

FOIA MARKER

This is not a textual record. This is used as an administrative marker by the William J. Clinton Presidential Library Staff.

Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Speechwriting

Series/Staff Member: Jeff Shesol

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 21462

FolderID:

Folder Title:

White House 200th Anniversary Dinner 11/9/00 [1]

Stack:

S

Row:

91

Section:

6

Shelf:

10

Position:

2

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Phone Number. [partial] (1 page)	11/2000	P6/b(6)
002. note	Phone Numbers. [partial] (1 page)	11/2/2000	P6/b(6)
003. note	Attached to e-mail. Phone Number. [partial] (1 page)	10/30/2000	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 Speechwriting
 Jeff Shesol
 OA/Box Number: 21462

FOLDER TITLE:

White House 200th Anniversary Dinner 11/9/00 [1]

2006-0467-F

vz239

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

COPY



435590

Final 11/09/00 4:45pm

11-11-00

50002

Jeff Shesol

00 NOV 9 09:51:20

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT DINNER CELEBRATING THE
200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WHITE HOUSE
THE EAST ROOM
November 9, 2000

*1 not Budget
only 11-9-00 in
machine*

Acknowledgments: Mrs. Johnson; President & Mrs. Ford; President & Mrs. Carter; President & Mrs. Bush; the First Lady; and let me also acknowledge two people who could not be here tonight: Mrs. Reagan, I know, had hoped to join us – but of course one of the things we all admire about her is the loving dedication she has shown to President Reagan, especially in these past few difficult years.

Also: Sen. Robb & Mrs. Robb; Bob Breeden, Hugh Sidey & members of the White House Historical Association, who have done so much to make this celebration possible; the U.S. Marine Band; Chief Usher Gary Walters; and the many, many unsung heroes of the White House staff who have made this place function, day in and day out, for two centuries now.

[A little more than a week ago, on November 1st, we celebrated the 200th anniversary of John Adams' arrival here at the President's House. It's interesting to note that during his four months living here, Adams held very few dinners or parties like this one: there was simply too much bitterness over the election of 1800. Well, I think it's wonderful that tonight, amid the hard fought contest of 2000, we can come together to celebrate what unites us – our common history and our love of this house and all it represents.]

I have been delighted just to sit and listen to the stories that Presidents Ford, Carter and Bush have shared with us tonight. It strikes me that all of us who have served and lived in this remarkable house have experienced so many of the same thoughts and emotions.

The feeling of profound privilege... the overpowering presence of history... and the knowledge that we are all, in the end, short-term residents. (I'll try not to dwell on the latter tonight.)

The stories we've shared tonight are personal reflections, but also part of our national heritage. In this and so many ways, the White House is a paradox: It is the President's home, but also the people's house. It is a historic treasure, but also a living, changing place. It gives quiet refuge to a single family, and functions, at the same time, as the face that America shows the world.

History tells us that, even as the city's planners debated the final design of this house, masons laid its stone foundations more than four feet thick. Like our nation's Founders, these men were building a monument to freedom, and they wanted it to last. Over the course of two centuries, this house has withstood war and fire and bulldozers; just as its inhabitants have faced the sternest tests in times of national crisis.

In this remarkable audience are former residents of the White House, its stewards, and its historians. There is little I can tell you that you don't already know. But I do ask you to marvel at the history of this one room alone, and how it tells the story of America.

The East Room began, as many of you know, as the Adams' laundry room, criss-crossed by clothes lines but otherwise empty. It was here, soon after, that President Jefferson unrolled maps of a bountiful continent, to plan the Lewis and Clark expedition. It was here that President Lincoln introduced his new general-in-chief, Ulysses S. Grant, to well-wishers so enthusiastic that the General had to stand on a sofa to avoid being trampled. It was here, more tragically, that Lincoln lay in state; and here, a century later, that President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act, to further the freedoms that Lincoln died for. In this same room, nearly 25 years ago, Gerald Ford took the oath of office and was sworn in as President.

In these two hundred years, the White House has also been home to 40 Presidents and their families – including mine. For me, every day here has been an honor. From mornings with my family in the Solarium... to evenings alone in the Treaty Room, which serves as my study and, so often over the years, as my sanctuary. It has been a thrill simply to work at the desk in the Treaty Room – the grand walnut table used by President Grant and his Cabinet; by you, President Carter, in signing the Camp David accords; and, six years ago, by Yitzhak Rabin of Israel and King Hussein of Jordan in ending the state of war between their two nations.

Hillary and I have loved this house. It is where our daughter, Chelsea, has grown up; it is where we have spent our most precious moments with family and friends. We will be forever grateful to the American people for letting us make it our home for nearly eight years.

Hillary, as many of you know, has taken an active interest in saving America's treasures, and regards the White House as one of our greatest treasures of all. From the day we moved in, she has devoted herself to preserving the White House itself, overseeing everything from the restoration of public rooms to the selection of the bicentennial china which flatters our tables tonight.

I thank her especially for installing sculpture in the Jacqueline Kennedy Garden, and for her vision of the White House as a living museum, a showcase for the full diversity of our national culture. Hillary has significantly expanded the White House Endowment Fund – which Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Bush helped create – to preserve the house and its collections, so that all future visitors will better understand our nation's past.

Soon, some of us will be part of that past. And when I leave here – as you have, as we all must – I will depart with a deep feeling of gratitude. For the White House has never belonged to any one of us; it belongs to all of us. It is the American people who have granted us the privilege to walk these corridors, to live within these walls, and I know I will never forget that.

I think tonight of the words of an Englishman, Charles Dickens, who visited this house in 1842. Dickens attended one of the functions they called "Levees"; and as he walked through the White House, listening to the Marine Band play, he marveled at the crowd assembled. Here is how Dickens described it in his *American Notes*: "Every man, even among the miscellaneous crowd in the hall who were admitted without any orders or tickets to look on, appeared to feel that he was part of the Institution."

We are all part of this institution – all Americans, however humble, whatever our origins. That, I believe, is the true majesty of this house. I thank you all for your part in its history, and for joining Hillary and me in this celebration. Now, I hope you will join us in the Grand Foyer for a special, bicentennial performance of the Marine Band. Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

11-13-00

Final 11/09/00 4:45pm

'00 NOV 9 PM5:20

Terry Edmonds

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

TOAST AT DINNER CELEBRATING THE

200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WHITE HOUSE

THE EAST ROOM

November 9, 2000

Mrs. Johnson, President and Mrs. Ford; President and Mrs. Carter; President and Mrs. Bush; distinguished guests.

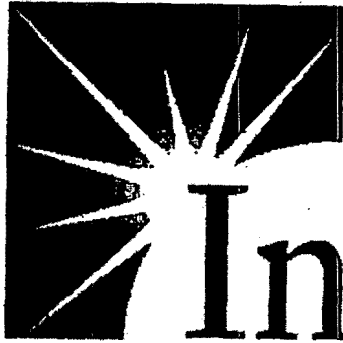
It has been said that an invitation to a White House dinner is one of the highest compliments the President can bestow on anyone. Well, tonight, Hillary and I would amend that to say that an even higher compliment has been bestowed by your presence here this evening. Never before, in two hundred years of history, have this many former Presidents and First Ladies gathered at the White House. This is truly a remarkable occasion.

Hillary and I are grateful beyond words to have served as temporary stewards of the People's House these last eight years. The honor of living here is exceeded only by the privilege of service to the American people that comes with the key to the front door. In the short span of 200 years, those who have been lifted by the wings of history and set upon this place, have not only shaped their times...they have left behind a living legacy for our own.

All of you, in ways both big and small, have cast your light upon this house and left it, and our country brighter for it. For that Hillary and I and all Americans owe you a great debt of gratitude.

I salute you and all those yet to grace these halls with the words of the first occupant of the White House, John Adams, who said, "I pray to heaven to bestow the best of blessings on this house, and all that shall hereafter inhabit it. May none but the honest and wise rule under this roof."

Thank you.



IntroSpect

ORM

SCANNING INSERT SHEET

REMAINDER OF CASE NOT SCANNED

Draft 11/09/00 4:15pm
Jeff Shesol

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS AT DINNER CELEBRATING THE
200TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE WHITE HOUSE
THE EAST ROOM
November 9, 2000**

Acknowledgments: Mrs. Johnson; President & Mrs. Ford; President & Mrs. Carter; President & Mrs. Bush; the First Lady; and let me also acknowledge two people who could not be here tonight: Mrs. Reagan, I know, had hoped to join us – but of course one of the things we all admire about her is the loving dedication she has shown to President Reagan, especially *in these past few* during these difficult years.

Also: Sen. Robb & Mrs. Robb; Bob Breeden, Hugh Sidey & members of the White House Historical Association, who have done so much to make this celebration possible; the U.S. Marine Band; Chief Usher Gary Walters; and the many, many unsung heroes of the White House staff who have made this place function, day in and day out, for two centuries now.

[A little more than a week ago, on November 1st, we celebrated the 200th anniversary of John Adams' arrival here at the President's House. It's interesting to note that during his ~~few~~ *four* months here, Adams held very few dinners or parties like this one: there was simply too much bitterness over the election of 1800. Well, I think it's wonderful that tonight, ~~only two days after~~ *and* the hard fought contest of 2000, we can come together to celebrate what unites us – our ~~(common)~~ *national* history and our love of this house and all it represents.] *step*

I have been delighted just to sit and listen to the stories that Presidents Ford, Carter and Bush have shared with us tonight. It strikes me that all of us ~~all~~ *and* who have served and lived in this remarkable house ~~have walked these halls and~~ experienced so many of the same thoughts ~~the same~~ emotions. The feeling of profound privilege... the overpowering presence of history... and the knowledge that we are all, in the end, short-term residents. (I'll try not to dwell on the latter tonight.)

also The stories we've shared tonight are personal reflections, but ~~are~~ *are* also part of our national heritage. In this and so many ways, the White House is a paradox: It is the President's House, ~~home but~~ *gives* but belongs to the ~~American~~ *the* people. It is a historic treasure, but also a living, changing place. It is a quiet refuge ~~for~~ *to* a single family, ~~while functioning,~~ *our* at the same time, as the face that America shows the world.

History tells us that, even as the city's planners debated the final design of this house, masons laid its stone foundations more than four feet thick. Like our nation's Founders, these men were building a monument to freedom, and they wanted it to last. Over the course of two centuries, this house has withstood war and fire and bulldozers; just as its inhabitants have faced the sternest tests in times of national crisis.

In this remarkable audience are former residents of the White House, its stewards, and its historians. There is little I can tell you that you don't already know. But I ask you to marvel at

the history of this one room alone, and how it tells the story of America. The East Room began, as many of you know, as the Adams' laundry room, criss-crossed by clothes lines but otherwise empty. It was here that President Jefferson first unrolled maps of a bountiful continent, to plan the Lewis and Clark expedition. It was here that President Lincoln introduced his new general-in-chief, Ulysses S. Grant, to well-wishers so enthusiastic that the General had to stand on a sofa to avoid being trampled. It was here, too, that Lincoln lay in state; and here, a century later, that President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act, to further the freedoms that Lincoln died for. In this same room, nearly a quarter-century ago, Gerald Ford took the oath of office and was sworn in as President.

soon after ↑

25 yrs.

more tragically ↓

In these two hundred years, the White House has also been home to 40 Presidents and their families – including mine. For me, every day here has been an honor. From mornings with my family in the Solarium... to evenings alone in the Treaty Room, which serves as my study and, so often, my sanctuary. It has been a thrill simply to work at the desk in ^{the Treaty} that room – the grand walnut table used by President Grant and his Cabinet; by you, President Carter, in signing the Camp David accords; and ~~the same table we used~~ ^{by Yitzhak Rabin + King Hussein} six years ago in ending the state of war between Israel and Jordan.

over the years

Hillary and I have loved this house. It is where our daughter, Chelsea, has grown up; it is where we have spent our most precious moments with family and friends. We will be forever grateful to the American people for letting us make it our home for nearly eight years.

Hillary, as many of you know, has taken an active interest in saving America's treasures, and regards the White House as one of our greatest treasures of all. From the day we moved in, she has devoted herself to preserving the White House itself, overseeing everything from the restoration of public rooms to the selection of the bicentennial china which flatters our tables tonight. I thank her especially for installing sculpture in the Jacqueline Kennedy Garden, and for her vision of the White House as a living museum, a showcase for the full diversity of our national culture. Hillary has significantly expanded the White House Endowment Fund – which Mrs. Carter and Mrs. Bush helped create – to preserve the house and its collections, so that all future visitors will better understand our nation's past.

Soon, some of us will be part of that past. And when I leave here – as you have, as we all must – I will depart with a deep feeling of gratitude. For the White House has never belonged to any one of us; it belongs to all of us. It is the American people who have granted us the privilege to walk these corridors, to live within these walls, and I know I will never forget that.

I think tonight of the words of an Englishman, Charles Dickens, who visited this house in 1842. Dickens attended one of the functions they called "Levees"; and as he walked through the White House, listening to the Marine Band play, he marveled at the crowd assembled. Here is how Dickens described it in his *American Notes*: "Every man, even among the miscellaneous crowd in the hall who were admitted without any orders or tickets to look on, appeared to feel that he was part of the Institution."

We are all part of this institution – all Americans, however humble, whatever our origins. That, I believe, is the true majesty of this house. I thank you all for your part in its history, and for joining Hillary and me in this celebration. Now, I hope you will join us in the Grand Foyer for a special, bicentennial performance of the Marine Band. Thank you.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	Phone Number. [partial] (1 page)	11/2000	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

FOLDER TITLE:

White House 200th Anniversary Dinner 11/9/00 [1]

2006-0467-F

vz239

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

BETTY
MONKMAN
62550

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

* Audience has lived here or studied here
Avoid the obvious

Eisenhower +
Ford groom in in East Room

Civil Rts Act

7 Presidents have laid in state in East Room

Havent been an event like this - 1st time ever

4 Pres (+ wives)
5 First Ladies

POTUS personal:

- Living in old house
- constant work
- more so than any recent P
- knows work involved

SHARON
KENNEDY
66749

- HRC role
- Lincoln Proj. ^{he chose to put this in}
- "The Peacemakers" (his office) ⁱⁿ
- selected Pres. Grant's table (also) ⁱⁿ

↳ get pamphlet
for dinner
(menu)

- ^{orig. ben} Eisenhower + wife
- Benj. Adams (7th gen)
- Caroline Kennedy (descendant)
- Linda P. + son? TBS

[001]

* Neil Horstman

P6(b)(6)

- exec VP of WTHA
- will put me in touch w/ Sidney

- mostly WTHA Board
- Committee for preserv. of WH Bd.

Brief opening toast

HRC will attend but may not speak

- Historians
- Nat'l Humanities
- entertainers

Be sure to say something about Regent Nancy

//

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

③ 800-word post-election reflection for Wash Post
by Trump.

67136

CAPPICIA
66342 Emily Feingold - 11/11.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

WHHA
Main#
737-0029

NYT 11/2/00

\$1.78 renovation began in 1993

end remarks:

invite everyone into Grand Foyer
special selection for anniversary

last
time
prog.

John
(Col. Foley (dir) will give remarks there)

POTUS will thank — nothing special /
Max Doebler — liaison — Mil. office
62150

John Adams created... (see JP's remarks)
(POTUS joke)

New WH china intro'd tonight

- purchase made by WHHA for bicentennial

Pole of private donors - endowment fund - ref
wrr. contract
Burd

Ft - honorary chair of Preserv. etc

- more "American" over time
- supervise even smallest details
- artists of this past c. (O'Keefe, Kandinsky, etc)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

It is the P's use and the people's use;
it is symbol and ...
it has been described as refuge + bunker + prison
privilege ← → palace
It is all these things.

It ^{has been} a refuge for 40 American families &
the face America shows the world.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

- Greatest gathering of Ps + PLs
 - 1800/2000 elections
 - Fc role (+ others) - china endorsement, etc.
 - short-term residents..
- work involved in living in an old house

SAT
WH greatest
treasure of all

TDAST

- Logan quote
- unprecedented gathering

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
002. note	Phone Numbers. [partial] (1 page)	11/2/2000	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

FOLDER TITLE:

White House 200th Anniversary Dinner 11/9/00 [1]

2006-0467-F

vz239

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

speechwriters

Ford - Richard Norton Smith

P6/(b)(6)

Bush - James McGrath
Bush office - Houston

[002]

P6/(b)(6)

Cartier people more remote... try Peri Harmon
Personal anecdotes

404-420-5107 w

P6/(b)(6)

private settings

P6/(b)(6)

[002]

Nancy Kleingartner
scheduler

P6/(b)(6)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

next to
Lincoln
Bedroom

Shirley

Her book — he added much about Treaty Room
the Redid map room, brought back last map

Brown marks

→ coming out soon

0208 101

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
--------------------------	---------------	------	-------------

003. note	Attached to e-mail. Phone Number. [partial] (1 page)	10/30/2000	P6/b(6)
-----------	--	------------	---------

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Jeff Shesol
OA/Box Number: 21462

FOLDER TITLE:

White House 200th Anniversary Dinner 11/9/00 [1]

2006-0467-F

vz239

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



Jeffrey A. Shesol
10/30/2000 10:39:03 AM

Record Type: Record

To: John Pollack/WHO/EOP@EOP
cc: Joshua S. Gottheimer/WHO/EOP@EOP, Mara A. Silver/WHO/EOP@EOP
Subject: Adams

JP,

I believe you're the one doing the timewarp event this Wednesday... Here's what I know.

We will not be re-enacting the burning of the White House. Unless W. wins.

The pre-brief will take place at the elevator in the residence (no kidding) at noon, and the program runs from 12:10-12:30. The President will step out onto the Blue Room balcony, overlooking the South Lawn, and the speaking program is as follows:

- 1) Director Stanton (of the National Park Service) will welcome everyone..
- 2) David McCullough will speak on Adams (since he is now writing a big fat and sure-to-be-bestselling book on Adams) and introduce...
- 3) POTUS.

What he says is largely up to you; Sharon Kennedy (of the Social Office, who has ownership of this event) thinks he should talk about the White House itself and Adams' stamp upon it. He also has to call for the re-enactment to begin.

Anyway, Sharon wants to do a conference call at some point today with the speechwriters for Stanton & McCullough to coordinate all this, and you should take the lead here in directing the others (understanding, of course, that McCullough is going to do his Adams shtick one way or another). So if you could, please give her a call (6-6749) sometime this morning to set up the conference call.

In the audience will be members of the WH Historical Assoc. (up on Jackson Place; they should be providing you with materials at your request); members of the McCullough family; and possibly members of the Adams family (snap snap).

The press release will go out this afternoon -- someone in the press office named Erica is responsible for it.

And lastly: I'll be doing the remarks for next week's 200th anniversary celebration, so if you wouldn't mind keeping me posted, I'd appreciate it. Thanks.

Enjoy...
Jeff

Richard Seale

P6/(b)(6)

[003]



White House
Stone Carving

BUILDERS AND RESTORERS

Lee H. Nelson

U.S. Department of the Interior
National Park Service

they took steps to get the work underway even though no actual plans existed and no architect had yet been selected.

The Stone Problem

In the late eighteenth century, large cities such as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York had established stone industries, utilizing local or regional stone quarries, with the necessary infrastructure to freight the rough or cut stone by land or water. In Philadelphia, there was a variety of local stone types to choose from, including marble in a range of colors. Such stones were used in a variety of ways, including fine architectural stonework cut for decorative features such as door and window trim, staircases, classical columns, and fireplace mantels. Furthermore, stone carving was a well-established craft. No such large-scale craft or industry, however, existed in or near the newly created District of Columbia. Much of the stone used for architectural trim on eighteenth-century buildings in Virginia and Maryland had been pre-carved and imported from England, such as Purbeck or Portland stone. It would have been relatively easy to build of brick, as there was a plentiful supply of good clay—but the President wanted stone.

The magnitude of the task—to build a large public building of stone—must have been evident to all concerned. Three options existed for obtaining the stone. The first was to import it from England. This was probably unthinkable for a building symbolic of a new nation that had just broken away from England. Alternatively, stone could have been ordered from one of the larger American cities, but the logistics of this option were formidable. The third possibility was to engage one of the small local quarries that supplied stone for tombstones and building trim. The Commissioners exercised the last option, though it is doubtful they really knew the size of the job ahead.

There were outcroppings of stone along the Potomac River that had been utilized for many years, but never on a large scale. One of these outcroppings was along Aquia Creek, some forty miles south of the newly created District of Columbia. The Aquia stone was selected by the Commissioners for both the White

House and the United States Capitol. They chose this stone primarily because the quarries were served by water transportation, making the stone relatively accessible to the building sites in Washington. Even though it was unclear whether sufficient Aquia stone could be obtained to meet their expectations, they purchased a quarry and began to extract stone for the foundation walls of the White House. This work commenced prior to the preparation of architectural designs or drawings.

The Aquia Creek Stone Quarries

The Aquia Creek sandstone used for the White House was commonly known as a freestone, meaning a stone that can be worked freely in any direction because the grain or bedding layers are not sufficiently pronounced to interfere with the splitting, cutting or carving of the stone. In the geologic time chart, this stone resulted from the deposition of sediments along the coastal plain in the Lower Cretaceous age over 100 million years ago. It is principally composed of quartz sand, with pebbles and pellets of clay, all cemented together with silica. This stone is easy to cut and to carve because of the soft cementation. Unfortunately, this softness also contributes to poor weathering. The quality of the stone will vary even within the same quarry due to the amount of cementation present, to flaws such as the clay deposits and pebbles, and to minute cracks that are sometimes hard to detect until the stone is cut or carved. In color, the Aquia stone ranges from a tawny white to a soft pink with vibrant streaks of rust caused by mineral deposits.

Aquia stone was being quarried from several locations in Stafford County, Virginia. Small quarries situated on a 15-acre island astride Aquia Creek would eventually supply most of the stone for the President's Palace. Surrounded by tidal marshes and virtually invisible today due to the overgrowth of vegetation and trees, the exposed stone faces on the island must have been rather prominent in their heyday when quarrying was underway. Although the Aquia Creek is quite wide at this point, it is also very shallow. Only at high tide could ships load the rough-cut stone

blocks and transport them down the creek to the Potomac River. From there they could sail upriver to the new city.

The island had been acquired in the 1670s by George Brent, and it remained in the Brent family for generations. Another George Brent, a descendant, deeded the land to the Commissioners in February, 1792. The extent of the quarrying operations at that time is not known, though local buildings are known to have had Aquia stone as decorative trim. Presumably, the Brents had opened the several small quarries sufficiently that both the quantity and quality of the stone was evident to the Commissioners. To develop the quarrying operation for the Federal city, however, the Commissioners needed a much larger

operation, requiring additional labor, equipment, and transportation.

A Scotsman Takes Over

In April of 1792, a Scottish master mason named Collen Williamson was contracted to serve as overseer. His duties were two-fold. In Stafford County, he was to develop and expand the modest operation at the quarry in order to provide a large and reliable stone supply for shipment to the Federal city. In Washington, he was to supervise the laying of the quarried stone for the foundations of the building, once the exact site



Fig. 1 Aerial view of Government Island, site of several quarries that furnished stone for the White House. Located along Aquia Creek in Stafford County, Virginia, about forty miles south of Washington, D.C., this tidal island is connected to the mainland by marshy bogs and a man-made causeway. The present overgrowth conceals what was a rather extensive quarrying operation in the 1790s. After quarrying, the blocks of stone were hauled to a dock, seen here jutting out on the left edge of the island, where they were loaded onto boats, then floated down Aquia Creek to the Potomac River and shipped upriver to Washington. Thousands of tons of stone were quarried and shipped from this island for the White House in the early 1790s. photo: Jack Boucher, NPS Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS).

and design of the building were established. Without an architect or a final design for the White House, it was all rather chaotic at this stage.

Collen Williamson seems to have been the right man for the job, at least initially. Sixty-five years of age, he was an experienced master mason from the village of Dyke, in northeastern Scotland. Coming from a family of stone masons, he was accustomed to operating as a master builder in the traditional meaning of the term. Why he came to the United States at that point in his life is not known, but it was probably for the same economic difficulties that led other skilled craftsmen to migrate to America during the next several years.

It was likely that Williamson took over a sporadic quarrying operation with relatively low production. The few quarrymen at Aquia could not begin to deal with the needed quantity of stone. Initially, the order from Pierre Charles L'Enfant (then in charge of laying out the city and its principal buildings) called for 99,000 cubic feet, or over eleven million pounds of stone just to build the foundation walls! That was roughly twice the amount finally needed, but L'Enfant had envisioned a much bigger building than was subsequently built. To begin this enormous task, the Commissioners hired "twenty five able bodied negro men Slaves to be employed at the quarries." Williamson had to teach the slaves the task of quarrying. The names of these quarry workmen have gone unrecorded. We only know that they were allowed a diet of pork and bread, with a daily ration of one pint of whiskey for each man. Working the stone would be a long and arduous task, continuing through the long hot summer days and the frozen winter months.

Quarrying The Stone

Williamson's task was to continue the quarrying operation on the island in Aquia Creek, but on a much larger scale. Vegetation had to be cleared away to expose new stone surfaces. Usually, the upper reaches of the exposed stone were of little use because the stone was damaged by vegetation, tree roots, and the continual splitting and heaving caused by frost over time. Using considerable labor, the damaged stone surfaces were cleared away and discarded. When it

appeared that they had reached good stone, the quarryers used very labor-intensive techniques to free relatively large blocks of stone. First, they chiseled (actually picked) a vertical face on an outcropping of the stone which would serve as a working plane from which they could measure and begin to plan the removal of blocks of stone. Using hand-picks, they then cut two trenches four to six feet deep into the stone, perpendicular to the face of the stone and roughly ten to twenty feet apart. To minimize waste, these trenches were only about twenty inches wide, providing barely enough room for a man to work with a pick and cut a relatively smooth surface on each side of the trench. Then a rear trench was cut behind and parallel to the initial stone face, and it connected the two side trenches. This last trench effectively created a very large rectangular mass of stone that could be split into manageable sizes.

The quarryers then chiseled shallow horizontal and vertical grooves one to two inches wide between the trenches in the face of the stone. These grooves provided a plane from which stone blocks could be wedged away from the main mass of stone. The location of these grooves or cutting planes depended upon the presence of veins or other flaws within the stone itself, as well as the specific size of stone needed. The operation required considerable judgement and experience. To split the stone away, a number of iron wedges were placed in the grooves about one foot apart and systematically and uniformly driven into the grooves, splitting the large block into the desired size. It was a very slow process, involving a tremendous amount of hard physical labor.

As soon as the stones were split into manageable sizes, they were moved from the immediate quarry area on the island. Derricks or cranes were placed where needed to help lift out the blocks of stone that had been split away. These cranes probably consisted of large wooden posts set into holes cut in the undisturbed stone to support and steady the posts. They were equipped with large wooden pulleys with hemp ropes to provide leverage so the quarry men could lift blocks of stone and set them in an adjacent work area where the stones could be further cut and dressed into the approximate sizes required for the White House.

To reduce handling problems and to eliminate

unnecessary wastage later when the stone was delivered and worked at the job site, the final quarry blocks were not much larger than what was ultimately needed. However, a great deal of waste occurred at the quarry. Obvious flaws had to be cut from the stone. The trenching process also created debris, as did the process of cutting the rough blocks down to the approximate sizes needed by the stone carvers.

Weight and handling were factors of major importance. Each cubic foot of stone weighed about 120 pounds. As a result, each stone that was quarried for use in the walls above the foundation was ordered in dimensions corresponding to a specific use, such as for the wall, cornice, balustrade or other location. The dimensions specified for delivery of stone from the quarry were only slightly larger than actually required, reducing weight for shipping and handling while allowing for final trimming at the site.

After the blocks were cut at the quarry to the approximate dimensions, each was marked with identifying letters and numbers, and then probably hoisted onto wood sleds and dragged by teams of oxen down the hill to the stone loading dock at the northeast corner of the island. There they would be loaded by crane onto small ships for shipment down the Aquia Creek and up the Potomac River, some 40 miles to the Federal city. Three sailing ships, the *Columbia*, the *Ark*, and the *Sincerity*, were used to transport the stone. Each was capable of carrying more than 30 tons of stone.

Millions of pounds of stone blocks thus were laboriously split out of the quarry for the White House, cut to useful sizes, dragged to the water's edge, loaded onto a barge or boat, sailed to Washington, unloaded, and hauled to the stonecutter's workshop at the building site, only to be handled several more times before they were finally placed into the walls.

Laying The Cornerstone

Before any stone carving could get underway at the White House, there were two problems that had to be resolved. First, there had to be a design for the President's House with drawings that would show the appearance, the details and the dimensions. Second,

highly skilled stone masons needed to be brought to the Federal city if this house were to be built of stone. The first problem was more easily resolved than the second.

Thomas Jefferson, then Secretary of State and future President, had a life-long interest in architecture and strongly believed that the best way to get a distinguished design was to hold a competition, a practice that was little used in this country but which was common in Europe. Jefferson drafted newspaper announcements for two competitions, one for the Capitol and one for the President's House, and obtained approval from President Washington. Dated March 14, 1792 and published in the country's major newspapers, the announced competition called for entries to be submitted before the fifteenth of July and noted that there was a prize of \$500 or a medal of that value for the winning entry.

James Hoban won the design competition for the President's House. Born and educated in Ireland, he was working at that time as a house carpenter in Charleston, South Carolina. For his award, Hoban selected a gold medal and took the remainder of the \$500 prize in cash. Unfortunately, Hoban's original drawings and design have not survived. Hoban subsequently modified the winning entry in order to meet the expectations and demands of President Washington and the Commissioners. Pleased with their choice, the Commissioners awarded Hoban the job of directing the entire construction process.

On August 2, 1792, President Washington came to the District of Columbia, surveyed the foundations, and drove the final stakes for construction. Excavations for the basement and part of the foundations for a much larger house had already begun under the orders of Pierre L'Enfant, who was locating the major buildings and laying out the city. It is not known how much of these early foundations were built or what changes were needed to comply with the adjusted siting, but the work of laying the foundation stones, already delivered to the site from the quarry, was far enough along to arrange for an elaborate event to mark the "Laying of the Cornerstone."

This event took place on a Saturday, the 13th day of October, 1792, beginning with a parade. Starting in Georgetown, the Commissioners and Freemasons led

all the various workmen, commonly called artificers, to the foundations of the President's House where they formally placed the cornerstone. Although its precise location has never been found, a newspaper account of the ceremony reported that the cornerstone was laid at the southwest corner of the building. An inscribed brass plate was embedded with wet mortar onto the top surface of the stone. The inscription was as follows:

This first stone of the President's House was laid the 13th day of October 1792, and in the seventeenth year of the independence of the United States of America.

George Washington, *President*

Thomas Johnson,

Doctor Stewart [*sic*],

Daniel Carroll,

Commissioners

James Hoban, *Architect*

Collen Williamson, *Master Mason*

Vivat Republica

After the ceremonies, the group marched back to Georgetown where they celebrated with an elegant dinner replete with 16 toasts honoring every conceivable interest of the participants. Ironically, the cornerstone ceremony had taken place even though the final design of the house was still unsettled.

Besides a stone supply, which was difficult to get in sufficient quantities, and the continuing revisions in the building plans, the Commissioners faced an additional problem that prevented work from proceeding very far. Few stone carvers were available to carry out Hoban's elaborate design; this was, after all, an embellished stone building, one of the first in the land.

Though the Commissioners had made earlier futile attempts to lure stoneworkers away from good jobs in Philadelphia, New York and Boston, they now had to expand their search and follow up on earlier efforts to obtain skilled labor from abroad.

In January of 1793, the Commissioners sent letters to contacts in Great Britain, France and Holland inquiring about tradesmen, including stonecutters. With war in Europe, this was not an opportune time to travel to North America due to the risk of sea travel.

Efforts to attract skilled stone masons continued throughout 1793. Meanwhile, master stone mason Collen Williamson proceeded with work at the White House utilizing the few stonecutters he had and the additional laborers that could be trained. Despite the difficult work conditions and pressing schedule, Williamson's crew did a very credible job, as evident from the finished stonework on the ground floor. All the stones except for the bold projecting window enframements were neatly dressed with hand-tooled vertical furrows covering their entire surface.

The Carvers From Scotland

By eighteenth-century standards, the White House was to be a very large building, measuring 87 feet wide, 170 feet long, and 53 feet in height, with foundations five feet deep and walls constructed of quarry-faced blocks of Aquia stone. While it was intended to be an all-stone building, only the exterior walls of the ground story were constructed all in stone, over four feet thick. Due to cost constraints in 1793, President Washington approved a one story height reduction and the Commissioners declared that the exterior walls on the upper two stories would be brick with a stone facing, instead of all stone. Yet even these masonry walls were quite an achievement, measuring three feet in thickness.

The magnitude of the project perhaps can be best understood by realizing that each of the many thousands of stones in the outside walls had to be cut, dressed, handled and laid in place. Even more impressive, they average roughly three feet long, one foot high and one foot deep, weighing about 360 pounds. Some wall stones are even twice this length and weight.

Given the quality of the stonework on the ground floor of the President's House, it is unfortunate that we know nothing about Collen Williamson's crew at that stage of the work. About all we know is that Williamson claimed to have started the work on the 8th of April, 1793, and had it completed by the 7th of August of the following year—an impressive accomplishment.

The ground floor was entirely faced with thick

blocks of cut and tooled stone, backed by rough-cut stone. In addition, the ground floor windows had molded architraves and bold rustication around the windows. This amounted to 514 lineal feet of stone walling, twelve feet in height and four feet thick, which required that almost three million pounds of stones be quarried, transported and worked by hand. Despite this impressive start, the most difficult and skilled part was yet to come, requiring a team of exceptionally talented stone carvers.

In their efforts to obtain from abroad the services of skilled craftsmen, the Commissioners authorized a Philadelphia merchant named George Walker, who was travelling abroad on business, to search for stonecutters in England and Scotland. In London, Walker published a broadside to attract craftsmen to the new Federal city. According to the broadside, the Commissioners were offering the prevailing rate for work and would pay the sea passage for stonecutters to come to America, even providing an advance to cover expenses while at sea. Single men were preferred, but the same travel arrangements applied to wives.

Walker's efforts met with no success in London, and he went on to Edinburgh some months later. This was a good time to recruit stone masons in Scotland; by 1793 a number of building projects had come to a halt due to the economic effect of Great Britain's entry into the European war.

In Edinburgh, Walker was successful in attracting an experienced builder and stone mason named John Williamson, who was perhaps related to Collen Williamson. In addition, six other members of the same masonic Lodge—Lodge No. 8—George Thompson, James White, Alexander Wilson, Alexander Scott, James McIntosh and Robert Brown—agreed to come to the Federal city in America and work on the White House. From 1794 until 1798, when their stone work ended, there were some 10 to 12 stonecutters working at the President's House. Other known stonecutters from the Federal pay records were Alexander Reid, James Reid, Andrew Shields and Hugh Sommerville.

Even with the enlarged work force, the stonecutters needed considerable assistance. Unlike other trades at the White House such as the carpenters, the Scotsmen objected to using slaves as hired help to assist them

directly. Reluctantly obliged in this respect, the Scottish stone masons were allowed to follow tradition and took on white apprentices. The Scots were more flexible than English craftsmen, who were more stratified in their craft and specialties. In Scotland, stonecutters were also stone masons. This meant that Scottish stonecutters would also lay stone, which was of particular value in the labor short work force in America. With the additional skilled labor and apprentices now available to master mason Collen Williamson, work settled into something of a familiar but very busy routine consisting of 10 hour days, 6 days a week.

When the pieces of stone, ordered according to size and location for the White House, arrived in Washington, they were hauled over land to the large stone yard and sheds on the Presidential grounds, north and east of the present building. There, they were inspected for proper size and quality. Architect James Hoban estimated that one eighth of the stones from the quarry were not usable and had to be reordered.

While Hoban had designed the building, master mason Williamson worked out the details and figured how to actually build the structure. A complex maze of stone work was involved as well as a tremendous logistical effort. There were very few identical pieces of stone, and little opportunity to mass-produce similar pieces. Except for the ashlar, which were the plain rectangular blocks of stone between the windows, most stones were unique. On the south wall alone, approximately forty distinctly different kinds of architectural stone features needed to be cut: window sills, window architraves with moldings and ears, decorative consoles under the window sills of two different types, window pediments of two different types, carved support brackets under the pediments, projecting pilasters that varied in width from top to bottom, very elaborate pilaster capitals carved in the Ionic Order with scrolls, cabbage roses and leaves, a full classical entablature consisting of a molded architrave, hundreds of stone dentils and modillions, a crown molding, round balusters for the roof railing, and cap stones. These are just a few of the examples and some of the variations. Nor does this take into account the right hand/left hand variants; the special conditions that only occur at the corners; the curving

Flowers, Leaves And Ribbons Of Stone

The actual carving of the stone into delicate shapes such as flowers or leaves required the highest level of craftsmanship. While there are few views of such skills being performed in early America, the finished works of art remain. Their beauty and vigor are marvelled at and appreciated even after the effects of weathering for 200 years.

The carver needed to plan carefully and to visualize the finished product. There could be no mistakes. Before taking a tool in hand, the craftsman had to plan the approach to carving the pieces down to the most precise detail. As the unwanted stone was chiseled away, the delicate rose petals or other features were gradually revealed. This was sculpturing, a form of fine art in every respect. The delicate carvings executed at the White House are a tribute to the achievements and talent of the stone carvers. Largely unnoticed for the past 200 years, they are truly deserving of the recognition and appreciation given to exceptionally high levels of craftsmanship.

The more elaborate pieces of stone carving are comprised of designs well known to students of classical architecture—in the eighteenth century as well as today. These more elaborate details, some of which are illustrated here, include the following:

Guilloche: a chain of interlaced curves around a series of circular voids. Bands of guilloche appear under each window on the first floor of the north, east and west walls.

Imbrication: a pattern representing the overlapping of scales. This decoration is used on supporting brackets under the window sills of all the first floor windows except for those on the north facade.

Acanthus Leaf Brackets: carved brackets depicting acanthus leaves. They appear under the window sills on the north wall and the second floor windows of the south, east and west walls.

Console: a long carved bracket supporting the pediments of the first floor windows. The consoles are adorned with a long rolling acanthus leaf and a flowered quatrefoil supported by a label corbel or label stop of small acanthus leaves.

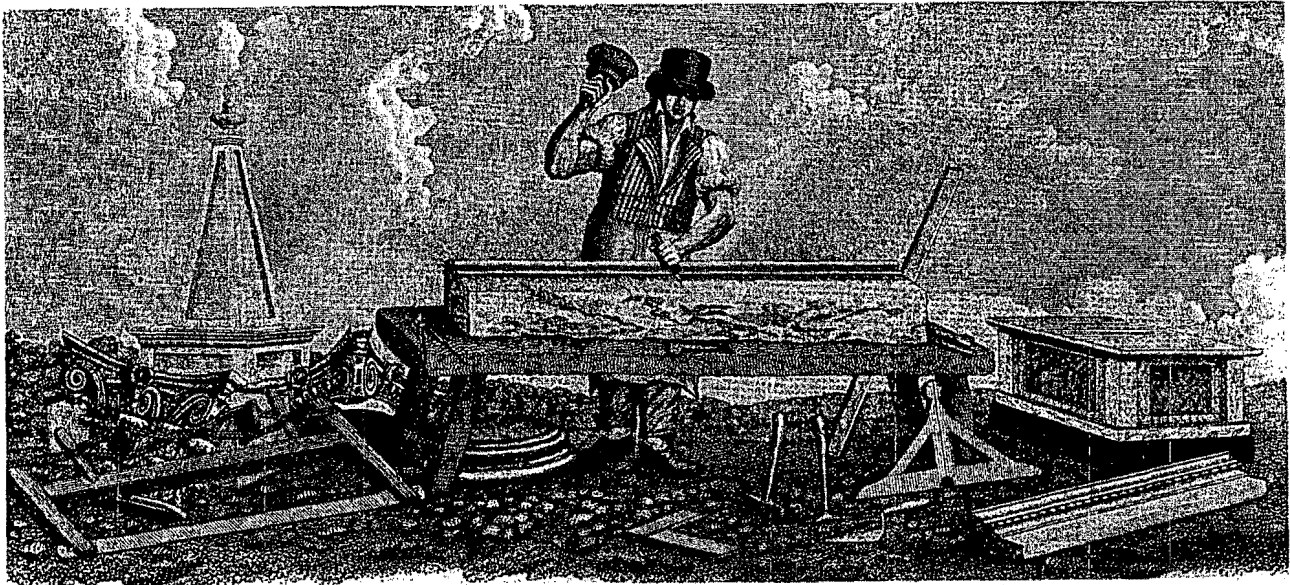


Fig. 12 No known views of the original stone carvers working at the White House exist. In fact, there are very few contemporary views of any stone carvers at work on American buildings. This engraving was made from a drawing by the early American architect William Strickland (1788-1854). It shows a carver at work with his chisel, tooling furrows into a piece of stone, a craft technique used on the ground floor stone walls of the White House. Also seen here are the typical tools of the trade, including the carver's workbench, square, level, hammer, pick, straight edge, dividers, chisels, trowel and frame saw (on the ground at lower left). Also visible are typical specimens of the stone carver's art, including column capitals, bases, moldings, and mortuary work. Lawson Scrapbooks, courtesy Library of The Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

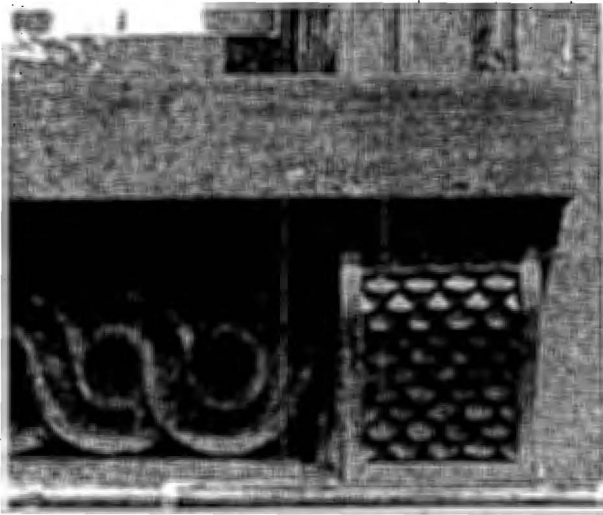


Fig. 15 Detail in the stone brackets supporting the first floor window sills on the south, east and west sides. The pattern, known as imbrication, resembles overlapping scales. photo: Tim Buehner, NPS.

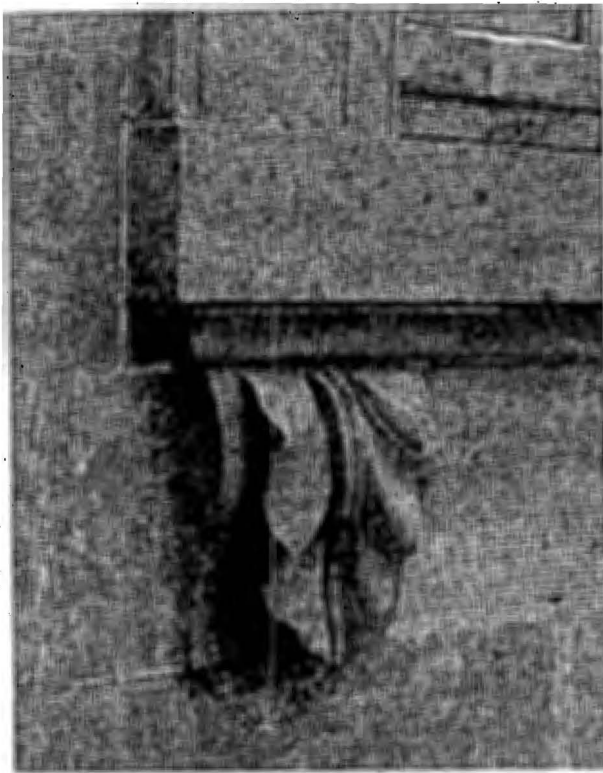


Fig. 16 A carved bracket under one of the second floor window sills. There are 64 brackets of this design on the White House, and while it might be assumed that they are all identical, each is slightly different, individually carved by hand and inserted into the wall. Since the bracket and the wall stone are one unit, a large amount of stone had to be carved away to make the flat surface behind the projecting bracket. photo: Tim Buehner, NPS.

Griffins: mythical creatures resembling winged lions. Two are centered in the inner arch of acanthus leaves over the north entrance doorway.

Ionic Capitals: column or pilaster capitals (or tops) decorated with scrolls, cabbage roses, eggs and darts, and acanthus leaves. They are used atop all pilasters and columns. In the center of the capital, the rose petals are the highest relief carvings on the entire building. Tilted toward the ground to give the casual observer a three-dimensional view, the boldness and complexity of these carvings are barely apparent from the ground.

Ornament was not just limited to classical architectural features. Common items became subjects for permanent decoration on the White House and



Fig. 17 A typical carved console supporting the first floor window pediments. Note the carved stone moldings that are part of the architraves enframing the windows. photo: Tim Buehner, NPS.

made the mansion more American. These applications, include the following:

Oak Leaves and Acorns: features from the great American forests were intertwined in the outer archway band over the north entrance doorway. They are also seen on the brackets framing the door.

Ribbons, Bows and Swags: festive items of celebration. Two swags festooned with ribbons, two bows, two large roses, hanging bell-flowers, oak leaves, and a central medallion are a major ornamental motif over the main north entrance doorway.

Additional carvings were made for the door and window architraves, and considerable time was required in constructing the building entablature and the extended roof cornice, which had over 300 large stone balusters carved in the round by hand. The richness of detail and the fine quality in the carving was an outward expression of the symbolic importance attached to the President's House. Along

with the United States Capitol, it was truly the finest stonework in the new nation.

They Left Their Mark

Pride, craft and self-identity have long been inextricably intertwined. Stonecutters were no exception. Mason's marks, geometric designs composed of triangles, X's, arrows, and lines, were carved into the stone to identify the work of the individual craftsman. Generically called banker's marks because similar symbols were widely used by merchants to identify goods and products, their use can be traced back to the Middle Ages. Whether on churches, palaces or fortifications, mason's marks are commonly found on early stone buildings in Europe. In America, they appeared on buildings and

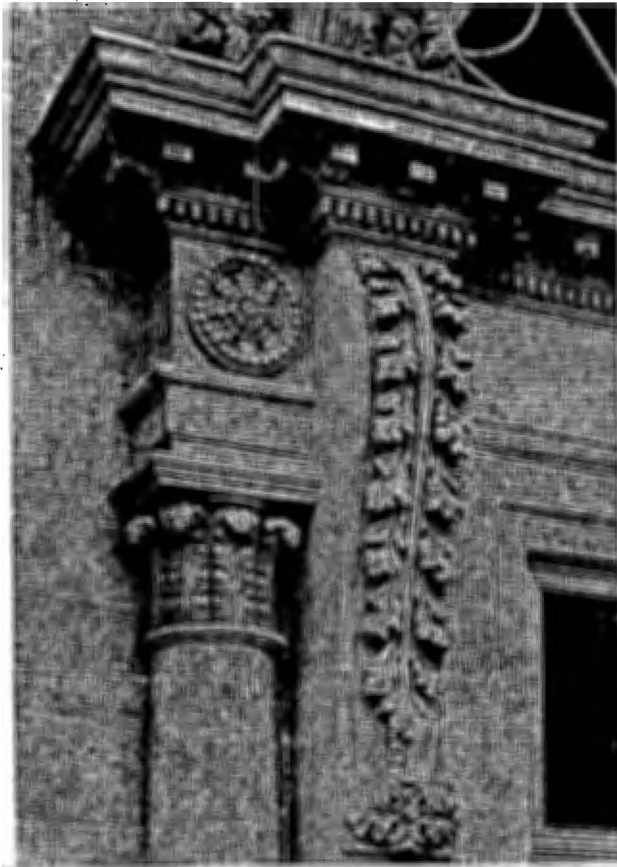


Fig. 22 Many layers of paint had obscured the quality of the carvings around the north doorway until this area was stripped of its paint in 1984. photo: Richard Cheek.



Fig. 23 Typical carved stone balustrade of the White House. Many of the original sandstone balusters have been replaced over the years (mainly with Indiana limestone), as their extreme exposure makes them susceptible to damage. photo: Tim Buehner, NPS.

engineering works until about the 1840s, when their use declined.

In eighteenth century Scotland and England, operative or working stone masons granted a mark to apprentices upon completion of their training as a symbol of the knowledge and worth of the new mason. In many cases, the granted mark was a variation of the teacher's or master mason's design, providing a history and background to the future employer. Registered and protected by the mason's guilds or lodges, the symbol became the individual's identity. The marks served a practical purpose when the extent and complexity of the work were measured to determine the costs to the owner, based upon certain rules, that is, the specific charges for different kinds of stone work.

Over 40 characters have been found and recorded during periods of renovation and alteration at the White House. These marks are the signatures of stone

masons who worked on the White House during the 1790s, as well as the partial rebuilding after the 1814 fire, and during the addition of the north and south porticoes in the 1820s.

Most of the White House mason's marks are neatly carved on the back or hidden surfaces of the building stones, unseen until the stones were removed during alterations, or restoration work. During the extensive renovation of the Executive Mansion in the 1950s, many mason's marks were discovered and the stones removed. Some were distributed by President Truman to state and other Masonic Lodges in North America, while a number of the stones were retained and the marks displayed in two reconstructed fireplaces on the ground floor of the White House.

Looking at the White House mason's marks is perhaps the closest we can come to identifying with the person who carved the handsomely skilled stonework. It was his signature, his claim to fame.

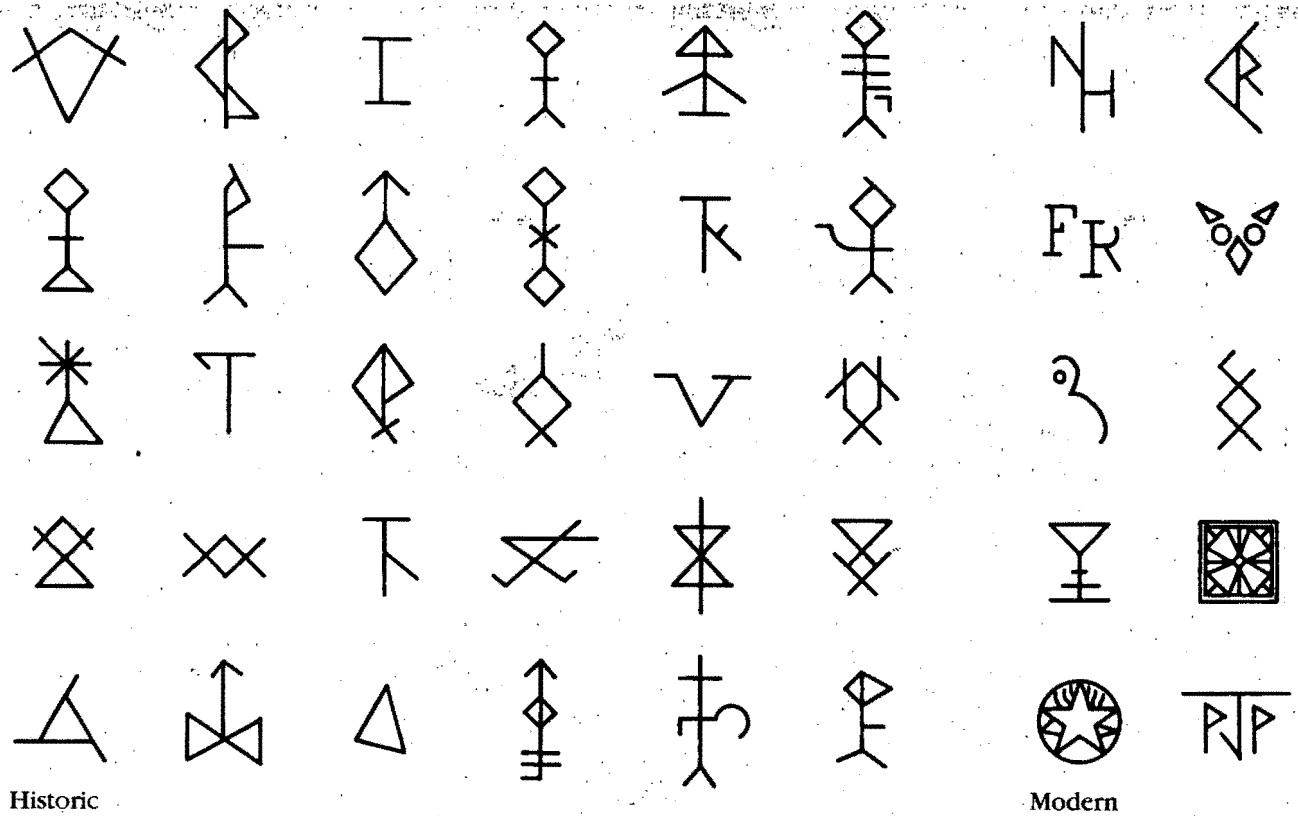


Fig. 24 Examples of the mason's marks found upon the various stones at the White House during the renovation and restoration work. Over 40 marks have been found. It has not been possible to date or link any of these marks with stonecarvers known to have worked on the building in the 1790s. Carvers working on recent restoration have left their own marks. illustration: Tim Buebner, NPS.

8

Democracy

The federal city awaited the arrival of Jackson. General Van Rensselaer, at 65, was soon to end his years of service in the House of Representatives, and he planned to retire at home in Albany. At the last minute he became concerned about the condition of the house that was to receive Andrew Jackson and took steps to improve it. The reason for his sudden interest can only be supposed. Intimate with many prominent New York Jacksonians, he was exposed to their exuberance over the recent victory. In glorifying their President, the White House was an obvious place to begin.

Preparing for the Hero

Van Rensselaer asked Charles Bulfinch to make a full report to the Committee on Public Buildings on the condition of the President's House. On receipt of the report in January 1829 the committee rendered an immediate verdict: What had been a palace for John Quincy Adams was too shabby and run down for the hero-president to occupy. Treasury clerks who came in every day from the country had been allowed by Adams to build horse stalls along the east fence of the President's garden. These, together with Ousley's shanty toolhouses, were eyesores in full view of the windows of the state rooms.

The stable at the end of the west wing was well ventilated, but its location below the windows of the State Dining Room was unfortunate. Its eight stalls were not nearly enough for Old Hickory's fine Tennessee stock. Cows were also housed in the west wing, being led during the

daytime to the low area beyond the south fence to graze. Late in the afternoon they were driven to the stalls in the west colonnade where they were milked, then, for fear of thieves, locked up for the night. Hog and cattle stealing were common crimes in the federal city.¹

It should be remembered that at this time the house itself still appeared unfinished. The north portico described earlier had not been built; the place from which its pediment would project was a hole closed up with rough boards. Plaster had never been applied to the exterior walls of the wings. Raw lathing was exposed in the colonnades. When Van Rensselaer's committee located the original drawings of the White House at Hoban's, they ordered construction to begin at once on the north portico. Soon Hoban appeared before them with a plan including an elevation for a new stable and coach house at the end of the west wing. This the committee judged too large, for they feared it would cry out for a duplicate to balance it on the east. The proposal is of passing interest, for Leinster House had such a stable complex set to the right of the principal block. Hoban may well have turned again to his Irish model, after 40 years.

The stable plan was tabled when the committee decided to accommodate the livestock away from the house. Other projects received immediate attention: The East Room had never been properly furnished, though Monroe had bought some chairs and sofas for it; Adams acquired two small chandeliers and some chairs for the room, for which his political enemies had attacked him. It remained nevertheless a big, unpainted space. Van Rensselaer and his committee decided to have it done up in style for Andrew Jackson, so they obtained the necessary appropriation.

The Committee on Public Buildings was remarkably innovative in its work. It considered piping running water into the White House from the springs at Franklin Square. This was for fire protection, not convenience to the household; a fire engine, purchased by Monroe, was kept with the White House coaches. Another important effort of the committee was to try to light the White House, the Capitol, and Pennsylvania Avenue with gas. While gas lighting was rare in the United States in 1829, the best example in America could be seen on the streets of nearby Baltimore, so the members of the committee may have been familiar with it. Oil lamp light was less than efficient in the vast spaces defined by the buildings and streets of Washington. Street lamps on Pennsylvania Avenue were filled in the morning and lighted at dusk, after which they burned only four hours. Their light was dim and blinking; it took 20 gallons of oil each year to operate a single lamp.²

The increasing use of chandeliers at the White House was evidence

that lighting there was as much a problem as it was on the street. The need for overhead lighting was obvious in a house where crowds assembled often. Lamps were dangerous when crowds were thick, for unless they were set up on mantels or shelves, they were likely to be knocked over. Sconces and chandeliers were the obvious recourse, but their candles dripped hot wax, and oil fixtures smudged the wallpaper and ceilings. Gas was cleaner, safer, and burned more brightly. The committee authorized a temporary gas plant to be set up at the White House for experimental purposes, so that some idea could be gained about what gaslight would cost.³

Through January and early February the committee worked to arrange what it could, then inauguration fever took over. Most of the proposed projects, the gas system, plumbing, and others, were laid aside. Except for repairs in the great kitchen—new stew-holes for hot water, an extension of the range, whitewashing—nothing was done that could have disturbed Adams in his last weeks in the White House. The north portico was commenced within the month after Jackson's inauguration.

The Widower

The President-elect entered Washington quietly in a borrowed carriage on February 11, 1829, having spent the night before in Rockville, Maryland. Met by a committee of Washington citizens at the Western Market, several blocks from the White House, he was escorted up Pennsylvania Avenue to Gadsby's Hotel, where quarters had been prepared. The "national salute" planned to honor his arrival was canceled because the official counting of electoral votes was still before the Congress. When the counting was done and the Jackson victory proclaimed, the Washington Artillery was mustered on the Mall to fire a 21-gun salute in honor of the electoral college and Andrew Jackson.

For several months the city had been filling up with Jackson supporters from all over the nation. Many of them were viewed with contempt by the citizens of the federal city, and particularly by society, which felt it was out in the cold—or feared becoming so—now that the Era of Good Feelings was over. Washingtonians, however, have ever been fickle in their political affections. Once Jackson arrived, his presence became the fascination of the town. He was not unwelcome: Society was ready for a taste of the democratic court.

But there was to be no court, at least for the time. Jackson and his family circle were in deep mourning for Mrs. Jackson, who had died just

between noon and three o'clock, and the general would be glad to receive them, but the black band around his arm was the signal that all interviews were to be brief. Margaret Bayard Smith wrote, "I never witnessed such a dullness, nay gloom as that which pervades society." On the one hand the old order was "sick and melancholy," and they had packing to do. The Jacksonians were bursting to crow, but in earshot of the grieving hero they hesitated to make much noise. "A party must be grave and sober," wrote Mrs. Smith, "to be à la mode." For a moment mourning became high style in the federal city.⁴

Struck hard by his wife's death, Jackson spent as much time as he could in seclusion. He and his wife had been the same age, 61, and had lived many happy years together. She had grown fat in the contented remoteness of her plantation, the Hermitage, near Nashville, Tennessee, but the politics of the campaign ended her peace and hastened her death. She and Jackson were dragged mercilessly through verbal mud over the shadowy circumstances of their marriage. Jackson's enemies hurled charges of bigamy and adultery at the couple, accusing them of being morally unfit for public position. The charges were not easily dismissed, so the pain was unrelenting.⁵

Daughter of a great pioneer family of Tennessee, Rachel Donelson Jackson had brought Jackson into the most powerful circles of that region in the late 18th century. They had worked hard, taken risks, and prospered; he had won fame. She knew much about crops, managing slaves, cooking, and remedies, but when presented with the prospect of going to the White House she had cried, "I would rather be a doorkeeper in the house of God than live in that palace at Washington."⁶

Her bereaved husband had laid her to rest in their garden on Christmas Eve 1828, vowing revenge on those who had slandered her. In Washington he would take part in no celebrations. The pale, thin General Jackson, clothed entirely in black, save for his white shirt, was a surprise to those who expected a strapping man. He stood one inch taller than six feet, but carried only 140 pounds. Those of his clothes that survive fit a man with a narrow chest and long skinny legs: They seem small, even allowing for shrinkage of the fabric over time. Portraits show a face sagging and furrowed by wrinkles framed by snow-white hair, which was long and brushed back so that it seemed to fly about him, iridescent in the light.

There was a military magnificence in his manner; he rallied with the expertise of a fine actor. Most of the time in public he covered his frail frame with a long full coat, ablaze with gilt buttons. Outdoors a tall

hypnotic, and could rise to Jovian thunder when he was angry. The monumentality of the man, however, lay less in these realities than in the legend he had become to the millions who had never seen him.

In private it was clear that Jackson's political rise had been planned and carried out by the advisers who surrounded him. He had a courtly manner, but little of the restraint that comes from political experience. Although capable of noble and manly acts of generosity, he could seldom raise his level of vision above personalities. He set great store by his private opinions of people, and he was often correct. But his frequent tirades kept his advisers hopping. For in large part they had created Andrew Jackson the President from Andrew Jackson the hero. But they would find soon enough that their President could not always be relied upon to do their bidding.⁷

President Adams sent a cordial note to Gadsby's regarding comforts and arrangements in the transfer of the White House, and the note went unanswered. Jackson insisted that if Adams had not personally insulted Mrs. Jackson, he had permitted his party to do so. A second note recommending Adams's steward, Antoine Michel Giusta, for employment was also ignored. Martin Van Buren was uncomfortable with Old Hickory's performance, but Jackson despised Adams, and that was that.⁸

By the last week in February 1829 President and Mrs. Adams had decided to remain in Washington. Wagons moved between the White House and a rented brick mansion on Meridian Hill, carrying their trunks and furniture and boxes of the President's papers. Late in the afternoon of March 3, the day before the inauguration, the Adams coach stopped before the north door, and all of the household but the President entered it and were driven to the new house. John Quincy Adams stayed behind to look over his garden as he customarily did at day's end, then, always a devoted walker, tramped down the road alone to join his family.

The Inaugural Reception

The President's House was abandoned to the Jacksonians. Like his father before him, Adams did not attend the ceremony that ended his Presidency. About three-quarters of a day passed before the new President arrived. Contrary to the legend that has him and his people rushing on the White House unannounced, the house was more than adequately prepared. The process of transfer was undoubtedly well along before Adams moved out, although Jackson's aides may have kept this from him, lest he fly into a rage over cooperation with his enemy.

William B. Lewis, Jackson's old friend and prime errand runner, or Andrew Jackson Donelson, who was Mrs. Jackson's nephew and who had been reared at the Hermitage. Which of these made the necessary arrangements is uncertain; Martin Van Buren called on Adams, with Jackson's permission, and he could have brought up the matter. Adams's letter of recommendation for his steward opened the door for dealing directly with Antoine Giusta, but it can hardly be imagined that Jackson's agents would have shown themselves at the White House without the President's permission.

Jackson's incoming staff—if such it could be called—knew nothing of managing so large an establishment, much less feeding thousands of people at one time. All of his servants were slaves who had worked under Mrs. Jackson's management probably for the better part of their lives. They were country folk. So for the time Adams's employees were kept on, including Giusta and Madame Giusta, the housekeeper. The work of preparing for the inaugural day reception was left to them.⁹

A look into the busy streets was enough to indicate that the callers at the White House after the inauguration would be numerous. Giusta set up three long tables for food in the East Room; not customary at the White House, but his intuition must have told him the State Dining Room would be too small. The steward mixed large quantities of lemonade and orange punch, which he flavored heavily with whiskey. Freezer after freezer of ice cream was produced, then transferred to metal containers and carried down long ladders into the cool depths of the icehouse in the west wing, where it was packed in ice and straw until the party began. Coal fired the range and the Rumford roasters in the fireplace walls for baking; the tin pans—which were on hand in the White House kitchen in almost unbelievable numbers—yielded cakes, pies, and breads.¹⁰

Inauguration day dawned hazy and intermittently misty. A slight chill sharpened the air, and coal fires warmed some of the rooms at the waiting White House. Early risers found Pennsylvania Avenue already a sea of people all the way to the Capitol grounds, where only the well-dressed and presentable were admitted beyond the gate. Those who passed inspection were numerous. The Capitol was jammed with people, its windows bristling, its terraces crowded, its parapet lined with the younger and more agile spectators.

Packed among the columns of the eastern portico were the Democrats' female luminaries, with their bright "drapery" and "waving Plumes." At last the hero was there. He walked bareheaded in a group of

on the east portico, the sun suddenly burst through the clouds. Of that moment, Mrs. Smith wrote a week later that "the shout that rent the air, still resounds in my ears."¹¹

When the speech was over, Jackson was escorted through the Capitol and down the hill on the west side to the gates that opened on Pennsylvania Avenue. There he could not move until a passage was hastily cleared through the crowd. He mounted his fine gray horse and began the slow procession toward the White House. The parade marshals surrounded him in a circle, two of them mounted, or there would have been no moving at all. Even so, the trek to the White House occupied the better part of an hour.

At the President's Park, the White House must have appeared to float on the mass of humanity. There were no big trees, those having been cut during the grading and improvement of the square and the White House yard; one wonders if John Quincy Adams's smaller trees survived the day. People had pushed open the iron gates and covered the grounds. They were noisy but orderly, and the sea happily parted to allow democracy's Moses to pass to his door.¹²

Jackson went to the oval saloon, where in Monroe's crimson and glitter he began receiving the congratulations of the cream of his Democratic followers and the officials of foreign nations. This seems to have continued for about an hour, with the numbers swelled by prominent ladies and gentlemen, some of whom had journeyed far to enjoy this day.

The weather turned warm. People had dressed against the cold that morning, but in the afternoon, having walked in the sun from the Capitol and stood in its glare in Lafayette Park and in the yard, they were hot. With apparent patience they awaited admission into the crowded and stuffy house. At White House receptions heretofore, the stream would have slowed and stopped after about an hour and a half. Not so this time, and it only seemed to increase. When the elite vanguard had passed, great numbers of people came who were readily termed at the time "rabble." They joined the push into a house that had once been forbidden to them.

Inside, the eager callers boldly roamed the shadowy interior seeking Andrew Jackson. Within an hour of his arrival the shuffling of so many feet could be felt in the trembling of the wooden floors. The crowd poured into the oval saloon through its one hall door; to leave the room one had to go out the windows onto the south portico or through the only other door, that into the adjoining parlor on the west, which led to the State Dining Room. The tendency of the stream was not to go out to the porch but to remain inside. As the crowd did not

unruly. In the oval drawing room, where he had retreated from his admirers, President Jackson was pressed against the wall and began gasping for want of air.

Jack Donelson and some others fought through to him and, locking arms, created a barrier, giving him room. Slowly they drew him back through a window on to the south portico, then hurried him down the stair to the ground. Lifted into a coach, President Andrew Jackson was rushed through the gates and off to his quarters at Gadsby's Hotel.

Few realized that the President had left. The marshals, who did know, no longer assumed responsibility, and no one had shown the foresight to call in a sufficient number of police. Masses of people continued to pour in from the streets. At about three o'clock Mrs. Smith and her party rose from their naps and, thinking that the inaugural crowd would be smaller, went to pay their respects. "But what scene did we witness!" she wrote, "The *Majesty of the People* had disappeared, and a rabble, a mob, of boys, negroes, women, children, scrambling, fighting, romping. What a pity what a pity!"

To draw people from the congested house, Giusta sent the servants out from the basement with washtubs full of punch, which they set on the ground in the fresh air. Though a part of the crowd pushed through the open windows of the oval drawing room and down the south stairs, the state rooms were still crammed with people of every character and every class. When the last finally departed, and when the gates were closed behind them, is not known.

Three days later the local newspaper, the *Washington City Chronicle*, wrote: "We regret to say that the President's hospitality on this occasion was in some measure misapplied. The disorder was considerable, as many were admitted, perhaps unavoidably, that certainly ought not to have been there. There is something due to the dignity of the Presidency as well as the character of the nation on such occasions." The chief source, Margaret Bayard Smith—no admirer of Jackson—declared that "Ladies and gentlemen only had been expected at this Levee, not the people en masse. But it was the People's day, and the People's President and the People would rule . . . The noisy and disorderly rabble in the President's House brought to my mind descriptions I had read, of the mobs in the Tuileries and at Versailles."¹³

Soon recovered from the brawling afternoon, the town settled back to normal. The White House seems to have needed mainly a hard scrubbing and cleaning; no damage was recorded. Jackson continued to live at Gadsby's and conducted business there for the better part of a week. He

maintained his mournful solitude. Meanwhile such possessions as he had brought from home were unpacked at the White House. It was about March 10 when the President returned there to stay. From the wall over the mantel in the presidential bedroom upstairs, the portrait of a handsome, smiling Rachel Jackson gazed down at her husband, her dark hair veiled by a white mantilla embroidered with flowers.¹⁴

Old Hickory's House

After the boisterous send-off, the Jackson years in the White House were relatively calm. The house was presided over by Jack Donelson's petite, brown-eyed wife, Emily, who was his first cousin and also a niece of Mrs. Jackson's. She was only 20 when she assumed the duties of official hostess. It had been her wish to assist her Aunt Rachel. Standing beside Rachel's coffin, Jackson had asked her to take his wife's place in Washington. She rose to the challenge, and soon wrote to a friend that she was determined to make the White House a "model American home" for all women to emulate.¹⁵

Emily Donelson was an immediate success. Although old-timers like Mrs. Smith found her less than proficient in the "useages of good society," she matured in her position, and had enough Donelson push to more than get by. Reared on a plantation, and trained to perform as well as direct many kinds of domestic work, Emily saw that the house ran well. So much among people, she became a keen judge of them, helped, doubtless, by instruction from her shrewd husband. She played an important role in the Jackson White House not only as hostess but also as the object of the general's fatherly affections.¹⁶

The Adamses had encouraged the Giustas to stay at the White House because they might remain for many years on salaries higher than they could earn in private domestic service. Giusta remained for the duration of the first administration. He and his wife bore Andrew Jackson's tantrums, insults, and general peculiarities patiently, staying perhaps because of Emily Donelson. She was gentle and could work wonders with "Uncle." But the Giustas' loyalty to the Adamses was binding. Frequently on a Sunday they would walk out to Meridian Hill to pay a visit to their old employers. When Jackson learned that the Giustas were spending Sundays with the Adamses, it made him angry. That Madame Giusta sometimes carried gifts of breads and tarts made him furious. At the first confrontation Jackson conceded that it would be permissible for the Giustas to see the Adamses now and then. Later he

posts of steward and housekeeper paid well, the Giustas kept silent.¹⁷

Time passed, and by degrees the house was cleared of the lower level servants left by Adams. Always hard up for money, the free-spending Jackson eventually realized that he could save money by replacing hired servants with slaves from home. In 1830 the U.S. Census showed 24 people as being attached to Giusta, including his wife, maids, cooks, porters, gardeners, stablemen, and the doorman. The number was about average for the 19th-century White House. By 1833 the hired staff was hardly more than one-third of the 1830 count, the balance being made up by slaves from the Hermitage.

Antoine Michel Giusta found the Negro slaves difficult to direct, for their master was always near and indulged them, never taking Giusta's side in a dispute. They shared his suspicions of the foreign steward. Like the other members of the household staff, those slaves who served wore the livery established for some time at the White House: blue coats with brass buttons, white shirts, and yellow or white breeches. Maids, who did not appear in the public rooms, used the long white apron, reaching to their hems at the floor. All the slaves lived in the house, most occupying dormitory rooms with two or three others in the basement or attic. Few of their names are known.¹⁸

The management of the house seems to have been left mostly to Giusta, although the long-established relationships between Jackson, the Donelsons, and the Tennessee slaves made discipline a continuing problem. Emily Donelson, nominally the mistress of the house, was either pregnant or busy with her social calling most of the time, so while she can be considered a strong hand in the management of the house, she often deferred to Giusta. There seems to have been little difference between Jackson's entertaining and that of his predecessor, except that neither the general nor his family ever seemed particularly comfortable with sophisticated social productions.

Dinner was abundant every evening, with usually a number of guests. Most of the French dishes were put aside in preference for American country fare. More than one guest recorded the presence of a servant for each person seated at the table. A Philadelphia man in later years described a cozy dinner at the White House, where he ate in the glow of many candles, with ample portions served of soup, beef bouille, wild turkey ("boned and dressed with brains"), fish, chicken, and tongue, salad, canvasback duck, and celery, partridges, sweet breads, and "old Virginia ham." This was mellowed by a liberal pouring of wine.¹⁹

For all the absence of details of Jackson's private life as President, one is left with rather distinct impressions, though few full pictures, of

what the White House was like in Old Hickory's time. The inhabitants used their rooms rather as apartments; doors to the corridors were kept closed. Bedrooms contained washstands, comfortable chairs, and small tables that could be used for dining. The family gathered on the main floor for meals, and guests came along. Official meals might require that guests have invitations. In the first few years, Jackson's days were fairly much divided between work and incapacity because of illness. He made a splendidly presidential appearance in public, but at home seems to have shown all his age and infirmities to those closest to him.

Surprisingly few details are known of daily life in the Jackson White House. No one in the household kept a journal. Jackson wrote numerous letters but did not keep a diary. Jack Donelson was too busy to chronicle White House life, being secretary to the President and head of a growing family. Here four of his children were born. The Donelsons occupied three rooms on the northwest of the second floor, across the hall from Jackson. They were protective of their and the President's privacy.²⁰

Major Lewis wrote informative letters, but left only a few. He passed most of his time with the President, and the rest he spent outside, moving among the various political circles in Washington hearing and seeing and supposedly reporting back to Jackson. By virtue of long years of intimacy with Jackson, he knew many well-placed people, and he was also a born meddler. Since Mrs. Jackson's death, it had been assumed that he would live at the White House. His bedroom was on the north side looking out on the portico.

The Donelsons, Major Lewis, and Mrs. Jackson's great-niece, Mary Eastin, comprised the core of Jackson's circle in the White House. Many visitors came from Tennessee to stay for months at a time, most of them Mrs. Jackson's relatives. Their idea of decorum and costume sometimes seems to have embarrassed Emily Donelson.²¹

A more frequent visitor, and during long periods a member of the household, was the painter R. E. W. Earl. He had moved to the Hermitage many years before, after the death of his wife, Rachel Jackson's niece. Earl had painted Jackson and his intimates as they were rising to national political prominence. The portrait of Mrs. Jackson in Jackson's bedroom was by him. His flat, almost naive portraits, highly colored, evoke the frontier flavor of the Jackson age. Like the Hermitage, the White House had an "Earl's Room," on the north front, over the East Room, today's Queen's Bedroom. Here he slept and worked, taking advantage, as later artists would do, of the north light.²²

Family and business life centered on the second floor. The large

President's bedroom and his offices. In the center was the ladies' parlor or "Circular Green Room," where Emily Donelson normally received callers during the morning. Richly appointed with silk window hangings, it was used at night during parties as a room for women guests; maids were there to comb hair, mend torn garments, and perform other personal services. To the west of this was the general's sitting room, a comfortable family parlor; beyond it lay his bedroom and dressing room.

Besides the President's, the principal bedchamber was the guest room over the north door, known as the Yellow Room. This had been established by Monroe as a state bedroom, and existed as such until about 1850, when it was divided into two separate chambers, divided by a hall. The Yellow Room was elaborately done up in yellow silk, with handsome mahogany furniture. Its usual purpose was less as a bedroom than as a ladies' retiring room, on formal occasions an adjunct to the Circular Green Room across the hall. For this purpose it contained dressing room accoutrements, including washstands and a mahogany "close stool."²³

The President's offices were also on the second floor, but when they were put there is uncertain. The inventory John Quincy Adams had made of the house after Monroe left names no office, although the room east of the upstairs oval room was furnished with a desk and may have served the purpose. Monroe did have iron bars fixed to some second-floor windows, possibly to his office rooms, yet it is known that he often used an office in the nearby Treasury building. The first mention made of an office upstairs was during the Adams administration, and it seems to have included one or perhaps two of the rooms on the south front, running east from the oval room.

Jackson's office comprised a suite of three rooms on the south front, including the rooms probably used by Adams. Each had windows protected by horizontal bars of iron. It can be described collectively over the years of Jackson's two administrations. Adjacent to the oval parlor, the first room was the large, nearly square "audience room," where the President received petitioners and other business callers. East of this room was Jackson's own office, today's Lincoln Bedroom. Here the Cabinet met at Jefferson's long table, amid his cabinets and bookcases. Maps hung over the wallpaper; an expensive rubber-faced oilcloth covered the floor, probably painted in a tile or carpet pattern; silk curtains at the windows were crowned by gilded-eagle cornices, which Jackson purchased. An iron "Russia" stove stood in a shallow sandbox, its pipe piercing a wallpapered board that covered the large fireplace opening.

The third and last room was a narrow chamber on the southeast corner of the house, containing within a small enclosure one of the two

White House water closets. Across the hall from this, Jack Donelson made his office in the northeast corner room, adjoining Earl's room. Secretive about his business, he kept his office locked at all times when he was away.²⁴

Visitors waited to see Jackson or Donelson in the central corridor in full view of the family quarters. So offensive was this to the household that the President added glass doors to separate the office end of the hall from the family part on the west. Business callers used the stair off the entrance hall that Hoban had called the "back stair." The family and its guests had exclusive use of the grand stair, while the servants—and allegedly the famous "kitchen cabinet"—traveled the little service stair.

The East Room

Most of the details of the President's House fell to Major Lewis. A friend of Van Rensselaer's, he was quickly in touch with him about improvements inside and out. The north portico, commenced a few weeks after Jackson moved in, was completed in September 1829. On the various other projects, Lewis did not wish to wait. Van Rensselaer raised the money, and Lewis set himself to spending it. Wanting everything done in a hurry, the major bypassed Joseph Elgar, the commissioner of public buildings, and a Republican holdover. Elgar cannot have objected to so minor an affront, since he must have been delighted at being overlooked in the Democrats' purge of the bureaucracy.

The principal change that heralded the age of Jackson was the north portico. Even though it was planned much earlier, it blended with the newly fashionable Greek Revival in architecture, which bestowed on Jackson's age the temple theme of columns and chaste whiteness. It was by no means the first monumental portico on an American house, yet it may well have been the most influential. Even Jackson himself, in rebuilding the Hermitage after its gutting by fire October 13, 1834, gave it a colossal colonnade, replacing the generous two-deck porches that he and Rachel enjoyed.

Major Lewis addressed himself to the interior of the White House, taking personal charge of the decoration of the East Room. The completion of the great chamber was a matter of practical necessity. All the basic architectural work had been finished in 1818. The room was crowned by the frieze of mighty anthemias, with framing bands of smaller Grecian ornament, all combined into a heavy cornice with a deep cove. Some of these decorations had been gilded and accented with lampblack

the room. At the most the plaster walls were sealed with whitewash. The four fireplaces had temporary mantels of wood.

It was a large and lofty room with floor dimensions of 80 feet by 40 and a ceiling fully 22 feet high—so that it had been necessary to lift the upstairs floor level several feet to accommodate it (and this made the east end of the upstairs two or three steps higher than the central and western parts). Three tall windows admitted the south light; and three matching windows faced the north. On the east the great "Venetian" window was nearly as wide as three of the other windows combined, and one could pass through glass doors here and out onto the roof of the basement-level east wing.

Lewis meant to make the East Room modern. He took advantage of that relatively new convenience of the democratic age, the "furniture warehouse," as a store stocking everything necessary for interior decoration was called. Matters in the past had been more complicated. During the Monroe rebuilding and decoration Sam Lane had gone to individual upholsterers, cabinetmakers, and small manufacturers, and had even employed an upholsterer to set up shop in the White House until his part of the work was done. An American businessman living in France had shopped around Paris for Monroe's furnishings. Only a little more than ten years later, thanks to more modern business practices, Lewis—with certainly less experience than either Lane or Monroe in furnishing houses—made but one stop in fitting out the East Room.

He contacted a Philadelphia entrepreneur named Louis Veron, a cabinetmaker who had opened a warehouse in which he stocked tables, chairs, beds, sofas, bookcases, wallpaper, curtains, and cornices, all sorts of patent lamps, kitchen goods, stoves, carpets and carpeting, rods for stair runners, washbowls and pitchers. Much of his merchandise was gathered from Philadelphia manufacturers. What he did not have on hand, he assured his customers he could find on short notice.²⁵

Louis Veron journeyed to Washington probably in August or September 1829 to survey the scene with Lewis. They devised a scheme for shifting furnishings about and adding touches here and there to give the Jackson White House a fresh look, without spending too much money. Andrew Jackson had made too great a campaign issue of presidential extravagance to risk similar accusations. The most money was to be spent on the East Room, with good reason, since its being unfinished had been criticized over several years.

The Brussels carpeting on the principal or state floor was pulled up; perhaps the inaugural crowds had hastened its ruin, as Mrs. Smith had predicted would happen. The

waves of guests were not used to the polite custom of pulling off boots inside the house and putting on thin slippers. Since big crowds would continue to visit, Veron suggested abandoning the loop Brussels for the more durable Wilton weave. Though more expensive, it would meet the test if rotated each year. Other modifications were agreed upon, Veron making recommendations to Lewis and doubtless pushing his own merchandise where possible.

The only room decorated anew was the East Room. Shown the great hollow space, Veron could only have found American analogies in hotel lobbies and ballrooms. When he finished his work, the East Room would be far different from all the other rooms, and not only for its opera house splendor. Even before the age had got going full swing, its character had a bluster unmistakably Jacksonian.

That Lewis actually selected furnishings for the East Room is unlikely. If he did pick them out, Veron must have had pictures or drawings or some sort of a catalogue to show him. Nothing was to be custom made; all was from Veron's stock, such as could be bought by any banker, steamboat captain, planter, saloon keeper, or merchant with the money to pay. As the room's interior decoration took form in Veron's mind, he completed his notes, then returned to Philadelphia to assemble the goods. He created a room not filled with cast-off imperial finery from France, but one of the sort a businessman from Bangor might want, on a smaller scale.

When it was finished, the East Room seemed oddly native, a heroic interior composed of materials from the mainstream of American life and enterprise. Its walls were covered in a lemon-colored paper, probably French, trimmed with cloth borders, probably of blue velvet. Four new mantelpieces replaced the old wooden ones, all of fashionable "Egyptian" marble, black with brindle veining. Plaster centerpieces were fixed to the ceiling in three places, designed like large sunflowers, and from them were suspended three great chandeliers of gilded brass and cut glass, each holding 18 oil peg lamps with glass shades.

Rows of "Bracket Lights," or sconces, holding five oil lamps each were attached to the walls, with astral and globe lamps provided for nearly every surface in the room. Long and wide "French plate" mirrors in gilded frames were hung on the four walls, directly across from each other, carrying the eye infinite distances into reflected depths. Silks colored imperial blue and sunflower yellow were combined at the windows in luxuriant Grecian drapery, falling from cornices adorned with the gilded eagles. This color scheme was repeated in the all-over carpet and border which after all was Brussels, not Wilton, probably one machine

of economy. Three "Imperial rugs" were purchased to protect the carpet in times of heavy traffic.

The existing furniture, which had been made locally for Monroe and Adams—some 24 chairs and several sofas—was reupholstered and given white slipcovers for day-to-day protection. New furniture from Veron's supplemented these earlier pieces, including three mahogany tables with black marble tops on which stood identical gilded lamps with glass globes resting on classical figures of women. One of these rested beneath each chandelier. Marble-top pier tables were spaced along the wall, dividing lines of chairs and sofas. Twenty spittoons completed an impression of staccato rows and strict symmetry.²⁶

The finished room must have seemed luxurious and appealing. In the daytime muslin curtains softened the glare of the sun, so that the martial boldness of the blues and yellows would not appear tawdry, and the light would not glare but shimmer in the watery glass of the chandeliers. At night, with the lamps lighted, what today would be only a glow looked bright indeed to the eyes of the time; under the hazy lamps, the brilliant colors were at their most effective. Surfaces of gilt metal, the sheen of the silk curtains, the bright swirls of the carpet, and the black marble against the yellow of the wallpaper with its flat tempera-like finish must have combined most handsomely.

Perhaps Lewis and Veron's success was nowhere more evident than in the ornamentation of the great arch to the transverse hall. With ready-made plaster decorations, they gave it a glamour usually reserved for Masonic temples. From the arch now blazed gilded sunrays, spreading spoke-like over the wallpaper. This heavenly spectacle was washed by a gentle rain of golden stars, which, with the rays, caught the glowing lamplight and seemed to shimmer, the perfect frame for the entrances of Old Hickory.

Rearrangements in the other state rooms bear little discussion. Lewis ordered new curtains; Simon Bolivar's portrait was hung in the Green Room, and Monroe's gilded furniture was moved there. Washington's portrait remained in the Yellow Parlor, the present-day Red Room, which came to be known for some years as the Washington Parlor. But these splendors were not enough to satisfy the visiting citizens, who all wanted to see the hero. It was customary for Presidents to allow themselves to be seen by the public whenever they could. Jackson, in contrast to his predecessors, appeared to be nearly a recluse. Again and again the doorman told tourists no, that the general was not well, or that he was sitting with his Cabinet and could not receive them.

Other Presidents had endured endless interviews with casual callers.

Andrew Jackson simply lacked the physical stamina to do so, although when he did see callers he received them with memorable courtesy. So gracious was he that the ladies and spinsters of the federal city made quite a rush on the White House in the first months of his administration, but soon learned that the widower planned to remain a widower. On his chest he carried in full view the miniature of Rachel, suspended by a black ribbon. At night he hung it on a table beside his bed.

To try to answer the public cry for a glimpse of Jackson, Lewis ordered his portrait painted. R.E.W. Earl very likely did the job. This huge and awkward rival to Stuart's Washington seems to have taken no longer to paint than from sunup to sundown. It was hung over the marble mantel on the west wall of the entrance hall. The hero was shown in military blue, draped in more braid and golden stars than the East Room itself. He was all symbol, and it was the symbol even most of Jackson's intimates really knew best, not the man.²⁷

Society and Politics

Mrs. Smith believed that if the occupants of the White House wished to, they could "remain invisible and as much separated from social intercourse, as if on the other side of the mountains."²⁸ Presidents had learned early the dangers of this sort of isolation. On the other hand, involvement with the public also had its perils, if not carefully controlled. Trivial issues could become giant killers. The relationship between the White House and society, official life and private life, is sometimes delicate, as Andrew Jackson found in the "Peggy O'Neale Affair," or the "Petticoat War."

The political importance of this imbroglio was that it became the catalyst for bringing into the open serious animosities and questionable loyalties within the President's political family, culminating in the resignations of the Cabinet. The central figure in the affair—wherein the President rose to defend a woman's reputation—was Margaret O'Neale Timberlake, a rosy, brown-haired young woman, the daughter of Irishman William O'Neale, owner of one of the most prominent taverns serving Jackson's followers. O'Neale had begun his career in Washington hauling stone for the masons building the White House and later firewood for Jefferson's kitchen. His crowning moment had come in 1823, when Jackson had selected his tavern as his temporary domicile in Washington. Both General and Mrs. Jackson had taken a liking to Margaret.

By the time of Jackson's election, Peggy O'Neale Timberlake was a young widow with children and a reputation for loose morals. She was

not received either in society or at the White House, even though her husband had been a naval officer of good family. Jackson presumably knew nothing of her reputation, which had developed since his return to Tennessee. When his campaign manager, the widower John Eaton, resident of O'Neale's, went in private to the Hermitage, concerned over gossip about himself and Mrs. Timberlake, Jackson encouraged him to return to Washington and marry the lady. The wedding took place at O'Neale's on New Year's Day 1829, before the news of Mrs. Jackson's death had crossed the mountains.²⁹

Difficulties began soon enough when Eaton was appointed Secretary of War, giving his wife Cabinet rank in Washington society. Mrs. Eaton was ignored in the usual process of social calling among the women. In reaction she made a great show when entertained at the White House, bringing into full use her sharp tongue and considerable boldness. Often handed in to dinner by the President himself, she told him about the snubs she was suffering. "She is as chaste as a virgin," he declared, and drawing a parallel between her situation and that of his late wife, he became her champion.³⁰

The more Mrs. Eaton pressed her case in public through insolent approaches to prominent women, the more she became the object of their scorn. At first the husbands seemed to be embarrassed, but official etiquette or not, their wives would not call on Peggy Eaton. Again and again Margaret Eaton laid her apparent heartbreak before Andrew Jackson. Angered, her defender put pressure on those closest to him, his Cabinet members, to right the situation. Their wives began to decline invitations to the White House. Under the cover of this controversy pent-up political differences, subdued since before the campaign, began to surface among the men surrounding the President.

Meanwhile, a palace war was brewing. Next-door neighbors upstairs in the White House, across the hall from the President, the Donelsons and Major Lewis competed to be closest to Jackson. The Donelsons—like all Donelsons of Tennessee—felt that he was theirs. Emily Donelson, in a letter, referred to "that sycophant Lewis," and how she detested him for using "Uncle" as she believed he did. The opening cannon of the first battle was soon to sound. It happened that Lewis's late sister had been the first wife of John Eaton, and Lewis and Eaton shared brotherly closeness. Emily Donelson had not yet called on Mrs. Eaton. Lewis found in this a point of departure against Jack Donelson, and soon enough, probably at the urging of Mrs. Eaton, President Jackson asked Emily to call on the Eatons.³¹

Both Donelsons resented the fact that

Mrs. Eaton's house, where, thinking she had them firmly in her hands, Peggy impetuously revealed herself and her motivations by ranting and raving, vowing revenge on those who had insulted her. She followed the Donelson visit with a letter in which she advised Emily on how a smart woman might conduct herself in the capital. The icy response may have been ghostwritten by Jack Donelson: "As you say I am young and unacquainted with the world, and therefore I will trouble myself as little as possible with things that do not concern me. . . ."32

Even as this was written, the President of the United States was sending out a stream of letters of his own in defense of the lady in distress, with Lewis fanning the fire. Mrs. Eaton called at the White House as often as she wished in the fall of 1829, reporting on the latest developments. Jackson was wholly absorbed in the issue, showing his liability to be influenced by those around him. He blamed Henry Clay, then turned closer to home on his Vice President, John C. Calhoun, whose wife had been particularly stubborn. With a Westerner's resentment of the ways of eastern society, he determined to confront Peggy's detractors face to face.

The meeting took place with the Cabinet in the office on September 10, 1829, at about the time Lewis and Veron were planning the decoration of the East Room below. It was 7 p.m. Outside, the columns of the north portico were partially built, rising section by section, stacked like stone checkers. Jackson laid before his Cabinet and several of Peggy's accusers the results of a private investigation he had made into Mrs. Eaton's moral character, aided by Lewis, who had checked hotel registers to find if the couple had traveled as man and wife before their marriage. The verdict of the President was that the lady's virtue was that of an angel. He preached almost unceasingly to the gathering. The Reverend John M. Campbell defended his own accusations, but the Cabinet members, both surprised and embarrassed by the President's immoderate conduct, remained quiet.³³

The news spread quickly over Washington, and was met with disbelief. Peggy Eaton basked in dubious glory as, on a more significant level, heretofore concealed political conflicts within the Cabinet manifested themselves in hostility between Van Buren and Calhoun. Within the White House, at Jackson's elbow, the war between Lewis and Donelson intensified, with Lewis still decidedly in the saddle. Andrew Jackson piped the players ever closer to the fire: "An indignity to Major Eaton," he said, "is an indignity to me."³⁴

Late in the spring of 1830, Lewis, ready for the kill, moved his daughter to the White House, into the stately Yellow Room. The coming of Mary Ann Lewis was offensive to the Donelsons, who accurately

regarded her as the major's candidate for Emily Donelson's job. Peggy Eaton, ever more brazen, warned Jack Donelson that if his wife did not mend her ways she would be sent home to Tennessee.

The showdown came at last when Mrs. Eaton declined a White House dinner, writing to the President that her being there would only give his relatives another opportunity "to make me the object of their censures and reproaches." Jackson ordered Emily to receive Peggy O'Neale Timberlake Eaton; Emily, with contempt for the bad-tempered and "meddlesome" woman, as well as heart for the feelings of the ladies of society, began packing and soon had gone to Tennessee with her little ones. The President's loneliness for her and her children made him melancholy; but she did not return for more than two years, when circumstances had changed and the Eatons were gone.³⁵

Jackson's relationship with his Cabinet wholly changed after the session over Mrs. Eaton. Realizing that they were at odds with each other and not supporting his viewpoint, he turned elsewhere for counsel, gathering what became popularly known as the "Kitchen Cabinet," an informal group of intimates, including both Donelson and Lewis. They met at a sort of ad hoc cabinet, in the office on the second floor. In the spring of 1831, ostensibly over the Eaton affair, the members of the official Cabinet, including Eaton, began to resign in protest, the two final resignations being requested. At the advice of Van Buren, who had played his cards right and emerged on good terms with the President, Jackson then reorganized his Cabinet into a cohesive and effective body.

Arrangements and Rearrangements

With Jackson's political house in order, his health began to improve, and he settled into a comfortable pattern of living. The physical renaissance was remarkable, for those who were close to Jackson feared him often near death in his first few years in office. One source of his renewed vigor was his steady routine. At the White House he naturally had far less leisure than in his years on the plantation, where someone else, often his wife, had always taken care of the farm management which he did as he pleased. In his busy presidential years, he was forced to establish regular times for recreation.

What he enjoyed most were his horses. He was a graceful, well-seated rider; when he did not feel up to a ride, he took a drive in the light carriage or the coach, behind the prancing team of grays. When he rode back straight as a board, he seemed to have burst from a portrait of equestrian correctness. He was impeccably dressed in a fine suit of black

cobalt blue, or snuff brown, a touch of color perhaps on the vest. In cold weather or in rain, he wore the broad-brimmed hat and the full cape that were his trademark.³⁶

Changed times were seen in White House activities. The levees were so large that some people neither saw the President nor got a glass of punch. To be a guest at these events required no invitation. One never knew who might appear. It was a time of colorful frontier characters, and such figures as Davy Crockett and Sam Houston were as likely as not to turn up shaking hands.

The Marine Band usually played, seated in the entrance hall beside the columns. Receiving lines were long, and even in winter the heat from such thick crowds made the rooms stuffy. Sometimes the President did not receive, but merely made an appearance. Before she left, Emily Donelson did receive in the Blue Room; after she returned from her self-imposed exile, Jackson and Donelson nearly always stood with her.

Levees may have been the most numerous public events, but there were other attractions. In the winter of 1835 great throngs lined the streets to witness the ceremonious arrival of a 1,400-pound cheese drawn by 24 gray horses. Draped in bunting and adorned with Jacksonian slogans, it was a gift of one of Jackson's supporters from Oswego County, New York. For two years the great cheddar shared glory in the entrance hall with Jackson's portrait; then, a few weeks before the hero left office in 1837, the public was invited in for a bite. The cheese was gone in two hours, but its odor and stain on the wide boards of the wooden floor are said to have remained for several years.³⁷

At weekly "family" dinners Jackson conversed with the senators and congressmen, and Emily Donelson held drawing rooms in the old republican manner. A rare account of a small family dinner given by Jackson in December 1834 probably describes the usual occasion of its kind. Marine Lieutenant Robert C. Caldwell, son of a prominent Ohio judge, was sent letters of introduction by his father when he went to Washington. The young man presented himself at the White House, and his references were on a sufficiently high official level to gain a dinner invitation a few days later.

He arrived on the appointed day at three in the afternoon, the dinner hour. Ushered into the Washington Parlor, he conversed briefly with two other guests, until Jack Donelson and the President appeared. All were seated. After about 15 minutes the steward entered and announced dinner. The party crossed the hall into the family dining room, which had the blinds and curtains drawn against daylight and cold and

One table was for serving, and the other for seating the five diners. "What attracted my attention first," wrote Lieutenant Caldwell to his father, was not the rich table service but "the very nicely folded Knapp on each plate, with a slice of good light bread in the middle of it."

President Jackson asked a blessing, then the servants closed in, said Caldwell, "one to every man." The first course was beef—"Will you have some roast beef? Some corn beef? Some boiled beef? Some beef stake?" When the beef was eaten, the plates were removed and new plates set for the fish course. That being done, "a new plate and the some other dish. Then a new plate and some other dish. Then a new plate and the pies—then the dessert." And all the while sherry, Madeira and champagne were poured constantly by the butler.

The wine drinking extended into after-dinner toasts around the table, after the crumb-covered cloth had been taken away. "Then after so long a time," Caldwell continued, "we rise from the table and retire again to the chamber whence we had come, where being seated and conversation in high glee, in comes a servant with a dish of coffee for each of us." At seven the lieutenant rose: "With a hearty shake of the hand I bid the Gen. Adieu—then taking leave of the other gentlemen retired quite gratified at the hospitality and friendship I had received."

Emily Donelson had not been in good health since her first child's birth. She bore four babies in the White House. The summer journeys in coach back to Tennessee were always wearing. But when she returned to her position as Jackson's hostess after the Eaton affair, she seemed worse off than ever. In 1834 it became clear that she was seriously ill. Eventually she was diagnosed as having tuberculosis, and she knew her days were numbered; she asked to be taken home to the fine Grecian mansion Jack Donelson had built for her near the Hermitage. Jackson was racked with anxiety, inquiring of every physician he saw, begging her to stay where the treatments might be more likely to save her. She did remain awhile, growing worse by the day. When she could no longer perform even the slightest social duty, she told Uncle she must go. Jack Donelson remained as secretary to the distraught President, seeing his wife when he could spare the three or four weeks it took to go to her in Tennessee. Emily Donelson died in 1836, and was buried near Rachel Jackson in the garden at the Hermitage.

Her departure from the White House in 1834 was a signal to Giustas. There was no chance this time that the good lady would be returning, so they submitted their resignations. Neither of them liked Jackson, his black slaves, or his temper. On their own they remained in Washington and opened an oyster bar, so successful an endeavor that

they were able to retire after six years. To John Quincy Adams's delight they purchased a nearby farm where they lived long and peaceful lives.³⁹

Meanwhile, Jackson found them impossible to replace, either because his humors had become too well known in the world of servants or because he offered too little money. Major Lewis thought in 1833 that he could flatter a hotel keeper named Brady into taking the job. But Brady protested that "neither he nor his wife has sufficient experience—particularly as it regards the furnishing and arranging the dinner table on large dining occasions." What was more, Lewis reported, Brady had three children and "before the end of your presidential term, he thinks he may have one or two more." That was too many children for the steward's basement quarters in the White House.⁴⁰

A chef was engaged, and he took on most of the duties of steward. Joseph Boulanger, a Belgian, had a restaurant on G Street, and was known as a fine "confectioner." He apparently pleased Jackson on every count, but particularly with his desserts, for the President was known for his sweet tooth. The kitchen was extensively repaired to suit him, and its production for the table was better than the White House had known for many a year.⁴¹

The basement, with its long vaulted passage, had not changed much since Monroe's day. Its walls were still washed in white or yellow; in some places the brick floors had been replaced by wood, which was drier and easier on the feet. Service needs and servants' sleeping quarters absorbed all the rooms and extended into the east and west wings. Some of the personal servants slept in the warren of small rooms in the west end of the attic; these had steeply slanted ceilings and were lighted by dormer windows. Jackson's body servant slept on a pallet in his room, a custom that seems to have begun early in the administration, when the general was unwell. A slave nurse slept in the small corner room adjacent to the Donelsons' bedroom, and kept the little children.

Those who lived on the basement level were white "undercooks," laundry workers, and general-purpose house servants. The windowless oval room directly beneath the oval drawing room was the servants' waiting room. Here was a table with benches and chairs; built-in cupboards held supplies of all kinds; a glass door gave light through the arch beneath the south portico. Rows of spring-mounted bells connected to taut wires ran along the wall, and when a pull on some unseen cord or crank upstairs set one jingling, the particular servant hardly had to look, for by experience he recognized the sound.

Across the hall the kitchen was whitewashed over its grease at least

north windows. Clean-washed creek sand was sprinkled over the floor of brick pavers to cut the grease and absorb moisture. That the fire in the kitchen never went out was not in itself unusual, but it is interesting to contemplate the continuity of this kitchen fire over the long haul of history, as the Presidency passed from Monroe to Adams to Jackson, and on and on until the advent of gas cooking at the century's end, when fire could be ignited with the turn of a handle.

From the records it seems probable that Joseph Boulanger did not live at the White House. One can hardly imagine him not doing so, yet he was already well established in Washington, with living quarters above his restaurant. Because most of the servants were Jackson slaves who never had a steward at the Hermitage and were accustomed to dealing directly with the family, Boulanger's presence was not required on ordinary nights. His office was a large, square chamber in the basement which would one day gain fame as Roosevelt's and Churchill's Map Room. In it he had a desk and deep locked cupboards for storage.

The protection of the government's valuables—silver, silver-gilt; gilt-bronze, and china—was a worry to all Presidents in a house so much visited by strangers. For Jackson the problem was increased, because in 1833 he more than doubled the size of the silver tableware with the purchase of silver serving pieces from the estate of the Baron de Tuyll, late Russian minister to the United States. This French silver, together with the large quantity bought for Monroe in France, comprised quite a collection, much of which survives today. Traditionally the silver had been kept in the basement room where the steward slept.⁴²

Probably both because Boulanger did not live at the White House, and because a doorman was on duty round the clock in the porter's lodge, to the west of the entrance hall, Jackson created a pantry on the main floor, called the "locked pantry" or "vault." It was on the northwest corner of the house, a narrow room built during Madison's administration by partitioning Jefferson's old state dining room. In the reconstruction it was made permanent, part of a two-room suite that served the President's secretary as living quarters. Jackson returned the larger of the two rooms to use as a dining room and made the smaller his pantry.⁴³

When Boulanger was not at the White House, the keys were kept by the main doorkeeper, Jemmy O'Neil, a great favorite of Jackson's. His domain was the porter's lodge. With a window overlooking the north grounds, and a good perspective on the hall, he monitored the comings and goings of the public. The lodge, which has the appearance today of an office, was in Jackson's time fitted out with a bed, used by whoever

Beneath the State Dining Room, in the corner room where the Madisons had built the Pettibone heating system, was the wine cellar, which was greatly improved by Jackson. Barrel and bottle racks were built along the walls behind heavy wooden bars ("fences") which were painted black. The cellar was dark, with a brick floor. Only the steward had the keys to the outer door of the wine cellar and to the gates of the protective fences within. Wine for meals, hard liquor for punch, and beer for master and servant were kept here in great abundance.⁴⁵

Despite the size of the White House, there was never enough space for service. Laundry, for example, was hung up to dry in the corridor of the basement, as propriety precluded its being hung outside, or even in the deep areaway on the north side. Except for the wine cellar, such storage rooms as coal house, meat house, milkhouse, and the like were pushed out into the wings. The gardener's living quarters in the east wing were taken over for such purposes under Jackson and replaced by a snug wooden gardener's cottage.

Because it was being used more extensively than ever before, the White House needed reorganization and expansion by 1833. The instigator of this program must have been Major Lewis. It began at the climax of Jackson's war against the Second Bank of the United States, at the commencement of his second term in office. Through the stormy battles of this war and the others waged against the American system, passersby saw busy scenes at the White House—painters balanced high on ladders wielding whitewash brushes; freshly painted green blinds being carried up to the south windows; canvas-covered vans arriving with wallpaper and furniture; open wagons with balled trees and crates of seedlings.

Two commissioners of public buildings took part in overseeing the work of 1833–35: Joseph Elgar, in office until February of 1834, and William Noland, a friend of Jackson's, who took his place. The commissioners found a capable lieutenant in Boulanger. He was a good manager who could supervise myriad projects; he knew best what was needed at the White House. In the summer of 1833 Lewis wrote to Jackson, who was resting at the Hermitage, "the Upholsterer has the House, at present, pretty much lumbered up, With carpets, curtains, &c &c."⁴⁶

The work on the interior was extensive, but it seems not to have altered the appearance of the rooms drastically. There were new lamps, upholstery for some of the furniture, and some fresh carpeting. The color of the Washington Parlor, which had been yellow since Dolley Madison's day, was changed to blue, perhaps the rich bright Orleans blue that had risen to popularity with the fashions of Louis Philippe's France. Pink

bed in the Yellow Room upstairs, and 100 yards of silk fringe was sewn to the curtains in Jackson's room.

The upholsterers were gone by November, in time for the President's return. Boulanger, faced with storage areas crammed full of useless odds and ends, called in the auctioneers Howard and Shortent. When they saw what Boulanger wished to sell, they decided to make a production of the event. Renting a room on Pennsylvania Avenue, they fitted it with tables, which they covered with green baize, to receive the material from the White House. Boulanger checked off chairs, mattresses, curtain cornices and eagle ornaments, chandeliers, lamps, and a wide variety of table items, such as decanters, bowls, dishes, and pieces of silver plate which were badly worn or broken. To enhance the battered collection, the auctioneers fattened it in the age-old way, with innumerable items of their own. The sale was so successful that a second one, consisting largely of old window curtains, was held the following March.⁴⁷

Running Water

Greater change took place in the grounds. Andrew Jackson put up a new stable building, added running water to the house; and at last undertook an extensive program of landscaping, building upon what John Quincy Adams had begun. Most of the work connected with these projects commenced late in the spring of 1833 and continued for well over a year. In the case of the garden, the work became such a favorite pastime with President Jackson that it continued through the remainder of his second administration.

The stable was a necessity. To house Jackson's fine horses required all the space in the west wing and overflow in wooden shanties along the western fence of the White House grounds. Accommodations were both cramped and too close to the house; odors drifted into the open windows of the State Dining Room. Elevations for the new stable were drawn by a Washington builder named William P. Elliott, apparently based upon plans sketched by someone else, perhaps Jackson himself. It was built outside the arched entrance gate on the southeast, and in full view of it, about where the General William T. Sherman statue now stands. Tall and wide, the stable nestled behind a brick fence in its own grassless yard. Constructed of bricks, it was stuccoed over, with Aquia stone trimming at the windows. Six round columns of plastered bricks, with stone bases, formed a porch on the south front; its ground-level floor of stone continued through a central hall. Stalls, feed room, tack room, and

this hall and an ell to the side. On the second level was a hayloft and quarters for grooms and the coachman.⁴⁸

The stable was finished in late September 1834, when the stucco was applied and painted. Once the transfer of horses and equipment had taken place, the old stable was quickly converted into service rooms by the addition of wooden flooring, new partitions, plastering, and heavy whitewashing. The whitewash helped kill the lingering odor of animals, which must have been strong.

In conjunction with the stable project, more suitable arrangements were made for the dairy cows and the storage of milk. Big herds were never kept at the White House, but throughout the 19th century the presidential household maintained anywhere from one to six milch cows. Enormous quantities of milk were used in cooking, as well as for butter, ice cream, drinking, and as a liquid base for various household cleaning formulas, paints, and the like.

The old "cow house" had been in the west wing as far back as the days of Jefferson. Now it was relocated, either in a part of the new stable or in a separate building within the stable yard—the sources on this point are unclear. There were two milkhouses, a main one which was part of the dairy, where a 25-foot marble water basin, carved by the aged Georgetown stonecutter Robert Brown, provided a shallow, tray-like cooler for the crocks of milk, and a smaller one beneath the floor of the north portico, in the shadowy vault that spanned the areaway. This last was just outside the kitchen, and it was a holding place of some sort where milk was kept immediately prior to its use.⁴⁹

Discussions about putting running water in the White House had begun in the Madison administration before the house was burned. But in 1833, water was still provided by two original wells located in the breezeways between the house and the wings. Both were covered with low brick domes, upon which were mounted hand pumps.

In 1829 the Committee on Public Buildings had decided not to pipe running water to the White House, preferring to spend all of its appropriation on the north portico. Running water was a convenience known to most hotels of any size, particularly in their bathing rooms, and private mansions in the cities often had it in the kitchen, whether it was fed from a spring, a well, or a cistern. Many dining rooms, including that of the Madisons, had sizable cisterns equipped with brass or iron cocks; the convenience of these was not so much for drinking as for dishwashing, which was nearly always performed in the dining room, and for the cooling of wine.

commissioner of public buildings, with the idea of piping the water to the White House in "trunks," or wooden pipes made of drilled-out logs "for the purpose of supplying the President's House and public offices with drink and to fill reservoirs as security against fire." Not until the spring of 1833 did this intention take practical form. An engineer named Robert Leckie was given the work.

As early as the ground could be broken, in March that year, laborers were set to digging three reservoirs, one at the Treasury, one at the State Department, and the third at the White House itself. The completed reservoirs were large, orderly looking ponds curbed in brick; one was between Treasury and State on the east, and the others were between War and Navy on the west.

As the ponds were dug and the laying of pipe got under way, the engineer decided to substitute iron pipe for the wooden trunks. At the reservoirs, stonemasons set bulky platforms or "pedistals" where the pipes came to the surface. Water flowed freely through the pipes, which by means of grading were kept on a decline the whole way to the President's Park. At the pedestals the water formed spout-like fountains that shot directly into the pools. Situated on the pedestals were pumps made of iron and trimmed with brass, protected by ornamented pumphouses of wood that looked a bit like church steeples. From the pumps various iron pipes led to the several buildings.

Leckie's system, largely completed by the end of May 1833, worked this way: The motion produced by the splashing fountains kept the water in the reservoirs from stagnating. A deep bed of clean sand laid down before water was introduced was the filter through which the water passed in its movement within the pool. While it seems simple, the system was complicated enough to keep Leckie on the job for nearly a year, working out the problems. The pipes from the pools to the buildings were buried in the ground. Since the pipes had to carry water to great heights inside the house, hand pumps provided the necessary pressure. A pump attendant who took care of all three reservoirs worked the handles at intervals, filling the pipes as well as the small tin cisterns that had been installed to serve each hydrant.⁵⁰

Initially the pipes reached only the lower levels, where they poked through the walls, each capped with a brass cock or hydrant. Theoretically, a turn of the handle brought the water forth, but this always depended upon the vigilance of the pump attendant, and the condition of the pumps, which were often out of repair. The Treasury and the State Department buildings had one hydrant apiece, in their basements. The

one in the main floor butler's pantry, where the dishes were washed in a marble sink, and perhaps one in the kitchen.⁵¹

The beauty of clean, potable water, and the wonder of having it available inside the house at the turn of a handle rather escapes late 20th-century sensibilities. There was something especially lovely about it in an age that hauled water in buckets, that drank from creeks and wells and, with good reason, feared bad water. As the pipes were being connected at the White House, Major Lewis wrote to the President, who was home in Tennessee, that the water system would be a "very comfortable thing." And comfortable indeed it proved to be, when the kinks were worked out.⁵²

One luxury usually leads to another, even in the house of a chieftain of the common man. Very soon, either in late 1833 or early 1834, a bathing room was established in the east wing to take further advantage of the fine water supply. All that is known of the room is that it had a hot bath, a cold bath, and a shower bath. Coal fires under large copper boilers heated the water.⁵³

Major work on the grounds began in the spring of 1833, and was carried on until 1835. Since there is no source to indicate anything else, it can be assumed that the plan generally followed the outlines set down by John Quincy Adams, whose concept, in turn, descended from Jefferson through Bulfinch. A good bit of the work under Jackson was accomplished while he was away at the Hermitage in the summer of 1833. The parties who conducted the work answered to Lewis, who, with his daughter Mary Ann, remained at the White House, with occasional absences in New York and Philadelphia.

The Garden

Andrew Jackson, farmer and horse breeder, shared the fascination of his age with horticulture. At the White House he seems to have been pleased with the work of the gardener John Ousley, first engaged by Adams, for Ousley stayed on. In the work of the early 1830s he also called in Jemmy Maher, public gardener of the city, who contributed not only his experience at managing large-scale works, but also a portion of his handsome annual appropriation. He attended to the earth-moving and to the planting of trees, while acting as purchasing agent for new plant material. Ousley, the flower gardener, remained in charge of the delicate plantings of flowers and shrubbery, the general maintenance of the grounds, and the flower garden southeast of the house.⁵⁴

gardening. The responsibility of the public gardener extended not much beyond the Capitol, the Mall, and Pennsylvania Avenue, where he primarily graded for drainage and planted trees. Most private houses had walled or fenced yards planted thickly with fruit trees, the earth beneath them packed hard and swept with brush brooms. The larger houses, such as the Van Ness mansion near the White House, had wooded parks where sheep grazed to keep the grass cut. Letters seldom refer to flowers, though often to vegetables and fruits. Within the White House in the 1830s the most conspicuous flowers were of wax, arranged in Monroe's porcelain urns and protected beneath large glass domes. Fresh flowers were the exception.

Jemmy Maher owned a nursery and also accepted a salary for his official post. A Jackson appointee, he had come to Washington from Ireland as a child, brought by his father, a refugee from the rebellion of 1798. Maher was a good businessman, owning in addition to the nursery, a saloon, which in the terminology of the time was known as a "grocery." He seems to have solved his labor problems by bringing young Irishmen to America, boarding them, and employing them on his various projects, including the public grounds. His household was of extraordinary size, having at one time 23 males between the ages of 20 and 40.

He worked hard, and often found relaxation in drink. Son of his rebellious father, he loathed the British and anything British, so the man who had beat the British at New Orleans was a natural hero to him; the hero found this gardener an amusing man to talk with. Now and then Maher's drinking and his boisterous companions irked the commissioner of public buildings, who complained to the President, who in turn confronted the public gardener. But Maher found it easy to make Jackson laugh and always got off the hook.⁵⁵

Work progressed through the summer of 1833 on both the north and the south grounds, even though the money proved not nearly sufficient. Between 61 and 65 laborers worked under Thomas Murray, one of Maher's tenants. "Grduating," or grading, was done on the south, and garden paths were laid out, topped with gravel. No plan survives to give us an exact description of the pattern of the walks, the location of shelters or seats. Information on that summer's work comes entirely from records of payment for materials and services.⁵⁶

The chopping of the earth with hoes and the dragging of the ground with rakes made powdery clouds that dry summer. Draymen's carts and wheelbarrows contributed to the stifling, nearly nauseating dust that slid through the green louvres of the windows and annoyed the occupants of

intense heat and no rain, that the work was called to a halt. But it was unquestionably the lack of money, more than the lack of rain, that really stopped the work. Most of the cost was borne by the public buildings appropriation, and this had been drained after the destruction of the Treasury building by fire in March 1833. So poorly did the new water system serve the fire fighters that the commissioner of public works, William Noland, channeled most of his money to improving the water-works in the President's Park. Commissioner Elgar wrote: "the destruction of one of the offices for want of water seemed to inculcate the necessity of providing against a recurrence of the catastrophe with the least possible delay." By comparison, the work on the grounds seemed minor. The commissioner asked Maher and Ousley to arrive at a figure that would cover completion of the work in the next year.⁵⁷

The main improvement to the White House that we know about for the summer of 1833 was on the north front. Noland commissioned a plan for a parapet wall with an iron railing. This was to run between the foremost four columns, along the perilous edge of the deep areaway—heretofore unfenced—and all around the lawn that spread between the two branches of the driveway. Andrew Jackson unrolled this plan, took his pencil, and made so many changes, Noland observed, that he had "more than doubled" the original cost. What Jackson wanted most was the straightening of the wavy, curving north fence built by Monroe. He also wanted the gates and piers moved wider apart—they must have seemed rather close company in so large a space. The commissioner completed the work as the President wished, even after the money ran out, explaining that he could not stop halfway or "all the cattle of Washington" would assault the grounds.⁵⁸

The source of the new fencing near the house is not known. If it was not Paulus Hedl, who was still in business in New York, it was someone who made railing that closely approximated what Hedl had put on the east front of the Capitol in 1820. Low and heavy, made of wrought iron, the fence evoked the cornice in the East Room. It featured a row of bold anthemia seemingly outlined in iron, set within circles and running side by side, held together top and bottom by rails. This long Grecian border ran the full extent of the north facade, apparently underlining the White House in orderly black. The evenness of this line echoed the now perfectly straight iron fence along Pennsylvania Avenue.

When there no longer seemed a possibility of frost, in March of 1834, hoes and shovels again cut the ground. Now there were two White House gardeners. Ousley's time was given over entirely to ornamental

the vegetables. The division of responsibility suggests a broadening of the gardening program at the Jackson White House, a separation for the first time of ornamental and edible plantings. It may well also pin down the date when the old garden—which Jefferson had located on the southeast—was redesigned and elaborated, and new ground was broken southwest of the house for the kitchen garden.

Most of the grading was completed in May. The driveway on the north was placed in its present path, laid over with gravel and edged with paved walks. It became a wide horseshoe, bordered by paved footways. Within the north fence all the ironwork was painted black. The gate piers and all parapets were painted white, like the house. There was some further grading, because drainage had been a problem during the winter; sections of the parapet were cut open as outlets for ditches into Pennsylvania Avenue. The ground was turned up and grass seed scattered. Protective boxes were removed from Adams's trees on the north grounds, for now. The few that survived were of sufficient size to fend for themselves, even when sheep were turned in to crop the lawn.

The greatest advances were on the south side. By man, shovel, ox, and plow the surface was graded to seat the south portico on a carpet lawn flanked by slopes that hid the littered east and west colonnades, where in the warm months many homely household tasks were performed. The "circular road" was leveled and graveled, although no change seems to have been made in its path. The White House was not visible from the arched gate, but screened by trees as Jefferson had intended. Some of the trees had grown quite large. Beside the gate were two weeping willow trees which were in Jackson's day called "ancient," dating from "colonial times."⁵⁹

Because the flower garden on the east and the kitchen garden on the west were fenced, the south driveway was segregated into its own open grassy area apart from either of them. Jefferson's high wall, albeit crumbling in places, was the barrier between this and what Fanny Kemble had called in 1833 "a desolate reach of uncultivated ground to the river." It was crossed in several spots by wooden stiles, which pedestrians could climb for an elevated look at the mansion. The popular pride of China, or chinaberry, trees were planted there in the spring of 1834.⁶⁰

It may be that the celebrated Jackson magnolias, the mighty old trees that gnarl up today as high as the house and shade the President's bedroom windows, were planted near the west stairway to the south portico at about this time. No written record places these trees in Jackson's Presidency, but the legend began in the late 19th century. How-

surely they would have been sufficiently advanced from seedlings in 12 years to make their presence known.⁶¹

The work done on the grounds in the spring and summer of 1834 was the most extensive landscaping yet. Jackson's personal interest is difficult to gauge. He had once hired a gardener in Philadelphia for the Hermitage, an Englishman, William Frost, and as a planter he was professionally concerned with horticulture. An avid gardener, however, he seems not to have been. Van Buren, Vice President in Jackson's second term, was a gardening enthusiast, and in the early 1830s toured English country houses and gardens, making extensive notes. King William IV had shown him his garden and retreat at Windsor, saying he loved it far more than he did the palace. Possibly Van Buren encouraged the work on the White House grounds.

Various building projects were undertaken for the garden. Trellises, benches, fences, a hothouse were built in the fall of 1834 by Bryan & Wood, a local contracting firm specializing in garden construction. A "watch box" was built for a sentry, unquestionably in reaction to the attempt on Jackson's life made at the Capitol on January 30, 1835. The watch box was also a reminder that the south grounds, and particularly the flower garden at their eastern end, were for the exclusive use of the President and his household. One reason very few descriptions of the garden survive is that it was never open to public inspection.⁶²

The acquisition of plant material was large, and Jemmy Maher seems to have acted on his own most of the time. His main sources were nurseries in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York. He also attended estate sales when he learned that greenhouses were to be emptied and plant materials sold. The bills that passed into the records of William Noland's office provide a worthy, though general, overview of what Andrew Jackson planted in the White House garden.

Few bills in 1834, 1835, and 1836 are for vegetable seeds or roots. These were not difficult to find. Vegetable planting had been carried on at the White House for many years, beginning with the first Adams, and a part of the gardener's job was to assure a garden's progeny by taking seeds each season to root for the next. Cold frames were built for rooting, and glass bell jars were purchased in great number for the same purpose. In the winter one can imagine some of the south windows filled, as in any house of the day, with clay pots where seeds were rooting. At the White House this was William Whelan's responsibility. He occupied a room in the west wing, where the stable had been, just adjacent to the vegetable garden which was his charge.

from the best nurseries in the United States, principal among which were the firms of William Prince & Sons and Bloodgood & Company in Flushing, New York. These were also the largest nurseries in the nation. They were examples of how Jacksonian enterprise, coupled with the advances in transportation since the War of 1812, had changed American business. Although both had begun as local merchants, they had expanded to become "national" businesses, with full catalogues supplying plant material to buyers as far away as Louisiana. Of the two, the Prince company sold more to the White House. At the Prince company Maher had bought elm trees to replace Thomas Jefferson's short-lived Lombardy poplars on Pennsylvania Avenue. In addition he ordered more trees for the White House: sugar maples, elms, American sycamores, European sycamores, red-twigged lindens, silver-leaf maples, oaks of all kinds, and the magnificent horse chestnuts, whose white, wisteria-like blossoms were for some years a Washington trademark. It was an age in which ornamental trees were beloved both for summer shade and as shields from the sometimes bitter winds of winter.

Although most of the grounds were planted heavily with trees, Maher's notes suggest that few were planted on the southeast, where the flower garden spread over some two acres within its board fence. Some trees stood at the edges of the garden, but none in positions to impede the southern sunshine. The open, level garden itself was crossed by graveled walks, which were flanked by grass borders. A daily duty of the gardener's assistants was to take the gravel rakes, made in Washington especially for the purpose, and pull the gravel neatly to the center of these walks. This process did improve the drainage, but, like plumping featherbeds to keep them mounded, it mainly testified to the ready availability of low-cost manual labor.

Some of the garden's numerous trellises were specified as being for roses. There was an arbor, the earliest mention of which is in an account of Maher's in the spring of 1835 for "running vine trainers for Arbours." The character of this arbor is not known, but the lone photograph of the old garden, taken in the late 1850s, shows a long, tunnel-like arbor of wood, painted white, and arched over a straight segment of graveled walk. Perhaps this was the same arbor of Jackson's time, or at least similar to it. Other means of training and supporting flowering shrubs and vines were also used. Bryan & Wood made "2 Espalier Frames for Rose Bushes" in the spring of 1834 and supplied more the next year.⁶³

Only spotty records remain of the actual species of the flowers and shrubbery used in the garden. Altheas, single and double, were used in

John Quincy Adams. Dwarf rose trees were introduced under Jackson, as well as boxwood "edging." Bills exist for more than 1,000 "roots" purchased from the nurseries and at public estate sales. These could be either bulbs or tuber roots, in the terminology of the day.⁶⁴

Many flowering plants were undoubtedly acquired at no cost through cuttings—people in that era of popular gardening liked to trade. John Quincy Adams had acquired many plants for the White House that way. When they pruned, gardeners might root portions of their clippings in the cold frame so that they could reuse them in their own gardens or trade them for other material.

Roses, the blossoms of fruit trees, such spring bulbs as hyacinths, narcissus, and tulips, were the flowers Andrew Jackson could see when he looked down from his office windows. That there were other flowers is certain. On visits to the White House, Senator Thomas Hart Benton used to take his daughter Jessie along to see the President, and the memory of flowers lingered throughout her life. "I have the beautiful recollection," she wrote years later, of "stands of camelias and laurestina banked row upon row, the glossy dark green leaves bringing into full relief their lovely wax-like flowers."⁶⁵

In the garden an orangery surveyed the parterres through tall glass windows; it stood with its back toward Pennsylvania Avenue and the north wind. Very little is known of this structure, except that the shell of it was Latrobe's old Treasury fireproof vault, abandoned after the war and used for years as storage. It was turned by Jackson into a "hothouse," or orangery, in 1835, possibly to house a sago palm rescued at Mount Vernon that winter, when Washington's old orangery burned down. When the White House greenhouses burned in the late 1860s much was made over the loss of a sago palm that had belonged to Washington. Jackson had great affection for Washington relics, and he was the owner of the general's desk chair. He had modeled his driveway at the rebuilt Hermitage after that at Mount Vernon.⁶⁶

The exact appearance of Jackson's orangery is unclear, for there is no detailed drawing. A photograph taken much later suggests that it was somewhat like the one that had burned at Mount Vernon. It had a similar tall central section for large tubbed plants—which appear constantly in the records—with low, flanking wings. The middle part, with its great arched window, is in fact the orangery; the photograph shows the wings as they were 20 years later, with glass roofs. Greenhouses were not in common use in Jackson's time, and these were built in 1853. The carpenters' and glaziers' bills of the Jackson tenure show that the or-

wood framing rotted in spots and glass panes were forever breaking. Latrobe's brick walls, however, and the lunettes, matching those on the east and west wings, remained sturdy until the entire structure was demolished in 1859.⁶⁷

Pennsylvania Avenue

As early as 1832 the local newspapers had taken an interest in improving the public grounds, including those of the White House. The *National Intelligencer* suggested that the south wall be knocked down and the lawn extended to Tiber Creek. "Within that enclosure," continued the *Intelligencer*, "there might be a beautiful lake, or a handsome and ornamental canal formed . . . nature has done a great deal for that ground. The canal or lake could contain a beautiful island, directly in front of the house, which might be made, by the aid of art, a little paradise. The whole ground enclosed, from North to South, with an iron railing, and certain offices that are within the present enclosure removed at a distance not to be seen from the south front, would leave great room for improvement. We then, in reality, should have room to introduce ornamental as well as useful gardening within that enclosure on a grand and beautiful scale."⁶⁸

Four years later, with Jackson's work on the garden nearly done, and the old Treasury a toppling skin of scorched brick, the Committee on Public Buildings met with the commissioner and representatives from the President's immediate circle. Before them was the question: Why rebuild the Treasury as it had been? All the old executive buildings were inadequate, hated by those who had to use them. Why not level them all and replace them with one building that would house everyone? The most convenient location for this executive pile might be either on Lafayette Park or on the grounds south of the White House.

It seems to have been Andrew Jackson himself who disposed of both plans. One alternative would have ruined the park; the other would have plugged the southward vista from the President's House. The President would have neither. Legend has it that he walked to the ruins of the Treasury, beyond the White House garden. He took long paces to the south and made a mark with his cane. "This," he is said to have pronounced, "is where it shall be." And there it stands.⁶⁹

History has long abused the general for this act, claiming that he blocked the view of the White House from the Capitol, down Pennsylvania Avenue. The truth is, in locating the new Treasury he rescued

executive complex. He has also taken an unjust beating with regard to the view from the avenue. L'Enfant's idea for architectural terminations of the Pennsylvania Avenue vistas had died along with his presidential palace. General Washington had personally set the smaller house by Hoban to the north, pulling it to the very edge of the avenue's frame, where it was barely visible, and even so, seemed squat and unimportant. Jefferson's sensitivity was understandably offended by the way the White House shrank back wretchedly from the commanding axis, so he cut off what little view there was with a curving driveway and dense plantings.

In siting the new Treasury building, Jackson really sacrificed nothing, but corrected an old shortcoming by giving Pennsylvania Avenue at last its architectural terminus. Robert Mills's design for the new Treasury gave the avenue a colossal portico with mighty Ionic columns. Here was democratic grandeur of which one can suspect L'Enfant himself would have approved.

Old Ironsides

The hero of New Orleans was ready to go home in 1837. He rejoiced that Van Buren would succeed him, and from time to time, in anticipation of the terrible campaign, had considered resignation as a possibility for assuring a peaceful continuation of Jacksonianism. Van Buren consistently opposed this. At last the idea was dropped, and the general waited out the end of his time.

Strange and moving images linger of Jackson's personal experiences in the White House. Emily's death in 1836 had broken his heart. His adopted son, Andrew Jackson, Jr., married in 1831, and eventually brought to the White House his beautiful wife, Sarah Yorke. Jackson liked well-bred women; after Emily went back to Tennessee in 1834 Jackson grew very close to his daughter-in-law. The gentle Sarah Jackson and her children would be the light of an old age which might, without them, have been dark with melancholy and physical pain.

His health was poor. Most of the descriptions reveal an old man too weak to stand, at least for very long. A compelling glimpse of the general's feebleness comes from the summer of 1834, when a gallant man named Nicholas J. Ash announced that he would ascend into the sky in a balloon in honor of the President. When the day came, the Mall below the White House was crowded with spectators, but Jackson was too weak even to stand on the south portico. The curtains of his office were drawn back and he sat in the open window. As the balloon rose in the air,

huzzahs for Andrew Jackson. The hero could not hear him and could only see the flags when Major Lewis pointed them out.⁷⁰

Few Americans had ever seen his face except in pictures, and few would have known him if they had seen him in person. Yet he was a rather familiar sight in the little city of Washington: He clipped through the early morning on his horse, riding with Van Buren; he was the host of three—not the usual two—great public receptions each year, the new one being January 8, a week after the first, to honor his own victory over the British at New Orleans. In the last years he could not stand and receive at these events, but sat in one of Monroe's golden chairs, with Sarah Yorke Jackson "in full court costume" close beside him, while the multitudes flowed by.⁷¹

March 4, 1837, he attended the inauguration of Van Buren and returned to the White House, which was torn up with packing. On March 6, seated in his chair, he listened to a touching farewell delivered to him by the mayor of Washington. This was a courtesy that had been accorded all Presidents since Jefferson, and the general had more to say in response than most of his predecessors, thanking the numerous delegation with great warmth.

That same day at about noon he climbed into his coach at the north portico to begin the 30-day journey to the Hermitage. The trip would be softened wherever possible by railroad cars and steamboats. On President Van Buren's order, over objections from Jackson, the surgeon-general was going along. The coach that now rolled that sunny day through thick crowds, down the White House drive and into Pennsylvania Avenue toward the railroad depot was a magnificent vehicle, presented to Jackson by the "Democratic-Republican Citizens of New York City." It was made of wood taken from the frigate *Constitution*, the "Old Ironsides" of the War of 1812.

Every detail of the coach was luxuriously finished, the trimmings silver plate. Its surface was polished to a lacquer gloss. On the doors bright paintings of the *Constitution*, full sail, combined with the inscription "*Patri victisque laudatus*." In this dramatic phaeton the hero departed the White House forever, sunk back against crimson satin cushions, white, thin, weak, but leaving behind him the image of a man as eternally virile and young as the image in iron, on the rearing horse, that would one day become the climax of Lafayette Park.⁷²

