Designation Report
Commodore Ralph Middleton Munroe
Miami Marine Stadium
3501 Rickenbacker Causeway

Perspective of Marine Stadium. Miami, 1962. Pancoast, Ferendino, Skeels and Burnham (fig. 1)

Aerial of Burke Master Plan - for Marine Stadium, 1962 (fig. 2)

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**Preface**
This designation report is submitted by Dade Heritage Trust on behalf of Friends of Marine Stadium to the Historic and Environmental Preservation Board of the City of Miami to consider the matter of designating the Miami Marine Stadium and its environs as a historic site and structure. In accordance with the intent and purpose of the Miami City Code Chapter 23, the designation of the Miami Marine Stadium will “preserve and protect the heritage of the city through the identification, evaluation, rehabilitation, adaptive use, restoration and public awareness or Miami’s historic (and) architectural…resources.” (Sec. 23-1)

**I. General Information**

**Name of Resource or Historic Name:**
Commodore Ralph Middleton Munroe
Miami Marine Stadium

**Present Owner:**
City of Miami, Florida
The Marine Stadium has been in continuous ownership by the city since its inception.

**Present Use:**
The structure is abandoned and fenced off. The basin is used for crew activities by the Miami Rowing Club and other local crews as well as for boating.

**Zoning District:**
PR – Park & Recreation

**Tax Folio Number Per Property Appraiser:**
01-4217-000-0110

**Boundary Description:**
100 feet North of the North edge of the structure, 100 feet South of the South edge of the structure, 100 feet East of the East edge of the structure, 100 feet West of the West edge of the structure.

**Classification:**
Historic Structure
Historic Site
3501 Rickenbacker Causeway, Miami, FL 33149
II. Significance

Date of Construction: 1963

Architect: Hilario Candela under the firm Pancoast, Ferendino, Skeels and Burnham Architects.

Statement of Significance

The Commodore Ralph Middleton Munroe Miami Marine Stadium is a unique cultural resource of South Florida and maybe the singular and distinctive example of a civic mid-century modern marine structure for the state of Florida and the nation. The grandstand structure is 326 feet long east to west and 126 feet north to south. Above the concrete grandstands (with seating for 6500) the roof consists of eight V-shaped thin shelled reinforced concrete elements shaped as folded planes with a 65 foot cantilever. The overall effect is a sculptural and structural tour-de-force of modern design.

The stadium rises from the waters of an aquatic basin dredged from Biscayne Bay and configured as a boat race course, 6000 feet by 1400 feet in the shape of a circus maximus (Lejeune)\(^1\) with the long axis parallel to the long east-west axis of the grandstand structure. Rickenbacker Causeway and the Marine Stadium water basin are parallel to each other as well to the grandstand structure. The components of Marine Stadium – basin and grandstand – are inextricable parts of a designed landscape focusing on panoramic views of downtown Miami’s skyline across Biscayne Bay.

Hilario Candela - Architect of the Marine Stadium

Cuban-born Hilario Candela joined the prestigious architectural firm of Pancoast, Ferendino, Skeels and Burnham in 1961 as a young architect. By 1962, at 26 years of age, he was designing the Miami Marine Stadium. It is important to note that with his design for the stadium, as early as 1962, Candela initiates what would be a generational outpouring of
professional leadership and vision from the recently arrived Cuban professional community that would forever change the face, character and tempo of Miami.

Mr. Candela received a Bachelor of Architecture degree in 1957 from Georgia Institute of Technology and completed post-graduate work there in 1958. Previously he had held summer internships in the office of Max Borges, the architect of the famed Tropicana Night Club in Havana, (an obvious stylistic influence on the stadium) and afterwards joined the firm Saenz, Cancio, Martin Alvarez y Gutierrez, the largest architectural firm in Havana.

Mr. Candela joined the firm of Pancoast, Ferendino, Skeels and Burnham in 1961 and retired from that same firm eventually known as Spillis, Candela DMJM in 2006. His continuous association with the firm originally founded in 1926 by Russell T. Pancoast, known as Pancoast and Sibbert, led to an illustrious career not only for Mr. Candela but for the firm which became the most prestigious and longest standing architectural firm in the history of the city. After Pancoast and Sibbert, the firm became Russel T. Pancoast and Associates in 1947; Ferendino, Skeels and Burnham that same year; Pancoast, Ferendino, Skeels and Burnham in 1954; Pancoast, Ferendino, Grafton, Skeels and Burnham in 1963; Pancoast, Ferendino, Grafton & Skeels in 1965; Pancoast, Ferendino, Grafton in 1966; Ferendino, Grafton, Pancoast in 1969; Ferendino, Grafton, Spillis, Candela in 1971; Spillis, Candela and Partners Inc. in 1983 and Spillis Candela DMJM in 1999, and up to the present.

Named a fellow of The American Institute of Architecture, Mr. Candela’s work has garnered numerous awards and distinctions. His projects extend from the United States to Latin America, Europe and The Middle East. His other works related to the Marine Stadium include the campuses of Miami Dade Community College (North, South and Downtown), the University of Miami Mailman Center, and the Oceanographic Meteorological Labs for N.O.A., but none is arguably as iconic as his Miami Marine Stadium.\(^2\)
A Meeting Place in the Image of the City

Water Show Launches Stadium

“Miami opened the nation’s first marine stadium last night with an intriguing mix of entertainment afloat, including portions of “Die Fleidermaus” performed from a barge and some lively water-ski high jinks by The Tommy Bartlett Group… A fireworks display climaxed the show. A bright, round moon hung over the stadium, which offered a view of the Miami skyline.” Don Branning, The Miami News, 12-28-1963

Such was the opening night of Miami’s Marine Stadium. The concrete roof was finished just thirteen days before the December 27, 1963 opening ceremonies and the Orange Bowl Regatta were held there. Although a boat racer, J.W. Trapp, died during the practice run, the show did go on in true Miami style with opera, boat racing, parachuting water skiers and fireworks. The building seemed synonymous with Miami: a place of spectacle, controversy, delayed construction, questionable finance, fun and much more. From the early days the mix of activities was mind boggling: high speed boat races, rowing regattas, beauty contests, water skiing spectacles, opera, movies, political rallies, etc. In 1965 investments were made for a more professional floating bandstand and concert venue. Here, Mitch Miller, Arthur Fiedler, Jimmy Buffet, Bonny Rait, El Puma and countless others performed. In 1967, Elvis Presley shot the movie “Clambake” at the stadium. A political rally where Sammy Davis Jr. hugged Richard Nixon took place here, and in earlier days empressario Lou Walters (TV personality Barbara Walter’s father) staged shows here. The stadium was also used for annual multi-denominational Easter sunrise services and flotillas for the “Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre” (The Virgin of Charity), the patroness of Cuba and protector of mariners. From its inception, to the time it was closed after Hurricane Andrew in 1992, the Marine Stadium was a social, cultural, political and economic reflection of the city of Miami. Perhaps Congressman Dante Facell said it best on that
opening night, December 27, 1963: “It’s the kind of thing people all over the country expect from Miami. Frankly, it’s better than I expected.”

Architectural Lineage

The Miami Marine Stadium belongs to an international idiom of mid-century modern works of architecture the roots of which reach back to the beginning of modernism. Structural reinforced concrete became one of the new materials of the modern era and the task of early twentieth century architecture was to give expression to the new materials and methods of construction arising out of the industrial revolution.

August Perret was a prolific Belgian-French architect and his works span from 1890 to 1949. He promoted an aesthetic of exposed unadorned concrete exploiting the tectonic and organic nature of the material (fig. 3). His earlier works (which influenced Le Corbusier) were similar in expression to the master work, Le musée national des Travaux publics (1937). Luigi Nervi’s modern sporting structures of exposed concrete, like the Olympic Stadium in EUR, Rome, 1958 (fig. 5) and the Palazzetto dello Sport in 1957 (fig. 4), evoke a Roman grandeur due to the sheer scale, austerity and structural power of the concrete forms. Both Perret and Nervi’s work, though groundbreaking, still rely on the conventions of tectonic articulation.

The shift from these earlier works to mid-century exposed concrete structures can best be explained by a shift in sensibility evidenced in Brancusi’s sculpture Bird in Space, 1923 (fig. 6). With Bird in Space all representational convention and detail is erased to capture the essence of movement, gesture and an organic synthesis and directness of form. These very qualities characterize the mid-century examples of cast concrete works and distinguish them from their earlier predecessors.

Oscar Niemeyer in Brasilia, with his Our Lady of Fatima Chapel of 1958 (protected by the World Monument Fund) (fig. 7); Max Borges in Havana, with the “Arcos de Cristal” Tropicana Night Club of 1952 (Hilario Candela interned with Borges) (fig. 8); Felix Candela (a
relative of Hilario Candela who visited Borges in Cuba) in Mexico, 1959, with his **Bacardi Bottling Plant** (fig. 9); even the earlier work by Berthold Lubetkin, the **Penguin Pool** at the London Zoo of 1934 (fig. 10); Eero Saarinen’s **TWA Terminal** in New York, 1957 (fig. 11); **Dulles International Airport** in Virginia, 1962 (fig. 12); and the **Commodore Ralph Middleton Munroe Miami Marine Stadium** by Hilario Candela in Miami, 1963 (fig. 1) all share common architectural ideas. Aerodynamic form, movement, gesture, weightlessness, openness, architecturally exposed concrete, structural legibility and sculptural presence are common to these extraordinary monuments of mid-century design. They belong to a common architectural lineage.

An era of visionary planning, futuristic architecture and the emergence of Miami as the capital of PanAmericanism.

The Marine Stadium master plan by Burke, 1962, was in keeping with large scale visionary planning initiatives for Miami during the 1950s and 1960s. These plans envisioned the city as a contemporary metropolis of international importance and celebrated, with the characteristic enthusiasm of the era, a growing sense of Miami as a modern city amidst sky and water, the emerging capital of the American hemisphere. That era of planning began with Interama 1951-59 and the second phase of Interama from 1960-69.

Interama was initiated as the InterAmerican Center Authority Charter of South Florida in 1951. A waterfront site on the north side of Miami was planned as the hemispheric center for inter-american, cultural, social and economic exchange and trade. William Walker was the first director and the participating architects were national, regional and international figures. Robert Fitch Smith was the first architectural director and the team included Hugh Ferris, the visionary New York delineator, who wrote **The Metropolis of Tomorrow** 1929 and **Power in Building** 1953. The regional figures were Alfred Browning Parker, Trip Russel, Russel Pancoast and Luis Malaussenal from Venezeula. Pancoast was the founder of Pancoast-Sibbert and the principle of
Pancoast, Ferendino, Skeels and Burnham in 1961 when Hilario Candela joined that firm. Pancoast was also involved with the planning of a similar idea, a center for PanAmericanism in 1933, and a precursor of Interama. His collaborators in 1933 were Auguste Gieger (Villa Serena, The Alamo), Kiehnel and Elliot (El Jardin, Coconut Grove Playhouse) and Paist and Steward (Coral Gables City Hall, Coral Gables Police and Fire Station). Pancoast was the bridge between the generation of the 1933 project and the Interama generation.

The first Interama plan, as published in Power of Buildings, shows a sweeping S-shaped proposal with two lagoons, bordered by modern civic structures. The second plan has a circular lagoon with a hemisphere of cast concrete arches at its center. The three arches symbolized the three Americas and the Hugh Ferris renderings showed the influence of a tropical futurism with an emphasis on open skeletal concrete structures, suspended ceilings and features of a mid-century sensibility. Nothing came of the 1950’s plans and in the 1960’s Interama was re-organized, now with the power and backing of the federal government.

By the early 1960’s, due to developments in Cuba, President Kennedy promoted the next phase of Interama with the motto, “Progress with Freedom.” With the spread of communism and the escalation of the Cold War in the hemisphere, it became ever more important to usher a place of mutual communication, exchange and trade between the Americas on U.S. soil. It was President Johnson, who in 1966 signed an act of congress to “provide a permanent international center to serve as a meeting ground for the governments and industries of the western hemisphere.” This second phase of Interama had Robert Brown, a local, as the architectural director and an ensemble of world talent as the architectural committee. The committee included Louis Kahn, Marcel Breuer, Harry Weese, Jose Luis Sert, Edward Durrel Stone and Paul Rudolph, whose career trajectory had now established him as a global figure. It was Rudolph who was a bridge between the 1950’s and 1960’s; as it was Pancoast who bridged the 1933 precursor to Interama with the original Interama group.
For the 1966 Interama project, Paul Rudolph designed the bazaar – an open air market for product exchange and exhibition. All the other structures were superb examples of the architectural signatures of each of the prominent architects, but Rudolph’s building contained a novelty not common in his work. The section of Paul Rudolph’s bazaar (1964-66, fig. 14) shows a long rectangular building with a fanciful, exposed concrete, wave-like roof over terraced areas open to the Interama lagoon. His design has an obvious connection to the 1963 Miami Marine Stadium, which Rudolph must have known. Rudolph worked with Pancoast during the 1950’s Interama and knew Hilario Candela socially and professionally. Rudolph and Candela shared a mutual close friend, the local architect Mark Hampton who studied with Candela at Georgia Tech. The stadium attained instant fame, both for its design and for the events which took place there and kept it in the headlines of local papers and in the public eye. The overly fanciful, curvilinear roof profile for the Interama bazaar is not common in Rudolph’s works. While this feature seems like a logical development for an architect whose repertoire exploited the cantilever and a sense of weightlessness, it is also clearly a variation of the architectural themes of the Marine Stadium.

Sadly, like the efforts of the 1950’s, nothing materialized from the 1960’s Interama plans. The visionary scale of the Burke master plan and water basin for Marine Stadium and the architectural bravura of a tropical mid-century modern concrete grand stand by Hilario Candela remains the closest physical record of the scale, spirit and vision for the planning and architecture of Interama.

Interama promoted a heroic scale of modernist regional planning and mid-century architecture that is evident in the Marine Stadium.
III. Description

National Register Bulletin: Guideline for evaluating and nominating properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years

The Marine Stadium was constructed in 1963. Forty-five years have ensued since its construction. Miami City Code Chapter 23 does not mention a fifty year threshold for the designation of historic sites. However, since it is a customary unit of time used for historic designation it is important to refer to the Department of the Interior standards, which govern the nomination of properties that have achieved significance within the past fifty years.

In 1979, thirteen years after the establishment of the National Register in 1966, a bulletin focusing on the designation of significant sites within the last fifty years was adopted. This bulletin was further revised in 1990, 1996, and 1998. It states:

“The fifty year period is an arbitrary span of time, designed as a filter to ensure that enough time has passed to evaluate the property in historic context. However, it was not designed to be mechanically applied on a year by year basis. Generally, our understanding of historic does not advance a year at a time, but rather in periods of time which can logically be examined together.” (pg 6)

The document sets forth other criteria which encourage designation, when appropriate, within the fifty year threshold. As they pertain to the Marine Stadium, they are: a work is of exceptional importance at the national, state or local level, it is the object of scholarship, it represents a building or structure whose developmental or design value is quickly recognized as historically significant by the architectural or engineering profession.

The Marine Stadium is five years shy of the fifty year line. “Our understanding” of its history and its significance is well consolidated in the historic context of our region. It is an exceptional example of mid-century design at the local, state, national and even international
levels. It has received scholarly attention, being included in Randall C. Robinson’s and Eric Nash’s book *MiMo: Miami Modern Revealed*, and a forthcoming book by Alan Shulman with a chapter on the Marine Stadium by Jean-François Lejeune. It represents “an international style of architecture . . . related to numerous political and social events and individuals” (N.R. Bulletin). It has received recognition by the professional community and in the last six months, the effort for its preservation and designation has captured the passion and support of a groundswell of individuals and community organization, including the support of local, state, national and international preservation institutions and the local as well as national media.

The Marine Stadium should be designated a historical site and structure. Dulles International Airport, 1962, by Eero Saarinen of a related work of mid-century design (see section on Architectural Lineage of Marine Stadium) was designated as a national landmark only sixteen years after its completion. The Cape Canaveral Launch Pad was designated National Register within the fifty year mark and the contributing buildings of the MiMo district are also less than fifty years of age. These are examples of the national, state and local levels of designation within fifty years. The Marine Stadium meets the criteria set forth by the National Register Bulletin of the Department of the Interior for designation within the past fifty years.
Application of Criteria for Designation:

The Commodore Ralph Middleton Munroe Miami Marine Stadium and its environs has significance insofar as it relates to the historic, cultural, aesthetic and architectural heritage of the city and state and perhaps the nation. It possesses integrity of design setting, materials workmanship, feeling and association. The property is eligible under the following criteria (as numbered in section 23-4 (a) of the Miami City Code):

III. Exemplifies the historical, cultural, political, economical or social trends of the community: The Marine Stadium master plan was one of a number of planning initiatives of the 1950’s and 1960’s which envisioned the city as a contemporary metropolis of international importance. The structure was designed by Hilario Candela and completed in 1963. It was a unique place for aquatic sporting events, opera, fireworks and other entertainment, primarily speed boat racing. By 1965 the venue began to be more frequently used for pop concerts. Hundreds of concerts were staged here, ranging from Arthur Fiedler’s “Pops on the Bay” and Mitch Miller, to Sammy Davis Jr., Jimmy Buffett and El Puma. The stadium was also the setting for an Elvis Presley movie, “Clambake.” The use of the stadium as an aquatic performance hall is what is most remembered by the community. The stadium was also used for annual multi-denominational Easter sunrise services and flotillas for the “Virgen de la Caridad del Cobre,” the patroness of Cuba and the protector of mariners. It became a cherished waterfront meeting place of cultural and social significance, an open air aquatic grandstand with a perfectly orchestrated vista of Biscayne Bay and the city skyline beyond.

IV. Portray the environment in an era of history characterized by one or more distinctive architectural styles: The stadium master plan by Burke, 1962 (fig.2), signals Miami’s self-awareness as an emerging modern metropolis of the western hemisphere. The
dredging of the basin, which resembles an aquatic circus maximus (Lejeune) recalls the manner in which the city was originally developed and Biscayne Bay made navigable. The celebratory optimism of the mid-century modern civic grandstand structure unites the manmade and the natural in the forming of a public place. The architectural style of stadium links it with other international examples of mid-century modern works (see Section II, “Architectural Lineage”). The Marine Stadium and its environs is the contemporary of a number of never realized, visionary projects for the city, collectively known as Interama.

Interama promoted an heroic scale of modernist regional planning and mid-century architecture that is evident in the Marine Stadium and influential to later city projects such as Doxiadis’ plan for Miami, the Isamo Noguchi plan for Bayfront Park and the Burle Marx Plan for Biscayne Boulevard – all part of Miami’s “coming of age” as a young metropolis.

V. Embody those distinguishing characteristics of an architectural style or period or method of construction: The Miami Marine Stadium is a cast concrete shell structure. The naked unadorned expression of its material and the sculptural bravura of its form, ties it to a period of international works from the 1930’s to the 1960’s when the “plastic aesthetic qualities of poured concrete were exploited for visual effects.” (Lejeune) It is a particularly ingenious and fine example of this period that evokes a weightless, wind-blown, wavelike architectural expression rendered as a work of origami in concrete. Miami Marine Stadium is part of Miami’s mid-century modern architectural heritage.

(For a discussion of the architectural style of the stadium see Section II of this report “Architectural Lineage”)

VI. Is an outstanding work of a prominent designer or builder. The Marine Stadium was designed by Hilario Candela in 1962 at 26 years of age. Educated at Georgia Institute of Technology, Candela’s work was rooted in modernism and tempered by professional and cultural ties to the Caribbean region, particularly to his native Cuba. His work was informed by
a search for a modern vernacular for the Caribbean that had been fermenting in South Florida and Cuba for at least 15 years. Candela went on as the design head of the firm later re-named Ferendino Grafton Spillis and Candela and finally Spillis Candela and Partners. From the late 1960’s to the 1990’s the firm held the distinction of being the most prominent and largest architectural firm of the region and perhaps the state. Mr. Candela stands among the most distinguished architects in the city’s history and the Marine Stadium is among the finest examples of his work.

VII. Contains elements of design, detail, materials or craftsmanship of outstanding quality or which represent significant innovation or adaptation to the South Florida environment. The Marine Stadium is unique in that the essence of the design, an eight bay, exposed concrete, 65 foot cantilevered, open-air structure is the finest example of a mid-century sporting venue in the region, state and perhaps the nation. The concrete structure was cast in successive short layers for strength and quality control purposes. The folded planes of the thin shell cantilever roof display a modern means of construction where structural expressionism is the intent of the artistic, constructive and material qualities of the building. The novelty of the roof design was instantly recognized and termed “a noble experiment” by city manager M.L. Reese.⁹

Its openness speaks to its tropical setting. The siting of the building and the final form of the design address a contextual unity between site and the geography of the region. The nautical shapes of the building, evocative of waves and sails, emerge from the waters and open out to the natural landscape and the distant city skyline. The Marine Stadium, after having been abandoned for 16 years, remains an iconic and beloved image of the City of Miami.
IV. Planning Context

A City of Miami inter-office memorandum of February 13, 2008 from Ana M. Gelabert-Sanchez, Planning Director to Pedro G. Hernandez, City Manager refers to City Commission Resolutions NO: 05-0038 1/13/2005, 05-0373 6/9/2005, and 05-0606 11/3/2005 dealing with the hiring, timelines, and scope of work to be performed by Edward D. Stone, Jr. and Associates, Inc. doing business as EDSA, for a Virginia Key master plan and additional services for the master plan which is the subject of the February 13, 2008 memorandum. The combined fee total for the master plan work is $920,000. The scope of services of the Virginia Key master plan states the following:

“Due to the City’s population growth, coupled with current urban development trends and demands for waterfront access and recreation, The City of Miami, Miami-Dade County and the Village of Key Biscayne, have identified the need for a comprehensive master plan study for Virginia Key.” (pg. 21)

Included as part of the scope of services were the following goals: (Section 1.02e) “Identify existing cultural and historical landscapes,” (Section 1.03) “The team will become familiar with the historical context of Virginia Key . . . . identify specific preservation group(s) to assist in developing the historical background of Virginia Key . . . which discusses . . . significant architecture, landscape elements and cultural and natural features of the island.” (pg.23)

Under Section 1.06 the scope refers to “market, economic, financial and implementation analysis by Economic Research Associates.”(1.06 a-c) ERA, a subcontractor to EDSA attached their report to the EDSA scope. (pg 34-41)
Under section 1.06, factors affecting development includes, “The Marine Stadium and it’s re-use opportunities.” (pg.36) Under Marine Basin properties it states “ERA will work with data provided by EDSA and the client group to determine the necessary reconstruction and repairs necessary to make the stadium viable, and review the types of programming that might attract attendance to events at the stadium” (pg.37)

Given the importance and comprehensive nature of the Virginia Key master plan, which is an ongoing process, it is imperative and consistent with the stated objectives of the planning exercise that the Marine Stadium be included with Virginia Key Beach Park as the two most significant cultural resources of the island. Moreover, funds available through an R.F.P. process or tax incentives available for historic properties developed as public-private ventures, or other funds from local, state, or national governments or funds from preservation organizations would open the landscape of funding opportunities for the stadium as a vital portion of the Virginia Key master plan financial and planning options. The designation and re-use of Marine Stadium will improve the quality and accuracy of the Virginia Key master plan and the quality of the experience of visiting the Key.
Staircase to Perret’s Studio
Auguste Perret (b. Ixelles, Belgium 1874; d. 1954)

Palazzetto dello Sport. Rome, 1957
Pier Luigi Nervi (b. Sondrio, Lombardy 1891; d. Rome, Italy 1979)
Olympic Stadium. EUR (Rome), 1958.
Pier Luigi Nervi (b. Sondrio, Lombardy 1891; d. Rome, Italy 1979)

Bird in Space. 1923
Constantin Brancusi (French, b. Romania 1876; d. 1957)
Our Lady of Fatima Chapel. Brasilia, Brazil 1958
Oscar Niemeyer (b. Rio de Janeiro, Brazil 1907)

Tropicana Club “Arcos de Cristal.” Havana, Cuba 1952
Max Borges (b. Havana, Cuba 1916, d. - )
Bacardi Bottling Plant. Tultitla, Mexico 1959
Felix Candela (b. Madrid, Spain 1910; d. 1997)

Berthold Lubetkin (b. Russia 1901; d. 1990)
TWA Terminal. JFK Airport. New York 1956

(fig. 11)

Dulles International Airport. Chantilly, Virginia 1962
Eero Saarinen (b. Kirkkonummi, Finland 1910; d. Ann Arbor, Michigan 1961)

(fig. 12)
Bridge to kiosks. Sketch.
International Bazaar, Interama Project, Miami, FL, 1964-1966

Section at typical kiosks. Sketch
International Bazaar, Interama Project, Miami, FL, 1964-1966
Paul Rudolph (b. Elkton, Kentucky 1918; d. 1997)

(fig. 19)

(fig. 20)

Pancoast, Ferendino, Skeels and Burnham.
V. Foot Notes and Works Cited

Foot Notes

2) Much of the information on the firm’s history was obtained from the archives of Spillis Candela DMJM.
7) Act of U.S. Congress 1966 signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson.
9) “‘A Noble Experiment’ Costs Miami $30,000.” The Miami Herald 12 May 1964.

Works Cited


http://prudolph.lib.umassd.edu/node/14155
