

1-16-01

Betsey Wright

15156 Dutchmans Drive
501/925-4440

Rogers, Arkansas 72756
501/925-4443 Fax

E-Mail: betseyw@specent.com

January 8, 2001

TO: Nancy Hernreich
RE: Request for conversation

I need to talk to the President, and I would appreciate your arranging a telephone conversation at his earliest convenience.

I hope you have a wonderful new year, as you begin your exciting new life!

Many, many thanks for all you have done.

copied
Cable
Podesta

Betsey

McAleer

Wally wants a favor
for Eric Hamilton - says
he was overcharged -
saw him while TX

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

FOIA MARKER

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[Miscellaneous Last-Minute "President Has Seen" Correspondence] [2] [OA/ID 20899] [031]

Stack:

S

Row:

40

Section:

7

Shelf:

11

Position:

1

LEWIS RUDIN C.B.E.

1-11

Dear Mr President,

Nobody Deserves This Pillow
More Than you!
Welcome To the "Lew Rudin Pillow Club"
Hope To see you in New York!
Best Regards To The Senator!
Sincerely,
Lew

Lee,
Pls file/
as app
EB

EB
For
your
records
R



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
International Trade Administration
Washington, D.C. 20230

FAX TRANSMISSION
Richard B. Steinkamp

DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR
TEXTILES, APPAREL AND CONSUMER GOODS INDUSTRIES
U.S. Dept. Of Commerce, Room H-3001A
Washington, D.C. 20230
202/482-3737
Fax: 202/482-2331

10RM

To:

Date:

January 12 2001

Fax #:

456 6299 / 456 6703

Pages:

, including this cover sheet.

From:

Richard Steinkamp

Subject:

Mr. President

I know you are busy, and we are over
here feeding the last barking dog - but I
want to mention three things:

1. The textile industry has asked me to stay for
a time, and I would do that. Secretary Mnuchin knows
me and my work and I believe he will be supportive.
If you would consider mentioning this to him, I would
appreciate it.

2. Lenora will not ask, so I will. She has always
wanted to see Camp David - just to walk around.

3. I would like to see the Lincoln Bedroom and stand
N on the Truman Balcony.

We are glad we came. Thank you for
the opportunity to be on your team!

Best regards — Richard



Go to
the
State
Dept.
to
get
the
fax
number
for
the
President's
office

Dell Computer Corporation
One Dell Way
Round Rock, Texas 78682

Telephone 512.728.8400
Telefax 512.728.3653
michael@dell.com
www.dell.com

Michael S. Dell
Chairman & CEO



January 15, 2001

01 JAN 17 PM 12:59

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you for your leadership on national security and export control policy. In particular, we appreciate your Administration's recent steps to adjust export control limits to more realistic levels and applaud the proposed changes to the export control tier system. Over the past eight years your Administration has worked hard to strike the appropriate balance between protecting our nation's national security and promoting its economic interests. Export controls that needlessly limit the nation's technological sector undermine rather than advance national security. The actions that you have taken, and the further reform of export controls that are needed, reflect the extraordinarily rapid pace of technological development.

I look forward to working with the Bush Administration to ensure this balance continues and that a new long-term regulatory approach can be established. For your continued support, I commend and thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Michael Dell

1-17-01

Send to Cohen -
Yes ☒
No ☐
OR
cal

PHILIP C. JAMISON . 1848 Greenplace Terrace . Rockville, Maryland 20850
(301) 251-9709 (H) / (703) 695-9982 (W)

January 12, 2001

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

ORM

*Get in by 11:00
with them by 11:00*

Dear Bill,

Been a pleasure following your farewell tour. Glad you are going to make it to Little Rock also. Historians will judge you as one of the best Presidents ever; and I think a majority of today's public is starting to recognize that. Hope you are able to take a short break before jumping into the fray again. As the President who figured out how to move the United States (and the rest of the world) into the Information Age, there is still much you can do through your Presidential Center and through other means to ensure that this transition is done in a way that puts people first (to coin a phrase).

Hope to work out a way the gang of three (Carolyn, Jim, and myself) can see you before you leave town the 20th (though we might eventually end having more opportunities to get together with you when you are out of office.) By the way, thanks to your joint missile warning center initiative with Yeltsin and Putin, I was promoted and am getting some type of award next week (will tell you how that U.S. - Russia hands-across-the-border stuff is working out sometime when we have time to talk.)

Hope you and Hillary enjoy your last week in the White House. You done good.

Sincerely,

Phil

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

SENATOR JOHN BREAU
LOUISIANA



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-6-00

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510

10/19/00

To: POTUS

From: Breau -

You asked Bob Mann to send
you the galley proofs on his new
book on how we got into Vietnam!

Bob is my State Director and worked
for Russell Long and this is his
3rd Book. I thought it would be
helpful to you before you go to
Vietnam -

If you could and think its
appropriate maybe you could do
a short "blurb" for the jacket -

Thanks
John -

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

12-6-00
~~To Leg. Affairs?~~
cc: Leg Affs
NO REPLY NEC.
POTUS DOESN'T
DO "BURBS"
(12) 12-6-00

12/16/00

Dear Mr President,
Bill,

1-17-00

Our prayers are with you
in this time of conclusions and
beginnings. We look forward with
confidence to seeing, & being part of,
the "post-Presidency", when you'll
do further things in the world
from another venue. Thank you
for your inclusive Presidency, which
has brought so very many of us
"along for the ride". These have been
extraordinary years and their reverberations
will continue to effect progress for
years to come. That sounds rather
pompous on re-reading, but I see its truth
in all the people you selected from

REACH OUT AT CHRISTMAS

ST. COLUMBA'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH, WASHINGTON, D.C.

all over the country whose commitment to
public service & positive change will
go with them beyond this Administration, affecting
companies, communities, schools, countries....

Love shall be our token

Love be yours and love be mine,

Love to God and neighbor,

Love for plea and gift and sign.

-CHRISTINA ROSSETTI, 1830-1894

Jan J. [Signature]

[Signature]

Elaine Blyth Anderson

Human Relations, Communication Consultant
19 Seaview Terrace
Santa Monica, California 90401
393-8649

5th November 2000

To
The President of The U.S.A.

Dear Mr President,

For today you still are.

I have never written a fan letter in my life but my heart wants to send you one today.

I am a seventy six year old widow, well educated & still thinking. Whatever happens next Tuesday will rest on the valuable base you have set during your presidency. It only we could have voted for you again!

Your combination of intellect & emotional warmth is most winning, for we have seen a President who truly loved his job & loved his people.

I think it will be a long time till we see such sincere enthusiasm again. Thank you from a very grateful, unimportant person, who speaks for a body of people so large as to become important. Thank you for the economy, thank you for employing so many women, thank you for your negotiating skills, your humor & for holding your head high. Your Mother would have been so proud.

Very truly yours

Elaine Blyth Anderson

P.S. It's been nice having a Blyth(s) in the White House. My daughter-in-law is Hilary.

To Betty
Powers

2832 Ridge Road
Waldorf Maryland
20603

1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW
Washington DC 20025
Attn: Caprice Marshall

'01 JAN 10 PM3:21

Dear Mr Marshall:

I had worked with the District of Columbia Housing Authority as construction advisor with Mr. Clinton's AmeriCorps. Please let him know his idea for this program is marvelous. Having been born in the Projects I know how important outside influences can be. The young Ladies and Gentlemen interacted wonderfully with the tenants and were excited to be involved. Hopefully it has changed the lives of both in a good way.

My Father, who will be 94 on January 3rd, thinks President Clinton is better than Roosevelt. Now that's saying something for a Depression survivor!

Dad wants the laws changed so we can have a more than 2 term President.

Someday I would like Dad to meet President Clinton - it would be the highlight of his life.

Respectfully

William L. Briggs

The
MELROSE
Hotel
WASHINGTON D.C.

1-17-01

~~January~~ 8, 2001

Mr President -

I've had this book
for some time. Signed
by the leader for
you. Truly fascinating.

Garry Mauro
512 750-3767

**PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING**

2430 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW Washington, DC 20037-6986
202.955.6400 1.800.MELROSE Facsimile 202.955.5765
www.melrosehotel.com

Carl Sferrazza Anthony

1720 16th Street, NW~Washington, D.C. 20009~csfanthony@aol.com

January 6, 2001

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Are there no loopholes in that damned 22nd Amendment? I hate to imagine this nation without you at its helm. You genuinely represent "hope" everywhere in the world. In my observation of this within the context of presidential history as well as human nature, I would credit your spirit and personality as much as I would economically responsible policy, humane considerations in devising social reform efforts, and a genuine vision of a future America. ~~index~~ Personality in politics may be viewed superficially as "style," but it always translates into substance. I see a direct connection between your intelligence, determination, fairness and optimism to the consumer confidence index. What fatherless child from a small Arkansas town gets to Georgetown, Yale and Oxford, and eventually the presidency without leaving confidence in his path? I have just completed writing a personal, a family biography of President Kennedy. The comparisons between yourself and this man who endured his own struggles, particularly with health, are valid.

Of all the issues you raised as President for me, personally, the efforts to resolve racial misunderstandings has always been most important. The face of America is changing of course--some people don't want to recognize that, but you do. I have been anxiously awaiting your planned book on race issues--hope it will appear soon. When we did our interview about racism and your own experiences, at the 40th anniversary of the desegregation of Little Rock High, I felt ever more committed to following you as the person who can best lead a genuine, perhaps painful but ultimately healing national dialogue on race. I believe you are still that person. As a former president, I hope that you will perhaps continue to lead on this issue, through books and forums and real confrontations to help resolve lingering assumptions and pre-judgements that cloud both black and white hearts alike.

You have also, oddly enough, helped to evolve the historic role of First Lady as well. At Hillary's book party in November, I feel that I really failed in my remarks in one way. I had been warned about a strict time constraint and did not get to add what I had also wanted to say--about you as President. The First Lady, any First Lady, draws her influence derivitavely from her President. And this First Lady has had an extraordinary President who has welcomed and encouraged her to contribute her experiences and talents.

Finally, I would like to thank you in a most personal, perhaps selfish way. As a little boy in Bayside, New York I had always dreamed of becoming President and living in the White House. I poured through all the biographies of the Presidents--before First Ladies actually! If you had told that seven-year old that, if he persisted in his work, he would someday be standing on a podium in the East Room with the President of the United States and being publicly recognized by him and then being so honored as to also speak on that podium--my God, I never would have imagined. You, you and Hillary, gave me that chance. As the Clinton years end, I am pursuing another dream--to write quality stories for film, stories about good people like you. So, after twenty years in Washington I am finally leaving. I move to Los Angeles on February 1. That said, I hope that you will call on me to help in any way you might want to as the Clinton Presidential Museum evolves.

Sometimes I am given to sentiment; still, from the moment the balloons dropped in Madison Square Garden to "Don't Stop Thinking About Tomorrow" I knew that not only I, but the entire country would be changing for the better. You have always been, still are and will always be "my" President. And remember, I really am an Independent.

With gratitude and respect,



Carl Sferrazza Anthony

JP/ Ricchetti
worth reading
its fascinating, tho's
and footnote at the end
Bx

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-9-00

copied
Podesta
Ricchetti

TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

The Jefferson Lecture

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Hon. A.I.A.

University of Virginia

Charlottesville

April 13, 2000

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

The origins of Rome are mythic. By contrast, the capital of the United States, rich in Roman reference and design, was provided for in a written Constitution, and implemented by act of Congress.¹ The Residence Act of 1790 followed in a matter of weeks an agreement reached over Thomas Jefferson's dinner table at 57 Maiden Lane in Manhattan in which the then-Secretary of State agreed to the proposal of then-Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton that the new Federal Government assume the debt incurred by the several states during the Revolutionary War. A daunting act of statecraft. Most of the outstanding obligations had been issued by northern states – Virginia had paid off its war debt – such that this marked a considerable concession by Jefferson as a matter of regional interest and to his larger concern that the States not become too dependent on the new national government. Hence his terms. The seat of that national government would be removed from the bustling, bursting streets of Manhattan to a malarial swamp on the banks of the Potowmac River.

The Compromise of 1790, as historians have it, is surely the beginning of national politics in the new nation.² The Legislature, the Executive, the regions, the interests, working things out. Yet it might better be seen as the last of the Constitutional provisions for the separation of powers. The Constitution refers to a "District . . . as may, by Cession of particular States, . . . become the Seat of the

Government."³ Given the plural – States – it may be that the present arrangement was already contemplated in Philadelphia. New York was not yet the first city of the Nation, but was well on its way as was evident to most. It would shortly become the financial capital, the transportation hub, the port of entry, the city that the rest of the world would look to as the symbol of America. The culture in the largest sense was in New York; government would be somewhere else.⁴

And not much of it. Jefferson proposed a plan for Washington in 1791 that was little more than a village on the banks of the "Tiber." There would be growth, no doubt. But nothing noticeable by way of magnificence.⁵

He had not reckoned on Pierre Charles L'Enfant. In a matter of months the French military engineer, a wartime associate of Washington, had created a plan for a seat of empire (see Fig. 1).⁶ In Monumental Washington, John W. Reps judges that L'Enfant's "general inspiration" had to come from Versailles. He continues,

Here truly, if not "a plan wholly new," was an urban composition unique at least to America both in scale and in concept. All the baroque design motifs of European planning developed over the years in the old world suddenly and splendidly found application on this virgin site for the capital of the newest of the world's nations. It was a supreme irony that the plan forms originally conceived to magnify the glories of despotic kings and emperors came to be applied as a national symbol of a country whose philosophical basis

was so firmly rooted in democratic equality.

And yet, inappropriate as this design may have been as a reflection of the constitution of the new government, it must have appealed to the aspirations of its leaders for national grandeur. Even the sophisticated Jefferson, who can hardly have failed to appreciate the anomaly of the L'Enfant plan, apparently never objected to the design. Perhaps he, Washington, and the others to whom this task had been entrusted showed, by their acceptance of the plan, their ultimate faith in the nation's ability to rival Europe in power and architectural glory. Certainly it was an act of faith in the future to adopt this plan so obviously beyond the resources that could immediately be mustered for its completion. Their vision, and that of L'Enfant, took decades to be vindicated.⁷

Indeed, L'Enfant had written Washington on September 11, 1789, seeking the commission to design "the Capital of this vast Empire."⁸ We catch our founders peeking at a future not wholly that of honest yeoman.

But there is more. Imperial though the plan might be, the central focus was Pennsylvania Avenue separating as well as connecting the "Congress's House" and the "President's House," the centers of power of the American constitutional system, whilst provision was made for a Supreme Court, more or less in between.⁹

In 1800, John Adams lost the presidential election. He thereupon turned over the Treasury, such as it was, the armed forces, and the Great Seal to Jefferson and made his way back to Quincy. American democracy was thus established, and now situated in the city of Washington. The next year Jefferson began his

administration with a symbolic ride down the Avenue, from Congress to the President's House. Thereafter he planted four rows of Lombardy Poplars to define the space between. But then the British came, burned the Capitol, and marched down Pennsylvania Avenue and burned the President's House. (We had burned Fort York, now the site of Toronto.) The city languished. The President's House was repainted, thus becoming the White House, but not much else happened. Tiber Creek festered and overflowed, an "indescribable cesspool" full of "smells and malarial mosquitos."¹⁰

In time the government if not the city revived. The Treasury Building, the Patent Office athwart Eighth Street and the Post Office (later the Tariff Commission) across the way finished the early classical phase of government building. In the 1830s a macadam surface was laid for the Avenue. The Civil War brought some development and a considerable portion of parades. Governor Alexander "Boss" Shepherd planted some 50,000 trees about the city and saw that sewers were laid. Nineteenth century architecture had appeared in the form of Renwick's Smithsonian Building (1855), the new Old Post Office (1899) by Willoughby Edbrooke, Romanesque and soaring; the Second Empire State, War & Navy Building (1888) by Alfred B. Mullett; the Pension Building (1883) by

General Montgomery C. Meigs, a Farnese Palace with an interior space still without equal in the Western Hemisphere. But Washington remained a Southern town, governed by Congress, with little civic life, utterly segregated by race with vast numbers of Negro "citizens" living in the notorious alleys.

For all the scattered new buildings, the second half of the 19th century in Washington is perhaps best evoked by the travail of the Washington Monument. From the end of the Revolutionary War onwards, all manner of statues and mausoleums were proposed in his memory; in 1804 Jefferson settled on a site south of the White House, but nothing happened. The centenary of Washington's birth revived interest and a voluntary society was formed. Robert Mills won the competition and states and the like began to contribute blocks of marble. Alas, in 1854 Pope Pius IX contributed a block taken from the Temple of Concord in Rome. Alert citizens knew the installation would be the signal for the Catholic uprising. Accordingly, the "Pope's stone" was unceremoniously dumped somewhere in the Potomac, and work ceased. The stump just sat there for a generation. All manner of proposals came forward, including building one of the "better Hindu pagodas."¹¹ (Hindus do not have pagodas, but ours was then, as now, an eclectic culture.) Finally, however, with the Nation's centennial at hand,

Congress set the Army Corps of Engineers to finish the job. As it turned out, lack of time and money gave us the incomparable obelisk we have today.

But nothing much else happened. Whereupon, at the turn of the century seemingly everything happened. In celebration of the 400th anniversary of Columbus' voyages nigh on to half the American population journeyed to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago to see the City Beautiful, a Periclean vision of the city and the citizen.¹² Something Jefferson would have instantly recognized, replete with temples he could readily have designed. Buildings were to be white, symbol of sanitation and good government, above all of uplift. One writer of the time proposed that "emotions once channeled toward the supernatural be redirected to the civic ideal."¹³ Come to think, something Jefferson seems intermittently to have had in mind.

Senator James McMillan of Michigan, chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, brought the Chicago planners – Burnham, McKim, Olmstead, St. Gaudens – to Washington. By 1902 they had a plan to reproduce their exposition in the one downtown in America that had room for it (see Fig. 2). Trees were planted, sites leveled, vistas established. Washington would be the City Beautiful, if for no other reason than that all the other places were already

cities of another sort.¹⁴

Alas, the beautifiers turned their back on Pennsylvania Avenue, preferring the Mall on the Chicago model. In the 1920s Andrew Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury (where the government building office was then located) began construction of the Federal Triangle. White, serious, uplifting edifices without exception facing the Mall. The National Gallery, donated by Mellon and designed by John Russell Pope was on the Mall itself.

But then came the Depression and worked just stopped. The Second World War followed; the Pentagon went up, the largest Federal building ever, but across the river. Nothing of consequence in the District.¹⁵ With the Housing Act of 1949, urban renewal came to Southwest Washington. The neighborhood was cleared, alleys and all, but the aftermath was lifeless. In any event, it never came near the center.

Pennsylvania Avenue languished. A familiar sequence had commenced. The folk who had once lived in the central city took the trolley uptown. Or a bit later drove to the suburbs. The small houses and small lots gradually emptied. Retail stores, some considerable, left in pursuit of their customers. The oyster houses and suchlike were maybe the last to vanish, but by 1960 they, too, had

gone. The lights went out. By 1960 save for a hotel and a restaurant at the western end, the only commercial establishment open after dark on Pennsylvania Avenue was Apex Liquors at 7th Street, in the building where Matthew Brady had his studio and Lincoln had gone for his last portrait.

The future was clear enough. It had happened elsewhere. The two- and three-story buildings, often as not wooden, would be cleared, a sequence of office buildings would replace them; urban life would migrate elsewhere. As with any other downtown.

The problem was not like any other downtown. The unfinished Federal Triangle did not much help. The Archives apart, these were government buildings off limits to the public, closed at night and on weekends. The Columbian Exposition along with its Greek temples had at least featured the Midway, alive with "Little Egypt's hootchey-kootchy, and the blast of saxophones from Florenz Ziegfeld's big band review."¹⁶ There was not even a movie theater on Pennsylvania Avenue. When the Eisenhower administration determined that there needed to be a national cultural center, getting in on the New York act as you might say, the vast building was in Foggy Bottom, far from the city center.

In his report accompanying L'Enfant's plan, Washington had written, "The

Grand Avenue connecting both the palace and the federal house will be most magnificent & most convenient." It was to be "built up at once."¹⁷ But that was now long ago, and long forgot.

Of a sudden, however, the idea of the Avenue of the Presidents came back to life in the course of the Inaugural Parade of President John F. Kennedy on January 20, 1961. The history that followed has been meticulously recorded by Carol M. Highsmith and Ted Lamphair in their splendid volume, Pennsylvania Avenue, America's Main Street (1988). Although it was given out that it was President Kennedy himself who came up with the idea, it was in fact Arthur J. Goldberg, a man of genius and extraordinary range, whom the Gods smiled upon that day. Years later he recounted the event to the authors.

"I don't think it hurts a great man to knock down a few legends," said Goldberg. "A president of the United States newly inaugurated has more important things to think about at that moment than the condition of Pennsylvania Avenue."

Along with other cabinet members, Goldberg was provided with an automobile in which to ride up Pennsylvania Avenue. "I was very much impressed with the day," he remembered, "and I was very much impressed with myself! I was a new cabinet officer, the first time I had ever held public office. Riding in the car, I noticed vividly what I may have ignored as a Washingtonian since 1948: the dilapidated condition of this Avenue of the Presidents, which I then and now regard to be the most important thoroughfare in our nation's capital. At that time, it consisted of a bunch of decrepit pawn shops,

taverns, horrible souvenir shops that took advantage of tourists, and second-hand clothing stores. In sum, it was a disgrace."

He filed, but never forgot, that impression.¹⁸

At a cabinet meeting of August 4, 1961, the discussion of foreign policy paused just long enough for attention to turn to the next most important issue in government – at that time certainly – which is to say office space. Secretary Goldberg noted that the Labor Department was in 15 buildings scattered across the District. The President agreed and the Secretary became co-chairman of something with the unpromising title of Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space. As Goldberg's assistant, the drafting went to me.

The Ad Hoc Committee reported to the President on May 23, 1962.¹⁹ It dutifully proposed a ten-year plan for constructing twelve new office buildings. We were not so dim to Washington reality as to fail to list J. Edgar Hoover's new F.B.I. building as the first priority. (The building had been authorized by Congress in 1939, a measure of how construction had just stopped.) Next was a new Department of Labor building, and so down the list to the Department of Agriculture.

The touch of Goldberg's genius was to propose the rebirth of Pennsylvania Avenue as part of an otherwise routine procurement project. We were neither of

us theorists but we could look about us. The Capitol and the White House were works of architectural conviction and political statement. Jefferson had even entered the design competition for the latter. The Federal Triangle derived from conviction, withal derivative. But through the 20th century we had been avoiding anything modern. In 1939, the Saarinen had produced a stunning design for an art gallery on the Mall.²⁰ It would have been the first contemporary building in the Federal inventory. It went away to a general sigh of relief.

Thus it came to me that we needed an architectural policy. It was a simple enough affair. One page; still in place.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR FEDERAL ARCHITECTURE

The design of Federal office buildings, particularly those to be located in the Nation's Capital, must meet a twofold requirement. First, it must provide efficient and economical facilities for the use of Government agencies. Second, it must provide visual testimony to the dignity, enterprise, vigor and stability of the American Government.

It should be our object to meet the test of Pericles' evocation to the Athenians, which the President commended to the Massachusetts Legislature in his address of January 9, 1961: "We do not imitate - for we are a model to others."

The committee is also of the opinion that the Federal Government, no less than other public and private organizations concerned with the construction of new buildings, should take advantage of the increasingly fruitful collaboration between

architecture and the fine arts.

With these objects in view, the committee recommends a three-point architectural policy for the Federal Government:

1. The policy shall be to provide requisite and adequate facilities in an architectural style and form which is distinguished and which will reflect the dignity, enterprise, vigor, and stability of the American National Government. Major emphasis should be placed on the choice of designs that embody the finest contemporary American architectural thought. . . .

2. The development of an official style must be avoided. Design must flow from the architectural profession to the Government, and not vice versa. . . .

3. The choice and development of the building site should be considered the first step of the design process. . . . Where possible, buildings should be located so as to permit a generous development of landscape.²¹

The proposal for Pennsylvania Avenue followed. The history of the Avenue was set forth in considerable detail. (It having for practical purposes been quite lost.)

Then:

Pennsylvania Avenue should be the great thoroughfare of the city of Washington. Instead it remains a vast, unformed, cluttered expanse at the heart of the Nation's Capital.

The present appearance of Pennsylvania Avenue demands attention for the precise reason that profound changes are about to take place. Large segments on the north side are decayed beyond restoration. It is clear that a great many of the buildings are about to be torn down and replaced by new structures which will include both

private and public buildings.

This presents a great opportunity. From Washington's time there has been a general understanding that the Federal Government has a responsibility to maintain standards of buildings and architecture in the Nation's Capital. For the past half century this function has been ably performed by the Commission of Fine Arts. The prospect that a considerable number of buildings will be erected along Pennsylvania Avenue in a short span of time makes it possible to consider the overall appearance, as well as the appearance of the individual structures. Instead of designing and constructing one new building at a time, it becomes possible to design and construct what would, in effect, be a new avenue.²²

The following September the President nominated Secretary Goldberg for the Supreme Court. He was promptly confirmed and Pennsylvania Avenue was pretty much left to his former assistant. This at all events is how it turned out. The White House had taken our point. Kennedy's statement of June 1 accepting our report was entitled, "Memorandum Concerning Improvements in Federal Office Space and the Redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue."²³ He directed that the National Capital Planning Commission take on the latter.

The Commission could not have been more welcoming, and administered two Congressional appropriations to support the project's modest expenses. Even so, the enterprise needed an organization of its own.

The Kennedy years were indeed special in Washington; ideas raced round

and hopes were never so high. We would go to the moon and we would rebuild Washington. The President's close friend, the artist William Walton, joined in the conversations early on, as did Frederick L. Holborn of the White House staff. The name of Nathaniel Alexander Owings came up, and in short order there emerged the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue. We would later claim to have been "appointed by President Kennedy on June 1, 1962," but this was all made up. No matter, the reputation of the architects, planners and such as Dan Kiley conferred an air of officialdom.²⁴ (Thus when Hoover was asked by Owings to move his proposed building back fifty feet to make way for trees and promenade, he readily enough agreed. He could not, however, accept the idea of an arcade at street level, fearing his agents might be mugged. Or so Owings related.) The more so as The Washington Post and The Washington Star were endlessly encouraging, as were critics such as Wolf Von Eckhardt and Ada Louise Huxtable.

The stars began to get in line. Of special note, in 1964 S. Dillon Ripley became Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and commenced to rebuild and revive the Mall with the spontaneity of Fourth of July fireworks.

Owings took hold con brio. A plan evolved (see Fig. 3). It was too grand even for so grand a site. We would keep only the Old Post Office tower and a vast

National Square at the west end of the Avenue would have swept away the Willard Hotel, and much else. All the same the idea fitted the time. Word reached Kennedy through Walton, and also Mrs. Kennedy, who had a lively and informed interest in design. The first Plan took some sixteen months to complete. Before leaving for Dallas on November 21st, the President asked that a coffee hour be arranged on his return so he might show the Plan to Congressional leaders. At noonday of November 22nd, Charles A. Horsky, the President's Advisor on District of Columbia Affairs, and I gathered at Walton's house in Georgetown to work out the arrangements. The phone rang for Walton. It was the White House operator. The President had been shot in Dallas. We sped to the White House, gathered with a small group in Ralph Dungan's southwest corner office. It was a moment like none other. The President and Vice President in Texas; much of the cabinet half-way across the Pacific en route to Japan. A dozen, at most two dozen of us also alone in Washington, not knowing what was going on. Word drifted in: the President was dead. And so Walton and I left. In an introduction to the Highsmith & Lamphair narrative I write,

At about midnight . . . I went back to the White House, back to the little warren of rooms where we had awaited word from Dallas that afternoon. Evelyn Lincoln, Kennedy's secretary, had cleaned out every scrap of paper from her office, leaving only one of the

Bachrach portraits of President Kennedy which he used to sign for, well, I don't know . . . senators, I suppose. I picked it up and went round to the front door of the Oval Office, which was open. I stood at attention: saluted. Steady as she goes. It was a touch I think he might have liked. Anyway, I was young, and I had a quarter century to spare.²⁵

As it happened, it would take thirty-five years, but I do believe we are finally getting there.

During the whole of this time, until her own death in 1994, Mrs. Kennedy and I would correspond about the Avenue, for she saved the undertaking in a farewell call on President Johnson. I knew of this, but never had it directly from her until a note of October 1987:

Dear Pat,

You are right about my asking President Johnson to not let it fade away. He asked me to come to his office a day or so after November 25th, and wanted to know what there was he could do for me – and that is what I asked for. [It was something] Jack cared about so deeply.

For all the goodwill that followed the assassination, the first event was a considerable setback. The massive cultural center that had been proposed by President Eisenhower was to have been privately funded. Mrs. Kennedy had succeeded to the chair of the board charged with raising the money. It wasn't going well, and all agreed that with the launching of the new Avenue Plan we

would break up the center into three separate units – theater, symphony, opera – to be clustered up near the White House. A refurbished Municipal Building would be the opera house. Alas, a member of Congress rose to propose that the government pay for the building and that it be named for the late President. And so it remains in Foggy Bottom, behind a "tangle of freeway ramps."²⁶

President Johnson took Mrs. Kennedy's wishes as something of a command. His counsel, Harry C. McPherson, Jr., had been following the subject with great interest. The Council's report was submitted to the President in April 1964. The following March, Johnson issued an executive order creating a Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue to concern itself with "the main ceremonial avenue connecting the centers of the Legislative and Executive Branches of the United States Government."²⁷ Owings would be chairman, me vice chairman. At last we were official! The commission included most of the cabinet and assorted luminaries, especially Ripley. We now had momentum.

The following September, in a letter to Congress Johnson proposed that the Avenue be designated a national historic site and to be administered and developed by a Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue "to carry forward the work" of the temporary body.²⁸

Owings now brought in the young David M. Childs and things happened, withal it was hard to learn of them. It had been generally assumed that the enterprise died with the President who had sponsored it. The Sunday Star, a faithful friend, had editorialized that the Council had "dropped this misshapen baby on the Capitol's doorstep and promptly folded up."²⁹ Yet in 1968, the last year of the Johnson Administration, Owings and Childs and their fellow free spirits produced a second Pennsylvania Avenue Plan (the Blue Book). (See Fig. 4.)

Here we encounter the power of an idea. Washington was no longer a place-other-than-New York. It was the capital of the most powerful nation on earth, and deserved to look it. The capital, further and fundamental, of a democracy. The twentieth century had transformed American government, which in turn transformed American culture. National and international politics consumed our energies and resources and all this was centered in Washington. The more then to look to appearances. There were Stalinales across the globe; at least one Brasilia. If ours, as we insisted, was a different political culture, our capital had to so state. Somehow we came to sense this. A fine instance was the founding of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The

legislation passed in the last days of the Johnson Administration.³⁰ The Declaration of Policy stated first that a "living institution" be created to carry the work of "a brilliant advocate of international understanding." Next that it be located in the area north of Market Square, that being the desire of the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue. If we were not to have an opera, seminars would serve, along with an urban campus (see Fig. 5).

There was a degree of drama attendant to the founding of the Center. The legislation provided for a board of trustees of 15 persons, seven from government, beginning with the Secretary of State and "Eight appointed by the President from private life." On January 16, 1969, with four days of his administration remaining, Johnson appointed the eight private members for staggered terms, with the longest going to Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. Two days later, by executive order, the President named Humphrey chairman.

What to do? If L.B.J. was President, it pretty much followed that Humphrey was Vice President, and not in "private life." Whereupon, on January 21, Dillon Ripley sent a two-page letter to the new President, Richard Nixon, extolling his "spontaneity at the zestful inaugural ball" followed by a detailed proposal that I be appointed to the Wilson board (there being one slot for any

person in government the President chose to name). This was Charles Blitzer's doing, but Ripley saw it as a way to keep the new institution from being caught up in partisan politics. As for Humphrey, he looked upon the chairmanship as his new role in national public life, everything he had ever hoped for . . . well, almost. On February 11, he wrote me about the first board meeting "in my office, Room 6202, FOB 7" asking if I could bring Owings along. The minutes record:

In his introductory remarks Hubert Humphrey noted the Board is charged with the challenge of creating a new American institution, the nation's memorial to Woodrow Wilson. As stated by the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, " . . . More than a memorial to the President it will be a gift to the world. Bringing to the Capital . . . a center of intellectual inquiry directed primarily to the problems of world order and all their many ramifications, we conceive nothing less than an institution of learning that the 22nd century will regard as having influenced the 21st."

Mr. Humphrey expressed his hope that the Center would become, as soon as possible, a vital force in Washington and a crossroads for scholars, diplomats and statesmen from all over the world. He noted the interest and recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, the Smithsonian Institution, the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue and members of Congress in advancing the idea for a Center. He stressed his hope that the Board will continue the work which has already gone forward in planning for the Center. In this regard, the Center as conceived, would be both a scholarly institution and a living monument:

– an integral part of the Plan for Pennsylvania Avenue, the new urban design for downtown Washington, as recommended by the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission and the President's

Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue;

– a place of beauty which will renew and continually stimulate its surroundings and be enriched by the resources of the Capital, the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and offices of the Federal Government.

He next turned to Ripley who

noted the advantages of having the Center located in this area and mentioned that the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Historical Association, and other similar institutions and universities have indicated an interest in developing permanent facilities in this downtown area. He expressed the hope that the Center would operate 24 hours-a-day and function as an integral part of the Washington community.³¹

Whereupon I showed the model, to encouraging murmurs from Blitzer and McPherson who had also been appointed to the board by Johnson. The great National Square never had much luck. But the same year Congress authorized Pershing Square to be built on a site facing the Willard, emphasizing the latter. There was less talk of tearing down Henry Hardenbergh's 1901 masterwork.

Now came the "urban crisis." American cities were convulsed by riot and riotous behavior. The assassination of Dr. King in 1968 led to devastating burning and destruction throughout the land, including Washington where the fires reached, as one book had it, Ten Blocks From The White House. Everywhere the inner city declined, not least that of the capital, defined by Pennsylvania Avenue.

The population fled. There were now at most some thirteen dwellings – apartments – the whole length of the Avenue. A vicious heroin epidemic struck. The Inaugural Parade of 1969 took place in a garrisoned city. A group of responsible, liberal citizens proposed to the White House that the garrison be made permanent.

I had gone off to be director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard but now returned to Washington as Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs, with the President head of a new Urban Affairs Council. The parallel to the National Security Council was explicit; if anything, the sense of crisis more acute. Pennsylvania Avenue became a metaphor for urban renaissance. In the Congress Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington took on the issue, as did Representative Jonathan B. Bingham of New York. As ever Kay Graham of The Post and Newbold Noyes, Jr., of The Star were supportive to the point of cheering. We needed a success.

In October, 1969, the Temporary Commission held its first meeting under the new administration. Recall that President Johnson had assigned half the cabinet. Now they all turned up. George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, proposed legislation which approved of the new Plan, and to

fund and establish a development corporation to implement it. Owings announced the inclusion of 1500 living units.³² We had realized that nothing would last until people actually lived there.

The new President promptly proposed self-government for the District of Columbia, and saw the Avenue as the national government's share in the reconstruction ahead. On September 8, 1970 he toured Pennsylvania Avenue, and sent a long message to Congress proposing a Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation.³³ It was full of history and full of, well, surprisingly good news. A six-acre reflecting pool at the foot of Capitol Hill was under construction. Owings' initiative. A Labor Department building was going up across the way. At Fourth Street on the south side of the Avenue the National Gallery would build an addition by I. M. Pei. At Eighth Street there would be a "cross axis that will meet precisely the purposes L'Enfant envisioned." To the north the Wilson Center. To the south construction had already begun on Gordon Bunshaft's Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden while plans were well advanced for the National Gallery Sculpture Garden. (I had been drafted chairman of the Hirshhorn board as a link between the old administration and the new.)

Indeed the most striking of all the doing and undoing over Pennsylvania

Avenue may be that very cross-axis. Mills' Patent Office (where L'Enfant had located the national cathedral) was all but abandoned when Owings and I snuck in one day in 1962, would become the National Portrait Gallery and the National Museum of American Art of the Smithsonian. Its exquisite Doric columns face the Corinthian columns of the Archives (notched in by the Federal Triangle planners in the 1920s to face north). A Navy memorial with fountain flowing and bands playing would emerge. As would outdoor cafes and apartment buildings up and down the street. Across Constitution Avenue, the National Gallery Sculpture Garden, opened in 1999, is sheer joy as a pool in summer or as a skating rink in winter. In perfectly aligned sequence we find one great institution after another each with great or understated welcomes, cheering either way.

On to the F.B.I. building between Ninth and Tenth Streets, set back fifty feet with three rows of trees in front. Finally Metrorail, which had begun with the conscious support of the new administration, the most modern subway system of its kind in the Nation, purposefully intended to tie downtown to the suburbs.

The President was particularly pleased with having persuaded – well, commanded – the Navy to take down the Temporary buildings – "temporary since 1918" – on the Mall, to be replaced by a fine garden. He concluded his message to

the Congress, however,

What is missing from this otherwise impressive and promising list of activity is the residential and commercial development which is indispensable to the revitalization of the Federal City area. While various government activities have gone forward with energy and success, it would have to be said that there was less private activity in the area at the end of the decade of the 1960s than at the beginning. The sources of this decline are many, but three in particular seem fundamental. The first is that small investor confidence in the area has greatly declined. There are many reasons for this, but it should be noted that such a change in the attraction for small businesses and similar activities is normal in the development of the American city. It has happened almost everywhere else, and of itself requires no special explanation. The difference is that the Federal City is like nowhere else. It is special, and for that reason special measures must be devised to respond to its needs. A second general source of lagging private development is that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for prospective investors to aggregate land parcels so as to obtain sites large enough for profitable investment. A third source has been the continuing uncertainty as to the actual depth of the commitment of the legislative and executive branches to the development of the Federal City.³⁴

What was needed was a P.A.D.C. In the last month of his first term, Nixon's bill finally passed. He chose Elwood "Pete" Quesada to head the new body. Quesada, a Republican, an Air Force General in World War II, was given to command, not negotiation. (As director of the Federal Aviation Administration, he persuaded President Eisenhower to build Dulles Airport – the nearest Saarinen ever got to Washington, but a triumph withal.) He stayed on until 1978, by which

time a third plan had been developed and acquired momentum. The ideals of the earlier plans were not lost, but it was eminent domain that fulfilled them. Also, and not least, home rule for the District of Columbia was secured in 1973. The first elected Mayor, Walter E. Washington, was an ardent supporter of the Avenue development – it would be a mark of what self-government could do – and brought a geniality to the enterprise that General Quesada sometimes lacked. So also the business community. The banks had abandoned downtown well before people did, but now the Federal City Council, Downtown Progress, and the Greater Washington Board of Trade joined in. Delano E. Lewis, chairman of the Board of Trade commented, "We all realized that downtown as a whole could not come back if the Avenue as a whole was still a national disgrace."³⁵

In 1986 the Willard Hotel was triumphantly reopened. Pershing Park was completed, a wonderfully secluded enclave amidst all that public show. Freedom Plaza, adorned with passages from Walt Whitman, Frederick Douglass and the whole of the pantheon. And so back down the Avenue. The finest of our architects signed up, much aware what was being entrusted to them. The Old Post Office became headquarters for the National Endowment for the Arts, and housed a complex of shops and restaurants. The Navy Memorial is indeed a triumph,

enclosed by the Market Square buildings – Owings' vision of housing atop office towers, with cafes at street level. John Marshall Park provides a splendid vista north. The Pension Building – as with the Patent Office – all but derelict when Owings and I crept-in in 1962, with shrubbery and small trees growing up through rotted wooden floors, is today the magnificent National Building Museum.

Finally at Fifth Street stands the splendid Canadian Embassy. Howard H. Baker, Jr., as chief of staff to President Reagan, had suggested the location, parallel to ours in Ottawa across from the Houses of Parliament. In 1996, the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation was closed down, having completed its work with one exception to be noted.

In the meantime I had become chairman of the Senate subcommittee dealing with public buildings. All too visible from our hearing room windows was Burnham's Union Station (now owned by Amtrak), near to derelict; the roof leaking, the interior all but abandoned. One morning John H. Chafee of Rhode Island, a ranking Republican on the Committee suggested we walk over to see what we had done, or rather not done. The result was a series of appropriations that led to a startling revival. I thereupon got through a bill to construct an office building for the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, and became

chairman of the Commission for the Judiciary Office Building. This was to match the post office Burnham had built just to the west of the station. The new building, now the Thurgood Marshall Federal Judiciary Building, was dedicated in 1992 – a brilliant design, perfectly matching Union Station in cornice and such like, by Edward Larabee Barnes. Benjamin Forgey of The Washington Post described it as "an abstract variation of classicism."³⁶ A feat which had escaped the Chicago architects, but which surely they anticipated.

"Make no small plans," Burnham had famously declared, and indeed we did not. This should have been welcome to Washington, given its beginnings a century earlier. But this vision was by then mostly lost. At first the plan of the McMillan Commission was outright scorned by Congress. In 1908 The Evening Star featured a huge recounting with the headline

A SHOWY SHAM, THE CONCOCTION OF A SHAM COMMISSION.³⁷

The President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue was surely far closer to a "sham" commission but the idea was more than well received, even when details were criticized. For a civic movement had been stirring from the time in 1954 when Phillip Graham of The Washington Post helped create the Federal City Council and now helped bring our story to a conclusion. The Council had come

up with the idea of an International Trade and Cultural Center, a vast emporium to be located in Southwest along the waterfront. But the neighborhood was opposed and nothing happened until the idea surfaced again in the Reagan Administration. By 1986 The Post could report that the Executive Branch was thinking of the remaining space of the Federal Triangle as a site. In 1988, the President announced the U. S. Cultural and Trade Center Commission, with former Senator Charles H. Percy as chairman and Harry C. McPherson as vice chairman. Terrence Golden, an entrepreneur and public servant, was now head of the General Services Administration. Where, in 1961, I had looked out the window of the Labor Department building and seen a parking lot of "surpassing ugliness," Golden, a businessman of rare grace and vision, saw a billion dollars of real estate being used as a parking lot. In a series of dramatic encounters with his successor it was agreed that G.S.A. would go forward. We already had a design sketch from James Ingo Freed and I could ensure that the Woodrow Wilson Center would be included in the complex. On September 24, 1990 I wrote Mrs. Onassis:

Dearest Jackie,

. . . Pennsylvania Avenue is now finally, at long last, almost certainly, quite possibly, unquestionably on its way to completion.

The building was named the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center with an adjoining Woodrow Wilson Center on Woodrow Wilson Plaza.³⁸

This was something new for the Federal Triangle. Restaurants, concert halls, foreign governments, private firms, seminar rooms, all open to the public.³⁹

President Clinton and Mrs. Reagan spoke eloquently at the dedication on May 5, 1998 (see Fig. 6). I spoke briefly, beginning,

It would be some two centuries since Jefferson declared that
"Design activity and political thought are indivisible."

And it was a fine thing, I concluded, that the building should be named for President Reagan, "one of whose many gifts to the American Nation is a vision of a world at peace and free to trade."

In all a reassuring tale. An urban design, indivisible from a political – constitutional – purpose endured through two centuries and has now substantially prevailed. Pennsylvania Avenue is "lively, friendly and inviting." Yet of a sudden closed. Just so. In 1995, blockades went up at 14th Street and at 16th Street in front of the White House. Blockades and block houses. Armed guards. This, too, is in ways an aftermath of the Kennedy assassination. In 1963 the budget of the Secret Service was \$7 million; today it is \$800 million and rising. None dare

defy the threat analysis of this burgeoning bureaucracy. And for that matter, the Capitol itself is now surrounded by barricades and officers. The Architect of the Capitol is planning an underground garage at First and C Streets, N. E., such that our parking lot of surpassing ugliness will go away and we shall be nearer to the "Arc of Park" we first proposed in 1993, to fulfill at long last the McMillan vision for the Capitol grounds.⁴⁰ But we will also have a ring of stanchions and guardians.

Somehow we have got to recover our nerve; shaken really since November 22, 1963. The peerless Robert A. Peck, Commissioner of Public Buildings, put it just so in recent Congressional testimony.

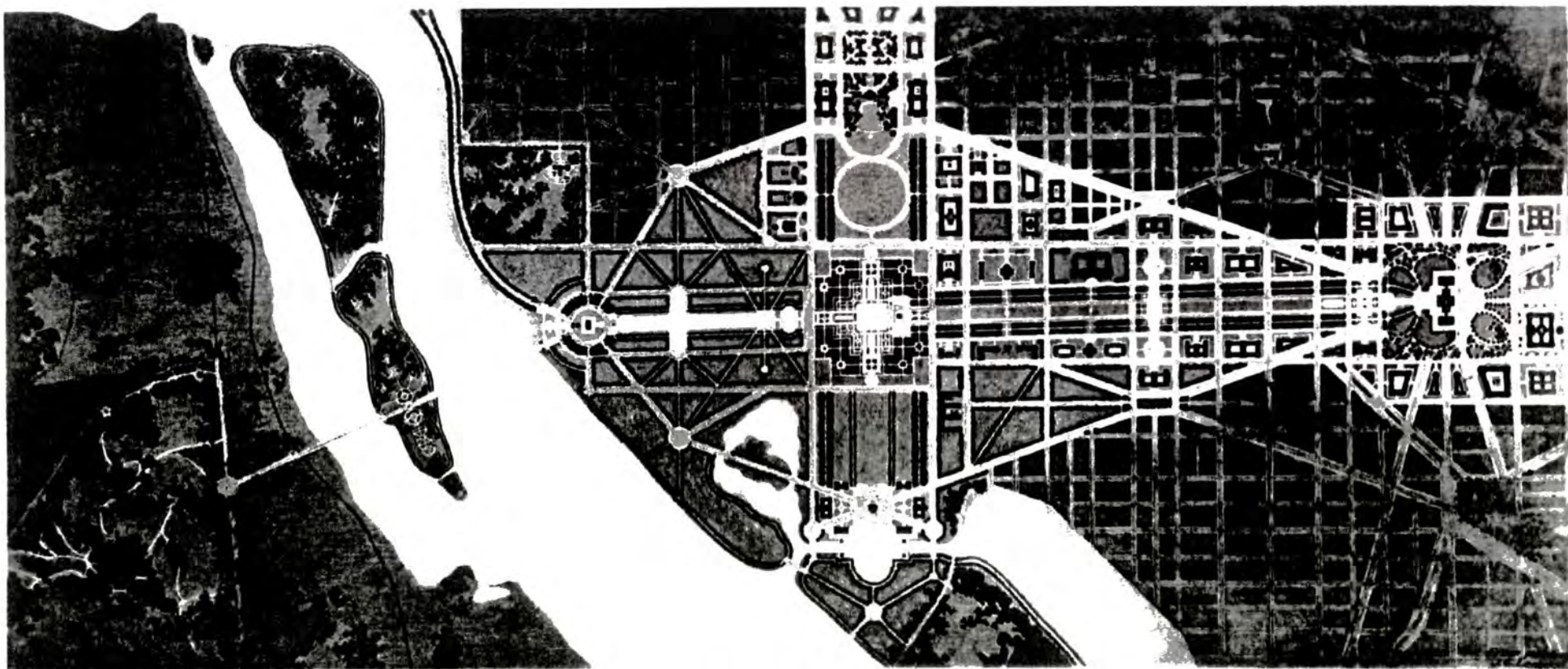
Our job is to protect the people who work in the building, the people who visit it, and, at the same time, to keep our buildings from becoming fortresses foreboding, forbidding, and unwelcoming to the American public for whom they are built.⁴¹

This is more than management. It is "design activity and political thought" in its highest and best sense.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1. The L'Enfant Plan, 1791.
2. The McMillan Plan, 1902.
3. Model of the Plan of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964.
4. Model of the Plan of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1968.
5. Following a Senate Rules Committee hearing on the Woodrow Wilson Center, Daniel P. Moynihan, Sen. John Sherman Cooper, Sen. Claiborne Pell, Nathaniel A. Owings, and Sen. B. Everett Jordan look over a model of the Center at Market Square, May 1968. The inscription reads: "To Daniel Moynihan, with very real regard and every good wish, Claiborne Pell." (Pell was chairman of the subcommittee on the Smithsonian.)
6. Moynihan and Mrs. Reagan at the Dedication of the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, May 5, 1997 (courtesy The Washington Post).

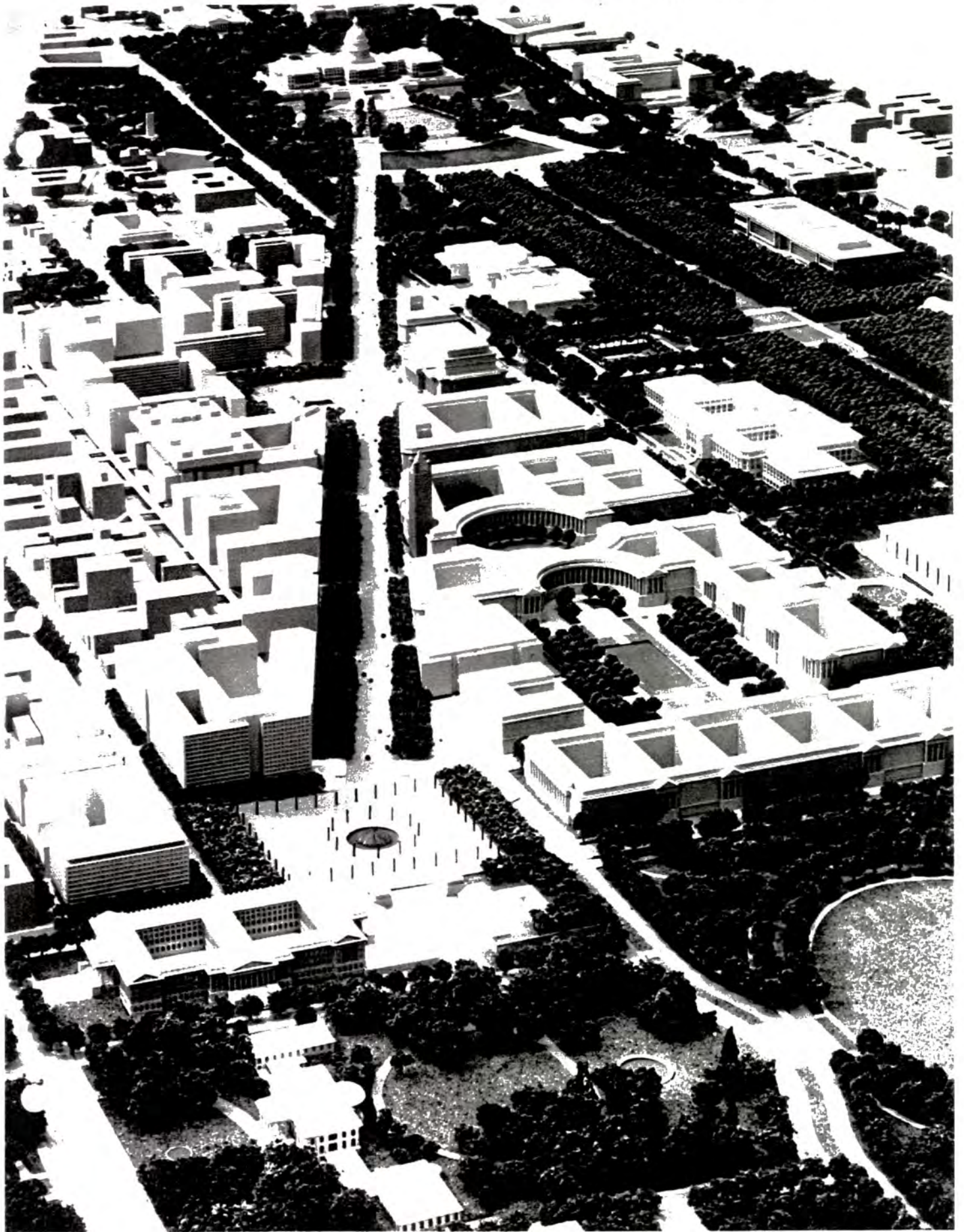


THE MALL
WASHINGTON D. C.

[Fig. 3. Model of the Plan of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964.]



[Fig. 4. Model of the Plan of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1968.]





[Fig. 5. Looking over a model of the Woodrow Wilson Center at Market Square, 1968.]

[Fig. 6. Moynihan and Mrs. Reagan at the Dedication of the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, May 5, 1997 (courtesy The Washington Post).]



NOTES

1. See, e.g., Michael Lind, "The Second Fall of Rome," The Wilson Quarterly 24, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 50.

2. The "Compromise of 1790" was enacted into statute by the Residence Act (Ch. 28, July 16, 1790, 1 Stat. 130) and the Funding Act (Ch. 34, August 4, 1790, 1 Stat. 138). The latter was based upon Hamilton's Report Relative to a Provision for the Support of Public Credit, first submitted to Congress on January 9, 1790, which established the financial foundations of the United States. The Nation's debt of \$75.4 million would be funded – that is converted into interest bearing bonds which would mature after an assigned period of time. There were three basic provisions: 1. As mandated by the Constitution, the foreign debt and interest would be paid in full according to initial terms; 2. The principle of the domestic debt would be paid at par (with 4 percent interest on long-term, and 6 percent on short-term bonds) to current bearers; 3. State debts (totaling \$21.5 million) would be assumed by the Federal Government with interest payments deferred until 1792.

The plan appeared to favor not only the northern states but also the wealthy merchants and creditors of northern cities who had acquired their bonds at a low cost, largely from veterans and farmers. Hamilton, however, expected that the capital funded for the bonds would be reinvested into the Federal Government and that by linking the interests of the creditors with those of the Government, regional differences would be diminished over the long-run.

3. U. S. Constitution, art. I, sec. 8.

4. See Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "Richard Rovere," The New Yorker, September 17, 1984.

5. John W. Reps, Monumental Washington (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 12.

6. Papers of Pierre Charles L'Enfant, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

7. Monumental, p. 21.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

9. Ibid., p. 18.

10. Carol Highsmith and Ted Lamphair, Pennsylvania Avenue, America's Main Street, with a foreword by Daniel P. Moynihan (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects Press, 1988), p. 61.

11. Christopher Weeks, The AIA Guide to the Architecture of Washington, D.C., with an introduction by Francis D. Lethbridge, 3rd ed. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 66.

12. In Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893 (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 36-44, James Gilbert suggests a fascinating connection between the Midwest urban planners at centuries' end with the fervent Protestant revivalist villagers of the "burned over district" of central New York in the 1830s and beyond. Surely no region or period in American history was as rich in millenarianism – the Oneida Community, our first avowed "communists," the Church of Latter Day Saints at Palmyra in Wayne County, Universalists from Monroe County. Burnham had migrated westward for the region before coming to Chicago.

13. Paul S. Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 252.

14. See "The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia," Report of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 57th Congress, 1st sess., Senate Report no. 166 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 16.

15. Some construction did come to Foggy Bottom. In 1937, the Federal Reserve Board Building by Paul Phillipe Cret went up on Constitution Avenue between 20th and 21st Streets, N. W., and in 1941, the first of two major sections of the War Department building, by Gilbert Stanley Underwood and William Dewey Foster, was completed at 23rd and C Streets, N. W. The State Department moved into the latter in 1947 after the War Department, "impatient with the piecemeal approach to building, . . . decided to construct the huge Pentagon." Pamela Scott and Antoinette J. Lee, Buildings of the District of Columbia (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 212.

16. Alvin Rosenbaum, "Rediscovering America at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition," Blueprints: The Journal of the National Building Museum 11, no. 1

(Winter 1993): 2-7.

17. Main Street, p. 51.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

19. Congress, House, Committee on Public Works, Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962).

20. See, e.g., AIA Guide, p. 13.

21. Ad Hoc Committee, pp. 11-12.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-15.

23. John F. Kennedy, "Memorandum Concerning Improvements in Federal Office Space and the Redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue." Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 448.

24. President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, Report of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964). Council members included: Nathaniel A. Owings (chairman), Frederick Gutheim, Douglas Haskell, Frederick L. Holborn, Daniel Urban Kiley, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Chloethiel Woodard Smith, Paul Thiry, Ralph Walker, William Walton.

25. Main Street, p. 11.

26. National Capital Planning Commission, Extending the Legacy: Planning America's Capital for the 21st Century (Washington, D.C.: National Capital Planning Commission, 1996), p. 46.

27. Executive Order 11210, 30 Federal Register 4051-4052 (1965).

28. The President's letter announced the approval of the Order of Designation, signed by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, and made under the Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666). The designated portion of the Avenue extended from the edge of the Capitol grounds to the boundary of the White House grounds to include the Federal Triangle, Judiciary Square, the Lincoln Memorial, the Treasury Building, and portions of downtown

Washington's commercial district. See Lyndon B. Johnson, "Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site." Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 1027.

29. Main Street, p. 126.

30. Johnson signed legislation authorizing the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars on October 24, 1968 (82 Stat. 1356).

31. See papers of Daniel P. Moynihan, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

32. The housing goal was reduced from 1500 units to 1200 in 1981 after plans to expand the National Archives at Market Square across Pennsylvania Avenue (where an "Italianate Hill Town" was to be built atop underground storage) were changed to Suitland, Md. By March 2000, however, Charles A. Doctor, chairman of the Downtown Housing Now Committee, could report that while 833 units were built under P.A.D.C. auspices, "It is now anticipated that approximately 500 additional units will be built in the Pennsylvania Avenue plan area in the near future . . . [to] bring the total up to 1,333."

33. Richard Nixon, "Statement Supporting Legislation To Establish the Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation." Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 713-18.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 717.

35. Main Street, p. 146.

36. Benjamin Forgey, "The Powerful Walls of Justice: Union Station's Solid, Streamlined Neighbor," The Washington Post, September 26, 1992, p. D7.

37. The Evening Star, January 14, 1908.

38. The Federal Triangle Development Act was signed into law August 21, 1987 (101 Stat. 735), authorizing construction of the International Cultural and Trade Center on the Federal Triangle site; the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center Designation Act was signed into law December 22, 1995 (109 Stat. 766), naming the building after the former President.

39. The G.S.A. awarded the Reagan Building with its Honor Award for architecture (1998) noting,

Fitting the last piece into a puzzle is not always easy, particularly when the puzzle is the historic 70-acre Federal Triangle complex of Government office buildings in the heart of the Nation's capital and the piece is the 3.1-million-square-foot building – the second largest Federal building after the Pentagon. Eschewing a facile replication of the surrounding buildings, architect James Ingo Freed merged traditional and contemporary themes to create a mixed-use building of permanence and stature.

40. The "Arc of Park Capitol Grounds Improvement Act" (S. 160, 106th Congress, 1st sess.) would convert most of the surface parking surrounding the Capitol in the area sweeping counter clock-wise from Second Street, N. E., across the reflecting pool, and thence back to First Street, S. E., with landscaped public parks. Underground parking facilities would then be constructed as needed. Delaware Avenue between the Capitol and Union Station would be closed to traffic and rebuilt as a pedestrian walkway.

41. Congress, Senate, Committee on Environment and Public Works, Subcommittee on Transportation and Infrastructure, Hearing on the Fiscal Year 2001 Capital Investment and Leasing Program. 106th Cong., 2nd Sess., March 21, 2000.