	1969	unprotected				NEDevp			
58	Free Library of Phila, Bustleton	10199 Bustleton Ave	Alexander Ewing and	1965	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
59	George Washington High Scho	11000 Bustleton Ave	Martin, Stewart, Nobl	1962	unprotected				NEDevp	CityFunded		
60	Andrew Hamilton School	5640 Spruce Street	Garner and White	1968	unprotected					CityFunded		
61	Benjamin B. Comegys School	5001-35 Greenway A	Tofani and Fox	1965	unprotected					CityFunded		

Fig. 24: Sample of the attributes table.

provide information, for example, about the manifestation of the nationwide round-pavilion bank trend in the Philadelphia region. Interestingly, GIS work morphologically revealed a trend of radial buildings among the schools that the city commissioned in the 1960s. This sample attributes table also lacks information on the single-family residential typology.

Scholarship on the single-family house specifically as it manifested in Northeast Philadelphia, especially in the later 1960s, is lacking. We are aware of a large volume of houses but not how to assess it beyond very general, national trends.<sup>196</sup>

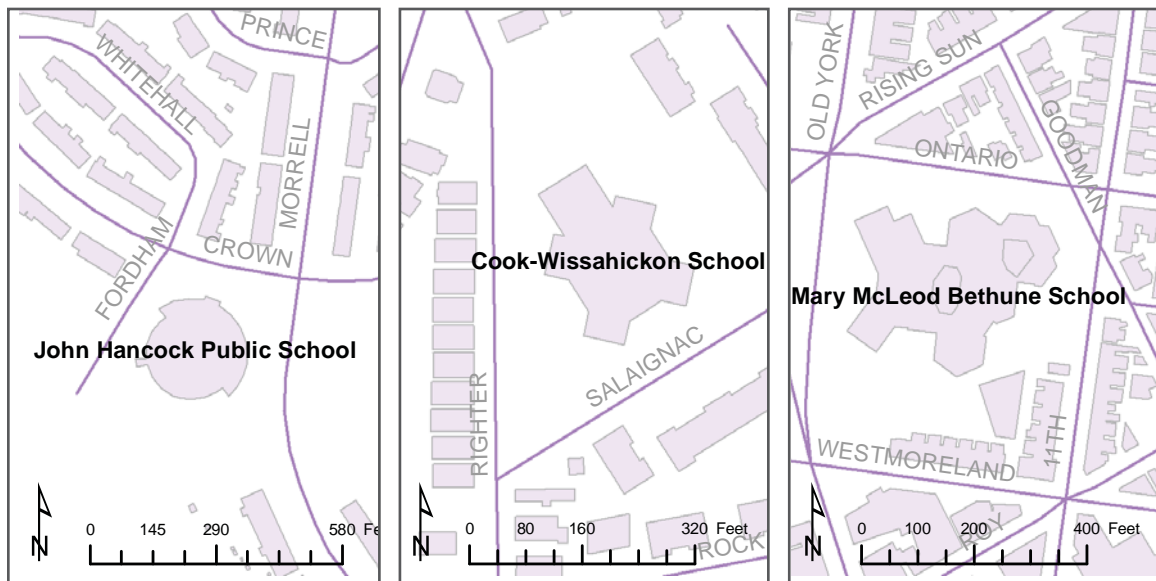


Fig. 25: A few examples of numerous radial-shaped public schools built in the 1960s.

196 The following web site would provide a useful starting point for research on Northeast Philadelphia single-family houses of the 1960s: “Pennsylvania’s Historic Suburbs: Postwar Suburbs 1945-1965,” Pennsylvania Museum and Historical Commission, [www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/postwar\\_suburbs\\_1945-1965/18881](http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/postwar_suburbs_1945-1965/18881) (accessed April 28, 2011).



I would also use professional judgment to give high priority for local designation to the Vanna Venturi House, in spite of its low popularity among respondents for the Preservation Alliance's poll and its lack of other layers of significance as well. It truly is an architectural masterwork and made a shattering impact on the international vanguard architecture community in the 1960s, engendering an entirely innovative way of thinking about Modernist architecture. My own research on the house over the past year only strengthens my conviction about its significance. More broadly speaking, we must we wary not to categorically snub high-art architecture in the quest to operate more inclusively.

## *Chapter 6 Conclusion*

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Poststructuralism has posed a conundrum to the preservation field, whose work rests upon strong statements of cultural significance about buildings. If meaning is culturally assigned, not fixed; based on tangible attributes as well as intangible values; not objectively observable and subject to different readings; and mutable over time; then how can preservation professionals know what is significant enough to warrant their attention? This is in essence an epistemological crisis, though a fairly hushed one, for to do without a strong significance concept is untenable, which Thomas King acknowledged in his response to Tainter and Lucas back in the mid-1980s.

Also recognizing the conundrum are those in the preservation and allied fields who have created values-centered frameworks for preservation planning and resource management. These frameworks, such as the *Burra Charter* and the Getty Conservation Institute research, provide guidance for working with multiple stakeholders and multiple values, but ultimately leave it to the professionals to make decisions about significance, in a well-informed and transparent manner. Burgeoning interest in recent-past preservation has compounded the issue of ambiguity in significance. Advocacy of resources that have not yet accrued strong historical value lead some people, both outside the field and within, to conclude a certain “dumbing down,” a diminution of standards of value. They worry that anyone can say anything is cultural heritage.

Ironically, the field remains prone to single-perspective architect-centered assessments of significance, as well as to personal, taste-based assessments. We should hardly

wonder why. Amidst a nebulous historical environment of ambiguous meanings and multivalent values, preservation professionals must not only understand the environment as an historian would, but also must assess significance and make qualitative *choices* among the contents. That is a burdensome task, and professionals seek guidance in decision-making wherever they can find it, including cognitive shortcuts.

A larger issue here may be authority. The poststructural stance denies the importance of authority: anyone, indeed, can say anything is culturally significant. But the preservation profession, and policy, are built on the opposite premise: people with degrees in history, art history, historic preservation, etc., are more qualified to evaluate significance than other people. In fact, the preservation professional is needed more than ever, but in a particular set of roles. A chief role of the professional in a poststructural historical environment is judge, or referee. In this sense, expertise lies in the ability to identify and evaluate multiple values, multiple stakeholders, and multiple claims of significance. With recent-past resources specifically, the professional must also play historian, journalist/ethnographer, and forecaster. Expertise lies in uncovering and advocating undervalued resources that predictably may accrue value in the future. While juggling five jobs at once, the preservation professional certainly would benefit from a method to help navigate toward the goal of identifying priorities among many possibilities—where no priority is self-evident and all possibilities are arguably valid. The professional should be expected to do this without recourse to cognitive shortcuts.

Most fundamentally, expertise lies in the ability to make transparent, defensible statements of significance amidst multiple, sometimes competing, claims. For this, the criterion of multiplicity and the tool of GIS may be useful. The criterion of multiplicity directs the professional to assess a building from a variety of different perspectives and to actively hunt for diversity in meanings, while GIS provides a tool for recording information, processing and analyzing it in different ways, tracking changes over time, and revealing, graphically, the conclusions that the professional draws. Polysemy could easily devolve into ambiguity, in which case statements of significance would only weaken. Yet the use of GIS can assist the professional, both in making difficult decisions in a rational manner (through its usefulness in processing information) and in defending them (through its capacity for graphical transparency). This method is premised on the pluralism of society and the multivalence and malleability of cultural meaning, but helps statements of significance remain strong, rather than weaken. It should not override professional discretion, however, where extraordinary single significance is evident in a building.

The field cannot do without the concept of significance, but it can seek a pragmatic solution, an admittedly imperfect method that helps professionals address the theoretical challenges posed by poststructuralism without discarding the preservation project altogether. The work of this thesis hopefully provides a step toward that objective.



Fig. 26: Carroll, Grisdale and Van Alen's David Rittenhouse Laboratories at the University of Pennsylvania (1967).

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*Appendix A* Buildings Inventory: Philadelphia County, 1959-1970

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*listed in chronological order by year completed*

Produced in collaboration with Ben Leech, Advocacy Director, Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia, June 2010 to April 2011.

*Appendix A Chronological Order*

	Primary Name	Alt. or Hst. Name(s)	Type	Date Completed	Primary Architect/Builder	St. No.	Street Name/Intersection
within district: Rittenhouse-Filler, 1995	Frank Weise House and Studio		Resid-SingleFamily	1955-c.1975	Frank Weise	307	S Chadwick Street
unprotected	1800 Chestnut Street		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1959	Leo Hauf	1800	Chestnut Street
unprotected within district:	Beth Emeth Synagogue		Ecclesiastical	1959	Sabellino and Fishman	6652	Bustleton Avenue
Rittenhouse-Filler, 1995	Charles Weinstein Geriatric Center		Healthcare	1959	Herman Polss	2115	Sansom Street
unprotected	Edward Fleer House		Resid-SingleFamily	1959	Montgomery and Bishop	615	W Hartwell Lane
unprotected	Engine 3		Municipal/Federal	1959	George W. Nash	200	Washington Avenue
unprotected	FitzPatrick School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1959	Oskar Stonorov	11061	Knights Road
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Frankford Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1959	Louis McAllister, Sr.	4634	Frankford Avenue
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Lovett Memorial Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1959	Montgomery and Bishop	6945	Germantown Avenue
2009	Hasserick/Sawyer House		Resid-SingleFamily	1959	Richard Neutra	4030	Cherry Lane
within district: Rittenhouse-Filler, 1995	Irving Shaw House Alterations		Resid-SingleFamily	1959	Louis I. Kahn	2129	Cypress Street
unprotected	N. William Winkelman, Jr., House		Resid-SingleFamily	1959	Montgomery and Bishop	4141	Apalogen Road
unprotected	Panati Playground		Recreational	1959	David Supowitz	3101	N 22nd Street
unprotected	Police 3rd and 4th District Headquarters		Municipal/Federal	1959	Ehrlich and Levinson	1300	S 11th Street
unprotected	Columbus Park Building		Recreational	1960	Norman Rice	1201	Reed Street
unprotected	District Health Center No. 1	Public Health Services Building	Healthcare	1960	Montgomery and Bishop	500	S Broad Street
unprotected	El Vez Restaurant	Coyuga Federal Savings and Loan Building	Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1960	Philip Mastrin	121	S 13th Street
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Lawncrest Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1960	Halfeld, Martin, White	6098	Rising Sun Avenue
unprotected	Goldstein's Funeral Home		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1960	Sabellino and Fishman	6410	N Broad Street
unprotected individual designation, 2009	Hill Hall, University of Pennsylvania	Hill College House	Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1960	Eero Saarinen and Associates	3333	Walnut Street
unprotected	Margaret Escherick House	Parker House	Resid-SingleFamily	1960	Louis I. Kahn	204	Sunrise Lane
unprotected	Penn Wynn Apartments		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1960	George Neff	2201	Boyn Mawr Avenue
unprotected	Police 9th District Headquarters		Municipal/Federal	1960	Eshbach, Puller, Stevens, Bruder	401	N 21st Street
unprotected	Fairmount Park Welcome Center	Philadelphia Hospitality Center	CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1961	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larsen	1599	John F. Kennedy Boulevard
unprotected within district: Society Hill, 1999	Glading Memorial Presbyterian Church Addition		Ecclesiastical	1961	TBD	1267	E Cheltenham Avenue
unprotected	Henry Watts House		Resid-SingleFamily	1961	George B. Roberts	219-21	Spruce Street
unprotected	Hopkins House		Resid-SingleFamily	1961	Paul Detweiler	713	Davidson Road
unprotected	Johnson Hall, Temple University		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1961	Nolen and Swinburne	2029	N Broad Street
unprotected	Pearson House		Resid-SingleFamily	1961	Francis, Cauffman, Wilkinson, Pepper	720	Davidson Road
unprotected	Police 22nd-23rd Districts Headquarters		Municipal/Federal	1961	John Lane Evans	1747	N 17th Street

*Appendix A Chronological Order*

unprotected	Walter Phillips House		Resid-SingleFamily	1961	Montgomery and Bishop	1725	Glengary Road
unprotected	Wood House	Casa Fermi Apartments	Resid-SingleFamily	1961	David Eichler	197	Lymbrook Lane
unprotected	Casa Famese Apartments	Girard Trust Corn Exchange Bank	Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1962	Stonorov and Haws	1300	Lombard Street
unprotected	Citizens Bank, Frankford Branch		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1962	Garnor and White	4700	Frankford Avenue
unprotected	Eichler House		Resid-SingleFamily	1962	William Wallace McDowell	1	Norman Lane
unprotected	George Washington High School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1962	Martin, Stewart, Noble, Class	11000	Bustleton Avenue
unprotected	Glover Medical Research Science Laboratory for Research on the Structure		Edu-University/Laboratory	1962	Vincent Kling and Associates		39th Street and Powellton Avenue
unprotected	Park City West		Edu-University/Laboratory	1962	Martin, Stewart, Noble, Class	3231	Walnut Street
within district, Society demolished, 2000	Society Hill Townhouses	Dock Street Superblock	Resid-PlannedCommunity	1962	Samuel I. Oshiver and Associates	3900	Ford Road
unprotected	Southwark Plaza Public Housing		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1962	I. M. Pei and Associates	281-93	Locust Street
unprotected	St. Monica Recreation Center	Monsignor Farrell Hall	Recreational	1962	Stonorov and Haws		S 4th and Carpenter Streets
unprotected	Van Pelt Library, University of Wyndmoor Towers		Edu-University/Laboratory	1962	Bernard Roncy	1601	West Shunk Street
unprotected	1500 Walnut Street Addition	First National Bank Addition	Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1962	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larsen	3420	Walnut Street
unprotected	Adams Dental	Broad Street Trust Company	Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1963	George Nelf	7600	Stenton Avenue
unprotected	Camac Village (1)		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1963	Bower and Fradley	1500	Walnut Street
unprotected	Camac Village (2)		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1963	Aaron Colish	801	Adams Street
unprotected	Camac Village (3)		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1963	Frank Weise	1201-17	Lombard Street
unprotected	Dorothy Shipley White House	Mrs. Thomas Raeburn White	Resid-PlannedCommunity	1963	Frank Weise	423-29	Camac Street
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Northeast Regional Branch		Resid-SingleFamily	1963	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	717	Pine Street
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Southwark Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1963	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunningham	2228	Coltman Avenue
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Wynnefield Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1963	Estbach, Puller, Stevens, Bruder	932	S 7th Street
within district, Society Hill, 1999	Hopkinson House		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1963	Montgomery and Bishop	5325	Overbrook Avenue
unprotected	IBM Building		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1963	Stonorov and Haws	604-36	Washington Square S
unprotected	Iroquois Apartment Building		Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1963	Vincent Kling and Associates		17th and Market Streets
unprotected	J. A. Russell House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1963	Leon Lewis Levin	2805	N 47th Street
unprotected	J. Pennington Straus House		Resid-SingleFamily	1963	Frank Boyer	7713	Cherokee Street
unprotected	Jefferson Hall, Thomas Jefferson University		Resid-SingleFamily	1963	John Lane Evans	719	Glengary Road
unprotected	Kassery House		Edu-University/Laboratory	1963	Vincent Kling and Associates	1020	Locust Street
unprotected	Medical Research Building, Temple University		Resid-SingleFamily	1963	Stonorov and Haws	716	Davidson Road
demolished, 2002	Mill Creek Public Housing, Phase II Housing and Community Center		Edu-University/Laboratory	1963	Nolen and Swinburne		N Broad Street above and Ontario Street
unprotected	Milton Hall Addition, Temple University		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1963	Louis I. Kahn		Fairmount Avenue, 44th to 46th Streets
demolished, 2008	Philadelphia Life Insurance Company Building Annex		Edu-University/Laboratory	1963	Nolen and Swinburne	1913	N Broad Street
unprotected	Police Administration Building	Philadelphia Police Headquarters: The Roundhouse	Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1963	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	125	N Broad Street
unprotected	The Philadelphiaian		Municipal/Federal	1963	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunningham	700	Race Street
unprotected	West Park Public Housing		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1963	Samuel I. Oshiver and Associates	2401	Pennsylvania Avenue
unprotected	Barton Hall, Temple University		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1963	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larson		44th and Market Streets
unprotected	Berry Hall, Temple University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1964	Nolen and Swinburne	1900	N 13th Street
			Edu-University/Laboratory	1964	Nolen and Swinburne	1901	N 13th Street

*Appendix A Chronological Order*

unprotected individual designation, 2004	Four Penn Center Guild House	Reliance Insurance Building	Commercial-Retail/Office-Highrise	1964	1964	Vincent Kling and Associates	1600	John F. Kennedy Boulevard
unprotected	Life-Sciences Building, Temple University	American Society for Testing and Materials Building	Edu-University/Laboratory	1964	1964	Nolen and Swinburne	1900	N 12th Street
unprotected within district: Rittenhouse-Filler, 1995	Moore College of Art		Edu-University/Laboratory	1964	1964	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Allen	1916	Race Street
unprotected individual designation, 1999	Rittenhouse Dorchester Apartments Society Hill Towers		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1964	1964	Millon Schwartz and Associates	224-30	W Rittenhouse Square
unprotected	Stein Radiation-Biology Research Laboratory, Thomas Jefferson University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1964	1964	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larsen	202	S Hutchinson Street
unprotected	Thomas Todd House		Resid-SingleFamily	1964	1964	Wallace, McHarg, Roberts, Todd	7321	McCallum Street
unprotected	Vanna Venturi House	Mother's House	Resid-SingleFamily	1964	1964	Venturi and Rauch	8330	Millman Street
unprotected within district: Society Hill, 1999	Walnut Street Parking Garage, University of Pennsylvania	University Parking Garage	Transportational	1964	1964	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	3201	Walnut Street
unprotected	Alan Halpern House		Resid-SingleFamily	1965	1965	Wallace, McHarg, Roberts, Todd	113	Pine Street
unprotected	Bell Tower, Temple University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1965	1965	Nolen and Swinburne	1210	Polett Walk
unprotected	Benjamin B. Comegys School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1965	1965	Tofani and Fox	5001-35	Greenway Avenue
unprotected	Biology Services Building Addition, University of Pennsylvania	Ledy Laboratories, Room 201; Kaplan Memorial Wing.	Edu-University/Laboratory	1965	1965	Schlesinger and Vreeland		University Avenue and Hamilton Walk
unprotected	Borda House		Resid-SingleFamily	1965	1965	William Wallace McDowell	4	Moreland Circle
unprotected	Carriage House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1965	1965	Frank Weise	1311	Lombard Street
unprotected	District Health Center No. 2		Healthcare	1965	1965	Norman Rice	1720	S Broad Street
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Busleton Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1965	1965	Alexander Ewing and Associates	10199	Busleton Avenue
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, South Philadelphia Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1965	1965	Nolen and Swinburne	1700	S Broad Street
unprotected	Geramantown House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1965	1965	Samuel I. Oshiver and Associates	5457	Wayne Avenue
unprotected	Grover Cleveland School Addition		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1965	1965	Norman Rice	3715-37	N 19th Street
unprotected	JFK Plaza	Love Park	Recreational	1965	1965	Vincent Kling and Associates		N 15th and 16th Sts., JFK Blvd., S 20th Street
unprotected	King David Baptist Church		Ecclesiastical	1965	1965	James Gaskins	1133	
unprotected	Library Company Annex		Arts/Cultural	1965	1965	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Allen	1314	Locust Street
unprotected	Mason House		Resid-SingleFamily	1965	1965	Hans Egli	107	Pine Street
unprotected	Municipal Services Building		Municipal/Federal	1965	1965	Vincent Kling and Associates	1417	John F. Kennedy Boulevard
unprotected	Paley Library, Temple University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1965	1965	Nolen and Swinburne	1210	Polett Walk
unprotected	Rohm and Haas Building		Commercial-Retail/Office-Highrise	1965	1965	Pietro Belluschi	100	Independence Mall West
unprotected	Solfel Philadelphia Undergraduate Housing Complex; Stouffer College House, University of Pennsylvania	Philadelphia Stock Exchange Building Harold C. Mayer Hall	Commercial-Retail/Office-Highrise	1965	1965	Vincent Kling and Associates	120	S 17th Street
unprotected			Resid-PlannedCommunity	1965	1965	E-sbach, Puller, Stevens, Bruder	3817	Spruce Street

*Appendix A Chronological Order*

unprotected	Washington Mews		Resid-Single family	1965	Frank Weise	1700	11th, Lombard and Rodman Streets
unprotected	Windsor Suites Hotel	Windsor Apartments	Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1965	Aaron Colish	601	Benjamin Franklin Parkway
unprotected	C. W. Henry School Addition		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1966	Borrifield and Cox	9197	Carpenter Lane
unprotected	Fire Station (TBD)		Municipal/Federal	1966	Supowitz and Demchick		Frankford Avenue
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Head House Square Development (West Side)		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1966	Frank Weise		S 2nd Street, west side
unprotected	Holmcrest Homes		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1966	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunningham	8133	Erdick Street
unprotected	Library Building, Philadelphia College of		Edu-University/Laboratory	1966	Alexander Ewing and Associates		School House Lane and Henry
unprotected	Pine Street Houses		Resid-Single family	1966	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunningham	1107-13	Pine Street
unprotected	Plaza Hotel		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1966	Stonorov and Haws	1776	Benjamin Franklin Parkway
unprotected	Richard Wright School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1966	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Alen	2700	W Dauphin Street
unprotected	Robert Brasler House		Resid-Single family	1966	Joel Levinson	4122	Apalogen Road
unprotected	Social Sciences Quadrangle, University of Pennsylvania		Edu-University/Laboratory	1966	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larsen	3715-20	Locust Walk
(address TBD)	Theodore Newbold House		Resid-Single family	1966	Wallace, McHarg, Roberts, Todd	TBD	TBD
unprotected	Ukrainian Cathedral		Ecclesiastical	1966	Julian K. Jastemsky	816	N Franklin Street
unprotected	Anne Tying House		Resid-Single family	1967	Anne Tying	2511	Waverly Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Bingham Court		Resid-Single family	1967	I. M. Pei and Associates	314-20	St. James Place
unprotected	Brith Shalom House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1967	Supowitz and Demchick	3939	Conshohocken Avenue
unprotected	Champlost Homes		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1967	Beryl Price	5963	N 20th Street
unprotected	Cook-Wissahickon School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1967	Sabaitno and Fishman	201	E Salaignac Street
unprotected	David Ritterhouse Laboratories, University of Pennsylvania		Edu-University/Laboratory	1967	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Alen	209	S 33rd Street
unprotected	Gunter Buchholt House		Resid-Single family	1967	Gunter Buchholt	201	Sunrise Lane
unprotected	John Hancock Public School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1967	Sabaitno and Fishman	3700	Morrell Avenue
unprotected	Keller House		Resid-Single family	1967	William Wallace McDowell	406	Rex Avenue
unprotected	Pennsylvania College of Optometry		Edu-University/Laboratory	1967	Dagit Associates	1200	W Godfrey Avenue
unprotected	Satok House		Resid-Single family	1967	William Wallace McDowell	710	Davidson Road
unprotected	St. Gregory Apostolic Armenian Church		Ecclesiastical	1967	Gamer and White	8701	Ridge Avenue
unprotected	St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church		Ecclesiastical	1967	Nick James Chimes	6729	N 5th Street
unprotected	Student Teaching Building, Temple University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1967	Nolen and Swinburne	3440	N Broad Street
unprotected	3508 Market Street		Edu-University/Laboratory	1968	Ewing, Cole, Erdman, Eubank	3508	Market Street
unprotected	Andrew Hamilton School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1968	Gamer and White	5640	Spruce Street
unprotected	Amnenberg Theater, University of Pennsylvania		Arts/Cultural	1968	Vincent Kling and Associates	3680	Walnut Street
unprotected	Archbishop Ryan Catholic High School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1968	Dagit Associates	11201	Academy Road
unprotected	Benjamin Rush Junior High School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1968	Thalheimer and Weitz	11081	Knights Road
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Eli Zabooker House		Resid-Single family	1968	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	110-12	Delancey Street
unprotected	Engine Company 13		Municipal/Federal	1968	Beryl Price	1541	Parrish Street
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Girard		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1968	Francis, Cauffman, Wilkinson, Pepper	600	W Girard Avenue
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Welsh Road		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1968	Stonorov and Haws	9233	Roosevelt Boulevard
unprotected	Horizon House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1968	Francis, Cauffman, Wilkinson, Pepper	501	S 12th Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	James McClennen House		Resid-Single family	1968	Louis Sauer Associates	127	Pine Street

*Appendix A Chronological Order*

unprotected within district: Society Hill, 1999	John F. Hartranft School		1968	Oskar Stonorov	720	W Cumberland Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Kellogg House		1968	Hans Egli	415-17	S 3rd Street
unprotected within district: Society Hill, 1999	Lawrence Court		1968	Bower and Fradley	313-37	Lawrence Court
unprotected within district: Society Hill, 1999	Meyerson Hall, University of Pennsylvania	Fine Arts Building	1968	Stewart, Noble, Class	210	S 34th Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Nancy Grace House & Studio	Bussey-Poulson House Addition	1968	Stonorov and Haws	400	Cypress Street
unprotected	Perkins House		1968	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	401	Cypress Street
unprotected	Philip Murray House		1968	Samuel I. Oshiver and Associates	6300	Old York Road
unprotected	Ross House		1968	Richard Smith	9161	Green Tree Road
unprotected	U.S. Courthouse and Federal Office Building	William J. Green Federal Building	1968	Bellante and Clauss	600	Arch Street
unprotected	University Museum Parking Garage, University of Pennsylvania	Garage No. 2	1968	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	3200	South Street
unprotected	Clark House		1969	William Wallace McDowell	6	Moreland Circle
unprotected	Engine 36		1969	Demchick, Berger, Dash	7818	Frankford Avenue
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Franklin Roberts House		1969	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	228-30	Delancey Street
unprotected	John P. Turner Middle School		1969	Bellante and Clauss	5900	Baltimore Avenue
unprotected	Mount Zion Baptist Church		1969	Mansell, Lewis, Fugate	8101	Edrick Street
unprotected	Nesbitt Hall, Drexel University		1969	Young and Exley	3215	Market Street
unprotected	Philadelphia Mint		1969	Vincent Kling and Associates	151	N Independence Mall E
unprotected	Robert Johnson Wood Pavilion, University of Pennsylvania		1969	Ewing, Cole, Erdman, Eubank		Hamilton Walk and S 34th Street
unprotected	Starr Garden Recreation Center		1969	Demchick, Berger, Dash	500	S 6th Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Townhouses		1969	Louis Sauer Associates	224-48	Locust Street
unprotected	University Lutheran Church		1969	Pietro Balluschi	3637	Chestnut Street
unprotected	100 Pine Street		1970	Louis Sauer Associates	100	Pine Street
unprotected	Clarence Pickett Middle School		1970	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunningham	5700	Wayne Avenue
unprotected	Class of 1923 Ice Skating Rink, University		1970	McMillan Associates		32nd and Walnut Streets, SE corner
unprotected	Elkin School		1970	Bornfiend and Cox	3199	D Street
unprotected	Ferko Playground at Juniata Park		1970	Ehrlich and Levinson	1101	E Cayuga Street
unprotected	Five Penn Center		1970	Vincent Kling and Associates	1601	Market Street
unprotected	Graduate Student Housing, University of Pennsylvania	Grad Towers; Sansom Place; Nichols House	1970	Richard Neutra	3600-50	Chestnut Street
unprotected	Holy Cross Lutheran Church/Martin Luther King Jr. Center		1970	TBD	813	W Lehigh Avenue
within district: Society Hill, 1999	houses		1970	Louis Sauer Associates		Pine and Front Streets
unprotected	International House, University of Pennsylvania		1970	Bower and Fradley	3701	Chestnut Street
unprotected	John B. Kelly School		1970	David E. Connor	5116	Pulaski Avenue
unprotected	Leon Levy Center for Oral Health Research, University of Pennsylvania		1970	Francis, Caulfman, Wilkinson, Pepper	4010	Locust Street

*Appendix A Chronological Order*

unprotected	Mary McLeod Bethune School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1970	Mansell Lewis Fugate	3301	Old York Road
unprotected	McKinley School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1970	Stonorov and Haws	2101	N Okney Street
unprotected	Monell Chemical Senses Center		Edu-University/Laboratory	1970	Ewing, Cole, Erdman, Eubank	3500	Market Street
unprotected	Philadelphia Electric Company Building		Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1970	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larson	2301	Market Street
unprotected	Prentiss Building		Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1970	Carroll, Cristdale, Van Alen		19th and Arch Streets
unprotected	Scott Memorial Library, Thomas Jefferson		Edu-University/Laboratory	1970	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larson	1020	Walnut Street
unprotected	United Fund Headquarters	United Way of Southeastern Pennsylvania, Headquarters	Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1970	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1709	Benjamin Franklin Parkway
unprotected	Conestoga Bank	bank	Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	TBD	TBD		21st Street and Passyunk Avenue
unprotected	Courage Christian Center	bank	Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	TBD	TBD	7584	Haverford Avenue
unprotected	Sadtler House		Resid-SingleFamily	TBD	Irwin Steih	3555	School House Lane
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Society Hill Shopping Center		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	TBD	TBD	314-26	S 5th Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	St. Mary's School and Convent		Edu-Primary/Secondary	TBD	Bower and Fradley	440	Locust Street



*Appendix B Buildings Inventory: Philadelphia County, 1959-1970*

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*listed in alphabetical order by building name*

Produced in collaboration with Ben Leech, Advocacy Director, Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia,  
June 2010 to April 2011.

Appendix B Alphabetical Order

Phila Register	Primary Name	All. or Hist. Name(s)	Type	Date Completed	Primary Architect/Builder	St. No.	Street Name/ Intersection
unprotected	100 Pine Street		Resid- SingleFamily	1970	Louis Sauer Associates	100	Pine Street
unprotected	1500 Walnut Street Addition	First National Bank Addition	Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1963	Bower and Fradley	1500	Walnut Street
unprotected	1800 Chestnut Street		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1959	Leo Hauf	1800	Chestnut Street
unprotected	3508 Market Street		Edu-UniversityLaboratory	1968	Ewing, Cole, Erdman, Eubank	3508	Market Street
unprotected	Adams Dental	Broad Street Trust Company	Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1963	Aaron Colish	801	Adams Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Alan Halpern House		Resid- SingleFamily	1965	Wallace, McHarg, Roberts, Todd	113	Pine Street
unprotected	Andrew Hamilton School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1968	Garner and White	5640	Spruce Street
unprotected	Anne Tying House		Resid- SingleFamily	1967	Anne Tying	2511	Waverly Street
unprotected	Amnensberg Theater, University of Pennsylvania		Arts/Cultural	1968	Vincent Kling and Associates	3680	Walnut Street
unprotected	Archbishop Ryan Catholic High School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1968	Dagit Associates	11201	Academy Road
unprotected	Barton Hall, Temple University		Edu-UniversityLaboratory	1964	Nolen and Swinburne	1900	N 13th Street
unprotected	Bell Tower, Temple University		Edu-UniversityLaboratory	1965	Nolen and Swinburne	1210	Polett Walk
unprotected	Benjamin B. Comegys School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1965	Tofani and Fox	5001-35	Greenway Avenue
unprotected	Benjamin Rush Junior High School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1968	Thalheimer and Weitz	11081	Knights Road
unprotected	Beith Emeth Synagogue		Ecclesiastical	1959	Sabatino and Fishman	6652	Bustleton Avenue
unprotected	Beury Hall, Temple University		Edu-UniversityLaboratory	1964	Nolen and Swinburne	1901	N 13th Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Bingham Court		Resid- SingleFamily	1967	I. M. Pei and Associates	314-20	St. James Place
unprotected	Biology Services Building Addition, University of Pennsylvania	Leidy Laboratories, Room 201; Kaplan Memorial Wing; Therapeutic Laboratories Addition	Edu-UniversityLaboratory	1965	Schlesinger and Vreeland		University Avenue and Hamilton Walk
unprotected	Borda House		Resid- SingleFamily	1965	William Wallace McDowell	4	Moreland Circle
unprotected	Brith Shalom House		Resid- MultiFamily/Hotel/Student	1967	Supowitz and Demchick	3939	Conshohocken Avenue
unprotected	C. W. Henry School Addition		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1966	Bornfriend and Cox	601	Carpenter Lane
unprotected	Camac Village (1)		Resid- PlannedCommunity	1963	Frank Weise	1201-17	Lombard Street
unprotected	Camac Village (2)		Resid- PlannedCommunity	1963	Frank Weise	423-29	Camac Street
unprotected	Camac Village (3)		Resid- PlannedCommunity	1963	Frank Weise	1210-16	Pine Street
unprotected	Carriage House		Resid- MultiFamily/Hotel/Student	1965	Frank Weise	1311	Lombard Street
unprotected	Casa Farnese Apartments	Casa Farnese Apartments	Resid- MultiFamily/Hotel/Student	1962	Stonorov and Haws	1300	Lombard Street
unprotected	Champlost Homes		Resid- PlannedCommunity	1967	Beryl Price	5963	N 20th Street
within district: Rittenhouse-Fitter, 1995	Charles Weinstein Geriatric Center		Healthcare	1959	Herman Polss	2115	Sansom Street
unprotected	Citizens Bank, Frankford Branch	Girard Trust Corn Exchange	Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1962	Garner and White	4700	Frankford Avenue
unprotected	Clarence Pickett Middle School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1970	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunningham	5700	Wayne Avenue
unprotected	Clark House		Resid- SingleFamily	1969	William Wallace McDowell	6	Moreland Circle
unprotected	Class of 1923 Ice Skating Rink, University of Pennsylvania		Recreational	1970	McMillan Associates		32nd and Walnut Streets, SE corner
unprotected	Columbus Park Building		Recreational	1960	Norman Rice	1201	Reed Street
unprotected	Comestoga Bank		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	TBD			21st Street and Passyunk Avenue
unprotected	Cook-Wissahickon School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1967	Sabatino and Fishman	201	E Salaigmac Street
unprotected	Courage Christian Center	bank	Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	TBD	TBD	7584	Haverford Avenue
unprotected	David Rittenhouse Laboratories, University of Pennsylvania		Edu-UniversityLaboratory	1967	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Alen	209	S 33rd Street
unprotected	District Health Center No. 1	Public Health Services	Healthcare	1960	Montgomery and Bishop	500	S Broad Street
unprotected	District Health Center No. 2		Healthcare	1965	Norman Rice	1720	S Broad Street

Appendix B Alphabetical Order

unprotected	Dorothy Shipley White House	Mrs. Thomas Raeburn White	Resid-Single-family	1963	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	717	Glenmary Road
unprotected	Edward Fieer House		Resid-Single Family	1959	Montgomery and Bishop	615	W Hartwell Lane
unprotected	Eichler House		Resid-Single family	1962	William Wallace McDowell	1	Norman Lane
unprotected	El Vez Restaurant	Cayuga Federal Savings and	Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1960	Philip Mastrin	121	S 13th Street
within district: Society	Eli Zebooker House		Resid-Single-family	1968	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	110-12	Dancey Street
unprotected	Elkin School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1970	Bornfiend and Cox	3199	D Street
unprotected	Engine 3		Municipal/Federal	1959	George W. Nash	200	Washington Avenue
unprotected	Engine 36		Municipal/Federal	1969	Demchick, Berger, Dash	7818	Frankford Avenue
unprotected	Engine Company 13		Municipal/Federal	1968	Beryl Price	1541	Parrish Street
unprotected	Fairmount Park Welcome Center	Philadelphia Hospitality	CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1961	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larsen	1599	John F. Kennedy Boulevard
unprotected	Ferko Playground at Juniata Park		Recreational	1970	Enrich and Levinson	1101	E Cayuga Street
unprotected	Fire Station (TBD)		Municipal/Federal	1966	Supowitz and Demchick	9197	Frankford Avenue
unprotected	FitzPatrick School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1959	Oskar Stonorov	11061	Knights Road
unprotected	Five Penn Center		Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1970	Vincent Kling and Associates	1601	Market Street
unprotected	Four Penn Center	Reliance Insurance Building	Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1964	Vincent Kling and Associates	1600	John F Kennedy Boulevard
within district:							
Rittenhouse-Filler, 1995	Frank Weise House and Studio		Resid-Single Family	1955-c.1975	Frank Weise	307	S Chadwick Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Franklin Roberts House		Resid-Single family	1969	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	228-30	Delancey Street
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Bustleton Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1965	Alexander Ewing and Associates	10199	Bustleton Avenue
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Frankford Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1959	Louis McAllister, Sr.	4634	Frankford Avenue
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Girard Avenue Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1968	Francis, Caulfman, Wilkinson, Pepper	600	W Girard Avenue
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Lawncrest Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1960	Hatfield, Martin, White	6098	Rising Sun Avenue
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Lovett Memorial Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1959	Montgomery and Bishop	6945	Germanatown Avenue
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Northeast Regional Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1963	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunningham	2228	Cottman Avenue
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, South Philadelphia Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1965	Nolen and Swinburne	1700	S Broad Street
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Southwark Branch	Free Library of Philadelphia, Charles Santore Branch	CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1963	Eshbach, Puller, Stevens, Bruder	932	S 7th Street
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Welsh Road Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1968	Stonorov and Haws	9233	Roosevelt Boulevard
unprotected	Free Library of Philadelphia, Wynnefield Branch		CivicBuildings/CommunityCenters	1963	Montgomery and Bishop	5325	Overbrook Avenue
unprotected	George Washington High School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1962	Martin, Stewart, Noble, Class	11000	Bustleton Avenue
unprotected	Germanatown House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1965	Samuel I. Oshiver and Associates	5457	Wayne Avenue
unprotected	Glading Memorial Presbyterian Church Addition		Ecclesiastical	1961	TBD	1267	E Cheltenham Avenue
unprotected	Glover Medical Research Science Laboratories		Edu-University/Laboratory	1962	Vincent Kling and Associates		39th Street and Powelton Avenue
unprotected	Goldstein's Funeral Home		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	1960	Sabatino and Fishman	6410	N Broad Street
unprotected	Graduate Student Housing, University of Pennsylvania	Grad Towers: Sansom Place; Nichols House	Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1970	Richard Neutra	3600-50	Chesnut Street
unprotected	Grover Cleveland School Addition		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1965	Norman Rice	3715-37	N 19th Street

*Appendix B Alphabetical Order*

individual designation, unprojected	Guild House			1964	Venturi and Rauch	711	Spring Garden Street
individual designation, unprojected	Gunter Buchholt House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1967	Gunter Buchholt	201	Sunrise Lane
individual designation, within district: Society Hill, 1999	Hasserick/Sawyer House		Resid-SingleF family	1959	Richard Neutra	4030	Cherry Lane
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Head House Square Development (West Side)		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise-Storefront	1966	Frank Weise		S 2nd Street, west side
unprojected	Henry Watts House		Resid-SingleF family	1961	George B. Roberts	219-21	Spruce Street
unprojected	Hill Hall, University of Pennsylvania	Hill College House	Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1960	Eero Saarinen and Associates	3333	Walnut Street
unprojected	Holmecrest Homes		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1966	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunningham	8133	Erdrick Street
unprojected	Holy Cross Lutheran Church/ Martin Luther King Jr. Center		Ecclesiastical	1970	TBD	813	W Lehigh Avenue
unprojected	Hopkins House		Resid-SingleF family	1961	Paul Detweiler	713	Davidson Road
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Hopkinson House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1963	Stonorov and Haws	604-36	Washington Square S
unprojected	Horizon House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1968	Francis, Cauffman, Wilkinson, Pepper	501	S 12th Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	houses		Resid-SingleF family	1970	Louis Sauer Associates		Pine and Front Streets
unprojected	IBM Building		Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1963	Vincent Kling and Associates		17th and Market Streets
unprojected	International House, University of Pennsylvania		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1970	Bower and Fradley	3701	Chesnut Street
unprojected	Iroquois Apartment Building		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1963	Leon Lewis Levin	2805	N 47th Street
within district: Rittenhouse-Filler, unprojected	Irving Shaw House Alterations		Resid-SingleF family	1959	Louis I. Kahn	2129	Cypress Street
unprojected	J. A. Russell House		Resid-SingleF family	1963	Frank Boyer	7713	Cherokee Street
unprojected	J. Pennington Straus House		Resid-SingleF family	1963	John Lane Evans	719	Glengary Road
within district: Society Hill, 1999	James McClennen House		Resid-SingleF family	1968	Louis Sauer Associates	127	Pine Street
unprojected	Jefferson Hall, Thomas Jefferson		Edu-University/Laboratory	1963	Vincent Kling and Associates	1020	Locust Street
unprojected	JFK Plaza	Love Park	Recreational	1965	Vincent Kling and Associates		N 15th and 16th Sts, JFK Blvd.
unprojected	John B. Kelly School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1970	David E. Comor	5116	Pulaski Avenue
unprojected	John F. Hartranft School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1968	Oskar Stonorov	720	W Cumberland Street
unprojected	John Hancock Public School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1967	Sabatino and Fishman	3700	Morrill Avenue
unprojected	John P. Turner Middle School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1969	Bellame and Clauss	5900	Baltimore Avenue
unprojected	Johnson Hall, Temple University		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1961	Nolen and Swinburne	2029	N Broad Street
unprojected	Kassery House		Resid-SingleF family	1963	Stonorov and Haws	716	Davidson Road
unprojected	Keller House		Resid-SingleF family	1967	William Wallace McDowell	406	Rex Avenue
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Kellogg House		Resid-SingleF family	1968	Hans Egli	415-17	S 3rd Street
unprojected	King David Baptist Church		Ecclesiastical	1965	James Gaskins	1133	S 20th Street
unprojected	Laboratory for Research on the Structure of Matter, University of Pennsylvania		Edu-University/Laboratory	1962	Martin, Stewart, Noble, Class	3231	Walnut Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Lawrence Court		Resid-SingleF family	1968	Bower and Fradley	313-37	Lawrence Court
unprojected	Leon Levy Center for Oral Health Research, University of Pennsylvania		Edu-University/Laboratory	1970	Francis, Cauffman, Wilkinson, Pepper	4010	Locust Street

*Appendix B Alphabetical Order*

unprotected	Library Building, Philadelphia College of Textiles and Sciences		Edu-University/Laboratory	1966	Alexander Ewing and Associates		School House Lane and Henry Avenue
unprotected	Library Company Annex		Arts/Cultural	1965	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Alen	1314	Locust Street
unprotected	Life-Sciences Building, Temple University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1964	Nolen and Swinburne	1900	N 12th Street
individual designation,	Margaret Eschrick House	Parker House	Resid-Single family	1960	Louis I. Kahn	204	Sunrise Lane
unprotected	Mary McLeod Bethune School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1970	Mansell, Lewis, Fugate	3301	Old York Road
unprotected	Mason House		Resid-Single Family	1965	Hans Egli	107	Pine Street
unprotected	McKinley School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1970	Stonorov and Haws	2101	N Orkney Street
unprotected	Medical Research Building, Temple University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1963	Nolen and Swinburne		N Broad Street above and Ontario Street
unprotected	Meyerson Hall, University of Pennsylvania	Fine Arts Building	Edu-University/Laboratory	1968	Stewart, Noble, Class	210	S 34th Street
demolished, 2002	Mill Creek Public Housing, Phase II		Resid-Planned Community	1963	Louis I. Kahn		Fairmount Avenue, 44th to 46th Streets
unprotected	Housing and Community Center		Edu-University/Laboratory	1963	Nolen and Swinburne	1913	N Broad Street
unprotected	Witten Hall Addition, Temple University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1970	Ewing, Cole, Erdman, Eubank	3500	Market Street
unprotected	Monell Chemical Senses Center	American Society for Testing and Materials Building	Edu-University/Laboratory	1964	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Alen	1916	Race Street
unprotected	Moore College of Art		Ecclesiastical	1969	Mansell, Lewis, Fugate	8101	Erdrick Street
unprotected	Mount Zion Baptist Church		Municipal/Federal	1965	Vincent Kling and Associates	1417	John F. Kennedy Boulevard
unprotected	Municipal Services Building		Resid-Single Family	1959	Montgomery and Bishop	4141	Apalogen Road
within district, Society Hill, 1999	N. William Winkelman, Jr., House	Bussey-Poulson House Addition	Resid-Single Family	1968	Stonorov and Haws	400	Cypress Street
unprotected	Nancy Grace House & Studio		Edu-University/Laboratory	1969	Young and Exley	3215	Market Street
unprotected	Nesbitt Hall, Drexel University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1965	Nolen and Swinburne	1210	Polett Walk
unprotected	Paley Library, Temple University		Recreational	1959	David Supowitz	3101	N 22nd Street
unprotected	Panati Playground		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1962	Samuel I. Oshiver and Associates	3900	Ford Road
unprotected	Park City West		Resid-Single Family	1961	Francis, Cauffman, Wilkinson, Pepper	720	Davidson Road
unprotected	Pearson House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1960	George Neff	2201	Bryn Mawr Avenue
unprotected	Penn Wynn Apartments		Edu-University/Laboratory	1967	Dagit Associates	1200	W Godfrey Avenue
within district, Society Hill, 1999	Pennsylvania College of Optometry		Resid-Single Family	1968	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	401	Cypress Street
unprotected	Perkins House		Commer-Retail/Office-Highrise	1970	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larson	2301	Market Street
demolished, 2008	Philadelphia Electric Company Building		Commer-Retail/Office-Highrise	1963	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	125	N Broad Street
unprotected	Philadelphia Life Insurance Company		Municipal/Federal	1969	Vincent Kling and Associates	151	N Independence Mall E
unprotected	Philadelphia Mint		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1968	Samuel I. Oshiver and Associates	6300	Old York Road
unprotected	Philip Murray House		Resid-Single Family	1966	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunningham	1107-13	Pine Street
unprotected	Pine Street Houses		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1966	Stonorov and Haws	1776	Benjamin Franklin Parkway
unprotected	Plaza Hotel		Municipal/Federal	1961	John Lane Evans	1747	N 17th Street
unprotected	Police 22nd-23rd Districts Headquarters		Municipal/Federal	1959	Ehrlich and Levinson	1300	S 11th Street
unprotected	Police 3rd and 4th District Headquarters		Municipal/Federal	1960	Eshbach, Puller, Stevens, Bruder	401	N 21st Street
unprotected	Police 9th District Headquarters	Philadelphia Police	Municipal/Federal	1963	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunningham	700	Race Street
unprotected	Police Administration Building		Commer-Retail/Office-Highrise	1970	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Alen		19th and Arch Streets
unprotected	Prentiss Building		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1966	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Alen	2700	W Dauphin Street
unprotected	Richard Wright School						
individual designation, 2004	Richards Medical Research Laboratory, University of Pennsylvania		Edu-University/Laboratory	1961	Louis I. Kahn	3700-800	Hamilton Walk

Appendix B Alphabetical Order

within district: Ritterhouse-Filler, unprotected	Ritterhouse Dorchester Apartments Robert Brasler House		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student Resid-SingleFamily	1964 1966	Milton Schwartz and Associates Joel Levinson	224-30 4122	W Ritterhouse Square Apalogen Road
unprotected	Robert Johnson Wood Pavillion, University of Pennsylvania		Edu-University/Laboratory	1969	Ewing, Cole, Erdman, Eubank		Hamilton Walk and S 36th Street
unprotected	Rohm and Haas Building		Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1965	Pietro Belluschi	100	Independence Mall West
unprotected	Ross House		Resid-SingleFamily	1968	Richard Smith	9161	Green Tree Road
unprotected	Sadtler House		Resid-SingleFamily	TBD	Irwin Stein	3555	School House Lane
unprotected	Salok House		Resid-SingleFamily	1967	William Wallace McDowell	710	Davidson Road
unprotected	Samuel Powel School		Edu-Primary/Secondary	1961	David E. Connor	301	N 36th Street
unprotected	Scott Memorial Library, Thomas Jefferson University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1970	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larsen	1020	Walnut Street
unprotected	Social Sciences Quadrangle, University of Pennsylvania		Edu-University/Laboratory	1966	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larsen	3715-20	Locust Walk
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Society Hill Shopping Center		Commerc-Retail/Office-Lowrise+Storefront	TBD	TBD	314-26	S 5th Street
individual designation, 1999	Society Hill Towers		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1964	I. M. Pei and Associates	200-20	Locust Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Society Hill Townhouses	Dock Street Superblock	Resid-PlannedCommunity	1962	I. M. Pei and Associates	281-93	Locust Street
unprotected	Solfiel Philadelphia	Philadelphia Stock Exchange Building	Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1965	Vincent Kling and Associates	120	S 17th Street
demolished, 2000	Southwark Plaza Public Housing		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1962	Stonorov and Haws		S 4th and Carpenter Streets
unprotected	St. Gregory Apostolic Armenian Church		Ecclesiastical	1967	Gamer and White	8701	Ridge Avenue
within district: Society Hill, 1999	St. Mary's School and Convent		Edu-Primary/Secondary	TBD	Bower and Fradley	440	Locust Street
unprotected	St. Monica Recreation Center	Monsignor Farrell Hall	Recreational	1962	Bernard Roney	1601	West Shunk Street
unprotected	St. Vladimir Ukrainian Orthodox Church		Ecclesiastical	1967	Nick James Chimes	6729	N 5th Street
unprotected	Stair Garden Recreation Center		Recreational	1969	Demchick, Berger, Dash	500	S 6th Street
unprotected	Stein Radiation-Biology Research Laboratory, Thomas Jefferson University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1964	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larsen	202	S Hutchinson Street
unprotected	Student Teaching Building, Temple University		Edu-University/Laboratory	1967	Nolen and Swinburne	3440	N Broad Street
unprotected	The Philadelphia		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1963	Samuel I. Oshiver and Associates	2401	Pennsylvania Avenue
(address TBD)	Theodore Newbold House		Resid-SingleFamily	1966	Wallace, McHarg, Roberts, Todd	TBD	TBD
unprotected	Thomas Todd House		Resid-SingleFamily	1964	Wallace, McHarg, Roberts, Todd	7321	McCallum Street
within district: Society Hill, 1999	Townhouses		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1969	Louis Sauer Associates	224-48	Locust Street
unprotected	U.S. Courthouse and Federal Office Building	William J. Green Federal Building	Municipal/Federal	1968	Bellante and Clauss	600	Arch Street
unprotected	Ukrainian Cathedral		Ecclesiastical	1966	Julian K. Jastemsky	816	N Franklin Street
unprotected	Undergraduate Housing Complex: Stouffer College House, University of Pennsylvania	Harold C. Mayer Hall	Resid-PlannedCommunity	1965	Eshbach, Puller, Stevens, Bruder	3817	Spruce Street
individual designation, 2010	United Fund Headquarters	United Way of Southeastern Pennsylvania, Headquarters	Commerc-Retail/Office-Highrise	1970	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1709	Benjamin Franklin Parkway
unprotected	University Lutheran Church		Ecclesiastical	1969	Pietro Belluschi	3637	Chestnut Street
unprotected	University Museum Parking Garage, Garage No. 2		Transportational	1968	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	3200	South Street

*Appendix B Alphabetical Order*

unprotected	Van Pelt Library, University of Pennsylvania		Edu-University/Laboratory	1962	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larsen	3420	Walnut Street
unprotected	Vanna Venturi House	Mother's House	Resid-SingleFamily	1964	Venturi and Rauch	8330	Millman Street
unprotected	Walnut Street Parking Garage, University	University Parking Garage	Transportational	1964	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	3201	Walnut Street
unprotected	Walter Phillips House		Resid-SingleFamily	1961	Montgomery and Bishop	725	Glengary Road
unprotected	Washington Mews		Resid-SingleFamily	1965	Frank Weise		11th, Lombard and Rodman Streets
unprotected	West Park Public Housing		Resid-PlannedCommunity	1963	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, Larson		44th and Market Streets
unprotected	Windsor Suites Hotel	Windsor Apartments	Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1965	Aaron Colish	1700	Benjamin Franklin Parkway
unprotected	Wood House		Resid-SingleFamily	1961	David Eichler	197	Lynnebrook Lane
unprotected	Wyndmoor Towers		Resid-Multifamily/Hotel/Student	1962	George Neif	7600	Stenton Avenue

*Appendix C Buildings Inventory: Philadelphia County, 1959-1970*

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*selection of inventory processed in GIS attributes table*



Appendix C Selection of Inventory processed in GIS Attributes Table

Id	NAME	ADDRESS	ARCHITECT	YEAR	CATEGORY	SOURCE1	SOURCE2	CATEGORY_2	CATEGORY_3	CATEGORY_4	SOURCE
0	Hill Hall, Univ of PA	3333 Walnut Street	Eero Saarinen and Associates	1960	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers				
1	Richards Medical Research Laboratory, Un	3700-800 Hamilton	Louis I Kahn	1961	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers			CommunityVald	PAGPpoll
2	West Park Public Housing	44th and Market Str	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, L	1963	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende		CityFunded			
3	International House, Univ of PA	3701 Chestnut Stre	Bower and Fradley	1970	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers				
4	Graduate Student Housing, Univ of PA	3600-50 Chestnut S	Richard Neutra	1970	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende					
5	Margaret Escherick House	204 Sunrise Lane	Louis I Kahn	1960	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers			CommunityVald	PAGPpoll
6	Vanna Venturi House	8330 Millman Street	Venturi and Rauch	1964	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers			CommunityVald	PAGPpoll
7	Dorothy Shipley White House	717 Clengarry Roa	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1963	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende					
8	J Pennington Straus House	719 Clengarry Roa	John Lane Evans	1963	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende				CommunityVald	PAGPpoll
9	Police Administration Building	700 Race Street	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls	1963	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers	CityFunded			
10	Guild House	711 Spring Garden	Venturi and Rauch	1964	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers				
11	Rohn and Haas Building	100 Independence	Pietro Belluschi	1965	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers			CommunityVald	PAGPpoll
12	Hopkinson House	604-36 Washington	Stonorov and Haws	1963	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende					
13	Society Hill Towers	200-20 Locust Stre	Im Pei and Associates	1964	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers			CommunityVald	PAGPpoll
14	Franklin Roberts House	228-30 Delancey St	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1969	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers				
15	Eli Zebooker House	110-12 Delancey St	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1968	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende					
16	Library Company Annex	1314 Locust Street	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Alen	1965	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende					
17	Casa Farnese Apartments	1300 Lombard Stre	Stonorov and Haws	1966	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende					
18	Municipal Services Building	1417 John F Kenne	Vincent Kling and Associates	1965	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers	CityFunded			
19	Four Penn Center	1600 John F Kenne	Vincent Kling and Associates	1964	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers				
20	Philadelphia Electric Company Building	2301 Market Street	Harbeson, Hough, Livingston, L	1970	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers				
21	University Museum Parking Garage, Univ of	3200 South Street	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1968	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende					
22	Irving Shaw House alterations	2129 Cypress Stre	Louis I Kahn	1959	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende					
23	District Health Center #1	500 S Broad Street	Montgomery and Bishop	1960	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende		CityFunded			
24	Free Library of Phila, South Phila. Branch	1700 S Broad Stree	Nolen and Swinburne	1965	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende		CityFunded			
25	Student Teaching Building, Temple Universi	3440 N Broad Stree	Nolen and Swinburne	1967	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende					
26	District Health Center #2	1720 S Broad Stree	Norman Rice	1965	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende		CityFunded			
27	Clarence Pickett Middle School	5700 Wayne Avenue	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunni	1970	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende		CityFunded			
28	Robert Brasler House	4122 Apalogen Roa	Joel Levinson	1966	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers				
29	N William Winkelman Jr House	4141 Apalogen Roa	Montgomery and Bishop	1959	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers				
30	Hasserick/Sawyer House	4030 Cherry Lane	Richard Neutra	1959	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende					
31	Free Library of Phila, Lovett Memorial Bran	6945 Germantown	Montgomery and Bishop	1959	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende				CommunityVald	PAGPpoll
32	Society Hill Townhouses	281-93 Locust Stre	Im Pei and Associates	1962	ContempArchHist		1997, Evers				
33	1500 Walnut Street Addition	1500 Walnut Street	Bower and Fradley	1963	ContempArchHist		1997, Evers				
34	Moore College of Art	1916 Race Street	Carroll, Grisdale, Van Alen	1964	ContempArchHist		1997, Evers				
35	James McClemmen House	127 Pine Street	Louis Sauer Associates	1968	ContempArchHist		1997, Evers				
36	Perkins House	401 Cypress Street	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1968	ContempArchHist		1997, Evers				
37	Anne Tyng House	2511 Waverly Stree	Anne Tyng	1967	ContempArchHist		1997, Evers				
38	Five Penn Center	1601 Market Street	Vincent Kling and Associates	1970	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers				
39	United Fund Headquarters	1709 Benjamin Fran	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1970	ContempArchHist	2009, Clende	1997, Evers			CommunityVald	PAGPpoll
40	Free Library of Phila, NE Regional Branch	3637 Chestnut Stre	Pietro Belluschi	1969	ContempArchHist		1997, Evers			CommunityVald	PAGPpoll
41	Walnut Street Parking Garage, Univ of PA	3201 Walnut Street	Mitchell/Giurgola Associates	1964	ContempArchHist		1997, Evers				
42	Free Library of Phila, NE Regional Branch	2228 Cottman Aven	Geddes, Brecher, Qualls, Cunni	1963				NEdevp	CityFunded		
43	Archbishop Ryan Catholic High School	11201 Academy Ro	Degit Associates	1968				NEdevp			
44	Benjamin Rush Junior High School	11081 Knights Roa	Thalheimer and Weitz	1968				NEdevp	CityFunded		
45	FitzPatrick School	11061 Knights Roa	Oskar Stonorov	1959				NEdevp	CityFunded		



## *Index*

---

### *A*

- Abele, Deborah Edge 49, 50, 51, 52, 66  
Advisory Council on Historic Preservation 25, 128  
Anderson, Stanford 40, 41, 144  
Association for Preservation Technology (APT) 45, 46, 47, 144, 148, 149  
Avrami, Erica 9, 10, 28, 29, 30, 47, 144

### *B*

- Bacon, Edmund 58, 95, 98, 172  
Baer, William C. 66, 67, 144  
Banham, Reyner 82, 84, 85, 144  
Belluschi, Pietro 77, 80, 81  
Boston Preservation Alliance 7  
Bourdieu, Pierre 35, 36, 144  
Bower and Fradley 96  
Bronson, Susan D. 45, 144  
Brown, Claudia R. 48  
Brutalism 82, 83, 84, 144  
Bunshaft, Gordon 38  
Burra Charter 9, 10, 27, 28, 30, 139, 145

### *C*

- Carroll, Grisdale and Van Alen 3, 96, 142  
Chase, John 87, 89, 90, 91, 145  
Cherry, Martin 56, 88, 145, 146  
Classicism 2, 70, 85, 172  
Clausen, Meredith L. 80, 81, 145  
Clendenin, Malcolm 13, 94, 95, 96, 98, 129, 145  
Collins, Peter 71, 145  
Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Modern (CIAM) 83

Connecticut Trust for Historic Preservation 5, 6, 8  
consumerist architecture v, 86, 87, 88, 90, 91, 145  
Cooperman, Emily T. 13, 94, 95, 96, 98, 145  
Council of Europe 45  
Curtis, William J. R. 38, 71, 76, 82, 145

## *D*

De Long, David G. 49, 62, 111, 144, 145  
DOCOMOMO 2, 45, 49, 147  
Durell Stone, Edward 85, 89  
Dyer, Stephanie 88, 146  
Dyson, Carol 89, 146

## *E*

Eisenman, Peter 85, 86, 146, 172, 175  
Emery Roth and Sons 80  
English Heritage 46, 56, 122  
Ernstein, Julie A. 49, 146  
Evers, Charles A. 99, 129, 146

## *F*

Foulks, William G. 46, 49, 89, 144, 146  
Furness, Frank 61

## *G*

Gallery, John A. 96, 97, 99, 146  
Gammage, Jr., Grady 49, 50, 51, 52, 66, 144  
Gans, Herbert J. 33, 34, 35, 39, 114, 118, 147  
Geddes, Brecher, Qualls and Cunningham 40, 134  
Getty Conservation Institute 9, 10, 28, 139, 144, 152

Giedion, Sigfried 78, 147  
Glazer, Nathan 43, 81, 147  
Goldhagen, Sarah Williams 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 86, 91, 147  
Graves, Michael 85, 146  
Gropius, Walter 78, 80, 150  
Gruen, Victor 54, 88, 147  
Gwathmey, Charles 85, 146

## *H*

Harbeson, Hough, Livingston and Larson 58, 59  
Hardwick, M. Jeffrey 88, 147  
Harrison, Wallace K. 85  
Hartig, Anthe M. 49, 146  
Hassebroek, Doug 98, 147  
Hayden, Dolores 34, 114, 115, 147  
Hejduk, John 85, 146  
Hess, Alan 50, 54, 71, 147  
Hines, Gerald D. 89  
Historic Buildings Council (UK) 56  
Historic Preservation Education Foundation 46, 48, 49, 89, 144, 146  
Hitchcock, Henry-Russell 78, 148  
Hoyos, Luis G. 49, 146  
Huxtable, Ada Louise 34, 39, 76, 114, 118, 148

## *I*

ICOMOS 3, 9, 27, 46, 48, 145  
International Style 2, 13, 37, 38, 70, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 95, 96, 148

## *J*

Jackson, Kenneth T. 74

Jackson, Mike 46, 74, 148  
Jacobs, Jane 75  
Jaffe, Alan 13, 57, 59  
Jandl, H. Ward 48, 148  
Jencks, Charles 71, 148  
Jester, Thomas C. 45, 48, 144, 148  
Johnson, Philip 5, 38, 76, 78, 85, 148, 176

## *K*

Kahn, Louis 23, 62, 63, 81, 98, 111  
Kallmann, McKinnell and Knowles 84  
Kaufman, Ned 66, 148  
King, Thomas F. 26, 129, 139, 149  
Kling, Vincent, and Associates 58, 96  
Klotz, Heinrich 71, 149  
Knapp, A. Bernard 33, 149  
Kunstler, James Howard 12, 149

## *L*

Le Corbusier 78, 83, 85  
Leech, Benjamin iii, 94  
Legault, Rejean 78, 147  
Lewis, Peirce F. 50, 149  
Liebs, Chester H. 54, 71, 149  
Longstreth, Richard W. 4, 14, 15, 47, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 58, 61, 71, 99, 126, 149, 152  
Los Angeles Conservancy 2  
Lowenthal, David 57, 150  
Lucas, John 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 47, 114, 149, 152  
Luce, W. Ray 49, 50, 52, 58, 150, 151

## *M*

- Macdonald, Susan 46, 53, 145, 151  
MacLear, Christy 5  
Magaziner, Louis, and Hermann Polss 3  
Manning, Betsy vi, 105, 110  
Martin, Stewart and Noble 64, 96  
Mason, Randall F. i, iii, 9, 10, 29, 30, 31, 47, 144, 150  
Matero, Frank G. iii, 13, 57, 59  
Meier, Richard 43, 85, 146  
Mies van der Rohe, Ludwig 38, 76, 78, 80  
Milgram, Morris 98  
Mitchell/Giurgola Associates 3, 53, 96, 104, 111  
Montgomery and Bishop 98, 132, 133  
Moore, Charles 86  
Museum of Modern Art 59, 85, 152

## *N*

- National Park Service (NPS) 18, 19, 46, 54, 61  
National Register of Historic Places 10, 18, 22, 23, 25, 26, 29, 49, 54, 55, 56, 66, 98, 146, 151, 175  
National Trust for Historic Preservation 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 46, 127  
Neff, George 109, 110  
Neutra, Richard 4, 13, 81, 111  
New Canaan Historical Society 6  
New Canaan Modern Homes Survey 6  
“New York Five” 85  
New York Times 33, 82, 151  
Novick, Peter 18, 150

## *O*

- O’Mara, Margaret Pugh 72, 75, 90, 150

*P*

- Pei, I. M., and Associates 13, 77, 103
- Pennsylvania Museum and Historical Commission 12, 136
- Pevsner, Nikolaus 78, 150
- Philadelphia Chapter, American Institute of Architects 36, 37, 64, 99, 105, 129, 135, 150
- Philadelphia City Planning Commission 75
- Philadelphia Historical Commission 4, 12
- Philadelphia Historic Preservation Ordinance 113
- Philadelphia Register of Historic Places 4, 8, 64, 65, 95, 98, 106, 107, 111
- “Philadelphia School” 95
- Postmodernism 71, 149
- Preservation Alliance for Greater Philadelphia 4, 7, 8, 70, 94, 109, 118, 119, 130, 131, 137, 150
- Prudon, Theodore H. M. 46, 47, 151

*R*

- Rapp and Rapp 54
- Roche and Dinkerloo 77
- Roth and Fleisher 96
- Rowan, Jan C. 95, 151
- Rowe, Colin 82, 84, 85, 86, 151
- Rubano, Anthony 89, 146
- Rudolph, Paul 5, 81, 84
- Rypkema, Donovan D. 10, 11, 51, 151

*S*

- Saarinen, Eero 54, 102
- Saint, Andrew 53, 151
- Savage, Beth L. 23, 55, 56, 61, 62, 151
- Scott Brown, Denise 83, 87, 111, 144, 152, 153
- Scully, Vincent 111



Shiffer, Rebecca A. 46, 48, 144, 151  
Shull, Carol D. 55, 56, 61, 62, 151  
Skidmore, Owings and Merrill 76  
Slaton, Deborah 46, 48, 49, 89, 144, 146  
Sorkin, Michael 5  
Stevens, Garry 34, 35, 36, 39, 152  
Stonorov and Haws 96  
Striner, Richard 48, 152

## *T*

Tainter, Joseph 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 31, 47, 114, 149, 152  
Teitelman, Edward 99, 152  
Torre, Marta de la 9, 10, 29, 144  
Tyng, Anne 106

## *U*

Ueland and Junker 96  
UNESCO 46, 48  
University of Pennsylvania i, vi, 53, 75, 88, 95, 99, 102, 123, 142, 147  
Upton, Dell 40, 41, 42, 43, 90, 115, 152

## *V*

Venturi, Robert vi, 24, 59, 60, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 111, 112, 118, 137, 144, 152, 153

## *W*

Wakefield, Craig 105  
Weise, Frank 111  
Whitaker, William 105  
Wittkower, Rudolf 84  
World Monuments Fund 3, 57

Wright, Frank Lloyd 2, 54, 70