STUDY REPORT

THADDEUS KOŚCIUSZKO
NATIONAL MEMORIAL
Independence National Historical Park

by

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## INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I.</td>
<td>Kosciuszko, the Man, and His Place in American History</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II.</td>
<td>Study Area</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III.</td>
<td>The House Itself and Its &quot;Twin&quot;</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV.</td>
<td>Feasible Alternatives</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.</td>
<td>Environmental Impact</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI.</td>
<td>Visitor Use Opportunities</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII.</td>
<td>Comparative Costs</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII.</td>
<td>Further Alternatives</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX.</td>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Footnotes</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Addendum</td>
<td>Study Team</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Public Law 92-524</td>
<td>ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Certification for Historic Buildings (Philadelphia Code)</td>
<td>vii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Memo from Historian, Saratoga</td>
<td>xi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Note Kosciuszko's &quot;Secret Mission to France&quot;</td>
<td>xv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Note on Kosciuszko's Estate and Wills</td>
<td>xix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Restoration of 3½2 South Third Street, detail drawing</td>
<td>xxii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"O! how happy we think our Self when
Conscious of our deeds, that were started
from principle of rectitude, from conviction
of the goodness of the thing itself, from
motive of the good that will Come to
Human Kind."

Kosciuszko to
Gen. Otho Holland Williams
Feb. 11, 1783
INTRODUCTION

American political institutions, with their built-in rights for the common man, have roots which go far back into European tradition. We were the fortunate heirs to the British struggle which resulted in Magna Carta. Later came the 18th Century, the Century of Enlightenment. Four great Frenchmen -- Montesquieu, Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau -- helped shape that Century. They had a profound effect on many of the brilliant young men of the period, growing up on both sides of the Atlantic. Here they were read by Thomas Jefferson and John Adams. In Europe they were read by thousands of young intellectuals. Finally, when it became evident to some of these men that America was to be the crucible for developing these ideas into political reality, a number of them found their way to our shores, to help us establish a new nation.

Of course, it is true that the Revolution against the British Crown was fought, to a great extent, by men who derived from the British Isles. However, from the list of Liberty-loving heroes who came here to help us, men from all over Europe, one can easily see that to these people, the founding of our nation was a matter of international importance. It provided them with an opportunity to put their political philosophy into practice. To mention but a few of these men, the list includes Count Casimir Pulaski, from Poland; Baron Friedrich von Steuben, from Prussia; Baron de Ottendorff, from Saxony; Charles Noel Romand Siur de Lisle, de Kalb and Lafayette, from France; and Anthony Selin, from Switzerland.

This paper is a feasibility study relating to the proposed Memorial to one of the most brilliant of these Liberty-loving fighters, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, from Poland.
Kosciuszko, the Man, and His Place in American History

"He is as pure a son of Liberty as I have ever known, and in that liberty, which is to go to all and not to the few or rich alone". (Thos. Jefferson to General Gates, Phila., Feb. 21, 1796).

Thaddeus Kosciuszko (Andrzej Tadeusz Bonawentura Kosciuszko) (1) was born in eastern Poland. He was baptized at Kośów, County of Slonim, in the eastern Polish province of Polesie on February 12, 1746 (2). His father was an impoverished member of the small gentry, a notary who cultivated Count Fleming's estate. The older Kosciuszko died when Thaddeus was a mere thirteen.

Thaddeus was sent to The College of the Piarist Fathers at Lubieszów, near Pińsk, in 1755. He went to the Corps of Cadets in Warsaw (3). He was there from 1765 to 1769 and achieved the rank of Captain.

His mother having died in 1768, he left for France in 1769. He studied at the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture in Paris (4). He also studied military engineering and artillery. While he was in France he met many political immigrants and came under the influence of the French philosophers. This changed his whole outlook on life. He became imbued with the concept of human liberty.

Writing of this period, he says, "During the five years of my life spent in foreign countries, I have endeavored to master those arts which pertain to solid government, aiming at the happiness of all, also economics and military art; I earnestly tried to learn this, inasmuch as I had a natural passion for these things." (5)

In 1774 he returned to Poland, but by 1776 was back in France. In June of that year he came to America, arriving in Philadelphia. It may be of some significance that most of the international figures left Europe for our shores after the signing of the Declaration of Independence, but Kosciuszko left Europe in June of 1776.

With no previous military experience, excepting for his schooling, he offered to draw plans for guarding the Delaware.
Together with Payne and de Lisle, he was employed by the Pennsylvania Council of Safety to develop a plan for fortifying the Delaware. An important part of this plan was to strengthen the New Jersey defenses, which he did by increasing the chevaux-de-frise. (6)

On October 18, 1776, he was commissioned as a Colonel of Engineers in the Continental Army, at $60 a month. On December 5, he was voted a month's pay.

In the spring of 1777 he joined the northern army under General Horatio Gates. Gates wrote to General Paterson that Kosciuszko, "is an able Engineer, and one of the best and neatest draftsmen I ever saw." (7)

But he could do more than draw. He exercised brilliant judgement at Fort Ticonderoga, where he was assistant chief engineer. He worked with the chief engineer, Col. Jeduthan Baldwin, to complete the fortifications of Fort Independence, opposite Fort Ticonderoga. He recommended the fortification of Mount Defiance (Sugar Loaf Hill), which was not done. While there are those historians who feel that this might have over-extended the inadequate American garrison, the fact is that because it was not fortified, the Americans had to retreat from Ticonderoga on July 5. Baldwin and Kosciuszko advised on the selection and fortification of various camps, which undoubtedly contributed to the brilliant victory over General Burgoyne at Saratoga on October 7, 1777. This really marked the turning point of the war. (8) It was at this time that Washington wrote to Henry Laurens who was President of the Congress and said, "While I am on this subject, I would take the liberty to mention, that I have been well informed, that the Engineer in the Northern Army (Cosieski, I think his name is) is a Gentleman of science and merit. From the character I have had of him he is deserving of notice too." (9)

Parenthetically, speaking of his character, it is worth mentioning that he not only drew well but played the violin and was very fond of flower culture.

In January, 1778, General George Washington stationed a garrison at West Point. He did this because he recognized the strategic importance of that spot as a key to the navigation of the Hudson River, an important life line during the
Revolution. In March, under Washington's direction, Kosciuszko began constructing fortifications there. This work continued throughout the war. (10)

The work which Kosciuszko did is discussed by Washington, in a number of letters to various individuals: (11)

April 22, 1778, to Major General Alexander McDougall relative to Colonel Kosciuszko's military engineering work at Fishkill. "As Colo. La Radiere and Colo. Kosiusko (sic) will never agree, I think it will be best to order La Radiere to return, especially as you say Kosiusko (sic) is better adapted to the genius and temper of the People."

(September 11, 1778 to Major General Horatio Gates) "Colo. Kosciusko (sic) has had the chief direction and superintendence of the Works at West Point, and it is my desire, that he should remain to carry them on."

Later Washington said of his work at West Point that it was, "to his (Kosciuszko's) care and sedulous appreciation, the American people are indebted for the defenses of West point."

While Kosciuszko was at West Point, he became the intimate friend of General Gates. When Gates finally became the commander in the South, he asked for Kosciuszko as his Chief of Engineers.

On August 3, 1780, Washington wrote to Kosciuszko saying, in part:

"the southern Army, by the captivity of Genl. duportail and the other Gentlemen in that branch, is without an Engineer, and as you seem to express a wish of going there rather than remaining at West point, I shall, if you prefer it to your present appointment, have no objection to your going."

And then, on August 12, he wrote to Major General Horatio Gates saying:

"I have taken the opportunity of writing Col. Kosciuszko;
with whom I part reluctantly, as I have experienced great satisfaction from his general conduct, and particularly from the attention and zeal with which he has prosecuted the Works committed to his charge at West point."

By July, 1780, transferred to the Army in the South, now commanded by Major General Nathanael Greene, Kosciusko was recognized as one of the Army's leading military engineers.

During the winter of 1780-81, he explored the Catawba River. (12) Then, on May 22, 1781, with Kosciusko as his chief of transportation, Major General Nathanael Greene opened his formal siege of Ninety-Six in South Carolina. This siege turned out to be a defeat. But Greene's retreat, with Kosciusko in charge of transportation, is considered to be a masterly performance. (13)

In 1782, Kosciusko was appointed an officer of the cavalry. (Later, in 1808, he wrote Manoeuvres of Horse Artillery, which was translated by Jonathan Williams and published in New York. It was America's first book on the subject.) (14)

On December 14, he was among the first Continentals to enter Charleston, after the British left it.

In the spring of 1783 Kosciusko returned north with General Greene. At Newburgh, New York, he became one of the founders of the Society of the Cincinnati, which was formed by officers of the Revolutionary War. The founders of this, America's first veterans' organization, included such luminaries as Alexander Hamilton, Nathanael Greene, John Paul Jones, Horatio Gates, James Monroe, "Mad" Anthony Wayne, and "Light-Horse Harry" Lee. (15)

Then, on September 3, 1783, the formal treaty of peace with England was signed.

When, on October 2, 1783, Washington wrote to the President of Congress, recommending Kosciusko for promotion, he said:

"The general promotion now before Congress, should it take place, would have included him;
but this does not seem to be his wish; as a Foreigner I suppose a particular promotion would be more consonant to his views and interest, and from my knowledge of his Merit and services, and the concurrent testimony of all who know him I cannot but recommend him as deserving the favor of Congress." (16)

Congress voted him a brevetted Brigadier General, resolving that it entertained, "a high sense of his long, faithful and meritorious services".

On July 9, 1784, after arranging his personal affairs, Kosciuszko left Philadelphia for New York and on July 15 he boarded a ship to France. He had become an important leader in the international struggle for freedom. He went to France only to return to Poland, later in 1784. He spent four years in rural retirement. But by 1790 he took part in the organization and inspection of the Polish Army. (17) In 1792, as Commander-in-Chief, he led the Polish Army in a futile three month resistance against Russian invasion.

After the Polish king succumbed to the Russians, Kosciuszko laid down his command. His letter to the king says, "Since the changes in national condition are contrary to my original oath and convictions, I have the honor to request Your Royale Majesty for the favor of signing my resignation." (18)

Shortly after that, the Russian army entered Warsaw. From then on Poland was ruled through Russian puppets. Kosciuszko fell ill. Upon recovering, he set out for France by way of Galicia, then a part of Austria.

His great popularity there worried the Austrian government, so he was ordered out of the country within twelve hours. (19)

He went on to France, arriving shortly before the execution of Louis XVI.

By summer, 1793, he was in Leipzig.

In 1794, Kosciuszko returned to Poland to lead a revolt. In March of that year, he scored brilliant successes and
eventually became virtually the Polish dictator. He immediately instituted many liberal reforms. But the Polish freedom was short-lived. At Maciejowice, in a hand-to-hand struggle against the Russian army, he fell with 17 wounds, and was taken prisoner.

"Hope, for a season, bade the world farewell,
And Freedom shriek'd as Kosciuszko fell!" wrote Thomas Campbell, a contemporary poet. (20)

For the last two years of the rule of Catherine the Great, he was held captive in a St. Petersburg prison.

When Catherine died, her son, Czar Paul I, offered Kosciuszko his own sword. Kosciuszko refused, saying, "I no longer need a sword, since I have no longer a country to defend". (21) The Czar then released him, on condition that he leave immediately for America.

In the company of two of his fellow prisoners, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, a talented young writer, and Libiszewski, a young officer, he set out for the United States. (22) He was unable to walk and virtually an invalid. Enroute he stayed in London. Kosciuszko was now 51, and it was now 1797. It was during his brief London stay that the famed Benjamin West painted the portrait of him showing him in a semi-reclining position on a sofa with head and leg wounds and a crutch nearby, looking romantically languid and young for his years. (The painting ended up in the Allen Memorial Art Museum of Oberlin College, which American Heritage Magazine points out was, "the first American institute of higher learning to admit blacks". This has a special significance, as will be seen below). (23)

On August 18, 1797, the American freighter Adriana, finally brought the invalid Polish exile to Philadelphia. The next day's edition of Claypoole's Advertiser said, "On the arrival of the vessel at the Fort, the Commander of the Garrison, being informed that the veteran General was on board, welcomed him by a Federal Salute; and when the vessel came to anchor in our harbor, the Sailing Master of the Frigate had its Barge manned with eight Masters of Vessels, and waited upon the General to take him on shore. On his landing, he was received with three cheers. And, as a further mark of popular
respect for this great character, the citizens insisted upon drawing him to his lodgings. The General appears to be in good spirits, but has suffered very materially from his wounds and inhuman imprisonment. We trust, however, that he will long live to enjoy in these peaceful, shores that Liberty and Happiness, which he insisted on fighting for, but which he fought in vain to obtain for his native land." (24)

Arrangements were made for him to have rented rooms in the Mrs. Sarah Lawson's boardinghouse, at 7 South Fourth Street. Both he and Niemcewicz were to pay ten dollars a week and the servant five. However, since there was a prevalence of yellow fever, Dr. Benjamin Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence and one of Philadelphia's most prominent physicians, urged Kosciuszko to leave the fever-ridden city as soon as possible. He left on August 30. However, during the short stay at Mrs. Lawson's, he was visited by a young Polish exile, who had fought under him at Maciejowice and who was now living in Philadelphia. The exile was Bergudd (Birkut). In his memoirs, Peter A. Gortjan described the visit as follows: "I was a witness to their first meeting, because we went together to Kosciuszko's quarters. It was truly affecting. The weather-beaten hero, carved into a cripple on the field of battle, some of his wounds were still unhealed, fervently embraced his youthful companion and affectionately and repeatedly kissed him. Both of them shed tears, and their sobs were audible." (25)

During the yellow fever epidemic, Kosciuszko visited General Anthony W. White in New Brunswick, New Jersey, and General Horatio Gates in New York City. Finally he returned to Philadelphia.

However, it was before he returned to Philadelphia that he wrote to George Washington. On October 2, 1797, from Elizabeth Towne, New Jersey, he wrote:

"From the United States, I have not received neither the pro cent for Fourteen Years nor the Sum due to me; formerly I was independent, but now my only resource is in the Justice of Congress; having lost my certificate and wyth my Country
lost my all. I must Request Sir, You will be so kind to mention my situation to that August Body and entreat, that I may be paid my Just demand; without the trouble of making other Application." (26)

On October 15, 1797, Washington answered him. Washington says, in part, "I am sorry that the state of your health should deprive me of the pleasure of your company at this place (Mt. Vernon), and I regret still more that the pain you feel from the wounds you have received, though glorious for your reputation, is the occasion of it." Further down in the letter he says, "Your rank and services in the American Army are too well known to require that testimony of your claim; and the Books of the Treasury will shew (sic) that you have received nothing in discharge of it, or if any part, to what amount." (27)

Congress did appropriate $12,260.54, which, with interest, came to $15,227.87. It also awarded him 500 acres in Ohio. (28)

Returning to the narrative of the American journey, itself, Niemcewicz, Kosciuszko's companion, kept a diary. Translated into English and entitled Under Their Vine and Fig Tree, it furnishes much information about Kosciuszko's trip. It was from this that it was learned that with Dr. Rush's help, Niemcewicz found a Philadelphia boarding house at the northwest corner of Third and Pine Streets (now designated as 301 Pine Street), with rooms for Kosciuszko, Niemcewicz, and Kosciuszko's servant. They moved there on November 29, 1797 and remained into the spring.

Mrs. Ann Relf, a widow, ran the boarding house. It was a very small house, with medical students and a few other apprentices. Niemcewicz wrote that, "its cheapness had made choice for us. The General had a small room (on the second floor) where he could only receive four people at a time. I had one even smaller (on the same floor); since no fire was made there, I could use it only for sleeping; this was extremely inconvenient to me. There is nothing
more dreary than not having a place of your own, to be obliged to roam the streets or to watch for a moment when there would be a little table vacant in the parlor where you can read and write."

Moreau de St. Mary, who visited Kosciuszko in these quarters on March 18, 1798, reported, "His lodging was a bedroom with a little antechamber before it; and since his bed and couch left no room for more than two or three people, only two or three of us could see him at a given time." (29)

Like the second floor, the first floor also had only two rooms. One was the parlor, of which Niemcewicz speaks. (30)

During the six months that Kosciuszko lived at 301 Pine Street, his friends were looking for a place for him to settle permanently in this country. According to a letter which Jefferson wrote Gates, he saw Kosciuszko frequently. (31)

During March, 1798, a packet of letters was handed Kosciuszko. On reading the contents, his emotion was so strong that, despite is crippled condition, he sprang from the couch and stepped without a helping hand to the middle of the room. "I must return at once to Europe," he said. (32)

Meanwhile, another series of events were also to affect Kosciuszko.

Relations between the United States and Directory-controlled France had become badly strained. Many American Federalists wanted war with France, seeing such a war as a chance to discredit the Jeffersonians' patriotism, a chance for personal glory and an opportunity for an attack on Louisiana and Florida. The anti-Federalists firmly backed Revolutionary France. (33)

Things got so bad that when Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was sent as our Minister Plenipotentiary to Paris, the French Government refused to recognize him and forced him to leave the country. The French had seized American ships and abused their crews and America seized armed French ships. There was almost an undeclared Naval War between the two countries. Jefferson and his supporters decided to undertake
unofficial diplomatic activity. At this point, Kosciuszkó re-enters the picture. While he had received the warmest welcome upon his return to America, as would be expected the cause closest to his heart was liberty for his native Poland. This made a trip to Paris, to enlist French aid, highly desirable. The Jeffersonians also thought that Kosciuszkó could help to smooth the relations between France and the United States. Kosciuszkó was completely without any official status, but he was acting as Jefferson's agent.

With Jefferson's support, he obtained a passport under the name of Thomas Kamberg, and he left America for the last time, sailing secretly from Baltimore on May 5, 1798. The best clue as to what was behind Kosciuszkó's and Jefferson's actions is in an undated letter now in the Coolidge collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. It is from Kosciuszkó to Vice President Jefferson and reads:

"The Amicable disposition of the Government of France are realey (sic) favorable to the interest of the United States, by the recent proues (proofs) they give, you ought not to doubt that they choose to be in peace and in perfect harmonie with America, before it was represented by some the facts relative to your Country, but now they are perfectly acquainted with yours and their interests and Mr. (George) Logan eyewitness of the Sentymet (sic) they have towards the nation of the U.S. At the present it is a duty of every true American as you to publiche (sic) and propagate their friend-ship, and to compele (sic) your Gouvernment (sic) by the Opinion of the Nation to the pacifique Measures with Republique of France, otherwise you cannot but to loose (sic) everything even your Liberty by a connexion so intemet (intimate) wyth (sic) England which increasing son (sic) influence can easily subdue and exercise son (sic) dispotique power as before. Write me soon as possible of the effects which the news of Logan's arrival will produce in America, as well as by the Election of members of Congress, you may rely upon my sincerest endeavours here but you must work in America wyth your friends and Republicans and state their reall (sic) interest."

12
In the final analysis, the letter: 1) testifies to the friendliness of the Directory members towards Americans, 2) suggests that the Jeffersonians "publishe and obligate their friendship," and 3) urges the election of Jeffersonians to Congress. (34)

In July, 1800, the Convention of Montaine was signed and the undeclared Naval War was ended.

Details are lacking as to just what part Kosciuszko played in these events. (34)

Eventually Kosciuszko moved to Switzerland, where he died at the residence of Francis Xavier Zeltner, in Solothurn on October 15, 1817. His funeral was celebrated in Paris on October 31. (35)

Before he left America, Kosciuszko drafted a will which is in the Jefferson papers, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society:

"I beg Mr. Jefferson that in case I should die without will and testament he should bye (sic) out of my money so many Negroes and free them, that the restant (sic) Sum should be Sufficient to give them education and provide for their maintenance. That is to say each should know before, the duty of a free Cityzen (sic) in the free Government, that he must defend his Country against foreign as well as internal Enemis (sic) whow (sic) would wish to change the Constitution for the worst (sic) to inslave (sic) them by degrees afterwards, to have a good and human heart sensible for the sufferings of others, each must be married and have 100 ackres (sic) of land, wyth (sic) instruments, Cattle for tillage and know (how) to manage and Gouvern (sic) it as well to know how to behave to neybourghs (sic), always wyth (sic) kindness and ready to help them - to themselves frugal to their Children give good education I mean as to the heart and the duty to their Country, in gratitude to me to make themselves happy as possible. T. Kosciuszko"
This draft is undated, but probably was written during late April, 1798.

Thomas Jefferson used the draft in preparing a formal will, which was attested to by John Dawson and John Barnes on April 30, 1798, the same day that a Power of Attorney was prepared giving that authority to Jefferson. (36)

Kosciuszko did not intend that the money and land left in Jefferson's charge be unused until he, Kosciuszko, died. Jefferson was supposed to invest the principal and send Kosciuszko the interest as earned.

In the Historical Society of Pennsylvania there is a note from Thomas Jefferson to the Bank of Pennsylvania asking for $320.00, a half-year's dividend, "payable on General Thaddeus Kosciuszko's twenty shares of Pennsylvania Bank stock". This was signed by, "Th. Jefferson, Atty. for Gen'l. Kosciuszko".

Kosciuszko wrote subsequent wills in 1806 and 1816, which were at cross purposes with the 1798 will. He never informed Jefferson of the later wills.

After Kosciuszko's death, Jefferson had probate procedures moved to the District of Columbia Orphans Court which, in 1821, granted administration papers to Benjamin L. Lear. Attorney General William Werk was named counsel of the trust created by the will. (37)

Because of the three wills and the various court cases which resulted from them, it took 30 years before the matter was finally settled by the United States Supreme Court, which, in 1852 ruled that Kosciuszko died intestate.

John Luzader ends by saying, "to abbreviate a long and complex story, no slaves were freed and no Negroes were educated by funds from Kosciuszko's estate." But, regardless of that, his sympathy with the slaves and his enlightened outlook toward the education of blacks, is a matter of record and shows how truly forward looking this champion of liberty was.
It seems appropriate enough that earth from Cracow, near Kosciuszko's remains, was mixed into the mortar for the Washington Monument. (38)
II.

Study Area

While Kosciuszko has been memorialized by a park in Milwaukee, (39) by a statue in Lafayette Park (Washington, D.C.), a monument on the Saratoga Battlefield, a statue at West Point, and by a rock garden and a plaque there explaining his contributions to us, the only building associated with his life is what is now numbered as 301 Pine Street, Philadelphia. By a fortuitous happenstance, Philadelphia is also the place where he first put his military engineering genius into practice.

This property is in the area which is today called Society Hill, Philadelphia, self-styled as "America's most historic square mile". It includes Independence National Park and hundreds of restored residences which go back to the time of the founding of our country. Many of these residences numbered among their illustrious early occupants, the people who did help found the nation. Also within this area are numerous historic churches, among which one could list St. Peter's (P.E.) Church, Old Pine (Presbyterian) Church, and Old St. Joseph's (Roman Catholic) Church, the church where Kosciuszko worshipped.

The south side of Pine Street, between Third and Fourth, is completely taken up by St. Peter's Church and its grounds, including the cemetery.

The north side of the 300 block on Pine Street is occupied by a series of row houses, for the most part. They are gradually being restored. At the easterly end of the block is the building, now designated as 301 Pine Street, which has its long or gable side running along Pine Street, and its short side running along Third Street. Just north of it, on the other side of the party wall, is the building now known as 310 South Third Street. Originally, this was virtually a twin, opposite hand, of 301 Pine. They were built together, by Joseph Few.

The area is one of historic houses where a great deal of money and dedicated effort has been expended on careful restoration, under the watchful eye of the Philadelphia Historic Commission. It is a quiet, dignified area,
approximately 1/2 miles from the business and civic center of contemporary Philadelphia.

Independence National Park is, for the most part, between Chestnut and Walnut Streets, extending from Second to Sixth Streets. Starting just south of the park, at Willings Alley, is a new pedestrian walkway which runs more or less parallel with Third Street and serves to connect the 300 Pine Street block with the main body of Independence National Park. This walkway, sheltered from vehicular traffic, will provide a pleasant means of access for the visiting pedestrian to go from the main body of the park to the two churches and the Kosciuszko House. Once at Third and Pine Streets, the pedestrian is but a block away from the historic Head House which marks the start of Society Hill's main shopping area -- a Mecca for tourists.

The Society Hill residential area is probably the most prestigious residential area in Philadelphia today. Because of its proximity to Central Philadelphia, its nearness to the picturesque Delaware River, the historical associations, the quality of much of the original architecture, and because of a very well-organized promotion on the part of the city, this area is becoming the highest priced residential area in the entire metropolitan area. Another factor contributing to the high cost of Society Hill real estate is the great expense involved in renewing and bringing back, to top quality, the historic residences, which have been largely neglected for a century.

As would be expected, since the area is one of high income, parking immediately becomes a problem. This is especially true since the historic houses generally do not have garages and since public parking is limited. Fortunately, the Kosciuszko Memorial is not too far from the main portion of Independence National Park and visitors to that park will be encouraged to leave their cars in the new major parking facility which is to be built between Front and Second, Chestnut and Walnut Streets. They will then be encouraged to walk from one attraction to another, within the park area. The pedestrian walkway, which connects three of the most historic churches in the area and the park, will also serve to bring people to the Kosciuszko Memorial.
Regarding the social effect which the Kosciuszko Memorial will have on the neighborhood, it will probably be minimal. However, the removal of the blighting effect of the building in its present semi-ruin condition, can do nothing but benefit the community.

The houses immediately west of 301 Pine Street on Pine Street, are considerably later than 301. Both architecturally and historically they are entirely unrelated to 301 Pine. Their only relation to it is their geographic proximity.

The west side of Third Street, between Pine and Delancey Streets, has ten row houses on it. Only the two corner buildings -- one being 301 Pine Street -- have not had their exteriors reworked within the past 15 years. Three of the buildings, well away from 301 Pine Street, have plaques from the Philadelphia Historical Commission. These indicate that the three restorations have been completed in an historically-correct manner.

The buildings which adjoin 301 Pine Street, going in both directions, are certified by the Philadelphia Historic Commission and are on the National Register of Historic Places, by virtue of their being in the Society Hill Historic District. However, since they bear no historic relationship to Kosciuszko, there would seem to be little point in involving them in the Kosciuszko Memorial program. Tearing some of them down to create parking would not be permitted by the Philadelphia Historical Commission or by the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. Furthermore, doing this would be a disservice to history, in creating an artificial situation. It would also be a disservice to the quiet, residential area which exists around the Memorial.

Acquiring the "twin" to 301 Pine, namely 340 South Third Street, is an entirely different matter, as will be developed later.
THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO HOME

PROPOSAL:
- RESEARCH - ARCHITECTURAL & HISTORICAL
- INTERPRETIVE PLANNING
- STRUCTURAL RECONSTRUCTION
- NEW UTILITIES
- ARCHITECTURAL RECONSTRUCTION & REHABILITATION
- WALKS & CURBS
- INTERPRETIVE DEVELOPMENT - FURNISHINGS, INTERIOR DECORATION & EXHIBITS
- BUILDING OPERATION, MAINTENANCE & PROTECTION

GENERAL DEVELOPMENT PLAN
THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO NATIONAL MEMORIAL
INDEPENDENCE NATIONAL HISTORICAL PARK
City of Philadelphia
PENNSYLVANIA
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
SEPTEMBER 1972 391 40 009 A
DENVER SERVICE CENTER CENTRAL MAP SERVICE

SCALE IN FEET
General View, Third and Pine Sts., Phila: Pine Street is on the left and Third Street is on the right. The corner house is 301 Pine Street, the Kosciuszko House. The house with the shutters, just right of the Kosciuszko House, on Third Street, is 310 South Third Street. They were built together, as "twins". The five properties along Pine Street, west of 301 ending at St. Peter's Walk, are of later architectural idioms. The adjoining house on Pine Street has much higher ceilings, very different brickwork, and represents a much later period. On Third Street, only the two corner buildings, Kosciuszko's and the house on the extreme right are unimproved. The three lower houses, next to the far corner, have all been restored in an authentic manner, so carry Philadelphia Historical Commission plaques. While the other houses have all been improved, they lack integrity from the point of view of architectural history.
West side of Third Street, Looking South Towards Pine: With the exception of the last house, 301 Pine, all other buildings have been improved.

St. Peter's Church, across the street from the Kosciuszko House, shows just left of it.
III.

The House Itself and Its "Twin"

After literally scores of bills were introduced in Congress, with relation to setting up a "Kosciuszko National Historic Site", and after the designation was changed to the "Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial", Public Law 92-524 (S. 1973, H.R. 256) was passed on October 21, 1972.

This law has definitely set up the National Memorial at 301 Pine Street, Philadelphia.

The site is 14'-10" x 40'-0", comprising .014 acres.

According to city records, Jacob Duche', Jr., a clerk, and Elizabeth, his wife, sold two lots, totalling 29' - 6 2/3" x 40' - 0", to Joseph Few, carpenter, on October 10, 1774.

Few, in turn, sold the lots and the buildings which he erected there to William Allison, on November 26, 1776. When Allison died, on August 4, 1785, the property passed to Allison's widow and four children. After the widow's death, the estate was divided among her four heirs; John Caldwell, Margaret McHenry, Grace Clopper, and James Dorsey. They held the property until May 22, 1811, when they, plus their spouses, sold it to Rebbecca Cox Ralston. Thus, it was during the period when the building was owned by Mrs. Allison's heirs that Kosciuszko lived there. According to Niemcewicz, he and Kosciuszko lived in Mrs. Relf's boarding house. Undoubtedly, she was a tenant of the four heirs who, in turn, sublet rooms.

Philadelphia's Third Survey District has a sketched "Survey of two houses belonging to the Estate of the late William Allison -- Surveyed for John Bleakley, October 8, 1796."

This survey was done by J. Pearson.

This sketch shows a center hall house, entered from Pine Street. The center hall was mostly occupied by a double run of stairs with winders at the party wall. On either side of the stairway, on each floor, is a single room. West of the rear room is a small yard 6'-1" x 14'-10" and west of that is a 3'-4" wide alleyway.
The adjacent property, now known as 340 South Third Street, had a plan which was more or less a mirror image of the 301 Pine Street property, excepting for the fact that it was entered on the short, i.e. Third Street, end and that it was only 26'6" overall in length instead of 30'-1". The winding staircase is in the same location, indicating that the rear room was shortened and the back yard lengthened correspondingly. The alleyway continued partly behind 340. At the north end of the alleyway were the privies.

The Philadelphia Historical Commission has a series of written insurance surveys of these buildings, going back to March, 1775. Kosciuszko lived in the house during the period between the surveys of 1782 and 1846. Therefore, the description in the 1782 survey, dated the 29th of June, probably indicates what the house was like when Kosciuszko lived there. The surveys showing the various metamorphoses of the house are reproduced below:

Survey'd 22d March 1775  A house belonging to Joseph Few Situate on the northwest corner of 3d & pine Streets - 15 feet by 31 feet 3 storys high 2 Rooms on a floor all the Carpenters work done except part of the lower story Garot plaster'd one 9 & one 4" party wall outside painted

No 1900 400 Pounds @ 25%

If it takes fire within while finishing the insurance to be void. Also one other house adjoining the above on 3d Street 15 feet front 20 feet deep. In every other respect the same with the above house.

No. 1001 300 Pounds @ 25% Guning Bedford

If it takes Fire within while finishing the insurance to be void.

RESURVEY's 29th June 1782

A house belonging to Cap'n William Alison Situate on the North west Corner of third & pine Streets where Wm. Snowden dwells - 15 by 31½ feet 3 storys high one 9 & one 4" Inch party walls - 2 Rooms on a floor plaster'd
partitions Board -- Stairs finish'd in a Good plain way a frontispiece to front door inSide & out painted Also one other house adjoining on third Street 15 feet front 20 feet deep - in other Respects the Same as the above house.

No. 1900 On the First 400 Pounds at 37/6 = $20.  Cuming Bedford

No. 1901 on the Second 300 Pounds 27/6 $15.

35 Do's

Note that there is a discrepancy here between the 20' depth given for "the one other adjoining house" and the 1796 drawing mentioned above. That shows the other house going considerably further back than 20'. 26'-6"

There is an 1835 insurance survey note which relates to a bake oven built in the cellar, which gives the impression that this was a commercial bake oven. The note follows:

Mth No. 3d 1835 I have examined a Bake oven built in the Cellar of the above mentioned house & I believe the risk is not increased thereby other than a private bake oven.

John C. Evans

The 1846 survey, which appears below, also describes the property at 3½ South Third Street. This is the property now known as 301 Pine Street:

1846

3½ South Third Street

I have Surveyed a brick House belonging to John Tack - Situate on the Northwest corner of Third & Pine streets, Being 15 feet on Third and 30 feet on Pine street - three stories high, 9 In walls - the lower Story in two rooms & a stairway at the west end, the floor of comm'n yellow pine, moulded base round, single mouldings, on each front is a bulk window with angle corners, and each containing two lights of American Glass 26 by 3½ in - eight lights of 13 by 17 in & in the angles 8 lights of
9 by 17 in, both with shutters folding into a box on either side & covered (?) with a filleted pilaster shutter, a folding sash door on each street - Glass 8½ & 10 by 17 in with slides & a plain, neat Entablature over each return'd round the corner & plain transom sash over each - one window in the west room, glass 12 x 15 in outside shutters, one small closet. The 2nd story in one room & passage, the floor of common yellow pine, moulded base round, grecian mouldings to the windows, Glass 12 x 15 in, venetial shutters. The 3d Story in two rooms the floor of com'n wide yellow pine, moulded base, grecian mouldings - two mantle shelves & two closets, Glass 8 by 10 in, plain winding stairs from this to the Garret - which is in two rooms, with com'n yellow pine floor, rough - windows in the gable, glass 8 by 10 in. Step ladder & trap door in the roof - Straight Stairs in the back end leading from the Cellar to the 3d Story, short mahogany rail & plain ballusters from the 2d to the 3d story. Dining room & kitchen in the cellar, floored with 5/16" (sic) yellow pine plain base single mouldings, mantle shelf, two closets & a dresser with doors and drawers. - Glass in the first 9½ by 11 in with inside shutters & in the kitchen 10 by 12 with outside shutters - the lower 2nd & 3d stories are papered - wooden dentil eaves front & back & level and raking on the barge of the same, tin gutters & pipes.

8th Mo 6th 1846

John C. Evans, Surveyor

Policy No. 6675 Dollars at 2 per cent Dollars 20

Agreed to be correct

(Signed) John Tack

While 301 Pine Street is a small building, it is one with considerable architectural interest. It is 3½ floors with a handsome pedimented gable on the Pine Street end. The cornice surrounding the gable is rich in detail, but poor in condition.

All the original masonry was Flemish bond. On the Pine Street facade, the headers are glazed black. On the Third Street side, they are red. With one exception, the fill in panels which have been added during the many times that the exterior has been altered, are of common bond.
An old photograph, in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, shows that by 1922, the building had been stuccoed. Today, the stucco has again been removed and the original brickwork shows. But the scars of the stucco are permanent. The brick was hacked, to get the stucco to bond well. The two belt courses, one above the first floor windows and one above the second floor windows, were cut back, so that they would not show through the stucco. The belt course above the first floor windows projects slightly, but the top row of bricks of that belt course -- which row projected out further -- was badly chopped off, because of its greater projection. The belt course between the second and third floors was completely chopped off and never replaced.

There was probably a water table on the lower portion of the building and the bricks from there on down weathered more than the others. All were replaced. This explains why there is newer brickwork on the bottom two feet of the walls. All remaining original brickwork starts at about that point. At the northeast corner of the building, there is an undisturbed original panel which shows exactly where the coursing and jointing originally were. This can be used as a model for the balance of the first floor, when it is being restored.

There is an interesting small triangle cut into the lower belt course, on the Pine Street facade. Since this is virtually on the exact axis of the central windows above, it seems to indicate the spot where the original frontispiece pediment intersected the belt course. This would have been typical for the period.

However, if this assumption were correct, then the brick panel supporting the west end of the great wood girder could not be original, even though it looks absolutely authentic. It occupies the very spot where the doorway would have been. The following theory was developed:

1) During the Nineteenth Century, the owners decided to convert the building into a corner store.

2) A masonry pier was needed where the door had been, to support the great wood girder above the bulk window.

3) Since the new brick panel or pier was to show, the mason used original bricks from demolition, cleaned of
mortar, and laid them up in a manner matching the original fabric.

4) He did a conscientious job. In fact, he fooled everyone interested in the house's restoration. Everyone thought that the brick panel was original and thought that the doorway had been just east of it.

If this theory proved correct, then the earlier drawings for the restoration were wrong and the approval by regulatory bodies was wrong. The drawings showed the doorway well off the axis of the window.

To test this theory, small portions of mortar were taken from the unquestionably original northeast pier and from the brick panel, now suspected as being Nineteenth Century. When looked at under a microscope, there did appear to be differences. More samples should be taken for further checking. Also, once light is in the building, the plaster should be carefully checked, with telling joints being looked for. Samples should also be taken from behind both the brick panels and the samples should be examined under a microscope.

It is the author's strong belief that these tests will prove that the original doorway had been directly under the sash above, in the best Palladian tradition.

There are two other features giving the walls architectural interest, features which will have to be removed. These are the great wooden beams which are now engaged in the walls. They were obviously introduced into the walls when the bulk windows were added at the corner, creating a shop there. The walls must have been needled. Then the great girders were introduced to support the upper walls and the brickwork below them was removed. At a later time, when the bulk windows were discontinued, new masonry was placed under the beams. Today the two beams have masonry above and below them. While these vestigial remains add an architectural historic interest to the walls, of course they will have to be removed when the exterior is properly restored to its 1797 appearance.

The 20th Century kitchen addition, at the west end of the building, will also have to be removed.
Probably the window openings on the second floor are original. But on the third floor, the center opening has been altered and widened. The windows in the gable are probably original.

Today's first floor masonry openings bear little resemblance to the original ones which had been there. With all the openings in the wrong places and with the "newer" masonry all wrong, it is probable that the entire building will again have to be needed at the second floor line, so that the first floor can be properly rebuilt.

The present doorway at the west end is quite obviously a later addition. The crude way the brickwork returns around it gives the clue to that.

It seems probable that only the attic sash are original. They are six over six. The window frames elsewhere do not appear to be original, but most are in their original masonry openings. The jambs, however, do seem to be original, for most of the upper floor windows. The way the bricks return on themselves attests to this. There are many places where it can be seen that the original sills and lintels have been removed. Probably the sash were originally plank front frames. The attic sash give the key to the proper detailing for replacement windows.

Directly above the horizontal members of the pediment (which pediment forms the gable) there are two courses of bricks which have been broken back. Probably these brick courses were projected to let the water on the tympanum wall run off onto the shingles that were above the horizontal cornice. The shingles having long since been removed.

The roof itself has a number of layers on it. In all likelihood, the original shingles are still in place, covered by one form of roofing over another. The pole gutter is still evident.

The iron cellar door creates an incongruous note. However, an exterior cellar door will have to be provided for getting equipment in and out of the basement.

Regarding the interior, the different surveys above are evidence enough of how the house was constantly being altered.
over the years. The plan has been completely reworked. It bears virtually no resemblance to the plan found in the 1776 survey. Even as basic an element as the stairway has been completely relocated. True, the building still has only one stairway. However, the stairway is now at the west end.

Only the attic run remains of the original "stairs finish'd in a Good plain way".

The insurance surveys indicate a 9" and a 4" party wall. Mr. Pinkowski mentioned that during the course of some work being done to the building, the workmen were amazed to discover that they went right through the party wall, finding it only 4" thick. It is possibly because the wall is so thin that the bad crack exists at the northeast corner of the building, between the party wall and the Third Street wall. Apparently the party wall was not strong enough to tie back the front wall and the front wall has moved.

The rooms are small. Kosciuszko's own room is indeed as small as was mentioned in Moreau de St. Mary's comment. The location of the chimney, in the center of the north wall of that room, pretty much fixes the fact that the room's dimensions are unchanged from the original ones.

The floor framing in Kosciuszko's room may also be original. In all likelihood, under the cheap 20th Century top nailed strip oak flooring, the original wide pine floor boards will be found. And under those, will be found the original joists. In all probability, those joists will be found to be going north to south.

Some years ago, Mr. Pinkowski acquired a frontispiece, some panelling, two mantels, and a number of authentic black header bricks, all from a house at 919 South Front Street, Philadelphia, a house which was demolished in the path of Highway I-95. According to the records of the Philadelphia Historical Commission, land for that house was sold to the builder in 1769 and the house and land was sold in 1795. Exactly when the house itself was built must always remain a mystery. However, it must have been built within two decades of 301 Pine Street and quite possibly was built at a much closer time. The exact correctness, for this restoration, of these components, should be very carefully researched.

*The recent owner of 301 Pine Street.
Mr. Pinkowski also had a number of new sash frames and sash made. These are stored on the second floor. Their sizes should be checked against the original masonry openings. But they do appear to be accurate modern reproductions.

The upper floors of the building are inhabited by a large colony of pigeons. With much of the glass out of the windows, they have free access to the building. So do the elements. Pigeon droppings are so abundant on the steps, that it is very difficult to navigate them.

It is suggested that the building be cleaned out immediately and fumigated, to get rid of dead pigeons, lice from them, etc., and that polyethylene be put over the opening of the windows, to keep the elements and birds from entering any longer.

While this cleaning out is done, it is important that there be careful architectural supervision. Pieces like the top rail of the panelling, which is stored in there, can easily be thrown away by a maintenance person, who just sees this as old lumber. However, such a board can be the key to much information about the panel dimensions, etc.

After the building has been cleaned out, 20th Century strip oak flooring should be removed, so that the original flooring can be exposed. This and the framing below it, will be the clue to just where the stairway was, where the fireplace was, and will show their dimensions.

The construction contract should require the builder to carefully remove the roof, layer by layer. When the final or bottom layer is reached, it will be possible to see what size the shingles originally were and how much of them was exposed to the weather.

It is also important that the original brick, now damaged by the scars which the stuccoing contractor put on them, be waterproofed. This should be done with an invisible waterproofing compound which breathes and will stand up over the years.
Currently 301 Pine Street is the property of Henry J. Piszek of Philadelphia. Mr. Piszek is donating the building to the National Park Service, so that it can be transformed into the Kosciuszko National Memorial.

340 South Third Street, the more or less opposite twin of 301 Pine Street, has been improved in recent years. However, the Philadelphia Historical Commission questions the historical accuracy of the improvements. Since the building is currently being used as a private residence and is owned by neither the National Park Service nor Mr. Piszek, there was no access to the inside. Consequently, there is no way of knowing what the interior work is like.

Its back wall also has been moved. The 1796 sketch survey shows and the written surveys note that the back wall of the 340 South Third Street building was not as far west as the back wall of 301 Pine. Today, they come to a common line. Undoubtedly this explains why the roof immediately east of that rear wall is apparently a flat roof, instead of a gable roof.

The building would not even be singled out in the report, were it not for the fact that Mr. Piszek has offered to purchase it and donate it to the government.

Regarding the capabilities and limitations of the buildings, 301 Pine Street alone would lend itself to a very limited program. This is especially so since both the Philadelphia Building Code and normal good practice in handling large numbers of persons would both require that there be two stairways. With that building so small, most of the interior would be taken up by the stairways, unless an extension were to be put onto the buildings.

It will be developed that if the two "twin" buildings were jointly turned into the Memorial, they would provide for a much fuller and better-rounded program.
301 Pine Street, Exterior: The 20th Century kitchen wing stands where the old back yard had been. 305 Pine Street is at left.
301 Pine Street, as Seen From Across Pine Street: The kitchen wing at the left is where the old back yard used to be. All first floor masonry openings are alterations. Reading from left to right, i.e. from west to east, the kitchen unit is built with the present window, probably in the 20th Century, the doorway was placed where it is when the stairway was moved to the back of the building. The original west window, i.e. the left one, was directly under the second and third floor windows. The doorway was probably where the little triangle is, under the central window, second floor. The east window is within a panel filled up where the 19th Century bulk window had been. The original east window was under the east windows on the second and third floors. The center window on the third floor was undoubtedly a single window, directly above the second floor window. Note that only the attic windows still have small panes of glass. 18th Century technology had not developed a method for making large sheets of glass, now used in lower sash.
301 Pine Street, West end Exterior Detail: The doorway is not original. The failure of the brickwork above it is probably as a result of the doorway's having been cut into the wall at that point. The 20th Century kitchen wing is at the left.
301 Pine Street, Pine Street Exterior Detail: The window on top of the picture is the second floor central window. The doorway was probably originally directly below that. The triangular brickwork cut, right above the end of the wooden girder, is where the pediment of the frontispiece intersected the belt course. The left brick panel on the first floor, while Flemish bond, is probably not original. It was put there when the building was converted into a store and the wooden girder was introduced to span a bulk window. The first floor brickwork, to the right of the center of the photograph is common bond brickwork, probably 20th Century. This was laid when the bulk windows were removed and the building was reconverted from a store to a house. The wooden girder could not be removed without again needing the building, so it was just left in place.
Pine Street Exterior, Detail: Note the belt course which projects out slightly just above the wooden girder. The three courses of bricks are more or less intact. The fourth course, which projected further, has been hacked off. The "new" brickwork, replacing the onetime store front, is crude. The stucco-covered marble at bottom center is the former step into the store.

Also note the bottom of the second floor window, which gives clear evidence of an original sill's having been removed.
301 Pine Street, Exterior Corner: Pine Street is to the left, Third Street is to the right. Original brickwork starts at about two feet from the ground. Probably the first floor corner pier is original. The two wooden girders show where stone windows had once been. It is easily seen where "newer" brickwork has been filled into what had been the bulk window.
301 Pine Street, Exterior Detail. The pier at the right, which held the end of the wood girder, is original. The lower sash are built within the larger opening, which had been cut into the wall to convert the building to a store. There are remnants of the 20th Century stucco work below the window sills. The 20th Century cellar door will have to be replaced.

St. Peter's Church is at the extreme left.
301 Pine Street, Third Street Exterior, First Floor:
The brick pier just to the left of the rainwater line,
is original fabric, from about two feet up. This can be
used to establish the coursing, type of brick joint,
etc.

The meaning of the marble block at the base of the
wall should be investigated.
301 Pine Street, Facade: The second floor masonry openings are original. The significant triangular cut into the lower belt course is directly above the end of the wooden girder. The upper belt course has been completely mutilated. The Flemish bond brickwork near the bottom, left center, while appearing to be original is probably 19th Century. The common bond brickwork, under the wooden girder, is very likely 20th Century. The third floor central window has been widened to a double opening. The elaborate dentils show at the top of the photo.
Exterior Elevations, Prepared in 1967 for Mr. Edward Pinkowski.

The author believes that further research will confirm his own theory, i.e. the first floor openings on Pine Street will more or less center on those above, and not be as here pictured.

He also suggests investigating the earlier use of blinds on the second floor, instead of shutters.

The author’s rear wing, if built, would be an obviously twentieth century addition. It would be a three story glass and steel structure, through which the rear wall of the original house could be read. It’s flat roof would come at the line of the bottom of the pedimented gable.
301 Pine Street, Present Stairway up to Second Floor: This has no resemblance to the original stairway. The wall at the left is the building's original west wall.
Kosciuszko's Room, Looking Toward Pine Street: Note the temporary stud braces installed along the Pine Street wall. Sash at right are new, awaiting installation.
osciszeko's Room, Looking Northwest: Probably a fireplace had seen where the ladder stands. Removing the flooring will undoubtedly supply many details. The new sash were made by the previous owner, for the restoration.
301 Pine Street, the Parlor. Looking East. Note how the temporary studs were erected within the room to brace the upper floors. Bricks are from the demolished Front Street house.
Ol Pine Street, Parlor, Looking Northeast:

The windows overlook Third Street. The chimney at the left must have had either a fireplace or a Franklin stove connected to it. A careful investigation should be made to find out what was there.
401 Pine Street, Interior View: Some of the new sash are shown. Note that the
archway belongs to the early 1930's.
301 Pine Street, Interior View: Stored historic millwork is shown.
919 South Front Street, Phila.: Before Demolition:
Frontispiece is in place. Note that the brickwork surrounding
this frontispiece is Flemish bond, as was 301 Pine Street. The
water-table shown there is probably much like the 301 Pine
Street one originally had been. The concrete steps are 20th
Century.
919 South Front Street,
Phila., (Demolished)
Front Doorway as Seen
From the Inside: None of the
hardware is original. The
latch set, with the knob,
appears to be 19th Century.
The night latch above it is
probably 20th Century.
919 South Front Street, Phila.
(Demolished) Paneling in Second Story Front: This shows how the chair rail met the panelled wall and how there were closets flanking the mantel. It also shows how the trim around the doorway was mitred. There are evidences of a latch set having been removed.
9 South Street, Phila. (Demolished) Paneling and Mantel, Second Floor Front: Either this mantel or the other second story mantel would probably be appropriate for Kosciuszko's room. An attempt should be made to fix the date with some exactness.

The final choice will have to be made based on the size of the mantels, the way that the whole assembly fits into the small room and the findings at 301 Pine Street.
919 South Front Street, Phila. (Demolished)
Panelling from the Second Story Back: One of two sets of panelling Mr. Pinkowski bought to use in Kosciuszko's room. (Choice is to be made based on dimensions which will be uncovered in the actual room). Note that at the time this photograph was made, the fireplace had been closed up. Apparently a Franklin stove had been placed in front of it, probably on the hearth. The stove pipe had come out at the place rectangle photograph.
919 South Front Street, Phila:
(Demolished). Mantel, First Story Back.
When photographed, the fireplace opening had been closed up. This mantel will probably be appropriate for the parlor.
Stored Millwork: This is from 919 S. Front Street, a demolished house.
Stored Millwork and Brick: This is from 919 S. Front Street, a demolished house. Note the top of the frontispiece, stored in the corner.
301 Pine Street, Stored Millwork and Bricks: These are from the demolished 919 S. Front Street, an 18th Century house.
(e) If the Department concludes that the demolition alteration should be postponed, it shall, before issuing final order with respect to such postponement, afford applicant an opportunity to appear before the Commission to offer any evidence he may desire to present cerning the proposed order. No order issued by the department postponing a proposed demolition shall be for period in excess of six months.

6) Measures of Preservation. Within the period of postponement, the Department, with the aid of the Commission, shall consult with civic groups, public agencies interested citizens to ascertain what the City may do preserve such historic building, and shall make recommendations to that effect to the Council.

COUNCIL OF THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA
OFFICE OF THE CHIEF CLERK
ROOM 402, CITY HALL
PHILADELPHIA

HISTORIC BUILDINGS

May 1, 1970.

CERTIFICATION: This is to certify that the following is a true and correct excerpt from The Philadelphia Code (as amended).

Charles H. Sawyer Jr.
Chief Clerk of the Council
TITLE 14. ZONING AND PLANNING

§14-2007 Historic Buildings

(1) Legislative Findings. The purpose of this section is to promote the public welfare, by preserving historic buildings which are important to the education, culture, traditions and the economic values of the City, and to afford the City, interested persons, historical societies or organizations the opportunity to acquire or to arrange for the preservation of such buildings.

(2) Definitions. In this section the following definitions apply:

(a) Department. The Department of Public Property.

(b) Commission. Philadelphia Historical Commission.

(3) Philadelphia Historical Commission.

The Mayor may appoint a Philadelphia Historical Commission consisting of the Director of Finance, the Commissioner of Public Property, and five persons learned in the historic traditions of the City and interested in the preservation of historic buildings of the City.

(4) Classification of Historic Buildings.

(a) The Department with the aid of the Commission, shall prepare a list of buildings in the City which the Commission deems historically significant to the City.

(b) Insofar as practical, the historic buildings shall be listed in convenient classifications based upon their historical significance.

(c) The Department of Licenses and Inspections shall examine all of the buildings set forth in such lists and report to the Commission on the physical condition of each building.

(d) A copy of the list of historic buildings shall be available for public inspection in the Department of Licenses and Inspections, and in the Department of Records.

Permits.

(a) No person shall demolish or alter any building on the list prepared pursuant to this section unless he has obtained a permit from the Department of Licenses and Inspections.

(b) Upon receiving an application for such permit, the Department of Licenses and Inspections shall promptly forward it to the Department for its recommendation.

(c) The Department shall consult with and seek the advice of the Commission and shall, within sixty days after the date of the application, determine that:

(1) There is no objection to the demolition or alteration of the building; or

(2) The purposes set forth in Section 14-2008(1) may be best achieved by postponing the demolition or alteration for a designated period.

(d) If the Department does not object to the demolition or alteration, the Department of Licenses and Inspections shall grant a permit, subject to the requirements of any applicable provisions of the Code or regulations.
IV.

Feasible Alternatives

Ideally the program for the Kosciuszko Memorial should include the following:

1) A foyer.

2) A small auditorium to house 25 to 30 persons. This would be used to show people a short 5 or 10 minute film on Kosciuszko and his contributions to America and beyond. Sound tracks could be arranged in English, Polish, French, Spanish, etc. Since Kosciuszko's life and philosophy could be very constructively used to help better relations between various ethnic groups in this country, it is suggested that sound tracks in various foreign tongues be used, to help implement this worthy objective.

After actual physical measurements have been made in the building or buildings to be used for the Kosciuszko Memorial, if it is found that the auditorium space is too limited, then conceivably even a stand-up auditorium could be used. Except for the fact that it moves people through more rapidly, it is certainly not as desirable as a normal auditorium with seats.

3) Kosciuszko's room, recreated as accurately as it can be, on the second floor front of 301 Pine. Since the purpose is to move large numbers of people through the exhibits rapidly, it is suggested that a sizeable glazed area be created between the room and the public space.

4) A parlor or partial parlor on the first floor, directly under Kosciuszko's room. This would make it easier for the lay person to comprehend the fact that this building was at one time truly a house. This, too, should be recreated as closely as Niemcewicz' notes and architectural investigation permit. It, too, should have a sizable glazed area for the public's use.

5) Displays showing Kosciuszko's brilliance as an Army Engineer. These could be blown up photographs of some of his drawings, aerial views of some of the work as it exists today, detailed photographs, models, etc.
6) Displays illustrating Kosciusko's philosophy of Liberty and Equality, the well-spring which motivated him to devote his entire life to fighting for these causes.

7) A sales and information desk. Here leaflets speaking of Kosciusko could be distributed. They could be printed in a number of languages. There should also be items for sale: e.g. stories of his life; stories of the American Revolution in general; possibly books on the many men, including Kosciusko, who came here from many lands to help us gain our freedom; books of reproductions of his drawings, etc.

8) Two sets of stairs to the second floor.

9) If space and funds permit, an elevator, which would allow wheelchair visitors to go upstairs.

10) Public toilet rooms.

11) Locker, changing and toilet rooms for the guards.

12) An apartment for some staff person or persons to live on the premises, affording the building greater security. Included would be access stairs.

13) Mechanical space.

With the above as an ideal program, various alternatives have been developed.

It becomes almost self-evident that the entire program could not be housed in 301 Pine Street. Even if the kitchen wing were completely removed from the original garden area and replaced with a steel and glass modern stair tower -- obviously 20th Century so as not to confuse the public -- the original building itself would still have to house one stairway and as many of the other above-mentioned features as possible. The latter stair itself would take a considerable space, since it must be a comfortable stairway to handle heavy traffic. While the new stairway should land at approximately where the original one did, in relation to Kosciusko's room, it must be arranged for safety first. A true recreation of the original stairway simply could not be used, especially since so many of the visitors will never have encountered such a stairway before.
Different plans were developed, trying to embody as much of the program in the building or buildings, as their physical dimensions will permit. The plans will be discussed separately.

**PLAN "A" -- 301 PINE STREET, ALONE**

Visitors would enter the building through the new stair tower which would be built on the site of the old rear yard. The face of this tower, steel and glass, would be recessed slightly north of the Pine Street wall of the house, so that the corner of the house would be clearly expressed and so that people would understand that this was the end of the original building. Also, because the tower would be glass, it would be possible for persons to look through it and see the continuation of the rear wall within the tower. Once in the stair tower they would immediately ascend to the second floor, entering into the rear or west area. Here they would encounter exhibits. They would eventually end at the eastern portion of the building where they would find Kosciuszko's recreated bedroom, done as authentically as possible. They would then descend to the first floor where they would encounter more exhibits, pass the parlor, the information and sales desk, and then leave, going out through the stair tower doorway.

This scheme is influenced greatly by the place that the stairway deposits the visitors, when they arrive back at the first floor. The stairway, while not a duplication of the original, is in approximately the location of the original stairway. The advantage of this plan is that it more or less represents the original room arrangement and stairway arrangement. However, because of the narrowness of the house, the rake of the stairs would be somewhat steep for moving large masses of people.

The principal disadvantages of this plan are:

1) Foyer is omitted.

2) Display space is kept to a minimum.

3) There is no place for an auditorium.

4) The stairs are steep.

5) The elevator would have to be omitted.
6) Public toilets would have to be omitted.

7) The locker and changing room must go to the basement.

8) Persons would leave by the tower, by which they entered. This is definitely not desirable. There would be some traffic and confusion there. But even more undesirable is the fact that they would both enter and leave the building through a 20th Century addition, not using the front door.

9) Since the mechanical space would probably require all of the attic, plus a portion of the third floor, the remaining third floor space, available for an apartment, would be minimal indeed.

An alternate plan for visitor flow should be considered. Visitors would enter through the 18th Century doorway, go west into the first floor display room for orientation, go east to see the parlor and then go up the eastern stairs. On the second floor they would arrive at Kosciuszko's room, go west to the second display room and then go out through the window, transformed into a door, to the new 20th Century stairway. They would descend through that stairway and go out through the modern doors.

This plan has the advantage of allowing for use of the 18th Century doorway and allowing the building to be manned by a smaller force. It has the other advantage of letting people feel that they are seeing the house in more or less the normal sequence of seeing a house, that is, they would see the parlor first, go up a stairway which is somewhat of an approximation of the original stairway and arrive at the bedroom. However, it has two disadvantages:

1) Visitors do not make contact with the sales and information desk on their way out, the time when they would be most likely to want to buy books or other memorabilia of Kosciuszko.

2) There are cross patterns of traffic.
FIRST FLOOR "A"

ALTERNATE TRAFFIC FLOW PLAN

Kosciuszko National Memorial

1/8" = 1'-0"

H. J. Magaziner, A.I.A.
PLAN "B" -- 301 PINE STREET, ALONE

This plan is essentially like Plan "A" but the stairway would be different. Instead of having a scissors arrangement with the two flights parallel to each other, one flight would be perpendicular to the other. However, so as to again establish a relationship between where Kosciusko arrived, at the head of the stairs, and his room, the head of the stairs would be at the same spot as in Plan "A".

The traffic pattern here would be somewhat different from that of Plan "A". The visitor would enter by the new 20th Century stair tower and immediately ascend to the second floor. He would again enter the west area of that floor, but the space on that floor would be larger. This would result, in part at least, from the fact that the stair landing would be only half the size in this case. He would be guided through the second floor exhibits and finally arrive at Kosciusko's bedroom, at the east end. He would then go down to the first floor where he would go through more exhibits, pass an information and sales desk, pass the parlor, and finally go out the original front door of the house.

The basement, third floor, and attic plans would be the same as outlined in the plan above. However, this plan has the following advantages over Plan "A":

1) The display space is larger.

2) There would be less congestion at the entrance to the new stair tower.

3) Visitors would leave through the original front door, giving them more of the feeling of having actually left the house itself.

Of course, the plan could be reversed, bringing people in the original front door and discharging them from the tower. The disadvantage is that they would be passing the sales and information desk early in their visit and would probably be less likely to want to take along mementos than they would if they encountered that desk near the end of their visit.

The disadvantages outlined above, for Plan "A", would still be present, excepting for the following:

1) The stairs could be more gradual.

2) The ingress and egress would be separated.
PLAN "C" -- 301 PINE STREET PLUS 340 SOUTH THIRD STREET

This plan, which envisions combining the two houses which Joseph Few built together, in 1775, would allow for a far more complete program. All the features outlined in the ideal program could be included -- even though their size would be limited.

Here the visitor would enter through 340 South Third. He would immediately arrive at a foyer, at the east end of that building. This would serve as a holding area. Beyond that, at the west end of that building's first floor would be the auditorium. After attending the ten minute audio-visual presentation, the visitor would leave the auditorium, go up a stairway along the south wall of 340, and then go through into the second floor of 301 Pine Street. He would pass some exhibits in the west room. Then he would go east to Kosciuszko's bedroom. After viewing that, he would go down a stairway to the first floor of 301 Pine. Here he would find the parlor, more exhibits and the sales and information desk. Finally, he would leave through the front door of the Kosciuszko House.

The plan has many advantages:

(Continued)
FIRST FLOOR

Pine Street

Kosciuszko National Memorial

1/8" = 1'-0"

T.J. Magazine, 11/1
The following would become true:

1) Both sets of steps would now be within the historic houses. This would make it unnecessary to create the modern stair tower in the old back yard.

2) It would allow the restoration of that area as a small garden, such as it probably was when Kosciuszko lived there. Even the privies could be reconstructed there.

3) It would also make it less confusing to people, since the original outlines of the house would still be apparent.

4) There would now be room for public toilets. These would go on the second floor, above the auditorium.

5) The locker and change rooms for the staff would also move up to that area.

6) The attics of the two houses would now be available for mechanical systems. Thus, even though these systems would undoubtedly encroach slightly on the third floor, there would be considerably more third floor space available for the apartment.

7) The apartment would be doubled in size.

8) Part of the mechanical system could probably go into the basement, now that the locker rooms would be moved to the second floor.

Of course, Plan "C" is the preferable plan, since it would allow for a full program. However, it has the great disadvantage that it would require further Congressional action and appropriations, even if Mr. Piszek were to donate both buildings to the government.

But aside from that one disadvantage, this plan certainly seems preferable in every other respect. It would allow for a full program, making the visitor's entire experience far more meaningful. And, of course, it would allow a person of higher rank to live in the apartment, which probably would be an advantage. Possibly the Curator could live there.
If it turns out not to be feasible to acquire the second house and if the program is limited to 301 Pine Street, then Plan "B" would be far more limited in scope than under Plan "C", Plan "B" would still allow for a more complete experience for the visitor.

Regardless of which plan is adopted, the recommendation is that the building, or buildings, be entirely new internally. 301 Pine Street, has had joists cut to introduce stairways at places where they were not originally intended. It has had joists pieced out to patch over holes where stairways once existed. So it would not be very strong, at best.

Having had the building open to the elements for years, the decomposition of the basic framing system is well advanced in some portions. It was difficult to see this, since the structural members are -- for the most part -- not exposed. Even if they were exposed, the building is without lighting and is boarded up, so that a true examination is virtually impossible. It is also probable that termite damage will be found. Experience in Society Hill in general indicates that this is not only possible, but probable.

Aside from other considerations, the present construction, even before it was weakened by the various alterations and deteriorated by the elements, was never designed to support large numbers of persons. Once it becomes a Memorial, large numbers are to be expected. Also, it is not fire-resistant construction.

The recommendation is that, regardless of which plan is adopted, the building should have all its interior construction removed. That should be replaced with modern fire-resistant construction, designed to take the much larger loads which will be imposed on it. This would be safer structurally and safer from the point of view of fires. In order to recreate the impression of original construction, the original wide floor boards should be put back on top of the concrete floor slabs in Kosciuszko's room and in the parlor. However, in the balance of the building, terrazzo or indoor-outdoor carpet would probably be far more practical. If the concrete in the public areas were covered with pine boards, it would be attractive and would have a feeling of authenticity to it, but the National Park Service would be faced with the constant problem of replacing the boards. They would not stand up under the hard wear to which they will be exposed.
Certainly, there would be no point whatsoever to creating stairs which appear to be wood. The only wood which would stand up at all under such abuse would be oak, and this would hardly be expected to have been found in the original house.

It would probably be far better to have steps which are frankly and honestly 20th Century steps, with treads of either slate or terrazzo. Then these would then not confuse the public. Furthermore, the maintenance on these would be far less than on anything else.

If the frankly 20th Century stair tower were built, it would be best if the steps themselves hung entirely free of the restored west wall of the original house.

Of course, the building or buildings would be air conditioned. This is particularly important since the greatest tourism takes place during the summer months.
V.

Environmental Impact

Today, 301 Pine Street is a shambles. It must have an adverse affect on the community. Fortunately, this can be corrected.

A carefully restored 301 Pine Street could do nothing but improve the neighborhood environment. It would certainly help to add to the historical integrity of the community as a whole.

Giving the building national status would undoubtedly make an already attractive community, still more desirable. From a national point of view, the establishment of this Memorial would provide a suitable focal point for the commemoration of a man who contributed much to the success of the American Revolution.

The exterior of 340 South Third Street is a plus factor in the community, since it is well maintained. Its impact would be even more positive, if it were restored in accordance with the standards of the Philadelphia Historical Commission.

Regardless of whether the one house or the two house Memorial is developed, the neighborhood will benefit. The Kosciuszko Memorial can only further fortify the historic restoration of the surrounding community, already so well advanced.

As far as negative environmental effects, it is doubtful that there will be any. The biggest potential problem is that of bringing more cars to an area already hard-pressed for parking. But since the new "Area F" major parking facility is to be built shortly and since people will be encouraged to walk to Kosciuszko's Memorial, this adverse affect should be minimized.

Real estate values will probably not be influenced. It is the feeling of the Chief of Lands of the Northeast Regional Office, National Park Service, that this Memorial would have little or no effect on the property values in the vicinity.

Of course, taking the second house would disrupt the living pattern of one family, but assuming that they would be well
compensated for having to move, this seems to be a small price to pay for making the entire Memorial so much more meaningful to the general public.

In an urban situation particularly, the threat of fire is an important factor in environment. Today 301 Pine Street stands as an uninhabited semi-ruin, protected by a padlock. Experience shows that sometimes such buildings tempt vagrants to occupy them. Frequently these vagrants, in attempting to cook or keep warm, inadvertently start buildings burning. Completing the restoration will certainly help to reduce this hazard.

While Philadelphia has a good fire fighting force, having a building which inherently resists fire is still preferable to having a fire extinguished efficiently. This is particularly true, when it relates to a building where a large number of people can be expected to be present much of the day.

To summarize, the environmental impact of the Memorial will be positive in virtually every way.
VI.

Visitor Use Opportunities

It is self-evident that if the two house plan is adopted, not only will the quality of the program be improved, but the number of persons served can be roughly doubled. During winter months, when tourism is at a low ebb, this would probably mean little. However, during the summer period, when tourism hits its peak, this will make a significant difference.

Eventually, a reservation system may have to be installed, to keep the number of visitors tightly controlled at all times. However, it would be possible to issue far more tickets, if a larger facility were available to house the larger number of visitors.
VII.

Comparative Costs

In order to determine approximately what the Kosciuszko Memorial will cost, a somewhat similar project within Independence National Park was sought out and used as the frame of reference. The reconstructed Pemberton House, a completely new building with an authentic exterior and a modern museum type interior, was used as a model. The main difference is that, since Pemberton House was actually a new building, it presented fewer difficulties in construction than would be presented by building what is virtually a new building, inside of an old shell.

The Pemberton House project was won, in open competition, by J.S. Cornell and Son, Incorporated, a highly reputable firm of Philadelphia builders. They were contacted and their cost break down for the project was analyzed. An average cost per square foot was established for that building and that cost was then corrected for escalation between the time of building the Pemberton job and the latest published figures on Philadelphia building costs, September, 1972. The escalation for that period was then projected by a graph to establish probable relative costs for mid-1974, the time it is assumed that bids will be taken.

The line which was projected to establish hypothetical costs for mid-1974, was a straight line from March, 1968, when Pemberton House was being built, to September, 1972. This indicates a rise in the building cost index for Philadelphia of from 293.0, in March 1968, to 417.9 in 1972. It indicates a possible building cost index of 465 by June 30, 1974. Translating these index figures into dollars, with the 1968 cost of Pemberton at $57 per square foot, in September 1972, the indication is that it would have run $81 per square foot. A straight line projection would place the cost of $90 per square foot by mid-1974. Of course, this is just conjecture, but it is based on known facts.

If another approach were taken and all the points were plotted between March, 1968 and September, 1972, a curve would result. Projecting this curve to mid-1974 would result in a theoretical cost which would be considerably higher. Translating these higher building cost index figures into dollars would mean still higher dollar figures.
Which approach to use and what to project for a year and a half from the time of writing was discussed with the Chief Statistician of McGraw-Hill in New York. This firm is the chief information-gathering service for the building industry. Their Chief Statistician was loathe to make any predictions.

If, indeed, the costs do work out to average $90 per square foot -- and this is just conjecture -- then the construction cost of 301 Pine Street, alone, would be computed as follows:

**SINGLE BUILDING, INCLUDING NEW STAIR TOWER**

15' x 40' = 600 S.F. per floor

Basement through 3rd floor = 4 floors

\[
600 \times 4 = 2400 \text{ S.F.}
\]

Add for attic \(\frac{225}{2625}\) S.F.

\[
\frac{2625}{2625} \times \$90 \text{ per S.F.}
\]

\[
= \$236,250
\]

Add for working within the walls of an existing building and for needling \[20,000\]

Total \[256,250\]

NOT included are displays and professional fees.

The costs for 301 Pine Street plus 340 South Third Street would be computed as follows:

**DOUBLE BUILDING, WHICH WOULD REQUIRE NO EXTERNAL STAIRS**

30' x 30' = 900 S.F. per floor

Basement through 3rd floor = 4 floors

\[
900 \times 4 = 3600 \text{ S.F.}
\]

Add for attic \(\frac{450}{1050}\) S.F.

\[
\frac{1050}{1050} \times \$90 \text{ per S.F.}
\]

\[
= \$266,100
\]
4050 S.F.
  x $90 per S.F.
    $364,500

Add for working within the walls of an existing building and for needling 25,000

Add for elevator 25,000

Total $411,500

NOT included are displays and professional fees.

Several other things should be borne in mind. Part of the period between 1967 and the present was a period when wage and price controls were in effect. With Phase III policy being to gradually remove these controls from everything, it is quite possible that prices will escalate more rapidly than they have during the period of control. Without positive statisti; ; to base predictions on, this factor was not built into the graphic projection.

If it is decided to opt for the two house plan, this will undoubtedly require further Congressional action. That, in turn, would probably delay the start of the work beyond mid-1974. On the other hand, if the second house and costs to improve it were donated, thus requiring no further Congressional appropriations, this would probably have little time effect on the costs as projected, since the time schedule would probably not be affected.
VIII.

Further Alternatives

A further alternative development was suggested. This would involve acquiring a series of adjacent properties. These would be acquired for either or both of these purposes:

1) To use as an adjunct to the Kosciuszko Memorial, as an interpretive center, library, etc.

2) To be torn down to provide parking for the Kosciuszko Memorial itself.

The two different proposals will be discussed separately.

Using these buildings for interpretive purposes seems to not be justified. The buildings to the west belong to an entirely different architectural and historical period. They were never there when Kosciuszko lived at 301 Pine Street. The buildings to the north have been improved and acquiring them would cause serious neighborhood disruption. Neither set of buildings would lend itself easily to the proposed uses. They are not fire resistant. They are not designed to move large numbers of persons efficiently. They are not engineered to support crowds.

Acquiring these buildings for demolition would require the approval of the Philadelphia Historical Commission, an approval which would probably not be forthcoming. Also, it would mean the demolition of buildings which are on the National Register of Historic Places, by virtue of being in the Society Hill Historic District. It is unlikely that the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation would acquiesce to the buildings' demolition.

However, assuming, for the moment, that approvals could be obtained, tearing these buildings down to build parking would certainly be fought by the community. It would introduce a discordant note into an 18th - early 19th Century scene, thus becoming self-defeating.

If the buildings were acquired either for interpretive use or for replacement by a parking lot, there will definitely be an adverse environmental impact. It would tend to
institutionalize the quiet residential area, something which
the neighbors will strongly resist. It should be mentioned
that these neighbors are a very well-organized and articulate
body of people.

Germene, too, is the fact that quite soon a number of important
new buildings are being added to Independence National Park:

1) The Balch Institute is being built at 7th Street below
Market, as a major research and information facility.

2) The Independence National Historic Park Visitor Center
is being built at Third and Chestnut Streets.

3) A parking garage is proposed for Area "F" to be
located at Second and Chestnut Streets.

Under the circumstances, the acquisition of adjacent properties --
other than 340 South Third Street -- is not recommended.
Third and Nine Streets: Nine Street is at the left and Third Street at the right. 301 is in the center of the picture. Ignoring the improper pent-eave above the first floor windows on 340 South Third St. it is easy to see that the two Few-built houses are very different in architecture from those immediately north and west of them. This shows how inappropriate it would be to combine them with any Kosciuszko Memorial.
Houses to the West of 301 Pine: These are well into the 19th century.

The rear wall of 340 South Third Street, as seen above the kitchen ping, is now as far west as the rear wall of 301 Pine Street.
IX.

Summary

The Kosciuszko National Memorial presents an opportunity to properly memorialize a great man who is not sufficiently memorialized. While there are a number of monuments to him and there is at least one park named for him, there is no American interpretive program currently devoted exclusively to this purpose.

The proposed Kosciuszko National Memorial presents an opportunity to fill this void.

The Memorial can also be used to illustrate how many great men, men from many lands, came to our shores to help us found and build this nation.

The location of the Memorial is most appropriate. Philadelphia was the first place where Kosciuszko put his military engineering genius into practice. Philadelphia was also the last place where Kosciusko lived, when he was in America. Even though his stay there was brief, 301 Pine Street is probably the only structure remaining which served as his residence.

The Memorial fits in completely with Independence National Historical Park's overall program of interpreting the American Revolution and the founding of the United States.

301 Pine Street's proximity to the main part of Independence National Historical Park, being tied to it by the public walkway, makes this Memorial even more desirable. Another fortunate circumstance is the fact that the building itself is being donated to the government.

Finally, with a program so rich in potential, it would be unfortunate if it had to be curtailed because of the building's physical limitations of space. This is why the two house plan is so strongly recommended.
FOOTNOTES

(1) Malone puts the order as Tadeusz Andrzej.

(2) Haiman gives this account. Others vary in details.

(3) Haiman mentions this school. Another account says the Royale School.

(4) Only Haiman is specific about his Paris schooling.

(5) Letter to George W. Mniszech, October 19, 1775, in the Warsaw Library.

(6) Pinkowski.

(7) Letter to Paterson, May 8, 1777.

(8) Snell & Wilshin give an excellent description of the campaign. They consider this as the crucial battle of the war.

(9) Writings of Washington.

(10) Ferris. See "United States Military Academy, New York".

(11) Writings of Washington.

(12) Malone.

(13) Ketcham.

(14) Memorial Exhibition.

(15) Hoey.

(16) Writings of Washington.

(17) Memorial Exhibition.

(18) Memorial Exhibition.

(19) Memorial Exhibition.


(21) Lossing.
(22) Memorial Exhibition.


(24) Memorial Exhibition.

(25) Pinkowski.

(26) Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

(27) Writings of Washington.

(28) Memorial Exhibition.

(29) Pinkowski.

(30) Insurance survey by J. Pearson, October 8, 1796.

(31) Memorial Exhibition.

(32) Memorial Exhibition.

(33) Luzader.

(34) Luzader.


(36) Luzader.

(37) Luzader.

(38) Nelligan.

(39) Drotning.
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Niencewicz, Julian·Ursyn; *Under Their Vine and Fig Tree*, Grassman Publishing Co., 1965.

*Philadelphia Code*, as amended.


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Martin Yoelson, Supervisory Interpretive Specialist, Independence NHP, NPS
An Act

To provide for the establishment of the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site in the State of Pennsylvania, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, in order to provide for the development of a suitable memorial to General Thaddeus Kosciuszko, great Polish patriot and hero of the American Revolution, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire by donation or purchase with donated funds the property at the northwest corner of Third and Pine Streets specifically designated as 301 Pine Street and/or 312 South Third Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, including improvements thereon, together with such adjacent land and interests therein as the Secretary may deem necessary for the establishment and administration of the property as a national memorial.

SEC. 2. The property acquired pursuant to the first section of this Act shall be known as the Thaddeus Kosciuszko National Memorial and it shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior in accordance with the Act of August 25, 1916 (30 Stat. 535), as amended and supplemented (16 U.S.C. 1, 2-4), and the Act of August 21, 1933 (49 Stat. 1044; 16 U.S.C. 461-467).

SEC. 3. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated not more than $500,000 for the development of the national memorial.

Approved October 21, 1972.

LEGISLATIVE HISTORY:

HOUSE REPORT No. 92-1538 accompanying H.R. 256 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).

SENATE REPORT No. 92-710 (Comm. on Interior and Insular Affairs).

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, Vol. 127 (1972):

Mar. 28, considered and passed Senate.
Oct. 10, considered and passed House, amended, in lieu of H.R. 256.

Oct. 12, Senate concurred in House amendment.

WEEKLY COMPILATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DOCUMENTS, Vol. 8, No. 44:
Oct. 28, Presidential statement.
Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a measure from the House of Representatives of S. 1973.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The question is on agreeing to the motion of the Senator from Nevada.

The motion was agreed to.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a measure from the House of Representatives of S. 1973.

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Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a measure from the House of Representatives of S. 1973.

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

October 12, 1

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PERRY'S VICTORY

At the turn of the 19th Century, the United States was emerging as a N. American power. British and French conflicts were set to collide at Lake Erie. Eventually, following a significant naval engagement, the United States declared war on Britain. In addition to establishing a blockade, the United States' naval victories were celebrated as a pivotal moment in the War of 1812.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 9554.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Mr. President, the motion to lay before the Senate H.R. 9554, is made by Mr. BIBLE.

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I ask the Chair to lay before the Senate a message from the House of Representatives on H.R. 9554.

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The PRESIDING OFFICER. The motion to lay before the Senate H.R. 9554, is made by Mr. BIBLE.
October 10, 1972

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — HOUSE

H 9117

A federal concern within the boundaries of the State, or of its right to tax personal, corporate, franchise, or other federal property on lands included therein.

Sec. 2. The authority of the Secretary of the Interior to acquire, by donation, purchase, or otherwise, from any person or entity, a property as a part of the national memorial, shall be exercised in accordance with plans which are mutually acceptable to the Secretary of the Interior and the Secretary of the Army and which are consistent with both the purposes of this Act and the purpose of existing statutes dealing with water and related land and resource development.

The Senate bill (H.R. 3550) is not to be approved nor be increased to $9,500,000 for acquisition of land and $1,500,000 in 1972 for development, plus or minus such amounts, it may, as may be justified by reason of extraordinary fluctuations in construction costs as indicated by engineering cost estimates, and the types of construction involved herein.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ASPINALL

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. Aspinall: Strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 2411 and insert in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 3550, as passed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, was read the third time, and passed, to an amendment to record for the record on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 3550) was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that I and any other Member desiring to do so may be permitted to insert their remarks immediately preceding the passage of the legislation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

THADDEUS KOSCIUSZKO HOME NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE, PENNSYLVANIA

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate adoption of the bill (H.R. 3550) to authorize the Secretary of the Interior to establish the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site in the State of Pennsylvania, and for other purposes.

The Clerk read the title of the bill, and the SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill as follows:

The bill was read the third time, and passed, to an amendment to record for the record on the table.

The contributions of Thaddeus Kosciuszko during the Revolutionary War are well known. This great patriot gave his life for America to help gain independence.

The establishment of this site as a national memorial will mean a great deal to the American people. The American people will always remember the contributions of Thaddeus Kosciuszko during the Revolutionary War.

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If H.R. 355, or comparable legislation is enacted, it will establish a living memorial to the achievements of Thaddeus Kosciuszko. It will include the only known place in the United States which remains in existence where Kosciuszko lived. Presently, the modest house at Taft and Pine Streets is in poor condition and it will require major rehabilitation and restoration. To make it into a suitable public structure, a substantial investment will be required. It is anticipated that $562,000 will be needed to convert the existing structure into a suitable memorial for public use and enjoyment. Some of this money will undoubtedly be used to secure period furnishings and memorabilia associated with Kosciuszko's life and times and the remainder will be used on improvement of the site.

Mr. Speaker, since the owner of the building has indicated that he intends to donate the property, no land acquisition funds are authorized and the bill explicitly requires that any land acquisitions be accomplished by donation or purchase with donated funds.

That very briefly sums up the situation involved in H.R. 355. I commend it to my colleagues and urge their approval of the project.

Mr. SPEAKER. Mr. Speaker, I rise in support of H.R. 355, a bill to establish the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site in the State of Pennsylvania.

The Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Polish patriot and soldier, was a figure of outstanding significance to the winning of American independence. He came to America in 1776 to aid the patriot cause. His talents as military engineer, aiding General Gates in the selection and fortification of defensive positions on the Hudson River, contributed importantly to the crucial American victory at Saratoga in 1777. In 1778-80 he performed additional services by fortifying the Hudson at West Point, later home of the U.S. Military Academy. In the final stages of the war, he served with distinction in North and South Carolina. General Kosciuszko returned to his beloved Poland after the American Revolution.

His great services to the American people have been universally acknowledged by historians everywhere. General Kosciuszko returned to the United States briefly in 1797-98. During this visit, he rented two rooms in a Philadelphia boarding house. This building, located at 301 Pine Street, still stands. It is a three-story brick structure in which Kosciuszko stayed from November 20, 1797, to May 5, 1798, when he left for France.

It is this house that is now proposed for establishment as a national historic site.

The contributions of Thaddeus Kosciuszko during the Revolutionary War are well known. This great patriot gave his life for America to help gain independence.

The establishment of this site as a national memorial will mean a great deal to the American people. The American people will always remember the contributions of Thaddeus Kosciuszko during the Revolutionary War.

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The establishment of this site as a national memorial will mean a great deal to the American people. The American people will always remember the contributions of Thaddeus Kosciuszko during the Revolutionary War.
The National Parks Subcommittee conducted public hearings on this subject on September 6th and later considered the matter in detail in executive session.

Mr. Speaker, Thaddeus Kosciuszko came to this country from Poland in 1776 to help our Nation gain its independence. He is the hero and one of the strategic geniuses of the Battle of Saratoga, which was so important during the Revolutionary War and he served with distinction in North and South Carolina. After the war, he returned to Poland, but he came to the United States again in 1787, and it is said that after he retired to his residence on the Pine Street house in Philadelphia involved in this legislation, but he departed for France after a few months.

No one denies the importance of the role which General Kosciuszko played during the critical period of our early history, but there was some question about the historical significance of the Philadelphia house in relation to the contributions for which he is remembered. To overcome this problem, the Interior Department recommended a compromise which would extend to General Kosciuszko and will provide a constructive solution to a dilemma which otherwise might dilute the meaning of our system of national historic sites.

The committee amendment provides for a national memorial at the site in question. At the present time, I will offer and explain the amendment in detail.

My amendment provides for a national memorial at the site in question. At the present time, I will offer and explain the amendment in detail.

Mr. Speaker, the committee amendment studies all the enacting clause and inserts a new text which conforms with the general purpose of the original legislation. Basically, it authorizes the concept of the property of Pine Street in Philadelphia for the purpose of establishing a national memorial commemorating the contributions of General Thaddeus Kosciuszko. The purpose is, of course, to acquire the property by donation or purchase with donated funds, and that is our intention. I do not intend to donate it.

Following the development of the site, the purpose of the committee's amendment, appropriations for the purpose of developing this memorial would be limited to no more than $592,000—enough to establish and enlarge the property, to restore the site and to convert it to a facility for public use and enjoyment.

Very briefly, Mr. Speaker, that summarizes the objective of the amendment. I recommend its adoption by the House.

The title was amended to read: "A bill to provide a National Memorial to the Memory of Thaddeus Kosciuszko, the hero and hero of American independence, and for other purposes.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs be discharged from further consideration of the bill (S. 707) to provide for the establishment of the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site in the State of Pennsylvania, and for other purposes, and ask for its immediate consideration.

The Clerk read the title of the Senate bill.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

Mr. KYL. Mr. Speaker, I assure the right object, I just thought it might be advisable to give a brief talk to the Members of the House particularly because it is a piece of great historical significance, and the members of the House are going to ask about it.

At Third and Pine in the city of Philadelphia there is a small dwelling where our hero, Thaddeus Kosciuszko, stayed for a few weeks. It is a case of "George Washington slept here."

It has no other significance other than the fact that the cost of restoration of that modest dwelling to perpetuate the memorial to this hero will cost $592,000.

Mr. Speaker, I withdraw my reservation of objection.

The Speaker. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

The Speaker. The Clerk read the Senate bill, as follows:

S. 1973

An act to provide for the establishment of the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site in the State of Pennsylvania, and for other purposes.

It is hereby enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That in order to preserve in public ownership the historic site of historic property associated with the life of Thaddeus Kosciuszko and for the benefit and inspiration of the people of the United States, the Secretary of the Interior, hereinafter referred to as the "Secretary," is authorized to acquire such property, or such additional property and improvements thereon, located at, or in the vicinity of, 501 Pine Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, together with such other lands as the Secretary may deem necessary for the administration of the site. The Secretary shall establish the Thaddeus Kosciuszko Home National Historic Site by publication of a notice to that effect in the Federal Register at such time as he deems sufficient funds and interests in lands have been secured in accordance with the provisions of this Act.


Sec. 3. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this Act, not to exceed, however, $592,000 for the acquisition of the site, plus or minus such amounts, if any, as may be justified by reason of extraordinary circumstances as indicated by engineering and cost studies applicable to the type of construction required.

AMENDMENT OFFERED BY MR. ASPINALL

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I offer an amendment.

The amendment as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. ASPINALL: Strike out all after the enacting clause of S. 1973 and insert in lieu thereof the provisions of H.R. 256, as passed.

The amendment was agreed to.

The Senate bill was ordered to be read a third time, on the return a third time, and a motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

A similar House bill (H.R. 256) was laid on the table.

GENERAL LEAVE

Mr. ASPINALL. I ask unanimous consent that I and any other Members desiring to do so may extend their remarks in the Record immediately preceding the passage of this legislation.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

ADDITIONAL ACQUISITION, PISCATWAY PARK, MD.

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of the bill (H.R. 15977) to authorize additional funds for acquisition of interests in land within the area known as Piscatway Park in the State of Maryland.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Colorado?

There was no objection.

The Clerk read the bill, as follows: 
Memorandum

To: Architect, Northeast Region
   Through: General Superintendent, Saratoga NHP
          Saint-Gaudens NHS

From: Historian, Saratoga NHP

Subject: Thaddeus Kosciuszko

In refer to your December 21 memorandum we supply you with the following information in hopes it may be of some assistance to you.

Unfortunately the Engineer's role in the Burgoyne Campaign is not as complete as it should be, as according to Samuel Patterson's Horatio Gates Defender of American Liberties, most of his papers and effects were destroyed by fire at West Point. However, 78 pieces (1775-1816) remain in the possession of the Archives and Museum of the Polish Roman Catholic Union, 98th Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill.

We do get a brief glimpse of Kosciuszko's importance at Bemis Heights when the Jared Sparks' Journal, located at the Widner Library, Harvard University, is examined. Following his visit to the Saratoga Battlefield, August 24, 1830. Sparks again visited the field August 5, 1831. Concerning this visit he writes:

"August 5 Friday - A party formed to visit the battleground, consisting of General Morgan Lewis, Mr. Prime, Mr. Davis, Mr. Apthorp Smith, Rathbone, and Rufus Prime and myself. Gen Lewis was quartermaster in Gate's Army during the operations against Burgoyne, and in both the Actions. It was highly interesting, therefore, to examine the localities in company with him and hear his remarks on the events of that time. He is now 77 years old, and retains his faculties perfectly. We rode first to Schuylerville. Yet Mr. Schuyler on the way, who returned with us and we all dined at the Hotel in Schuylerville."
We afterwards proceeded down the river to Bemis Heights, passed over Gates' encampment and the battleground, and returned to the Springs across Fish Creek. As I examined the ground thoroughly last summer and took full notes, I have nothing to add here except a few incidental remarks of Gen. Lewis...

Kosciuszko Gen. Lewis says that Kosciuszko came to the camp two days after the army reached Stillwater, bringing a letter to Gates fro, Congress, having been appointed at the head of the engineers. Wayne was the only person in camp, whom he had known, Wayne and Lewis went with him to General Gates, and soon after his introduction, Gates told him it would be necessary for him to commence his duties the next morning. Accordingly when the time came Lewis accompanied him, with some other officers to inspect the camp, which he said was in a very exposed condition, and must be removed. They then rode up the hill and examined the grounds on Bemis Heights, and Kosciuszko decided immediately that that was the proper position for a fortified camp. He inquired of Lewis the number of divisions and regiments in the Army and their names, took a piece of paper from his portfolio, and drew in pencil the plan of the camp, and assigned the location of several regiments and in conformity with that plan they were speedily marched to the ground and they proceeded to erect breastworks and other fortifications. Gen. Lewis considers Kosciuszko the entire cause of the camp being established on Bemis's Heights."

General Lewis is a little confused as to the arrival date of Kosciuszko to the American Army because he actually arrived at Ticonderoga sometime in June 1777. There is record that Kosciuszko built the "Horseshoe" battery at Mount Independence (Ticonderoga). This battery is at the northern tip of the mount and overlooks the shore battery. The Polish American Association of Boston, has "researched" the Engineer's role at Ticonderoga and might be a possible source for further information.

Another amusing account of Kosciuszko on the retreat from Ticonderoga is found in John Scales' Life of General Joseph Gilley pp 30-31:

"During this disastrous retreat, at night, when everything was in confusion, Gen. Kosciuszko, not being able to find his own horse, took the first that came in his way. It belonged to Adjutant Caleb Stark of Colonel Gilley's staff. When Stark came for his horse and not finding it where he left it, proceeded on foot until daylight, when he discovered the Polish general
mounted on his horse and demanded his property, which the other refused to give up. Kosciuszko was highly educated military officer, then 31 years old; Stark was a youth of 18 years; the Polish officer was very impulsive, and young Stark was a "chip of the old block," having served with his father at the battle of Bunker Hill; high words ensued between the Pole and the Yankee. Stark challenged him to fight a duel; Kosciuszko replied, that "a subaltern is not of sufficient rank to meet a brigadier general."—"If he is not," said a person coming up on foot, "I am. This officer, general, is my adjutant, the horse is his property, and his demand is a proper one." "Ah, Colonel Cilley," replied the general, "if that is the case I will give up the horse." The adjutant recovered his horse; but in half an hour afterward, Colonel Cilley, who had lost his own horse, said, "Stark, I am tired, you must lend me your horse," which request was cheerfully complied with, as Cilley was a man of 43 years. That retreat from Ticonderoga and the summer campaign on the upper part of the Hudson river, was a very trying time to the regiment and its officers."

Kosciuszko apparently practiced art as well as engineering as there is a drawing of General Enoch Poor by the Polish engineer in the Channing Collection of the Boston Public Library.

Kosciuszko's engineering and cartographic accomplishments in Poland were apparently minimal. The major part of his engineering training was received in France and applied in America.

The original Kosciuszko map of the American lines on Bemis Heights formerly hung in the Zamoyski Library in Warsaw. This Library was destroyed during World War II and the location of any surviving material relating to the engineer has disappeared.

The standard work on Kosciuszko is Haiman, M., Kosciuszko in the American Revolution, New York, 1943, and several other sources are mentioned in the bibliography of a Dictionary of American Biography Article on the Engineer by Frank Monaghan.

In addition we know of two people currently doing research on Kosciuszko's
role in American history and they are:

Mr. Joseph A. Borkowski, Chairman
Polish Historical Commission
4291 Stanton Avenue
Pittsburgh, Pa. 15201

and

Dr. Peter J. Cuthorn, F.A.C.S.
2100 Corlies Ave.
Neptune City, New Jersey 07753

Perhaps one or both of these individuals would be willing to share some of their findings with you.

We naturally would be interested in any information you might uncover regarding Kosciuszko and the Burgoyne Campaign of 1777.

Michael M. Phillips
NOTE ON KOSCIUSZKO'S "SECRET MISSION TO FRANCE"

John Luzader

The story of Kosciuszko's "secret mission to France in 1798 is part of a larger and fairly complex one. The paucity of pertinent documents and the ambiguous character of some of those that exist make it impossible to know the details of his role in the quasi-negotiations of 1798-9. A valid evaluation of that role is, of course, dependent upon those details. All that we really have to go on are the surviving letters between Jefferson and Kosciuszko and a few contemporary partisan assessments of what he accomplished. The French sources in the Archives du Ministre des Affaires Etrangres and Archives Nationales, Relations Extérieures, and Bibliothèque National, where one would expect to find documentary evidence concerning Kosciuszko's importance in Franco-American negotiations are silent. While working in the French archives in January 1971, I made a careful check for documents relating to Kosciuszko because I hoped to find new information on his American career. While there are numerous references to his efforts in behalf of Polish independence, there is nothing that helps record his "secret" diplomatic activities.

The following discussion is based upon what can be learned from the documents.

Relations between the United States and France, where the Directory was in power, were strained by mutual distrust and hostility. American opinion was sharply divided along partisan lines. Many Federalists, led by Alexander Hamilton, wanted war with France for political and personal reasons, seeing it as an opportunity for an attack on Florida and Louisiana, a chance for personal glory, and a potential for discrediting the patriotism of the Jeffersonians. The anti-Federalists had a romantic and noisy affinity for Revolutionary France that blinded them to the implications of the excesses and anti-libertarianism of the French rulers. The American government, first under Washington and later Adams, tried to follow a course that would preserve neutrality and peace. The interplay of partisan rivalry, personal ambition, and national interest produced a dangerous political and diplomatic situation.

President Washington recalled the actively pro-French James Monroe as minister plenipotentiary at Paris in August 1796, and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney was sent in his place. The new minister arrived in Paris in December, the French government refused to recognize him and forced him to leave the country. Adams nominated Pinckney, John Marshall, and Francis Dana (who was replaced by Elbridge Gerry) as envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary.
The American mission faced a difficult and delicate problem in carrying out its task. French reaction to the Jay Treaty, which was accentuated by the wholesale seizure of American ships and the abuse of their crews, as well as French rejection of Pinckney as minister, had adversely affected diplomatic relations. Their problems were made more delicate by the pro-French position taken by followers of Vice-President Jefferson.

The mission ended with the XYZ Affair, and the American reaction was immediate and belligerent. In May and July of 1798 Congress authorized the seizure of armed French ships, and on June 13, the treaties with France void on the grounds that they had been violated by the French government. The President was empowered to appoint commissioned officers for a 10,000-man army, while the navy was already engaged in what was to be an undeclared two-year naval war that we call the "Quasi-War."

While Hamilton and his followers hoped for a war with France and President Adams worked to maintain peace and eventually normalize relations, Jefferson and his supporters undertook their own unofficial diplomatic activity. A part of the Jeffersonian motivation had its origins in pro-French sympathies, but there was also a sincere fear of war and its domestic consequences, which would probably include repressive moves against civil liberties. Fishing in troubled waters for partisan political and personal advantage was also an important factor.

In the absence of an official American mission, private parties undertook to influence the Directory and Foreign Minister Talleyrand. At this point, Kosciuszko enters the picture. While he had been warmly received when he returned to America and enjoyed cordial personal relations with several leading Americans, the cause which was closest to his heart, Polish independence, made a trip to Paris to enlist French aid highly desirable. With Jefferson's assistance, he obtained a passport under the alias Thomas Kamberg. The documents do not spell out what he was to do in the Vice-President's behalf to influence the members of the French government. He was completely without official status, acting only as an agent of Jefferson, in so far as the American question was concerned. The best clue to what was behind his and Jefferson's actions is in an undated letter from Kosciuszko to the Vice-President in the Massachusetts Historical Society's Coolidge Collection. It reads:

The Amicable disposition of the Government of France are really [sic] favorable to the interest of the United States, by the recent prouves [proofs] they give, you ought not to doubt that they choose to be in peace and in perfect harmonie with America, before it was it was represented by some the facts relative
to your Country, but now they are perfectly acquainted with yours and their interests and Mr. [George] Logan eyewitness of the Sentymet they have towards the nation of the U. S. At the present it is a duty of every true American as you to publisse [sic] and propagate their friendship, and to compele [sic] your Gouvernement by the Opinion of the Nation to the pacifique Measures with Republique of France, otherwise you cannot but to loose [sic] everything even your Liberty by a connexion so intemet [intimate] wyth [sic] England which increasing son [sic] influence can easily subdue and exercise son [sic] despotique power as before. Write me soon as possible of the effects which the news of Logan's arrival will produce in America, as well as by the Election of members of Congress, you may rely upon my sincerest endeavours here but you must work in America wyth your friends and Republicans and state their real [sic] interest.

In so far as it deals with private negotiations with French officials the letter refers only to Dr. George Logan's activities; and it does not even hint that Kosciuszko was intimately associated with the doctor in his efforts. Logan spent most of his time while in Paris with the members of the small circle of Americans, all Jeffersonians, with whom Kosciuszko was on friendly terms. These included Robert Fulton, Nathaniel Cutting, and Fuliver Shipwith. It would have been very surprising if the Polish patriot had not been well informed about Logan's dealings. Kosciuszko may very have had conversations with individual members of the Directory that were not documented, but in the absence of such a record, there is no way to assess their importance. In the final analysis, the letter does three things: it testifies to the friendliness of members of the Directory toward the Americans; suggests that Jefferson and his associates "publishe and propagate their friendship"; and urges the election of Jeffersonians to Congress.

Dr. Logan's activities are well documented in both French and American sources; and when he left Paris on August 29, after three weeks in the French capital, he carried dispatches from Consul General Shipwith to President Adams and Secretary Pickering that contained official notification that France had lifted its embargo of American goods and freed American seamen who had been captured by French ships.

In the meantime, Talleyrand had been negotiating with William Vans Murray, U. S. Minister to the Netherlands, through Louis Andre Pichon, a secretary in the French Foreign Office. These negotiations bore fruit in September 1798, when Talleyrand let it be known through Murray that the French government would receive and recognize American envoys with the respect due a sovereign nation. President Adams nominated Murray Minister to France, later joined by Oliver Ellsworth and William Davies to act as commissioners to treat with France. By the time they arrived in Paris in March 1800, Napoleon was First Consul. Nego-
diations ended on September 30, 1800, with the signing of the Con-
vention of Montefontaine, ending the undeclared naval war and con-
firming France's loss of status as most favored nation in the United
States' treaty obligations.

French responses to American diplomacy--official and otherwise--
had been influenced by several factors. Internal political pressures
that eventually destroyed the Directory, military and naval defeats
suffered at the hands of the coalition of Great Britain, Austria
and, Russia, and economic and commercial conditions played major
roles.

As has been noted, Logan's career is well documented; and the
man's memory is green by the Logan Act that forbids private persons
from engaging in diplomatic negotiations without authority. The parts
played by Gerry, E. I. du Pont, Murray, Davies, and Ellsworth are illum-
inated by contemporary sciences. Cutting gave Kosciuszko credit for an
important role in the events, but he was not directly involved and had
his own axes to sharpen. No contemporary sources support a contention
that Kosciuszko played a significant part in Franco-American negotiations
in 1778-1800.

Historical Review XLIII (1938), 514-532; "The Franco-American
Convention of 1800, "Journal of Modern History, XII (1940), 305-
333; National Archives, State Department Records; Jefferson Papers,
Massachusetts Historical Society, Manuscript Division, Library of
Congress; Archives du Ministre des Affaires Etrangères; Archives Nationales
Relations Extérieures; and Memoires et Documents, Etats-Unis.
NOTES ON KOSCIUSZKO'S ESTATE AND WILLS

1798 Will

The draft of Kosciuszko's will is in the Jefferson Papers, Coolidge Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society, reading as follows:

I beg Mr. Jefferson that in case I should die without will and testament he should bye [sic] out of my money so many Negroes and free them, that the restant [sic] Sum should be Sufficient to give them education and provide for their maintenance. That is to say each should know before, the duty of a free Cityzen [sic] in the free Government, that he must defend his Country against foreign as well internal Enemis [sic] who [sic] would wish to change the Constitution for the vorst [sic] to inslave [sic] them by degrees afterwards, to have a good and human heart sensible for the sufferings of others; each must be married and have 100 ackres [sic] of land, wyth [sic] instruments, Cattle for tillage and know [how] to manage and Gouvern [sic] it as well to know how to behave to neybourghs [sic], always wyth [sic] kindness and ready to help them to themselves frugal to their Children give good education I mean as to the heart and the duty to their Country, in gratitude to me to make themselves happy as possible.

T. Kosciuszko

This draft is undated, but probably was written during late April 1798.

Thomas Jefferson used the draft in preparing a formal will, which was attested to by John Dawson and John Barnes on April 30, 1798, the same day that a Power of Attorney was prepared giving that authority to Jefferson.

It was not Kosciuszko's intention that the money and land left in Jefferson's charge should lie dormant until the former's death. Jefferson was to invest the principle and send the interest to Kosciuszko as it was earned. As shall been noted, he was empowered to sell the real estate, and did so. In this connection, Jefferson invaded the principle of funds when he borrowed, without Kosciuszko's prior knowledge, $4,500 to pay off a bank loan. The general subsequently gave his permission, but the sum had already been used by the ex-President. (L. C., Jefferson Papers, Jefferson to John Barnes, June 15, 1809, Jefferson to Kosciuszko, Feb. 26, 1810)
Kosciuszko died at the residence of Francis Xavier Zeltner in Solothurn, Switzerland, on October 15, 1817. After learning of his death, Jefferson submitted the will to the Circuit Court of Albemarle County, Va., for probate, but refused to serve as administrator. (Circuit Court, Albemarle County, Charlottesville, Va., Will Book I, 42.)

1806 Will

Kosciuszko prepared a new will in 1806 that included a bequest to his god-son, Kosciuszko Armstrong, son of Col. John Armstrong.

1816 Will

While living in Solothurn, Kosciuszko had an attorney prepare a new will naming Francis Xavier Zeltner sole beneficiary.

Kosciuszko never informed Jefferson that he had made either the 1806 or 1816 will; and as has been noted, the latter filed the 1798 document. After he declined serving as administrator, Gen. John Hartwell Cocke was asked to serve, but he also refused to serve. With Attorney General William Wirt's help, Jefferson had the probate procedure moved to the District of Columbia Orphan's Court, which in 1821 granted administration papers to Benjamin L. Lear, a Washington attorney, to execute the provisions of the 1798 will. Wirt was named council of the trust created by the will.

Under the terms of the first will, Lear negotiated an agreement with the African Education Society of New Jersey, a group sponsored by the Presbyterian Church, that was intended to carry out Kosciuszko's wishes as expressed in the will. The Society, a group devoted to encouraging free Negro emigration to Africa, agreed to raise a sum of money equal to the trust and use the combined funds to establish "The Kosciuszko School" for the education of freedmen. The terms were never carried and the school was not established because of the lengthy litigation that attended to settlement of the estate and the judicial decision that effected that settlement.

Soon after Kosciuszko's death three parties entered litigation that challenged the 1798 will: John Armstrong for his son, a beneficiary of the second (1806) will; Francis (Franz) Xavier Zeltner, the beneficiary of the third (1816) will; and the heirs of Kosciuszko's sisters, Anna Estko and Catherine Zulkowski, living in Russian Poland, represented by the Russian Minister to the U.S., Peter Politka.

The case was in various courts, including chancery, for more than thirty years and involved a number of persons as parties died or withdrew and were replaced by others. Two presidents, two Russian ministers, a Polish exile, a fraudulent beneficiary, and members of
Congress figured in the lengthy litigation. In 1852, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Kosciuszko died intestate, the 1798 will having been specifically revoked by the one of 1816 and the latter voided by reason of technicalities. The estate went to the sisters' heirs. It came to $37,924.40 plus interest earned since June 1847, a total of $50,000.

Sources: National Archives, Justice Department Records; Richard Peters, ed., Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States (January Term 1834), VIII, 56; Benjamin C. Howard, ed., Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged by the Supreme Court of the United States (December Term 1853) XIV, 400-434; Records of the Circuit Court of Washington, D.C., Chancery Case No. 444.

Kosciuszko's Lands

Kosciuszko received 500 acres for his services during the American Revolution. John Armstrong secured these for him in Perry Township, Franklin County, Ohio as being five 100 acre lots numbered 4, 7, 10, 18, and 19. There were sold for him by Jefferson and Armstrong on July 29, 1802, to Mme. Louise Francois Felix. (National Archives, Military Land Warrant No. 1219, Patent Records of the General Land Office, I, 188).

To abbreviate a long and complex story, no slave were freed and no Negroes were educated by funds from Kosciusko's estate.