

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 91

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

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stores, museums, and residences. It is an area known for its architecture, notably the Federal Triangle, the Old Post Office, the Patent Office, the Old City Hall, and the Evening Star Building.

One of the most important early, monumental buildings in the site is the Treasury Building (1836-41, 1869), a skillful example of the Greek Revival style by noted architect Robert Mills. Mills had been appointed "Architect of Public Buildings" by Andrew Jackson in 1836, and the Treasury Building was his first commission. The north, south and west wings were designed by Thomas U. Walter and were completed in 1869. Another Mills building of architectural significance is the Patent Office (1837-40, 1867), which now houses the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery and National Museum of American Art. Located at 9<sup>th</sup> and G streets, the Patent Office exhibited thousands of models of American inventions. Other prominent classically inspired buildings include the General Post Office (Tariff Commission) at 7<sup>th</sup> and E streets (Robert Mills, 1839-44 and Thomas U. Walter, 1855-69) and the Old City Hall at 451 Indiana Avenue (George Hadfield, 1820; wings in 1826 and 1849; addition by Edward Clark, 1881-83; reconstructed by Elliott Woods, 1917-19). Later structures include the Pension Building on the block bounded by 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, F, and G streets, which was designed by General Montgomery Meigs in 1882-87, and the Old Post Office on Pennsylvania Avenue between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup>, constructed of grey granite by Willoughby J. Edbrooke in the Richardsonian Romanesque style, in 1891-99. The most famous twentieth-century complex in the NHS is the Federal Triangle, with its cohesive classical design, constructed between 1928 and 1938.

It is also an area containing the rich remnants of Washington's old downtown, including small commercial and residential buildings from the nineteenth century. These include the Central National Bank Building (Alfred B. Mullett, 1887), the Atlantic Coastline Building (James G. Hill, 1892), the National Bank of Washington (James G. Hill, 1889), Ford's Theatre (James J. Gifford, 1863), and notable commercial rows such as that on F Street between 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup>. Many early residential and commercial building facades have been incorporated into new buildings, but the few still remaining are important reminders of Washington's commercial history.

#### IV. Art

Many notable statues and memorials can be found in the public spaces along Pennsylvania Avenue. The works illustrate the artistic styles of the periods in which they were created. Many serve as a means of commemorating those individuals who contributed great military or political achievements to the country. Many of these heroes, namely Pershing, Hale, and Franklin, were long dead when the statues were erected. Military heroes of the American Revolution, for instance, are represented by the statue of Revolutionary War hero Count Casimir Pulaski in Freedom Plaza, and political heroes by the statue of Benjamin Franklin (1889) in front of the Old Post Office. Washington also contains one of the greatest concentrations of Civil War statuary in the country, and that genre is represented on the avenue by monuments to generals George G. Meade (1927) and Winfield Scott Hancock (1896), as well as to Dr. Benjamin F. Stephenson and the organization of Civil War veterans he founded, the Grand Army of the Republic (1909). The

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 92

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

John J. Pershing Memorial (1983) in Pershing Park commemorates not only Pershing, the United States' General of the Armies during World War I, but also the achievements of the American Expeditionary Force who fought in the Great War. The Beaux Arts Meade memorial features the general, a gilded wreath above his head, surrounded by allegorical figures. Pershing's monument follows the reticent style of more recent memorials in its use of a single statue of the general and stark granite walls inscribed with the accomplishments of the American Expeditionary Force.

The Pershing Memorial serves as the national monument to American forces who served in World War I. As such is one of three recent, national monuments in the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site that derive their significance from a Congressional mandate to stand as national memorials. The other two are the United States Navy Memorial (1987) in Market Square Park and the National Law Enforcement Officers Memorial (1991) in Judiciary Square.

Two presidents are also commemorated in the National Historic Site, Abraham Lincoln (1868) in front of Old City Hall and Franklin Delano Roosevelt (1965) on the northwest corner of the National Archives.

In addition to portrait statuary, fountains are also found in the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, such as the Peace Monument (1877), the Temperance Fountain (1884), and the Mellon Fountain (1952).

In addition to freestanding statuary, many buildings in the NHS incorporate sculpture and architectural sculpture as part of the design; some art represents later commissions. Several of the Federal Triangle buildings, for example, have sculpted pediments, friezes with bas-reliefs, and decorative sculpture. The semicircular end of the Federal Trade Commission Building, for example, is flanked by two large limestone statues, by Michael Lantz, symbolizing "Man Controlling Trade." Many buildings within the National Historic Site have art displayed within their public spaces. One prominent example is found in the Exhibition Hall of the National Archives, where two large murals by Barry Faulkner depict the submission of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.

#### **V. Landscape Architecture**

The Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site contains numerous reservations and appropriations central to the L'Enfant and the McMillan plans, some of which are now used as public spaces.<sup>7</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue itself passes through, around, or by the following major

<sup>7</sup> Washington's public spaces were created over the course of time from a variety of plans and legislative initiatives, and therefore have a variety of names and designations. For an explanation of the development of these public spaces, please see Robinson & Associates, Inc., National Historic Landmark-Nomination Form, "Plan of the City of Washington, D.C." (draft), January 4, 2001, Historic Preservation Division, Office of Planning, District of Columbia, Washington, D.C.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 93

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

public squares and/or reservations: Original Appropriation No. 7 (Center Market, now occupied by the National Archives), Reservations No. 32-33 (Freedom Plaza), Reservations No. 35 and 36 (Market Square Park), and 36A (Indiana Plaza), and City Square 226 (Pershing Park). Another large and important public space is Judiciary Square (L'Enfant's Original Appropriation No. 9), bounded by 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> and Indiana Avenue and G Street. The avenue's environs feature eagle-topped Washington Globe light standards, as well as a number of small historic reservations, some of which contain ornamental iron fencing, terraces, fountains, plantings, paths, seating, and light fixtures.

Several of the public spaces in the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site contain contributing objects because Congressional legislation has granted these objects special commemorative significance. In most cases, however, the recent landscapes around the contributing objects do not possess this significance. One example of this is Pershing Park on Pennsylvania Avenue between 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> streets, which contains the Pershing Memorial. The memorial, designed by architect Wallace K. Harrison and authorized by Congress in 1956, contributes to the significance of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site and commemorates the commander of the United States' armed forces in World War I. Pershing Park, on the other hand, was designed by landscape architects M. Paul Friedburg and Jerome Lindsey for the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, with additional plantings by the landscape architecture firm Oehme, van Sweden. Although the memorial and the park were both completed at approximately the same time (1981), the memorial contributes to the significance of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site due to its Congressional mandate, while the park, authorized by the PADC, does not. Freedom Plaza also incorporates a contributing object into a noncontributing site. The Pulaski statue, due to its age and authorization by Congress, is a contributing object in the historic district. However, the paving, fountain, urns, and plantings of Freedom Plaza, although designed by the important contemporary architect Robert Venturi and landscape architect George Patton, do not constitute a contributing site because the design is too recent for an evaluation of significance to be made. Perhaps the most complex such site is Market Square Park. The park, completed by the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation with contributions from a number of designers, has not been determined a contributing property due to its recent construction, but it contains a contributing site, the United States Navy Memorial (1987), and a contributing object, the statue of General Winfield Scott Hancock (1896) – both Congressionally authorized.<sup>8</sup>

#### VI. Social History

Pennsylvania Avenue has served as the nation's center of daily life for more than a century. Often called "America's Main Street," a variety of building types historically lined the avenue and its environs, such as boarding houses, hotels, restaurants, theaters, and shops. These

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<sup>8</sup> See also Section IV, "Art."

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 94

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

establishments attracted citizens and statesmen alike. The avenue and surrounding streets are now lined mostly with government and office buildings, but there still can be found hotels, restaurants, and shops which continue the area's role in the daily lives of the city's citizens.

The avenue and its environs have changed in certain aspects, and these changes reflect the city's, and the nation's, history. Many commercial enclaves once surrounded the avenue, but now most stores have left for the suburbs. Center Market, established in 1801 at Pennsylvania and B Street, was an important trading place until the site was cleared for the National Archives in 1931. Another commercial enclave was "Dry Goods Row," which occupied D Street between 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> streets in the 1860s. Several early commercial buildings still stand on Indiana Avenue and on Pennsylvania Avenue between 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> streets. The most famous is 625-27 Pennsylvania where Mathew Brady operated his Washington photographic studio in a few different configurations between the two buildings from 1858-81. The newspaper industry (and 14<sup>th</sup> Street's "Newspaper Row") was important to the area, as Washington has been home to over a thousand newspapers since 1800.<sup>9</sup> Today, the *Evening Star* building still stands on Pennsylvania Avenue between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> streets. The city's position as a journalistic center is further marked by the National Press Building at 14<sup>th</sup> and F streets (constructed in 1926, the facade was refaced in 1984-85). In addition, the opening of the first telegraph office in the United States in the General Post Office building on 7<sup>th</sup> Street between E and F streets occurred in 1845.

The African American presence in Washington can also be traced in this history of Pennsylvania Avenue. An area near Old City Hall, for instance, was used in the first half of the nineteenth century as a slave market. (The city hall itself was used as a hospital for Union soldiers during the Civil War.) The two jails built on Judiciary Square, one in 1801 that later became the Washington Infirmary and one built in 1839, held slaves who had violated ordinances, as well as free blacks who could not prove their status. (Neither building still stands.) Black-owned businesses also operated in the area that became the National Historic Site, including Snow's Eating House (no longer standing), a restaurant at 6<sup>th</sup> and Pennsylvania run by Beverly Snow, which became the target of anti-abolitionist rioting in 1835. Riots against African Americans in Washington also began on Pennsylvania Avenue in 1919 during the desperate economic time after World War I. Morton's Department Store, at 7<sup>th</sup> and D streets where the Market Square complex now stands, was one of the only Washington businesses that attempted desegregation in the 1930s.

Many of Washington's citizens, both poor and prominent, enjoyed the theater district of F Street and its environs. Carusi's popular theater, acquired in 1822, was located on C Street between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> streets (since demolished to make way for the Federal Triangle). More famous is Ford's

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<sup>9</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 49.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 95

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

Theatre where President Lincoln was assassinated on April 14, 1865, which is the only building located within the National Historic Site still operating as a theater.<sup>10</sup>

In the nineteenth century and early twentieth century, most congressmen and senators only stayed in the capital long enough to conduct their business, so hotels and boarding houses were profitable ventures. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the hotels "began to overshadow the boarding houses" as the most fashionable places to stay in the capital.<sup>11</sup> Several early hotels have since been demolished (notable examples were the Indian Queen Hotel, the National Hotel, and the old Willard Hotel, which was replaced in 1900-01 with the hotel that still stands). Extant are the new Willard, the Hotel Washington, and the Hotel Harrington.

The area also held a notable residential population. John Quincy Adams lived in the Cutts House on F Street, between 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> streets from 1821 to 1825 and after his presidency. Another prominent residence was the Chase-Sprague Mansion located at the northwest corner of 6<sup>th</sup> and E streets, home to Senator Salmon P. Chase of Ohio and later Senator William Sprague. Most of these large residences have since been replaced by twentieth-century development. In recent years, however, the area has again attracted residents who wish to live downtown near their places of employment. These residences are now in new apartment buildings, such as Pennsylvania Plaza or Market Square, or renovated commercial buildings (most planned by the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation), such as the Lansburgh.

## VII. Military

For two centuries, Washington, D.C., has been the backdrop for national military events. In the early years of the nineteenth century, the city saw much destruction of its buildings by the British during the War of 1812. In addition, the city played a prominent role during the Civil War as a Union stronghold that was constantly under threat from the Confederate forces. Many of the new government buildings, including the Patent Office, were converted into temporary hospitals to house the Union wounded. In 1997, GSA workers discovered Civil War-era artifacts associated with Clara Barton's Missing Soldiers Office located on the third floor of 437 7<sup>th</sup> Street, N.W. The end of the Civil War was marked by a tragic event when President Lincoln was assassinated on April 14, 1865, at Ford's Theatre, only five days after the war's deciding battle at Appomattox. The wounded president died the next morning in the Petersen House, which is located across the street from Ford's Theatre. At the end of the War, there also was a two-day grand review of the victorious Union armies, May 23-24, 1865. This celebration was formally organized by the government, but the demonstrations marking the end of other wars, such as World Wars I and II,

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<sup>10</sup> The National Theater, located at 1321 Pennsylvania Avenue, is not located within the boundaries of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site.

<sup>11</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 26.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 96

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

were characterized by spontaneity. The military history of the Pennsylvania Avenue NHS is also marked by various military memorials, including the Navy-Peace Monument (Franklin Simmons & Edward Clark, 1877), the Navy Memorial (Conklin Rossant Architects, 1987), and John J. Pershing Memorial (memorial designed by Wallace K. Harrison, 1981; Pershing statue designed by Robert White, 1983) in Pershing Park.<sup>12</sup>

**Period of Significance**

The period of significance for the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site is defined as 1791 to 1962. It begins in 1791 with the creation of its broad diagonal on L'Enfant's plan for the capital city. On November 17, 1791, then Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson told the City's Commissioners that President Washington wished Pennsylvania Avenue to be the first street improved. The early establishment of the avenue shows its function as the great axial link between the Capitol and the White House. Andrew Ellicott laid out the roadway the following year, and construction of Pennsylvania Avenue began. The terminus for the period of significance is integrally tied to President Kennedy's widely noted and influential decision to reinforce the monumental character and quality of the avenue – as well as the related committees and councils that resulted from his direct interest. Specifically, 1962 is selected as the end date, the year in which President Kennedy's Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space published its formative *Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space*.

The period of significance is not extended beyond Kennedy's broad-sweeping initiative and into the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation era as it seems undeniably early to judge the role of the PADC in the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site.

**SIGNIFICANCE DESCRIPTION**

**Historical and Geographical Setting for the Creation of Pennsylvania Avenue**

President George Washington announced on January 24, 1791, that the permanent capital of the United States would be built on land at the confluence of the Potomac River and the Eastern Branch, or Anacostia River, in what was then Maryland and Virginia. This area was predominantly wilderness at the time of Washington's announcement. Native Americans had hunted, fished, and farmed the area for 500 years until English settlers arrived in the late seventeenth century. English settlers inhabited the landscape for a century before Pierre Charles L'Enfant designed the monumental city plan. Three distinct topographical features characterized the landscape. First, the land between the rivers and above Tiber [Goose] Creek laid in the flood

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<sup>12</sup> See also Section IV, "Art (and Commemoration)."

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 97

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

plains, which established Washington's reputation as an area of marshes and swamps. Secondly, a terrace, known as the Wicomico, ran roughly northwest to southeast above the flood plain. Jenkins Hill, where the Capitol was located, and the rise of land where the White House was sited, were part of this geological structure. North of the river terrace was the steeper Wicomico Sunderland escarpment beyond what is now Florida Avenue. At least one large stream, Reedy Branch, flowed southerly through the escarpment and the terrace near present-day 7<sup>th</sup> Street, N.W., and then across the flood plain into Tiber Creek.<sup>13</sup>

The land on which the city of Washington was built lay in Prince George's County, Maryland. President Washington worked out an agreement with area landowners on March 30, 1791, on the method by which properties would be conveyed to the federal government and the owners compensated. Fifteen men signed deeds transferring portions of their land to the government on June 28 and 29, 1791, and the signers became known as the original proprietors of the city of Washington. The deeds were recorded at the General Court of Maryland on December 16 and 22, 1791, and in the newly created Register of Deeds in the District of Columbia on January 5, 1792. Five of the signers owned land that is now part of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site: Daniel Carroll of Duddington, Benjamin Oden, Benjamin Stoddert, Uriah Forrest, and David Burnes.<sup>14</sup>

Of these men, the owner of the greatest amount of land, by far, was the farmer David Burnes. He had been a second lieutenant during the American Revolution and later served as magistrate for Prince George's County. At the time of the creation of the District of Columbia, Burnes's land ran from the platted, but unexecuted, town called Hamburgh situated at the confluence of the Potomac River and Tiber Creek, and extended eastward to Carroll's property at Jenkins Hill – nearly all the land that now constitutes the historic district. When the process by which the landowners would convey land for the federal city to the government was worked out on March 30, 1791, Burnes was the second man to sign the agreement. He also signed the deed of trust for

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<sup>13</sup> Frederick Gutheim, *Worthy of the Nation: The History of Planning for the National Capital* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1977), 19-20; Louis Dow Scisco, "A Site for the 'Federal City': The Original Proprietors and their Negotiations with Washington," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 57-59 (1957-59): 142. Additional information on the early settlement of the land that became Washington, D.C., can be found in Kenneth R. Bowling, *Creating the Federal City, 1774-1800: Potomac Fever* (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects Press, 1988) and Allen C. Clark, "Origin of the Federal City," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 35-36 (1935): 1-97.

<sup>14</sup> For more information on these landowners, please see Clark, "Origin of the Federal City," 92-94, plate 4; Scisco, 144-145; Louise Joyner Hienton, *Prince George's Heritage* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1972); Louise Mann-Kinney, *Rosedale, The Eighteenth Century Country Estate of General Uriah Forrest*, Washington, D.C., 1989).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 98

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

his property along with the 14 other proprietors in late June. Early in 1792, Burnes's deed was the first recorded in the District's initial land books. Burnes may well have seen the President's House under construction and Pennsylvania Avenue being carved through the woods on what had once been his property since he remained in his farmhouse west of what is now 17<sup>th</sup> Street. He did not, however, live to see the government move to Washington. He died on May 7, 1799, at age 60 – 18 months before Washington's successor, John Adams, and Congress occupied the buildings L'Enfant termed the "Presidential palace" and the "Federal House," respectively, in public reservations interrupting the course of Pennsylvania Avenue.<sup>15</sup>

**Pennsylvania Avenue and the L'Enfant Plan**

Washington chose L'Enfant to design the federal city in late 1790 or early 1791.<sup>16</sup> L'Enfant had been commissioned as a captain in the Corps of Engineers in 1777, shortly after arriving in America with French troops fighting on the side of the colonies in the Revolutionary War. He met General Washington at Valley Forge that winter and later provided illustrations for a military manual for American soldiers written by Baron Friedrich Wilhelm Augustus von Steuben, a Prussian general serving under Washington. Washington seems to have respected L'Enfant's abilities and trusted his judgement because the general later employed his engineer on personal, rather than public, commissions such as the design of a medal for the Society of the Cincinnati. Washington also paid L'Enfant to travel to France to have medals struck of French officers who had fought in the American Revolution. The federal government met in New York between 1785 and 1789, and in 1788, L'Enfant redesigned New York City Hall to function as the capitol.

Although L'Enfant's military experience certainly gave him access to President Washington when the time came to design the federal city, he also possessed education and experience perhaps unequaled in the young country. L'Enfant's father, Pierre, was a painter who was elected to the French Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture in 1745 and was commissioned to decorate the Ministry of War at Versailles in 1758. Pierre Charles L'Enfant lived with his father at Versailles between the ages of 4 and 12. Beginning in 1771, he studied at the Royal Academy in Paris, where his father taught. Thus, L'Enfant had firsthand experience with the monumental

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<sup>15</sup> Allen C. Clark, "General John Peter Van Ness, a Mayor of the City of Washington, His Wife, Marcia, and Her Father, David Burnes," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 22 (1919), 128-142; Clark, "Origin of the Federal City," 84-86, 91-92, plate 4.

<sup>16</sup> Pamela Scott, "'This Vast Empire': The Iconography of the Mall, 1791-1848," in *The Mall in Washington, 1791-1991*, Richard Longstreth, ed. (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England for the National Gallery of Art, 1991), 37.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 99

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

landscape designed by the French master André LeNôtre, and with Paris, which included grand public spaces such as the Tuileries gardens and the Louvre.<sup>17</sup>

L'Enfant was asked by Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson in early March 1791 to assist Andrew Ellicott in developing surveys of "the particular grounds most likely to be approved for the site of the federal town and buildings."<sup>18</sup> By April 10, however, L'Enfant had been chosen to design the city, for on that day Jefferson wrote to the French emigré to say he was happy that Washington had put the planning of the federal city in such good hands. The surveys carried out by Ellicott and his assistant, the African American mathematician and surveyor Benjamin Banneker, revealed the three-tiered topography of the site (flood plain, river terrace, and escarpment), from which L'Enfant chose prominent sites for public buildings. His subsequent plans, the first (now lost) of which was sent to Washington in June 1791, linked those sites with diagonal avenues and over this arrangement he laid a right-angled grid of streets.<sup>19</sup>

Within the framework of prominent reservations, diagonal avenues, and the orthogonal street grid he sketched out in June, 1791, L'Enfant set aside spaces for public buildings and public plazas. He kept a large area of land at the center of the composition open for public recreation – what has become known as the Mall. These devices echo similar ones used at the French palace. LeNôtre, for example, employed vistas cut through the forest and open spaces where two or more of these allees intersected. A canal created a long axis extending away from the king's palace and diagonal avenues converged on it. Both of these features are echoed in L'Enfant's plan for Washington. L'Enfant also intended an equestrian statue of Washington – authorized by Congress in 1783 to be erected in the permanent seat of government – to be placed at the intersection of the axes passing through the Federal House and the Presidential palace. He also planned ornamental features throughout the city, such as fountains, columns, and statues. Public squares decorated with fountains and statuary and public gardens of trees, grass, and flowers were found in the Paris that L'Enfant knew. Planning at Versailles and in Paris also considered the relationship between important public buildings, and that association is reflected in L'Enfant's plan. The designer placed the buildings for Congress and the president on eminences so that they could easily be seen and linked them with a broad avenue. Other significant buildings had prominent locations linked by connecting streets.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>17</sup> Repts, 8-9; "Plan of the City of Washington, D.C." 45-46.

<sup>18</sup> Thomas Jefferson to Pierre Charles L'Enfant, March 1791, quoted in Repts, 5.

<sup>19</sup> L'Enfant memorandum, dated June 22, 1791, quoted in Repts, 16.

<sup>20</sup> Repts, 8-18; "Plan of the City of Washington," 49-51.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 100

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

L'Enfant, however, also brought his own experience to bear on the new city, synthesizing in his scheme American history, the American landscape, and contemporary city planning ideas that incorporated the principles of English landscape gardening. The placement of the Presidential palace and the Federal House on projecting bluffs of the Wicomico terrace illustrate the respect for the natural topography and the concern for picturesque composition that characterize English landscape gardening. By the late eighteenth century, such principles were considered appropriate for city design by theorists such as the French cleric and architectural writer Abbé Laugier, who stated that cities should be designed with the variation and yet the hierarchical order of a park.<sup>21</sup> The tremendous scale of L'Enfant's design, much larger than any city in the United States at the time, symbolically represented the size of the country itself, which L'Enfant called "this vast empire."<sup>22</sup>

The Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site shows how L'Enfant also embodied the American political system and its history in his plan. The designer placed the two most powerful departments of government, the executive and the legislative, on the two most prominent eminences of the Wicomico terrace. The plan's most important avenue, eventually called Pennsylvania Avenue, runs between them. L'Enfant did not definitively determine the location of the judicial branch of the government, referring to the "Judiciary Court" in an August 19, 1791, letter to Washington, but not specifying its site. It seems likely, however, that the public reservation now known as Judiciary Square, which lies on the same terrace as the Presidential palace and the Federal House, evolved from his suggestion, and that, therefore, L'Enfant had in mind a physical relationship that illustrated the checks and balances of the three branches of American government as written into the Constitution.<sup>23</sup>

The names of the states do not appear in connection with the diagonal avenues in the plan of Washington until Ellicott's version of 1792, but the idea probably originated with L'Enfant. The state avenues are arranged geographically – northern states north of the Capitol, Middle Atlantic states in the center, southern states south of the Capitol – but also with some reference to their importance in American history. Pennsylvania Avenue received the most prominent location as

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<sup>21</sup> Scott, 43-45.

<sup>22</sup> L'Enfant to Washington, September 17, 1789, quoted in Scott, 39.

<sup>23</sup> The current reservation known as Judiciary Square was identified by function and location in Ellicott's notes to his 1792 plan but did not appear on the plan itself. Surveyor James R. Dermott, however, graphically represented Judiciary Square in the map he prepared between 1795 and 1797. Please see Reps, 17-20.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 101

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

the link between the White House and the Capitol because the Declaration of Independence was signed in Philadelphia and the Constitutional Convention also took place there.<sup>24</sup>

In an early report to Washington on the terrain of the land that was being considered for the new capital, probably written in late March 1791, L'Enfant envisioned a street that would run from Georgetown to the Anacostia River. He described the street as "a direct and large avenue . . . with a middle way paved for heavy carriages and a walk on each side planted with double rows of trees . . . a street laid out on a dimension proportioned to the greatness . . . which the Capital of a powerful Empire ought to manifest."<sup>25</sup> This broad, tree-shaded street became Pennsylvania Avenue. In the June 22, 1791, memorandum to Washington, L'Enfant had already decided that the roadway should be made 80 feet wide, with a 30-foot strip for walks and trees on each side and another 10-foot setback between the walks and building lots. In his final plan, submitted to Washington in Philadelphia in August 1791, L'Enfant retained this 160-foot total width for the main radial avenues. The designer also planned a fountain for the avenue at the midpoint between the Presidential palace and the Federal House in the area now called Market Square. On axis, north of this fountain, L'Enfant demarcated a space for a national church. This reservation eventually became the site of the Patent Office (now the National Museum of American Art and the National Portrait Gallery).<sup>26</sup>

The use of diagonal avenues within the grid of the city had a practical as well as an aesthetic purpose. L'Enfant intended that the squares he laid out would become the foci for development. The diagonal streets allowed for the shortest route between these places. In a memorandum to Washington, L'Enfant explained that he "opened some [streets] in different directions, as avenues to and from every principal place, wishing thereby not merely to contract [contrast] with the general regularity, nor to afford a greater variety of seats with pleasant prospects ... but principally to connect each part of the city, if I may so express it, by making the real distance less from place to place, by giving to them reciprocity of sight and by making them thus seemingly connected."<sup>27</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue illustrates this intention, running as it does from Georgetown through the city to a bridge over the Anacostia River. L'Enfant's notion of "reciprocity of sight" is clearly apparent in his positioning of the President's House and the Capitol on prominent rises

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<sup>24</sup> Scott, 39-41.

<sup>25</sup> Undated note by L'Enfant, quoted in Reps, 14. Reps considers this report to have been submitted to Washington on his arrival at Georgetown on March 29, 1791.

<sup>26</sup> Reps, 18-21.

<sup>27</sup> L'Enfant memorandum, dated June 22, 1791, quoted in Reps, 16.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 102

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

in the landscape, but the avenue was also seen as a major route for the transportation of goods and visitors through the city.

The intersections of radiating streets with public reservations resulted in a number of vistas across the landscape. A radial avenue extending southwest from what is now Judiciary Square (a portion of which remains as Indiana Avenue) crossed Pennsylvania Avenue where L'Enfant planned to locate the fountain and terminated at the site chosen for the equestrian statue of Washington. The orthogonal street leading south from Judiciary Square (now John Marshall Park and Fourth Street) ran across the Mall to the mouth of the Anacostia.

In October 1791, L'Enfant refused to turn over his manuscript plans so that city squares could be divided into lots for the designer felt that the sale was premature. This refusal was one of the acts which led to his dismissal by Washington. After L'Enfant was relieved of his position, surveyor Ellicott was hired to prepare the plan. Ellicott based his plan, produced in 1792, on L'Enfant's notes and his own memory of the Frenchman's design. The surveyor eliminated L'Enfant's notes on the ornamentation of the city with fountains and columns as well as direction for the use of the public reservations L'Enfant had intended for the states. As his plan was to be used for the public sale of lots in the city, Ellicott numbered the squares consecutively. He also placed the state names on their respective avenues and reconfigured some of public squares formed by the intersection of diagonal and right angle streets to eliminate irregular spaces. Between 1793 and 1796, Ellicott surveyed the numbered squares to divide them into lots. Once this was accomplished, development of the city could begin in earnest.<sup>28</sup>

The city grew slowly in its early years. L'Enfant's plan, with its dispersed nodes rather than the traditional single center, slowed development. The tremendous size of the planned city required speculation by investors willing to wait until the government arrived to earn a profit, and several investors did buy up lots and begin building.<sup>29</sup> Samuel Blodgett, Jr., a merchant and director of the Insurance Company of North America in Philadelphia, overextended himself in real estate speculation, eventually winding up in debtors prison. He did, however, begin construction of Blodgett's Hotel in 1793 at the northeast corner of 8<sup>th</sup> and E streets where the General Post Office (Tariff Commission Building) now stands. A three-story, Anglo-Palladian building with Ionic portico, Blodgett's Hotel was probably the most impressive privately owned building in the area

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<sup>28</sup> Robinson & Associates, Inc., 50-51; Reps, 22-25.

<sup>29</sup> Orlando Ridout V, *Building the Octagon* (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects Press, 1989), 20-23.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 103

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

that now makes up the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site when the government moved from Philadelphia to Washington in June 1800.<sup>30</sup>

**Early Growth of the Federal and Local City**

When President John Adams arrived in Washington in 1800, the construction of the two main government buildings, the Capitol and the White House, was well underway on their respective public reservations, with Pennsylvania Avenue running between them. The federal government, at this time, was quite small and consisted of only five departments: State, Treasury, War, Navy, and the Post Office. Small buildings were erected near the White House to serve as the headquarters of the fledgling departments. Indeed, arrival of the government did not spur immediate growth; pockets of forests could still be found within the city limits in the early years of the nineteenth century, and most of the streets from L'Enfant's plan had not yet been laid out. Thomas Jefferson's secretary, Meriwether Lewis, hunted small game and partridge along Pennsylvania Avenue before heading west to explore the Louisiana Territory with William Clark.<sup>31</sup> The capital at this time was described more as "a scattered village than [as] a city" with houses that were "plain, half finished, and widely dispersed."<sup>32</sup> In fact, for several decades, the White House and Capitol were the only public buildings located on Pennsylvania Avenue. As a result of its important placement as the most direct route between the city's two main government buildings, the avenue became the logical location for boarding houses, hotels, and shops, most of which were modest buildings.<sup>33</sup>

The avenue's prominent role in the city's plan required public improvements since it served as the capital's first main thoroughfare. By 1791, the roadbed had been cleared of the timbers, logs, and alders which had cluttered it. In the winter of 1800-01, the avenue was further cleared of stumps and refuse, and was widened to its intended width of 160 feet.<sup>34</sup> In 1800, one of the first Congressional appropriations, \$10,000, was spent by the District's Commissioners to complete

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<sup>30</sup> James M. Goode, *Capital Losses: A Cultural History of Washington's Destroyed Buildings* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1979), 160-161.

<sup>31</sup> Ridout, 33.

<sup>32</sup> Matthew R. Virta, *Archeology at the Petersen House: Unearthing an Alternate History* (Washington, D.C.: Regional Archeology Program, National Park Service, National Capital Region, 1991), 8.

<sup>33</sup> Goode, *Outdoor Sculpture*, 356.

<sup>34</sup> Mary Cable, *The Avenue of the Presidents* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1969), 25.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 104

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

the footpath on the north side of the avenue from the Capitol to Georgetown.<sup>35</sup> The path, made of chips from the stone blocks used to build the Capitol, was wide enough to accommodate two people walking abreast.<sup>36</sup> As a result, the avenue became the "active scene of housebuilding," which included some residences and many boarding houses, especially on the paved northern side, which was favored since the south side bordered the undrained tidal flats.<sup>37</sup> Another early street popular for residences was F Street, which ran along the high ground at the edge of the Wicomico Terrace, and individual subscriptions paid for the paving of a sidewalk along a portion of it during the early years of the city.<sup>38</sup>

Washington's principal thoroughfare became the location of countless inaugural processions, funerals, and victory celebrations. The avenue and its parks, monuments, and buildings served as the backdrop for these national events. The origins of the tradition of the inaugural procession derive from Thomas Jefferson's second inauguration on March 4, 1805. Jefferson chose to ride on horseback along the avenue to the Capitol to take the Presidential oath of office. While en route back to the White House, Jefferson was "followed by a large assemblage of members of the Legislature, citizens, and strangers of distinction."<sup>39</sup> Future presidents continued the custom of traveling down the avenue to the Capitol. As a result of the popularity of this custom, the inaugural parade became part of our national identity.

During his presidency, Jefferson recognized the need for a "more sophisticated urban standard" and he had city surveyor Nicholas King design improvements for Pennsylvania Avenue. The existing thoroughfare consisted of one "stone pavement" [sidewalk], only six feet wide, which was located on one side of a gravel road.<sup>40</sup> King's proposal consisted of a central "Carriage & Horse Gravel Way" flanked by two carriage ways (King's plan does not specify the material of these carriage ways), and then a "brick pavement" [sidewalk] stretching from the curb to the

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<sup>35</sup> President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, *Pennsylvania Avenue: Report of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue* (Washington, D.C.: April 1964), 11.

<sup>36</sup> Cable, 24.

<sup>37</sup> President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 9.

<sup>38</sup> Constance McLaughlin Green, *Washington: A History of the Capital, 1800-1950* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1962), 40.

<sup>39</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 2.

<sup>40</sup> President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 11; The Junior League of Washington, *The City of Washington: An Illustrated History*, Thomas Froncek, ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977), 100.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 105

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

building line on each side of the road.<sup>41</sup> Jefferson did not, however, focus all of his attention to road building; in fact, he spent one-quarter, or \$13,466.69, of the city improvement budget of 1803 to plant four rows of fast-growing Lombardy poplars the full distance of Pennsylvania Avenue from the Capitol to the White House.<sup>42</sup> King's plan consisted of four rows of trees – a row near each curb and double rows flanking each side of the central carriage way. The trees were brought from Mt. Vernon and General Masons Island. Jefferson selected poplars for their reputation as a fast-growing species, but ultimately, the President wished to replace them with willow oaks.

In 1816, the poplars still had not been replaced. One critic complained, "It is deeply to be regretted that the government or corporation did not employ some means for the preservation of the trees which grew on places destined for the public walks. How agreeable would have been their shade along the Pennsylvania Avenue where the dust so often annoys, and the summer sun, reflected from the sandy soil, is so oppressive. The Lombardy poplar, which now supplies their place, serves more for ornament than shelter."<sup>43</sup> Some of the poplars lasted until the 1830s, but most were chopped down during the depression of 1820 for use as firewood. Only the roots and stumps remained, obstructing the traffic flow of both carriages and pedestrians.<sup>44</sup> Even though the avenue was one of the only roadways consistently maintained throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, its large ruts, puddles, dust, and mud made it notoriously difficult to travel.<sup>45</sup>

Congressmen complained about the "crowded lodgings and of the city's inconveniences and dreary appearance,"<sup>46</sup> and there were numerous proposals to move the capital back to Philadelphia. There was little incentive to improve the avenue and its neighboring streets since "most public officials looked upon Washington as a place to visit in order to perform government business, but not as a place in which to live."<sup>47</sup> Most politicians occupied the many boarding

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<sup>41</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 100.

<sup>42</sup> President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 11.

<sup>43</sup> David Baille Warden, (1816), quoted in The Junior League of Washington, 100. Lombardy poplars are a columnar tree, whereas willow oaks develop a broad canopy.

<sup>44</sup> Cable, 49.

<sup>45</sup> HABS DC-695, 2.

<sup>46</sup> Green, 23.

<sup>47</sup> Goode, (1974), 356.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 106

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

houses and hotels located on Pennsylvania Avenue, while their families remained in their constituencies. In 1807, Congress appropriated \$3,000 to repair the thoroughfare, but mostly the burden of grading and graveling was left up to the city government and its taxpayers (this was problematic financially since some of the most valuable real estate in the city was Federally owned and thus was tax exempt).<sup>48</sup> Congress rejected repeated proposals for the avenue's upkeep.<sup>49</sup> While Baltimore implemented a citywide gaslight system in 1817, Washington's Pennsylvania Avenue was the only street to be lit – and only with oil lamps.<sup>50</sup> These were installed in 1817 between the Capitol and White House; however, they were unused during the 1830s due to lack of funds. Congress voted to relight them in 1842, but Pennsylvania Avenue remained the only lighted street in the city until 1849; gas lamps replaced oil throughout the city in 1853.<sup>51</sup>

It was not until the 1830s that the first set of cobblestones were laid on the avenue's roadway. In 1832, the House of Representatives appointed a committee "to inquire into the expediency of making provision by act of Congress, or otherwise for the repair and improvement of the street in Washington City, called the Pennsylvania Avenue, from the President's House to the Capitol, on the McAdam plan or other permanent manner."<sup>52</sup> Congress appropriated \$62,000 for macadamizing<sup>53</sup> the avenue in 1832 and \$69,630 the following year for paving, guttering, and removal of remnants of poplars in preparation for a new 45-foot-wide carriageway.<sup>54</sup> In addition, the outer rows of Jefferson's poplars were replaced with elms. The avenue was repaved with cobbles between 1847 and 1849. A plan was designed in 1853 to improve the road condition of Pennsylvania Avenue and to create a tiled pedestrian walkway in the center of the wide thoroughfare. Plans such as this one were often not implemented, and when they were, resulted in little improvement, and the avenue and other city streets remained in poor condition.

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<sup>48</sup> Green, 39.

<sup>49</sup> Cable, 68.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., 50.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid., 83-4.

<sup>52</sup> Ibid., 70.

<sup>53</sup> The process of macadamizing was introduced by Scottish Loudon McAdam in Great Britain in 1816. Macadamizing is the covering of a road, or street, using bitumen cement and crushed stone, so as to form a smooth, hard, and convex surface.

<sup>54</sup> Cable, 70.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 107

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

In the early nineteenth century, some large-scale improvements were made to the city, despite the problems with the poor condition of its roads. For example, in 1810, Benjamin Latrobe, who had been appointed surveyor of public buildings by Jefferson and continued in that position under Jefferson's successor, James Madison, was hired to design and build a canal from the Potomac through the heart of the city to the Eastern Branch of the river. L'Enfant envisioned that the Washington City Canal would run eastward from the mouth of the Tiber Creek along what is now Constitution Avenue. The canal ran in a straight line from the Ellipse to the base of the Capitol, and then went south and east along what is now known as Canal Street. Thomas Law, a supporter of the canal, proposed a transportation system along the canal which he saw to be better than coaches. The canal, however, was "only navigable for boats of narrow beam and shallow draft."<sup>55</sup> It required frequent dredging and often was the cause of extensive flooding on Pennsylvania Avenue. Sections of the avenue abutted the water's edge near the Capitol, and periodic freshets of the City Canal caused problems on the avenue in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Two years after the United States declared war on Britain in 1812, the capital city was the target of enemy aggression. On August 25, 1814, the city was attacked by the British, and the Capitol and White House were set ablaze. Many buildings and bridges were destroyed, including the first Treasury Building. Benjamin Henry Latrobe was responsible for beginning the rebuilding of many of the city's public buildings, including the Capitol. As a result of the capital's ruinous state, Congress made several recommendations to relocate the seat to Philadelphia or Lancaster, Pennsylvania. In the end, a generous loan offer made by Washington banks helped entice the government to stay and rebuild the federal buildings.<sup>56</sup> In addition, new life was brought to the city as shopping establishments multiplied along the avenue in the years following the war.<sup>57</sup>

With a firm commitment to keeping the capital in Washington, the government expanded with new departments and impressive buildings. The majority of these government buildings were constructed near Pennsylvania Avenue, between the White House and the Capitol. The new government buildings were often planned for the reservations set aside by L'Enfant to house national buildings and terminate his vistas. These still-vacant sites became logical locations for new buildings such as the Patent Office and City Hall.

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<sup>55</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 122.

<sup>56</sup> Green, 65.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid., 72.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 108

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

The first of the government buildings to be erected near or on Pennsylvania Avenue was the **Old City Hall (Contributing Building)**, the current address of which is 451 Indiana Avenue. After the War of 1812, there was a growing demand for a municipal building to serve the needs of the city's residents. Old City Hall, designed by English-born architect George Hadfield, was completed in three stages from 1820 to 1849. Hadfield, who came to America in 1795 from England and served as Architect of the Capitol from 1795 to 1798, won a competition to design the City Hall building in 1820. His preliminary 1818 drawings were too elaborate, and thus too costly for the municipal budget. A variation of this design won the 1820 competition.

Construction commenced in 1820, and the east wing was completed in 1826, but financial difficulties prevented the completion of the west wing until 1849. In fact, a lottery scheme failed to raise sufficient funds, so Congress contributed \$10,000 on the condition that the federal government could use one wing of the new building to house the United States Circuit Courts.<sup>58</sup> From the beginning, the building was intended to house both administrative offices and courts. The offices of the mayor and registrar were removed from a building at Pennsylvania Avenue and 6<sup>th</sup> Street into the newly finished portion of Hadfield's building in 1822. The building was finished with a \$30,000 appropriation from Congress in 1849; completion included stuccoing the rough brick exterior and constructing the south porticoes. Hadfield had originally proposed a central dome for the building, but this was never added to the composition. The design of the City Hall is praised for the "dignified grace of the central Ionic portico and the flanking advanced wings with their monumental distyle-in-antis elevations."<sup>59</sup>

The selection of the site in Judiciary Square was somewhat controversial since the square was intended by L'Enfant to be the location of a monumental building and, as we have seen, was associated with the judicial branch of the federal government, probably on L'Enfant's suggestion. L'Enfant had envisioned the District's municipal buildings to be situated so as to face the south leg of the canal - "far enough from the federal functions to assert an independence but near enough to the port-industrial area and major arteries to play an integral part in the life of the city."<sup>60</sup> The placement of a municipal building did somewhat alter the intended federal judiciary function of the Square, but L'Enfant's proposal for a "monumental building" was met with

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<sup>58</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, (1970), 22.

<sup>59</sup> W. Brown Morton III, National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, "District of Columbia Courthouse," (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, February 8, 1971), 2; Joan H. Stanley, *Judiciary Square, Washington, D.C.: A Park History* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1968), 15-19.

<sup>60</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 47.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 109

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

Hadfield's classical design.<sup>61</sup> Judiciary Square had, however, been the site of several municipal functions almost since the arrival of the federal government in Washington. A frame building on the square that had been used as a hospital for laborers on public projects was purchased for use as the county poorhouse in 1801, and the Washington Jail was constructed on the E Street side of the square in 1802. With the construction of Old City Hall, municipal construction on the square increased. A second jail was constructed on the northeast corner of Judiciary Square in 1840, and the first jail became the Washington Infirmary in 1844. The square itself was mostly unimproved. The area around the Old City Hall was graded in 1825, but sewers were not constructed until 1856, and filling the ravine that ran through the square did not begin until 1857.<sup>62</sup>

In 1863, the federal government occupied Old City Hall, and 10 years later purchased it for use as the Supreme Court of the District of Columbia. In the portion of the building used as a federal court house, John H. Surratt was acquitted of conspiring in the Lincoln assassination. The building was taken over completely by the federal government by 1871, and served as a Court House. In 1881, Edward Clark, the Architect of the Capitol, designed an extension of the building on the north side; the expansion was begun in that year and completed in 1883.<sup>63</sup> In addition, in 1881-82, Charles Guiteau was convicted in the assassination of President Garfield, and was hanged in the nearby District jail.

During the 1830s and 1840s, several major government building projects commenced, including the Treasury, the Patent Office, and the General Post Office. Robert Mills was involved with each of these projects, often in the role of architect or supervising architect. Indeed, the native-born architect "provided for Washington three permanent exemplars of classically derived architecture, each with specific historical references of great importance."<sup>64</sup> Mills was among the first American-born architects, and was apprentice to both James Hoban and Benjamin Latrobe. After gaining a favorable reputation as an architect, Mills moved to Washington in 1836 and was appointed by President Jackson as Federal Architect of Public Buildings. Mills held the prestigious post for fifteen years.

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<sup>61</sup> Ibid.

<sup>62</sup> Stanley, 9-31.

<sup>63</sup> *Report of the Architect of the United States Capitol*, October 1, 1881, Curator's Office, Architect of the Capitol, Washington, D.C., 7; *Report of the Architect of the United States Capitol*, October 1, 1882, 6; *Report of the Architect of the United States Capitol*, July 1, 1883, 6.

<sup>64</sup> Scott and Lee, 193.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 110

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

The earliest building designed by Mills was a new building for the **Treasury Department (Contributing Building)**. Indeed, the Treasury is the oldest federal government building within the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, and was the first to be completed following the White House and Capitol. The first two treasury buildings had been destroyed by fires; the first due to the British invasion of 1814 and the second from an accidental fire in 1833.<sup>65</sup> President Andrew Jackson ordered a new building to be constructed on the east side of the White House, and Mills in his role as Federal Architect of Public Buildings was given the task of designing it. There was dispute among government officials over the exact location of Mills' design, and construction was delayed as a result. Because of his respect for L'Enfant's plan, Mills "proposed to site the building fifty feet back from Fifteenth Street, and in a position that would not obstruct the vista from the Capitol to the President's House."<sup>66</sup> Disagreement on this point ensued, so frustrating Jackson that he decided upon the exact site; legend has it that Jackson jammed his cane into the ground and declared that it would be site of the cornerstone.<sup>67</sup> As a result, the location of the Treasury Department has interrupted the vista of the White House from the Capitol and vice versa.<sup>68</sup>

The Mills portion of the Treasury, the central T-shaped unit, was erected between 1836 and 1841. His design of a continuous colonnade on the 15<sup>th</sup> Street elevation, reminiscent of the Temple of Diana at Ephesus, was noted for its early use of the Greek Revival style. Architect Joseph Hudnut praised Mills and the Treasury Building in 1937 when he wrote, "At a time when the mechanism of banking . . . was comparatively simple, Robert Mills screened the offices of the Treasury Department with Doric peristyles, a symbol of governmental dignity."<sup>69</sup> New construction techniques and heated architectural rivalries resulted in a push in Congress to have the Treasury demolished. A vote was held in 1838 and was narrowly defeated. The north, south, and west portions were designed by Thomas U. Walter, and were completed at various points before 1869. Construction of the north wing began after the Civil War in 1867 under the supervision of Alfred B. Mullet. The north wing replaced the early Federal-style State

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<sup>65</sup> Goode, (1974), 356.

<sup>66</sup> *American Buildings and Their Architects*, 404.

<sup>67</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 58.

<sup>68</sup> L'Enfant's planned vista was later blocked when the south wing was added in the 1850s.

<sup>69</sup> Joseph Hudnut, "Twilight of the Gods," *Magazine of Art* (August 1937), quoted in Craig, 312. The 15<sup>th</sup> Street colonnade actually displays the Ionic order. Interestingly, the two other Mills buildings show the Doric (Old Patent Office) and the Corinthian (General Post Office).

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 111

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

Department building, which originally stood to the north of the Treasury Building and was razed in 1866. The entire building took 33 years to complete. To this day, the Treasury Department is responsible for the management of the monetary resources of the United States.

The **Patent Office (Contributing Building)** was initiated in the same month as the Treasury Building, but took longer to design and construct.<sup>70</sup> The site, at the terminus of L'Enfant's 8<sup>th</sup> Street vista, was one of the original reservations of L'Enfant's plan. L'Enfant had envisioned a grand National Church and mausoleum for the site, but, since this never materialized, Congress approved the square in 1836 as the site of the Patent Office Building.<sup>71</sup> The building was constructed in four sections over a 31-year period beginning in 1836.<sup>72</sup> Several architects were involved in the initial designing of the building, primarily William Parker Elliot (1807-54) with the aid of Ithiel Town (1784-1844). In his role as supervising architect, Mills made substantial changes to the Elliot-Town design. The south wing was completed between 1837 and 1840, and the east and west wings started in 1849-50. The east wing was completed in 1853 under the supervision of Thomas U. Walter, while the west wing was continued by Walter from 1851 to 1854 and finished by Edward Clark. Clark also supervised the construction of the north facade on G Street, which was completed in 1867.

In 1836, a new patent system was enacted, in which inventors had 17 years to make, use, and sell their inventions. The Patent Office, one of the first federal agencies, was designed to "stimulate and protect American inventions," and was derived from patent legislation which originated in 1790.<sup>73</sup> Charles Dickens wrote that the Patent Office "furnishes an extraordinary example of American enterprise and ingenuity; for the immense number of models it contains are the accumulated inventions of only five years."<sup>74</sup> A museum, displaying these models located on the second floor, was popular with tourists.

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<sup>70</sup> Diane Maddex, *Historic Buildings of Washington, D.C.* (Pittsburgh: Ober Park Associates, Inc., 1973), 70.

<sup>71</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, (1970), 17.

<sup>72</sup> W. Brown Morton, III, National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, "Old Patent Office," (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, February 8, 1971), 2.

<sup>73</sup> Department of the Interior (1965), 59.

<sup>74</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 181.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 112

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

In addition to serving as the Patent Office, the building became a federal office building of sorts, housing many different departments. For example, the building served as headquarters of the Interior Department from its creation in 1849 to 1917. The building was transformed into a temporary hospital during the Civil War. In addition, the Pension Bureau was operated from the building until the new Pension Building was completed in 1885. The Patent Bureau remained in the building until 1932 when a new headquarters was completed in the Commerce Department building in the newly completed Federal Triangle. The building was transferred to the Smithsonian in 1958 and was converted into a museum in 1964-67. The second-floor space which housed the Model Museum was transformed into a gallery for the National Portrait Gallery and the National Museum of American Art, which occupy the building. Currently the building is undergoing a multi-year renovation.

The city's first post office was housed in Blodgett's Hotel at the northeast corner of 8<sup>th</sup> and E streets. The building never served as a hotel, but instead was used as public meeting rooms. In 1810, the federal government purchased and renovated the building as the home of the U.S. Patent and Post Office Departments on the upper floors, as well as the first City Post Office.<sup>75</sup> The building survived the British invasion of Washington in 1814, but was destroyed by fire in 1836. At this point it was decided that new buildings should be constructed for both departments. In addition to the U.S. Patent Office building at the terminus of 8<sup>th</sup> Street (discussed previously), the city acquired the **General Post Office (Contributing Building)** at the corner of 7<sup>th</sup> and E streets, which was erected by two prominent architects, Robert Mills and Thomas Ustick Walter, in two sections over a 27-year period.

Robert Mills designed the U-shaped building in the style of a traditional Renaissance palazzo. It is noted as one of the "first use[s] of the Italianate style for an important public building in America."<sup>76</sup> In addition, the building was the first erected of marble in the District.<sup>77</sup> Mills recommended marble since he believed it to be more durable than the sandstone used for the Capitol and White House. The offices of the Post Office Department moved into the building in 1844. Yet they quickly outgrew the building, and in 1855 Walter designed a northern extension that utilized an architectural vocabulary similar to that of Mills' building. Captain Montgomery C. Meigs of the Corps of Engineers, who went on to design the Pension Building, was the consulting engineer on the project. The building was completed in 1866 after construction was

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<sup>75</sup> Goode, *Capital Losses*, 161.

<sup>76</sup> Scott and Lee, 192. Scott and Lee label this building both as Italianate and Renaissance Revival.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 113

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

postponed during the Civil War when the basement was used as a Union Supply Depot. The General Post Office utilized the same internal spatial organization and brick vaulted construction as the Treasury Department and Old Patent Office, but at a smaller scale.<sup>78</sup>

The country's first telegraph office was opened in the General Post Office building on April 1, 1845, by Samuel F. B. Morse. This new communication medium was influential since it stimulated the growth of newspapers across the country. The building housed both the General Post Office and the United States Post Office Department until 1897 when both facilities moved to the larger Romanesque Revival Post Office building constructed on Pennsylvania Avenue. At this time, the building was transferred to the Secretary of the Interior, and consequently housed the General Land Office from 1897 to 1917 and the offices of General John J. Pershing from 1917 to 1921. The U.S. Tariff Commission occupied the building from 1921 until it was vacated for future reuse in 1987. The General Services Administration inherited the building from the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, and sought redevelopment proposals in 1997. The building was recently converted into a luxury hotel.<sup>79</sup>

**"Washington's Main Street" – Pennsylvania Avenue in the Nineteenth Century**

In its earliest years, the city of Washington was a place to conduct public business rather than a place to entertain or be entertained. Into the early decades of the nineteenth century, few politicians established a permanent residence in the nation's capital due to the insignificance of the city at the time and the transience of political jobs. In fact the city was often greatly ridiculed for its provincial air and unfinished plan. Charles Dickens visited Washington, D.C., in 1842 and wrote his impressions of the still young city in *American Notes*. Dickens parodied the city by giving instructions of how not to create a capital city:

... erect three handsome buildings in stone and marble,  
anywhere, but the more entirely out of everybody's way the  
better; call one the Post Office, one the Patent Office, and one  
the Treasury; make it scorching hot in the morning, and freezing  
cold in the afternoon, with an occasional tornado of wind and  
dust; leave a brick-field without the bricks in all central places  
where a street may naturally be expected; and that's Washington.  
... It is sometimes called the City of Magnificent Distances, but  
it might with greater propriety be termed the City of Magnificent

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<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> *NCPC Quarterly* (July/Aug./Sept. 1998): 3.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 114

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

Intentions; for it is only on taking a bird's eye view of it from the top of the Capitol, that one can at all comprehend the vast designs of its projector, an aspiring Frenchman. Spacious avenues, that being nothing, and lead nowhere; streets, milelong, that only want houses, roads and inhabitants; public buildings that need but a public to be complete; and ornaments of great thoroughfares, which only lack great thoroughfares to ornament – are its leading features . . .<sup>80</sup>

This criticism shows Dickens' awareness of the city's potential, but it is quite critical of the young city. Indeed, the city was growing and changing each year and by the middle of the nineteenth century Pennsylvania Avenue grew into a lively and fashionable destination. By 1840, the city of Washington numbered over 33,000 residents as the transition from small town to modern city began.<sup>81</sup> In 1832 and 1833, Congress passed bills to spend a total of \$131,630 to macadamize the avenue; the work was carried out by Irish laborers.<sup>82</sup> Cobblestones were then laid from 1845 to 1848.<sup>83</sup> Responsibility for improvements to the city's infrastructure fell to the Commissioner of Public Buildings between 1849 and 1867, when the Army Corps of Engineers gained control of the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds. In 1849, Commissioner Ignatius Mudd requested funds for the enclosure of several triangles created by the course of Pennsylvania Avenue through the street grid. By 1853, four such triangles were enclosed with iron fences.<sup>84</sup> Improvements such as the 1853 installation of gas lamps on major streets and avenues, including Pennsylvania Avenue, and the introduction of modern street signs and a city-wide house-numbering system in 1854 helped speed up this progress.<sup>85</sup>

In addition to inaugural processions, the avenue was the site of more somber marches; for example, the first presidential funeral procession to be held on the avenue was that of President

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<sup>80</sup> Lois Craig, *The Federal Presence: Architecture, Politics, and Symbols in United States Government Building* (Cambridge, MA & London: MIT Press, 1978), 82.

<sup>81</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 50.

<sup>82</sup> *Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Park*, <http://www.nps.gov/paav/pa-visit.htm>

<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Robinson & Associates, Inc., 61-62.

<sup>85</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 57.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 115

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

William Henry Harrison.<sup>86</sup> Harrison died on April 4, 1841, only one month after entering the White House. His funeral cortege proceeded along the avenue three days later. Black streamers hung between buildings and black crepe hung from the buildings. "Old Whitey," the horse that had carried Harrison along the avenue during his inauguration, traveled alone during the funeral procession, saddled with boots reversed in the stirrups.<sup>87</sup> The legacy of funerary processions has also become an important and honorable tradition. In addition to commemorating deceased presidents, other funerary processions on the avenue have included that of Vice President George Clinton in 1812 and those of the victims of the U.S.S. Princeton disaster (a gun exploded on the battleship) in 1844. Members of Congress, such as John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, and John C. Calhoun, who died while in office, received funeral processions along Pennsylvania Avenue. Most took place between the Capitol and the White House, while others traversed the avenue from the Capitol to the Congressional Cemetery near its intersection with the Anacostia River.<sup>88</sup> On October 12, 1824, the aged Marquis de Lafayette was honored by a ceremony at the Capitol which was followed by a procession along Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House. Spectators crowded the avenue again for Lafayette's farewell ceremonies before the respected Frenchman returned to Europe in June 1825.<sup>89</sup>

In the early evening hours, federal employees and the city's residents came to the avenue to "promenade, ride, see and be seen, imbibe, shop, and meet friends to take home to tea."<sup>90</sup> Along the avenue and its adjacent streets stood "hotels, boarding houses, and restaurants where statesmen lodged, dined, debated the issues of the day, and perfected courses of action that guided the Nation's destiny."<sup>91</sup> Yet, it was not until the growth of the city after the Civil War that Washington "began to take on an air of permanence and dignity."<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> Cable, 97.

<sup>87</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 10.

<sup>88</sup> Cable, 62.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid., 45-47.

<sup>90</sup> President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 11.

<sup>91</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 24.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., 25.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 116

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

Many of the city's most fashionable did reside in the small number of row houses and mansions constructed along F Street in downtown and today's Judiciary Square area in the early part of the nineteenth century. Many politicians and government workers, however, preferred to reside in the area's boarding houses and hotels. None of the nineteenth-century hotels remain and few of the row houses and boarding houses can be found in the vicinity of Pennsylvania Avenue. (Many were demolished to make way for the Federal Triangle in the 1930s and Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation's renewal schemes for the avenue and its surrounding squares in the 1970s and 1980s.)

Some officials and citizens preferred a more private life while in the spotlight of the capital, and thus lived in private residences rather than hotels or boarding houses. Many houses were located on Pennsylvania Avenue and in the surrounding area. Although fewer people lived downtown after the Civil War – when the city's expansion toward the district limits commenced in earnest – the area between Pennsylvania Avenue and F Street, between 1<sup>st</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> streets, remained a popular residential area until the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>93</sup> The avenue itself was lined with many Federal row houses; almost all of the lots on the avenue had been built on by 1835. Residences on the avenue included those of portrait painter Joseph Wood, the proprietor of the *Washington Gazette*, and the consul general of France.<sup>94</sup> Many doctors, lawyers, and dentists had combined offices and residences.<sup>95</sup> By the Civil War, however, the avenue itself was mostly commercial. Many of the Federal row houses survived but had residential and commercial uses, and were often turned into boarding houses.

F Street was one of Washington's most fashionable residential streets in the early nineteenth century. James Madison and his wife Dolley occupied a house on F Street, two blocks from the Treasury Department, until 1809 when he became president. John Quincy Adams and family lived at 1333 F Street<sup>96</sup> in the 1820s.<sup>97</sup> After the Civil War, F Street became known for its commercial establishments, with banks situated near the Treasury Department and newspapers appearing near 14<sup>th</sup> Street's "Newspaper Row." This shift was so abrupt that Frank Carpenter

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<sup>93</sup> Ibid., 43.

<sup>94</sup> Cable, 43.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid.

<sup>96</sup> This house was located on the north side of F Street, which is not within the boundaries of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site.

<sup>97</sup> Cable, 43.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 117

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

wrote in 1883 in *Carp's Washington*: "F Street between the Treasury and the Patent Office has become almost entirely devoted to business, and Henry Clay's old home, just above Thirteenth Street, has been torn down, a modern Gothic building of stores and offices standing in its place. The old John Quincy Adams mansion, just above it, is still a boarding house, but offices are all around, and it is sandwiched between a grocery store and a millinery shop, while a physician uses its parlors for his office."<sup>98</sup>

The area to the north of the Center Market (see below), between 6<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> streets, was also the home to many prominent Washingtonians. Its location halfway between the Capitol and White House was convenient for politicians since it allowed easy access to both buildings. In addition, the area was home to prominent Washington architects such as George Hadfield, Thomas U. Walter, and Charles Bulfinch. By the 1850s, the area had many row houses and hotels and "remained a desirable place to live until the end of the century."<sup>99</sup> The area just north of Center Market then became one of the prime commercial areas in the twentieth century.

Judiciary Square, which now houses a large number of local and federal government buildings, was home to a great number of residences and churches in the nineteenth century. The remnants of this once-fashionable residential district have largely been demolished, and only a few row houses from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries remain. The large row houses at **501 D Street (Contributing Building)** and **406 5<sup>th</sup> Street (Contributing Building)** were most likely constructed prior to the Civil War. The most famous church in the neighborhood was Trinity Episcopal Church designed by James Renwick in the 1860s on the northeast corner of 3<sup>rd</sup> and C streets.<sup>100</sup> A church located on 5<sup>th</sup> Street faced the then park-like square, on a site just north of present-day row house 406 5<sup>th</sup> Street. Charles Bulfinch's Unitarian Church of 1821 was located at the corner of 6<sup>th</sup> and D streets. All of these churches are now demolished. Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, Salmon P. Chase, had a mansion near the square, on the northwest corner of 6<sup>th</sup> and E streets (in which Lincoln attended the wedding of Chase's daughter in 1863).<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> Quoted in *The Junior League of Washington*, 359.

<sup>99</sup> Maddex, 114.

<sup>100</sup> This church was located just outside of the boundaries of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site.

<sup>101</sup> The mansion was located just out of the boundaries of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 118

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

The Judiciary Square area was also home to statesman and orator Daniel Webster, who kept his house and law offices near the corner of 5<sup>th</sup> and D streets in a mansion which is no longer standing. His residence was the site of the monumental January 21, 1850, meeting between Webster and Senator Henry Clay of Kentucky. Known as the "Great Compromiser," Clay was able to get Webster to support his desires to make both slavery and freesoil factions happy; as a result, Webster gave his famous Seventh-of-March speech to the Senate on behalf of the Missouri Compromise. A later row house numbered **503 D Street (Contributing Building)**, constructed prior to 1902, sits on the site of Webster's house. Other residents of the area included Senator Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, Vice President John C. Calhoun, and Supreme Court Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, who lived in the area until his death in 1864.

During the nineteenth century, a sizeable German community with commercial establishments and residences existed in the downtown area.<sup>102</sup> Many came soon after the failed German Revolution of 1848 and were known as "Forty-Eighters," while others came earlier or moved from Georgetown. The neighborhood was centered around 7<sup>th</sup> Street and went as far west as 10<sup>th</sup> Street. Two noted examples with ties to the German community are **518 10<sup>th</sup> Street (Contributing Building)** and the **Petersen House (Contributing Building)** at 516 10<sup>th</sup> Street. The building at 518 10<sup>th</sup> Street, historically known as Kaiser House, was constructed in 1873 as a German public house. The Petersen House, constructed in 1849, was owned and built by William A. Petersen, a German tailor. In addition to being a recent immigrant, Petersen rented out rooms to several boarders, including the German-born artists Julius and Henry Ulke.<sup>103</sup> Boarders were among the poorer residents of the Old Downtown, and the poorest lived in houses and boarding houses south of the avenue in the area now known as Federal Triangle.

Boarding houses in the vicinity of Pennsylvania Avenue proved to be the most popular in the early decades of the nineteenth century.<sup>104</sup> Due to their proximity to government buildings, they catered mostly to congressmen. As late as 1865 there were still at least 16 boarding houses lining the avenue between 1<sup>st</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> streets.<sup>105</sup> Those located on Pennsylvania Avenue between 3<sup>rd</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> streets were referred to as "Hash Row." One of the most notable was the establishment (no longer standing) operated by Elizabeth Peyton at 4 ½ Street (now John Marshall Park) from 1834

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<sup>102</sup> "Everywhere You Look: German-American Sites in Washington, D.C.,"  
[http://www.goethe.de/uk/was/vtour/dc1/en\\_bkgrd.htm](http://www.goethe.de/uk/was/vtour/dc1/en_bkgrd.htm)

<sup>103</sup> The house, which is still standing, is well known as the House Where President Lincoln Died.

<sup>104</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 24.

<sup>105</sup> Ibid., 25.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 119

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

to 1855. Chief Justice John Marshall and Senators Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun were among its patrons. At the southeast corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 15<sup>th</sup> Street stood Mrs. Suter's Boarding House (no longer standing), where British Admiral George Cockburn lodged while his troops burned public buildings in August 1814.

The first hotel on the avenue was built by a Mr. Lovell, on Pennsylvania Avenue, between 14th and 15th streets (on the site of the current Hotel Washington), in 1801.<sup>106</sup> Others opened shortly thereafter, but they were initially overshadowed by the successful boarding houses. In fact, many of the hotels closed in the summers when Congress adjourned and the Congressmen returned to their districts. The Ebbitt House at the southeast corner of 14<sup>th</sup> and F streets was the first hotel to stay open all summer.<sup>107</sup> Soon hotels began to overtake boarding houses as the most fashionable means of residence while in Washington.<sup>108</sup> They became known "as gathering places for Washington officialdom, as centers for social intercourse, and as places for meeting to guide the destinies of the Republic."<sup>109</sup> Hotels became so popular in the middle decades of the nineteenth century that they "took second place only to the White House and the Capitol."<sup>110</sup> Significant events also occurred at Washington's hotels; for example, Andrew Johnson was sworn in at the 1853 Kirkwood Hotel, located on Pennsylvania Avenue between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> streets, on April 15, 1865, immediately following the tragic death of Abraham Lincoln. None of these early hotels remain today.

Of the numerous hotels that formerly lined Pennsylvania Avenue in the nineteenth century, one of the most famous was the National, or Gadsby's, located on the northeast corner of 6<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. The hotel, operated by John Gadsby, was constructed in 1826. It hosted both Andrew Jackson and William Henry Harrison prior to their inaugurations. Both men were besieged with office-seekers while staying at the hotel. The National enjoyed prominence long after the Civil War, and remained in business well into the twentieth century. The Indian Queen Hotel, on Pennsylvania Avenue across 6<sup>th</sup> Street from the National, was a "favorite from about 1810 until Civil War times." It opened in 1804 and was known as the Indian Queen starting in 1810 when proprietor Jesse Brown took over operation of the establishment. The hotel was later

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<sup>106</sup> Cable, 32.

<sup>107</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 246.

<sup>108</sup> Department of the Interior (1965), 26.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 120

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

renamed Brown's after its famous owner. His hotel "owed its notoriety mainly to its excellent cuisine" and its lengthy clientele of presidents, senators and congressmen, including Andrew Jackson, Martin Van Buren and Andrew Johnson.<sup>111</sup> President James Madison, for example, held his second inaugural ball at the hotel in 1813. The hotel also lived up to its name and often provided lodgings for Indian chiefs visiting Washington to conduct business. The St. Charles, located at 3<sup>rd</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, was another of the earliest Washington hotels. It opened in 1820 in a newly constructed brick federal building, the main entrance of which was designed by Benjamin Latrobe and was salvaged from the British-burned U.S. Capitol.

Throughout the nineteenth century, commercial businesses, offices, and entertainment venues sprang up among the hotels, boarding houses, and residences of the Pennsylvania Avenue area. The 1965 National Park Service document, *The Pennsylvania Avenue District in United States History*, describes many of the notable early commercial establishments situated along the avenue and its environs, including Joseph Shillington's newsstand and bookshop. Shillington's stand was popular with John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay and their congressional colleagues for the purchase of their homestate newspapers.<sup>112</sup> The establishment was located at the intersection of Pennsylvania Avenue and what is now John Marshall Place. One of the most famous restaurants on the avenue for most of the nineteenth century was Harvey's Ladies' and Gentlemen's Oyster Saloon, constructed circa 1830 at the southeast corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 11<sup>th</sup> Street.<sup>113</sup>

A great variety of goods and services were available on Pennsylvania Avenue and its surrounding streets. Two commercial establishments both operating in the middle of the nineteenth century included French & Richardson's Book and Stationery Store (constructed circa 1810) at 909 Pennsylvania Avenue and John C. Howard's Livery Stable and Saloon on Pennsylvania Avenue near 6<sup>th</sup> Street. Often, a number of similar stores or services would flock to one area to be near to their competition or a needed amenity. Many banks opened near the Treasury Department on 15<sup>th</sup> Street. One prominent bank, constructed in 1824 and circa 1840, was the Riggs Bank (on the site of the Hotel Washington) on the northwest corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 15<sup>th</sup> Street. "Dry Goods Row" was located on Market Space, a street on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue opposite the Center Market, between 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> streets, and on D Street between 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> streets. This portion of D Street no longer exists since squares 378 and 379 were joined to enable construction of the FBI Building. Many of the commercial buildings were quite ornate with cast-

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<sup>111</sup> Ibid., 28.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid., 54.

<sup>113</sup> Goode, *Capital Losses*, 257.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 121

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

iron cornices, storefronts, or facades. Typically, buildings had storefronts on the ground floor with residences or offices above.

Three commercial buildings, which are representative of the early Federal-style commercial structures of the old downtown, still stand at **637 Indiana Avenue (Contributing Building)**, **639 Indiana Avenue (Contributing Building)**, and **641 Indiana Avenue (Contributing Building)**. The row house at 637 Indiana was constructed circa 1826 by John McCutcheon as a grocer's store. Alexander and Anne Kerr erected 639 and 641 Indiana Avenue between 1812 and 1824. Throughout the nineteenth century, the buildings housed grocery store(s), house(s), and auctioneers. The grouping of groceries in this area near 7<sup>th</sup> Street is associated with its proximity to the Center Market.

In an effort to rid Lafayette Square of an unsightly market, a group of concerned citizens met in 1801, and decided to start a new market on Pennsylvania Avenue. The selected site was Reservation No. 2, bounded by Pennsylvania and Constitution avenues, and 7<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> streets. This appropriation had been set aside by L'Enfant as the site of a fountain to mark both the midpoint between the Capitol and the White House and the terminus of 8<sup>th</sup> Street. It was, however, a convenient location for a market since 7<sup>th</sup> Street was one of the major routes into the urban center from farms in Washington County and Maryland. Moreover, it intersected with the intended location of the City Canal. At first, the new market consisted solely of a collection of temporary stalls and sheds where local farmers could sell their produce. A permanent market, financed by popular subscription, was constructed in 1802, to a design by James Hoban and Clotworth Stevens. With the demolition of the Lafayette Square market, Center Market was the only market in the city for several years.<sup>114</sup> Selling fresh meat, vegetables, fruit, and dairy, the market was frequented by many prominent residents of Washington. Thomas Jefferson, for example, often visited the market in the early morning during his presidency to purchase produce for the White House larder.<sup>115</sup>

The City Canal was completed in 1815, as Latrobe planned. It extended to the Center Market, but the basin that would have greatly aided in the deliverance and loading of goods was never constructed.<sup>116</sup> Progressively, the canal became a hindrance: refuse from the market and sewage from the south side of the avenue were deposited into it, resulting in a waterway that was little

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<sup>114</sup> HABS No. DC-691, 2.

<sup>115</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 55.

<sup>116</sup> Philip W. Ogilvie, ed., *Chronology of Some Events in the History of the District of Columbia* (1993), 33.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 122

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

more than an open sewer. In addition, the canal often flooded, which further spread its unsanitary contents and water throughout the market area, earning the building the nickname "Marsh Market." The 1802 market building had been destroyed by fire in 1870. The city filled in the canal in 1871, at which point a new market was under construction. The new Victorian market designed by Adolph Cluss was completed in 1872. The ornate, towered building included 666 stalls, as well as an armory and a drill room on the second floor.<sup>117</sup>

In his book *Picturesque Washington* of circa 1889, Joseph West Moore described the market: "The daily business in and around this splendid structure is enormous. During the morning hours there are throngs of buyers of all classes of society – fashionable women of the West End, accompanied by negro servants, mingling with people of less opulent sections, all busily engaged in selecting the days household supplies."<sup>118</sup> Despite its popularity and success, the Center Market was demolished in 1931 to make way for the National Archives building within the Federal Triangle project. In addition to the market, the Convenience Station, constructed adjacent to the market in 1910 in the Beaux Arts style, was also demolished.

In the first four decades of the nineteenth century, Washington newspapers were especially influential in disseminating news to the country and to local politicians. The most prominent was the *National Intelligencer*, published by Samuel H. Smith. Thomas Jefferson suggested that the widely read journal relocate to Washington, and it did in 1800. Initially, it was published at 7<sup>th</sup> and D streets, but soon relocated to 9<sup>th</sup> and E streets in 1814. These offices were then pulled down by the British and rebuilt after the war.<sup>119</sup> An early competitor of the *Intelligencer* was the *United States Telegraph*, which was published on E Street between 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> streets, starting in 1825. A sizeable group of offices and taverns associated with the press business were grouped along the east side of 14<sup>th</sup> Street and along E Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. Most were located thus because of proximity to the office of Western Union, a prominent telegraph company, at the intersection of Pennsylvania Avenue and 14<sup>th</sup> Street, and the Old Post Office on Pennsylvania Avenue. The newspaper business prospered during the Civil War when correspondents came to town to cover the war. Prior to the construction of the National Press Building at the corner of 14<sup>th</sup> and F streets in 1926, this grouping of nineteenth-century buildings on 14<sup>th</sup> Street just north of Pennsylvania Avenue was known as "Newspaper Row."

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<sup>117</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 55.

<sup>118</sup> HABS No. DC-691, 4.

<sup>119</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 92.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 123

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

The opening of the first telegraph office in the United States by Samuel F. B. Morse on April 1, 1845, at the General Post Office at 7<sup>th</sup> and E streets, abated this influence since news could be transmitted across the country with great ease as a result of this invention. Journalists from all over the country could move to Washington to cover the political activities of the capital and then convey the news to their local newspaper. Morse's invention meant that small towns across the country could cover national news; this took away some of the prominence of Washington newspapers. Some, however, did maintain their national reputation, such as the *Evening Star* and *Washington Post* (founded in 1852 and 1877, respectively). For this and other reasons almost all of the one thousand newspapers established in Washington since 1800 have gone out of business; as a result, the capital has acquired a reputation as "a newspaper graveyard."<sup>120</sup>

In addition to newspapers, Washington was home to numerous theaters. Visiting politicians and residents "sought respite from official duties through such traditional cultural vehicles as drama and music as well as in saloons and gambling halls that once dotted Pennsylvania Avenue."<sup>121</sup> Blodgett's Hotel was the site of Washington's first theater, the United States Theater, which opened in the building in 1800.<sup>122</sup> The earliest theater district centered along 9<sup>th</sup> Street and its intersection with Pennsylvania Avenue.<sup>123</sup>

**Ford's Theatre (Contributing Building)** is the only remaining theater within the boundaries of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site. Ford's, situated on the east side of 10<sup>th</sup> Street between E and F streets, was originally constructed as the First Baptist Church in 1833. In 1861, it was rented by John T. Ford, who renovated and opened it as Ford's Atheneum in 1862. The building was destroyed by fire in December of 1862, but and was rebuilt and opened to the public in August 1863. During the Civil War, Ford's competed with Leonard Grover's National Theatre<sup>124</sup> as the primary source of dramatic and musical entertainment.<sup>125</sup> After President

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<sup>120</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 49.

<sup>121</sup> Ibid., 45.

<sup>122</sup> Goode, *Capital Losses*, 161.

<sup>123</sup> Robert K. Headley, *Motion Picture Exhibition in Washington, D.C.* (Jefferson, NC, and London: McFarland & Co., Inc., 1999), 3.

<sup>124</sup> The current National Theater building was constructed in 1922. Located at 1321 Pennsylvania Avenue, it is not included within the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site boundaries.

<sup>125</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 48.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 124

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

Abraham Lincoln was assassinated in Ford's Theatre on April 14, 1865, its theatrical history came to an end. It housed various government agencies, and for several decades the Army Medical Museum. The building was restored to its original use as a theater in the 1960s. Lincoln Hall, a theater dedicated to Lincoln, was erected in 1867 nearby at the northeast corner of 9<sup>th</sup> and D streets. The theater was regarded as "one of the finest auditoriums in the Nation's Capital during the nineteenth century."<sup>126</sup>

Carusi's Assembly Rooms, located on C Street between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> streets, was also an extremely popular venue. In 1822, a former musician, Gaetani Carusi, opened a dancing academy and public ballroom and dining room in a partially burned building that had originally housed the Washington Theater. Several inaugural balls were staged in Carusi's famous Assembly Rooms.<sup>127</sup> A more modest establishment was the Canterbury Theatre constructed in 1821 and located at the junction of 9<sup>th</sup> Street and Louisiana (now Indiana) Avenue.

By 1894, the preeminent theaters in the Pennsylvania Avenue and 9<sup>th</sup> Street district were the Lyceum at 1014 Pennsylvania Avenue, the Bijou at 9<sup>th</sup> and C streets, the Academy of Music at 401 9<sup>th</sup> Street, all showing less than refined vaudeville; Albaugh's Grand Opera House at 1424 Pennsylvania Avenue showing vaudeville; the Metzert Music Hall at 521 12<sup>th</sup> Street putting on musical performances; and the National Theater at 1317 E Street showing plays. A new form of entertainment was also becoming popular at this time, moving pictures. The Columbia Phonograph Company at 919 Pennsylvania Avenue was the site of the first kinetoscope exhibitions in the fall of 1894.<sup>128</sup> After World War I, F Street was the most popular location for movie theaters.<sup>129</sup>

Gambling establishments also served as a popular form of entertainment. Two known venues were the "Hall of the Bleeding Heart" and the "Palace of Fortune," both owned by Edward Pendleton. Both gambling halls were situated on the avenue and were popular with fashionable clients in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>130</sup> An additional establishment dedicated to popular performances and activities was the Manassas Panorama Theater, which staged many lectures and

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<sup>126</sup> Goode, *Capital Losses*, 357.

<sup>127</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 46.

<sup>128</sup> Headley, 6.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid, 87.

<sup>130</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 45.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 125

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

midget shows.<sup>131</sup> Constructed after the Civil War in 1885, the sixteen-sided building displayed a mural of the Battle of Gettysburg executed by Paul D. Philippoteaux in 1892. The site of the theater is now occupied by the Department of Commerce. All of these theaters contributed to the cultural life of visitors and residents alike.

Several American cities, including New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, had extensive horsecar lines in place by 1859, while Washington did not.<sup>132</sup> Its public transit in 1860 consisted of a single line of horsedrawn omnibuses. The line ran from Georgetown to the Navy Yard via M Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. A charter was granted May 17, 1862, for a group of individuals to operate a double-track metal line along various city routes.<sup>133</sup> One traveled along Pennsylvania Avenue and another along 7<sup>th</sup> Street. Trains also were present in the city in the first half of the nineteenth century, providing trade and allowing for travel to other cities. The Baltimore and Chesapeake rail line reached Washington from Baltimore in 1835, but the tracks were not permitted to enter the city. Until this law changed, the cars were removed from the tracks and pulled by horses to a passenger and freight depot at 2<sup>nd</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. Eventually the company was allowed to erect a permanent depot at New Jersey Avenue and C Street. In 1870, the Baltimore and Potomac line was granted a congressional charter to lay tracks across the Mall and build a depot in downtown Washington. The large stone station was constructed in 1873 at 6<sup>th</sup> and B streets where the National Gallery of Art now stands.<sup>134</sup>

By the start of the Civil War, Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House was the "oldest and most densely settled portion of the city, closely built up with houses, inns, hotels, churches, and public buildings."<sup>135</sup> The city underwent tremendous changes in the years leading up to the Civil War. Yet it would not be until after the Civil War that the city would truly grow in prominence, amenities, and population.

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<sup>131</sup> Goode, *Capital Losses*, 360.

<sup>132</sup> LeRoy O. King, Jr., *100 Years of Capital Traction: The Story of Streetcars in the Nations Capital* (Dallas: Taylor Publishing Company, 1972), 3.

<sup>133</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

<sup>134</sup> The site of the station, now occupied by the East Wing of the National Gallery of Art, is not located within the boundaries of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site.

<sup>135</sup> Robert Reed, *Old Washington, D.C. in Early Photographs: 1846-1932* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1980), 3.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 126

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

**Civil War Washington**

The city of Washington played a unique role in the Civil War, serving as an important embarkation and supply point for the Union army as it progressed south.<sup>136</sup> Often called the "Arsenal of the North," Washington during the war housed "camps, warehouses, depots, immense stacks of ammunition, food, equipment and long rows of cannon, caissons, wagons and ambulances . . . all over town in vacant lots and open spaces."<sup>137</sup> Seventh Street, one of the city's primary north-south arteries, served as the principal means of access to the city from the forts on its northern side. Washington was surrounded by Union forts, yet was located only 100 miles from Richmond, the center of Confederate power.<sup>138</sup> Southern leaders were intent on capturing Washington since "its seizure meant independence for the Confederacy," but the Union Army of the Potomac stood between the south and the city.<sup>139</sup> Confederate General Lee could not attack from the south and so he captured Frederick, Maryland, and tried to approach Washington from its less protected north side. Lee's plans were spoiled by a Yankee attack at Monocacy Junction near Frederick, Maryland.

Washington was home to many natives of Virginia and Maryland, most of whom had Confederate sentiments. Yet as the seat of government and the Union-held city nearest the fighting, Washington contained a great many supporters of the Northern cause. The city's proximity to the fighting resulted in it becoming the natural receiving place to treat the war's wounded. Both Walt Whitman<sup>140</sup> and Louisa May Alcott, who was based in Georgetown, tended the Union wounded who were held in the several Washington buildings converted into make-shift hospitals. Historian Richard M. Lee wrote in *Mr. Lincoln's City* that the "unhurried, untidy southern town" of Washington "made up mostly of Virginia and Maryland families" was caught

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<sup>136</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 210.

<sup>137</sup> Richard M. Lee, *Mr. Lincoln's City: An Illustrated Guide to the Civil War Sites of Washington* (McLean, VA: EPM Publications, Inc., 1981), 14.

<sup>138</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>140</sup> Whitman worked as a clerk for the Pay Department of the Military Department of Washington during the Civil War. The Department was housed in the Corcoran Building, a red brick five-story building, which was located at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 15<sup>th</sup> Street, the current site of the Washington Hotel.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 127

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

off guard when "suddenly, in May 1861 [the city] found itself the war center of an aroused North."<sup>141</sup> The war lasted from 1861 to 1865 and left Washington a truly changed city.

Washingtonian Henry E. Davis vividly recalled the "conversion of the city . . . into one vast hospital. Not only were many of the public reservations and other vacant lots occupied by temporary hospitals, but also many of the churches."<sup>142</sup> In May 1861, as the war was getting underway, the only hospital in Washington was a dispensary on Judiciary Square.<sup>143</sup> Fourteen months and several bloody campaigns later, in October 1862, nearly 60 hospitals were spread from Georgetown across Washington and out to the hills of Washington County.<sup>144</sup> Many were buildings erected to serve as hospitals, but a large number were government buildings and churches being used as make-shift hospitals during the war effort. In fact, nearly every public building was commandeered by the Army to serve a wide array of uses. Many churches, large private houses, hotels, and taverns were taken over also; for example, the Prescott House, a hotel situated at 13<sup>th</sup> and E streets, served as a jail for political prisoners during the Civil War. In addition, a portion of the Patent Office was used in 1861 as a military barracks, and then as a Union hospital. Lincoln's second inaugural ball was held there during the war. The General Post Office was used as a commissary and the Treasury Building served as a barracks for soldiers and as a temporary White House for Andrew Johnson following the assassination of President Lincoln in April of 1865.

During the Civil War, the population increased and Washington was seen as a boom city.<sup>145</sup> Real estate became a profitable business. During the war, the city's total population more than tripled; most persons were federal workers brought to the city for the war effort (and many of whom left when the war ended).<sup>146</sup> In addition, Washington's African American population almost doubled during the Civil War as many blacks fled the South.<sup>147</sup> Many were former slaves who managed

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<sup>141</sup> Lee, 13.

<sup>142</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 218.

<sup>143</sup> Lee, 22.

<sup>144</sup> Ibid.

<sup>145</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 68.

<sup>146</sup> Craig, 180.

<sup>147</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 201.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 128

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

to escape their plantations and head north. Without means of support, they squatted on land and built shanties for shelter. One area in which they concentrated was known as "Murder Bay," located south of Pennsylvania Avenue and west of 7<sup>th</sup> Street. This area became infamous during the Civil War and later as home to thieves, gamblers, and prostitutes. Patronized by soldiers stationed near the city, bordellos multiplied after 1862 in the area around Ohio Avenue and 13<sup>th</sup> and D streets. Major General Joseph Hooker, when his troops bivouacked outside the city, forced the city's prostitutes<sup>148</sup> into the area between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Mall, which subsequently became known as "Hooker's Division" or simply, "the Division."<sup>149</sup> Much of the area was filled with shacks, lean-tos, and alleys, where poor sanitary conditions gave it a reputation of "probably the worst slum of the wartime city."<sup>150</sup> With the departure of soldiers and freedmen after the war, the extent of illegal activity had somewhat decreased. Bordellos and gambling houses, however, remained in the area south of Pennsylvania Avenue. In addition, industry – in the form of lumber yards, foundries, and mills – began to take over the areas vacated by squatters and illegal businesses, bringing smoke and industrial pollution to Murder Bay.<sup>151</sup>

Journalists also descended upon the capital to cover the daily events in Washington; the news was sent to the nation's newspapers via wire services. The Associated Press, opened during the war, was situated at 7<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. Photographers, too, operated studios in Washington, the most famous being Mathew Brady who spent a great deal of time covering the war from the battlefields. Brady's studio, known as the Brady National Photographic Art Gallery, was located at **625-27 Pennsylvania Avenue (Contributing Buildings)** starting in 1858. It was his first and most extravagant studio in the capital and was located on the top three floors of this ornate double building.<sup>152</sup> In 1869, financial problems caused Brady to scale back and occupy only 627 Pennsylvania Avenue. Constructed in 1853-54, the four-story Renaissance

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<sup>148</sup> Prostitution was not made illegal in the District until 1914.

<sup>149</sup> Maddex, 85; Donald E. Press, "South of the Avenue: From Murder Bay to the Federal Triangle," *Records of the Columbian Historical Society* 51 (1984), 51-59. Maddex identifies "Hooker's Division" as the area around 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> streets; Press sites it further west.

<sup>150</sup> Lee, 91.

<sup>151</sup> Press, 60-64.

<sup>152</sup> Maddex, 85.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 129

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

Revival buildings are the only pre-Civil War commercial buildings to remain on Pennsylvania Avenue.<sup>153</sup>

News of the northern victory began to reach Washington immediately following General Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865. Impromptu celebrations were followed by a grand victory celebration and illumination held on April 11. The assassination of President Lincoln drastically altered the celebratory mood of the city, and further victory celebrations were postponed.

The most terrible incident related to the war to occur in Washington did not involve a battle but rather the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln was shot by John Wilkes Booth on April 14, 1865, while attending a performance of *Our American Cousin* at the Ford's Theatre on 10<sup>th</sup> Street. His assassin ventured into the presidential box and shot the president and then fled on a horse which he had rented from a livery stable on the avenue.<sup>154</sup> The injured president was removed to a modest row house across the street from the theater. It was in the Petersen House, located on the west side of 10<sup>th</sup> Street between E and F streets, that the president was treated by medical personnel. Lincoln's cabinet members gathered in the front parlors of the house and planned for the possible replacement of Lincoln with Vice President Andrew Johnson and for the search for the assassin. Lincoln died at 7:22 a.m. on April 15, 1865, in an event which brought tragedy to the capital and the nation. Lincoln's death was memorialized by a large funeral procession from the White House to the Capitol along Pennsylvania Avenue held on April 19, 1865.<sup>155</sup>

Prior to the funerary procession, Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase administered the Presidential oath of office to Andrew Johnson on April 15, 1865, in the Kirkwood Hotel, located on Pennsylvania Avenue between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> streets. Within days of the assassination, Washington residents began a subscription to raise money for a memorial to Lincoln, showing the intensely emotional reaction of local citizens to his death. Sculpted by Lott Flannery, the **Lincoln Statue (Contributing Object)** was dedicated on April 15, 1868, the three-year anniversary of his assassination.<sup>156</sup> In fact, the statue was the first public monument to Lincoln.<sup>157</sup> The statue

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<sup>153</sup> The interiors of both Brady's studio and Gilman's Drug Store, which opened in the building in 1855, have been altered.

<sup>154</sup> Cable, 135.

<sup>155</sup> Robinson & Associates, Inc., in association with architrave p.c., architects, *Petersen House [House Where Lincoln Died] Historic Structure Report* (2002).

<sup>156</sup> Goode, *Outdoor Sculpture*, 229.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 130

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

originally stood on a high column in the middle of the plaza in front of the City Hall, facing Indiana Avenue. It was placed on a lower pedestal in 1923.<sup>158</sup>

It was not until May 23, 1865, following the Confederate surrender to General Sherman on April 26, that a large victory parade was held to honor the Union troops. The Grand Review of the Union Army lasted several days and started the tradition of acclaiming national heroes. Thousands of citizens joined the President, Congress and Supreme Court in honoring war-torn Union soldiers and their generals. General Sherman and General Meade both led their troops down Pennsylvania Avenue, as President Andrew Johnson watched with General Grant and Secretary of War Stanton.

In the years immediately following the Civil War, Clara Barton ran a Missing Soldiers Office out of the third floor rooms of a row house at **437-41 7<sup>th</sup> Street (Contributing Building)**, at the corner of 7<sup>th</sup> and E streets. During the war, Barton had lived in the space and stored supplies for her battlefield relief work in her apartment. Her first endeavor after opening her office was to identify the graves of thousands of Union soldiers who had died at Andersonville Confederate Prison in Georgia. Barton operated the office from 1865 until 1868. The row house was constructed circa 1853 (with a rear addition in 1865). It was greatly altered with various metal facades added in the 1950s and 1960s, and a conjectural brick facade was subsequently placed on the building in the 1980s. Several alterations occurred to the facade prior to the discovery of Barton's Civil War-era artifacts and documents in a sealed crawl space above the third floor in 1997.<sup>159</sup> The General Services Administration is currently administering the preservation of her office and plans to replicate the historic facade.

**Late-Nineteenth-Century Washington: Improvements to the City**

At the end of the war, the city of Washington was left in decay. Trees had been felled, roads destroyed, and buildings left in disarray. The city was demilitarized as the lands and buildings taken over for military use were returned to public and private use. Samuel C. Busey, whose farm at Belvoir had been surrounded by troops, described the return to normal conditions: "The soldiers, camps, barracks, parade-grounds, and hospitals disappeared, and labor, help, and

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<sup>157</sup> Maddex, 60.

<sup>158</sup> During renovation of Old City Hall between 1916 and 1919, the statue of Lincoln was removed, but it was returned (on a small pedestal rather than its former 35-foot column) in 1923.

<sup>159</sup> Gary Scott, "Clara Barton's Civil War Apartments," *Washington History* 13.1 (Spring/Summer 2001): 21-31.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 131

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

hirelings returned in some measure to the accustomed ways and pursuits of former days.”<sup>160</sup> There was a great need for a “physical transformation of the city” due to the many physical setbacks suffered by the military occupation of the city.<sup>161</sup>

In addition to the destruction of the city’s infrastructure, Washington was much changed following the War; most notably its population had doubled.<sup>162</sup> Many military personnel remained behind, and many people, including a large number of freedmen, moved to the city after the war in search of work and a new life.<sup>163</sup> As a result of this migration, the population of Washington in 1870 reached 109,000.<sup>164</sup> The federal government continued to grow “reflecting the nationalistic concerns of the postwar era.”<sup>165</sup> Despite this growth and the prosperity it brought with it, the city’s infrastructure could not accommodate the increase in population.

Indeed, the need for transportation increased as the city started to expand. In 1862, Henry Cooke had persuaded Congress to grant him permission to build and operate the city’s first street car system. The line ran from the Capitol to the Willard Hotel at 14<sup>th</sup> Street along the center of Pennsylvania Avenue. In 1892, the company installed a cable car system which ran from the Navy Yard to Georgetown and a portion of the trip was along Pennsylvania Avenue.<sup>166</sup> The system was electrified the following year with the electric wires placed in the old cable system’s underground conduit, which spared the avenue from unsightly overhead wires.<sup>167</sup> Streetcars also ran along 7<sup>th</sup> Street, north and south of Pennsylvania Avenue, and along 15<sup>th</sup> Street north of the

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<sup>160</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 75.

<sup>161</sup> Craig, 180.

<sup>162</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 230.

<sup>163</sup> Gutheim, (1977). 69.

<sup>164</sup> Scott G. Shultz, *Cultural Landscape Report: Washington Monument Grounds, West Potomac Park, Draft* (Washington, D.C.: n. d.), 5.

<sup>165</sup> Craig, 180.

<sup>166</sup> Michael D. Hoover, *Pennsylvania Avenue: Historical Documentation* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, National Capital Parks - Central, 1993), 6.

<sup>167</sup> Ibid. The use of underground conduit was required by Congress.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 132

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

avenue to New York Avenue.<sup>168</sup> The electric streetcars were removed from the avenue in January 1962.<sup>169</sup>

The first major effort to improve the city following the war was carried out by Alexander "Boss" Shepherd. He headed the Board of Public Works, created by Congress in 1871 to improve the municipality of Washington. Shepherd was also governor of what was then the territorial government of the city from 1873-74. He is credited with changing Washington from a swamp to a modern, paved city, yet his projects caused huge city debts – which some believe resulted in the District's shift from home rule to a system of commissioners in 1874. In spite of the financial controversies which plagued his regime, Shepherd did envision a "physical plan that had exceeded in scale anything undertaken in the city since L'Enfant."<sup>170</sup> In his powerful roles, Shepherd wished to make the District "worthy of being in fact, as well as in name, the Capital of the nation."<sup>171</sup> Many streets were regraded and repaved (or paved for the first time), gas and sewer lines were laid, thousands of trees were planted, and the City Canal was filled.<sup>172</sup> The filling of the canal was of great importance since the stagnant, sewage-filled water often caused health problems.<sup>173</sup> A sewer pipe was laid along the canal's route to act as an outlet, and the resulting street was paved and renamed B Street (now Constitution Avenue).

Pennsylvania Avenue "remained the city's principal street, although its physical appearance did not in any way connote the grandeur of an urban 'ceremonial way.'"<sup>174</sup> Prior to Shepherd's improvements, there was a brick sidewalk, but there was talk of replacing it with a new material. Montgomery Meigs traveled in Europe in 1867 to recover his health after the war, and spent time observing the sidewalk and paving patterns of the great European cities. Meigs noted that European "sidewalks" were "never paved with brick" as those of Pennsylvania Avenue already

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<sup>168</sup> King, 23.

<sup>169</sup> The streetcar tracks were removed at a later date.

<sup>170</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 86.

<sup>171</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 235.

<sup>172</sup> Cable, 149-54.

<sup>173</sup> Green, 302.

<sup>174</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 78.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 133

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

were.<sup>175</sup> Most, in fact, were lined with stone blocks or flagstones, laid out in right angles to the line of travel, or with cobblestones. As a result, Meigs suggested that Washington adopt natural stones available in the area, such as red and gray sandstone from the Seneca quarries in Maryland and blue- and white-veined limestone from the Potomac.<sup>176</sup> No evidence indicates that any of Meigs sidewalk suggestions were ever implemented.

Meigs also analyzed street and pavement widths as well as the placement of trees along European streets, such as those in Berlin, where often a wide gravel central path was flanked by two rows of shade trees, a single-lane paved carriage way, and wide sidewalks next to the buildings. General Nathaniel Michler (Chief of Engineers), who received much correspondence from Meigs on this matter, formulated his own plan for the improvement of the avenue and other streets. His proposal was based upon the majestic Parisian thoroughfare, the Champs Elysées. Michler's plan had a central macadamized roadway flanked by sidewalks. One set of trees was placed directly in front of the buildings fronting each sidewalk and the other set of trees flanked the roadway. In the end, Pennsylvania Avenue was repaved during Shepherd's tenure over the city, but Michler's plan surely had an effect on the attention paid to the grand avenue.

Shepherd paid a great deal of attention to Pennsylvania Avenue, even though numerous other city streets needed to be paved or repaved, but since the avenue was already conceived of as the city's ceremonial way, it "demanded special treatment."<sup>177</sup> Shepherd proposed raising the level of Pennsylvania Avenue several feet from the Capitol to 10<sup>th</sup> Street to put an end to the flooding.<sup>178</sup> In addition, it became evident that the avenue's cobblestone surface, which was unpaved in parts, needed to be paved, but the question arose as to what material would be used to reach this goal. In early 1871, the local government passed a plan to repave the avenue with wooden blocks from Rock Creek to 8<sup>th</sup> Street, S.E. Wooden blocks were a strange choice since asphalt was known to be a more effective paving material.<sup>179</sup> The blocks were installed by February 1871. Due to the objection of the Washington & Georgetown Railroad Company, which did not want a wood surface for their horses' footing, the blocks were not installed between horsecar rails located in the center of the avenue. As a result, the cobblestones were left in place between the two pairs of

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>176</sup> Ibid.

<sup>177</sup> Ibid., 85.

<sup>178</sup> Cable, 149.

<sup>179</sup> Ibid., 145.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 134

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

rails. The cobblestones were replaced by granite by 1880. The city celebrated the installation of the new pavement with a two-day carnival held February 20 and 21, 1871, during which President Grant proceeded down the newly paved avenue in his carriage.<sup>180</sup> There were high expectations for the new paving; the *Star* wrote, "This winter we hope to have one of the finest drives in the world on our spacious, well-paved avenue, to invite the wealth and fashion of the north to our city."<sup>181</sup> Unfortunately, the new pavement proved a disaster within a year due to the poor fit of multiple blocks used by four different contractors, splintering, rotting, and dirtiness.<sup>182</sup> In 1874, the avenue was successfully paved with asphalt and brick.<sup>183</sup> Shepherd also planted trees along the avenue as ornament and to provide shade.<sup>184</sup> The avenue was repaved with asphalt in 1890, and resurfaced again in 1907.<sup>185</sup>

Shepherd often was described as being far too aggressive in his attempts to improve the city. E. E. Barton, in his 1884 *Historical and Commercial Sketches of Washington and Environs*, wrote that "The established grades of the streets were changed, some filled up and others cut down, often leaving houses perched up on banks twenty feet above the street, while others were covered nearly to their roofs. . . they tore up the tracks of both steam and street railways by force! It is safe to say that no American city ever witnessed such high-handed proceedings as were carried on in the National Capital during the reign of the Board of Public Works."<sup>186</sup> Joseph West Moore presents a more laudatory depiction of the Board's actions in his 1883 *Picturesque Washington: Pen and Pencil Sketches*: "In ten years from the time the Board of Public Works began its improvements, the city was transformed. The streets were covered with an almost noiseless, smooth pavement. Fifty thousand shade-trees had been planted; the old rows of wooden, barrack-

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<sup>180</sup> Ibid., 145-48; *Annual Report of the Commissioners of the District of Columbia*, 1880 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), 261.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid., 148.

<sup>182</sup> Ibid., 145-48.

<sup>183</sup> *Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Park*, [http://www.nps.gov/paav/pa\\_visit.htm](http://www.nps.gov/paav/pa_visit.htm).

<sup>184</sup> Gutheim, 85.

<sup>185</sup> Cable, 169.

<sup>186</sup> Craig, 183.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 135

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

like houses had given place to dwellings of graceful, ornate architecture; blocks of fine business buildings lined Pennsylvania Avenue and other prominent thoroughfares.”<sup>187</sup>

Yet by the end of 1872, the city had acquired a debt of \$10,000,000, which led to a Congressional investigation and the widespread discredit of Shepherd.<sup>188</sup> The exorbitant costs of these improvements bankrupted the city. The territorial government was ended as a result, and the District was put under Congressional management, mostly as a result of Shepherd’s use of money.<sup>189</sup> Many of Shepherd’s improvements, however, were praised. In fact, the commission system created to control the city pledged to continue the public improvements initiated by Shepherd.<sup>190</sup> The Corps of Engineers also carried out improvements to public reservations, namely irrigation, drainage, drinking fountains, gas lamps, new furniture, and new plantings. The Board of Public Works was replaced with the position of Engineer Commissioner under the new federally controlled government for the District. In spite of the corruption associated with Shepherd, a statue of him was placed in front of the District Building in 1909 as a result of local respect for his civic improvements.<sup>191</sup>

The area around the Center Market was periodically improved as well. The triangular parcel of land at the northeast corner of the intersection of 8<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, later known as Reservation 36, was improved as a park under the direction of Colonel Orville E. Babcock, the head of the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds, between 1870 and 1876. Two other parcels of land on either side of 9<sup>th</sup> Street south of Pennsylvania Avenue were enclosed with fences and planted with deciduous trees and shrubs in 1884. A cast-iron fountain was erected in the western parcel, and a statue of Civil War general John A. Rawlins was placed on the eastern triangle around 1889. The Rawlins statue had been erected on Pennsylvania Avenue at the intersection of 10<sup>th</sup> and D streets, but was moved to the site near Center Market when the statue of printer and

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<sup>187</sup> Ibid., 185.

<sup>188</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 86.

<sup>189</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 235.

<sup>190</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 86.

<sup>191</sup> The bronze statue of Shepherd, the first native of the District to be honored with a public statue, was designed by U. S. J. Dunbar. The statue moved in 1931 to a newly formed triangle at 14<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. In 1980, it was removed to the Blue Plains Wastewater Treatment Plant when various Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation projects were under construction. There are plans to clean the statue and again place it in a public space, although probably not in front of the District Building.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 136

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

publisher Benjamin Franklin was erected near what had become "Newspaper Row." (See below.) Ornamentation of these small public spaces was further elaborated in the following decade. In 1892, the triangular space that became Reservation 36 received a granite curb, new gravel paths, and evergreen and deciduous shrubs. Two large urns were placed at the intersection of the walks, and in the center of the reservation, a statue of General Winfield Scott Hancock (see below) was erected in 1896. By that time, the triangle had received its designation as Reservation 36. In 1894, the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds published an official list of reservations, using the numbering system that applies to this day. A low wall of rough ashlar with a granite coping was constructed in place of the curb in 1897, along with two flights of granite steps on the east and south for access from the sidewalk.<sup>192</sup>

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the Army Corps of Engineers also began making improvements to Judiciary Square, turning a rough, partly open space into a park. The buildings within the square – a brick school house, the jail, and the hospital, as well as several other smaller frame buildings – were removed between 1873 and 1878. Tulip poplars and elm trees were planted on the borders of the square in 1875, and other deciduous trees, evergreens, and shrubs were planted in subsequent years – more than 300 by 1877. Curvilinear walks were cut through the park and first paved with gravel. Later the Corps of Engineers paved the walks with asphalt. Streetlights were installed, and a post-and-chain fence erected in 1882. A marble fountain 25 feet across was installed in the center of the park in 1878. After the extension of Old City Hall between 1881 and 1883 and the construction of the Pension Building, parts of Judiciary Square were re-landscaped. Hundreds of trees were lost during the construction and were replaced with more than 2,000 flower bulbs in 1885. The fountain was moved from the center of the park to the south entrance of the Pension Building, resulting in the realignment of F Street, and the walks of the square itself were realigned.<sup>193</sup>

In the years after the Civil War, the Pension Office had grown to be the largest bureau of the Department of the Interior. With the passage of the Arrears Act in January 1879 (allowing pensions to be granted for death or injuries suffered during service to commence on the date of discharge rather than the date of claim) countless new claims were filed. In 1881, Congress decided that the Pensions Bureau needed a large, fireproof building to replace its earlier headquarters. A site, bounded by 4<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup>, F, and G streets, was chosen at the northern end of Judiciary Square. Designed by Montgomery Meigs (who had previously worked on the Washington aqueduct and an extension to the Capitol), the **Pension Building (Contributing Building)** was erected in 1882-85. A terra-cotta frieze encircles the building, illustrating the

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<sup>192</sup> HABS No. DC-691, 4-5.

<sup>193</sup> Stanley, 45-57.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 137

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

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building's role as a memorial to the soldiers and sailors of the Civil War.<sup>194</sup> When completed, the building housed 1,500 employees who disbursed \$8 million in pensions to almost 3 million veterans from four wars.<sup>195</sup> It was designed with concern for ventilation, lighting, and the health of its occupants. The large interior space, modeled after an Italian Renaissance palazzo courtyard, has been the site of many inaugural balls. In the 1950s, the building was praised as a unique design from its time period after being threatened by plans for demolition for many decades.<sup>196</sup> The Pension Bureau moved to the Interior Building in 1926, and various federal agencies occupied the building, including the General Accounting Office from 1926 to 1950, prior to its conversion to the National Building Museum in 1985.

Another important civic improvement was the dredging of the Tidal Flats along the Potomac. This effort was initiated in 1869 by Chief of Engineers Michler.<sup>197</sup> A Congressional appropriation was made in 1874 to continue this effort under military engineer S. T. Abert, but the work was never completed. Then on February 12, 1881, a large flood inundated about 254 acres of the low-lying city, including almost all of the typically low-lying triangle between Constitution Avenue (then B Street), 14<sup>th</sup> Street, and Pennsylvania Avenue.<sup>198</sup> This flood provided the impetus to carry out the dredging in full force. The reclaimed flats became Potomac Park (later East and West Potomac Parks), and have served as important recreational locales for the city.

The reclamation of the flats was essential to ensure that future floods would not jeopardize the city. Certain building sites had already been relocated as a result of the poor condition of the land south of the avenue. The original site for the Pension Building, for example, on the south side of Pennsylvania Avenue at Louisiana Avenue, was rejected in favor of a Judiciary Square site due to the floods which often plagued the area.<sup>199</sup> The vulnerability of the south side of the avenue to

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<sup>194</sup> Nancy C. Taylor, National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, "Pension Building," (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, March 24, 1969), 2.

<sup>195</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 61.

<sup>196</sup> Keyes Condon Florance Architects, Giorgio Cavalieri, Beth Sullebarger, Norman R. Weiss, and Frances Gale, *Historic Structures Report, U.S. Pension Building* (Washington, D.C.: General Services Administration, December 1984), 3.2.1, 4.1.11.

<sup>197</sup> According to his 1868 *Annual Report of the Chief of Engineers*.

<sup>198</sup> Shultz, 8.

<sup>199</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 81.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 138

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

these freshets "discouraged the federal government from building any major public buildings along or south of the avenue."<sup>200</sup> The reclamation began in earnest in the summer of 1882 under Major Peter C. Hains of the Corps of Engineers.

As the city's development expanded and its major streets were paved and drained, the various ruling bodies also attempted to improve it aesthetically. One result was the proliferation of statuary in the city. The subjects, forms, and locations of these sculptures reflect national and local trends of the time, and Pennsylvania Avenue, as might be expected of the city's major ceremonial street, provided a principal location for these improvements. Concern for the implementation of the L'Enfant plan for the city remained strong for Washington's planners, both federal and local, and as a result much of the sculpture approved for the city was placed in public reservations derived from that plan. Congressional approval was required for the placement of statuary in these reservations, but once a private organization obtained approval that organization was free to erect whatever monument it saw fit.<sup>201</sup>

Commemoration of the Civil War began soon after it ended. An example of an early effort is the **Peace Monument (Contributing Object)**, which stands on Reservation 202A at the intersection of Pennsylvania Avenue and 1st Street at the foot of the Capitol. The 40-foot monument was sculpted in Rome by Franklin Simmons (after a sketch by Admiral David D. Porter) and erected in 1877. Navy personnel helped to finance its construction. Classically inspired in its personifications of America, History, Peace, and Victory, it also incorporates symbolic allusions to Plenty, Agriculture, Science, Literature, and Art. Surrounding the statuary group is a quatrefoil granite basin with four water jets in the form of dolphins. It was designed by Edward Clark, then Architect of the Capitol.<sup>202</sup>

Memorialization of the Civil War increased as veterans grew older and the economy improved. Eventually, Washington could claim to have the greatest concentration of Civil War memorials of any city in the country. By the end of the nineteenth century, this concern for commemorating Civil War veterans could be seen throughout the country in various guises. The first national military parks (Chickamauga and Chattanooga, Shiloh, Gettysburg, and Vicksburg) date from the last decade of the century, and that decade saw a tremendous increase in statues erected to

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<sup>200</sup> Ibid., 81.

<sup>201</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 77-78; Green, 143-144; Gary Scott, National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form: "Civil War Monuments in Washington, D.C. (Washington: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1978).

<sup>202</sup> Goode (1974), 242; Scott, 7:3-4.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 139

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

Civil War heroes, both officers and common soldiers and in both the north and the south.<sup>203</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue's example of this movement is the **Major General Winfield Scott Hancock Memorial (Contributing Object)**, which stands at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and Seventh Street in Reservation 36. Sculptor Henry Jackson Ellicott depicted Hancock, a Union hero at Gettysburg, astride his horse in uniform, facing west. (Most Civil War sculpture in Washington shows the hero on horseback, giving the District the largest number of equestrian statues of any city in the United States.) The nine-foot-tall, seven-foot-wide bronze statue of Hancock was erected and dedicated in 1896.<sup>204</sup>

Although Washington became a city filled with memorials to Union heroes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, not all of the statuary placed on Pennsylvania Avenue in the years following the Civil War commemorated veterans. Two reflect local rather than national history. The **Temperance Fountain (Contributing Object)** was donated to the city by wealthy California dentist and speculator Henry Cogswell as a fountain to provide water for visitors as an alternative to alcohol. It was erected in 1884 on the Pennsylvania Avenue side of Reservation 36A, across 7<sup>th</sup> Street from the site of the Hancock statue.<sup>205</sup> The statue of **Benjamin Franklin (Contributing Object)** was donated by journalist and *Washington Post* founder Stilson Hutchins and unveiled on January 11, 1889, at the intersection of 10<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, near what were then the *Post*'s offices.<sup>206</sup> Hutchins donated the statue of one of the most renowned journalists in colonial American in the name of the country's newspaper publishers. The eight-foot marble statue was modeled by Jacques Jouvenal to the design of Ernest Plassman and stands on an 11-foot-high pedestal that alternates rough and finished granite blocks.<sup>207</sup>

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<sup>203</sup> Ronald F. Lee, "The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Idea," (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, Department of the Interior, 1973), 8<sup>http://www.cr.nps.gov</sup>; John J. Winbury, "'Lest We Forget': The Confederate Monument and the Southern Townscape," *Southeastern Geographer* 23:2 (November 1983), 110-111.

<sup>204</sup> Goode, *Outdoor Sculpture*, 361; National Capital Planning Commission, 1970.

<sup>205</sup> Don't Tear It Down, Downtown Survey, Square 460, Temperance Fountain, (1981), n.p.; Goode, (1974), 358; Richman, "Temperance Fountain"; Warren-Findley, 118-119. The Temperance Fountain was moved closer to Indiana Avenue within reservation 36A as a result of the work of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation.

<sup>206</sup> The statue was moved to its current position at the southeast corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 12<sup>th</sup> Street in 1982 as a result of the redevelopment of the avenue.

<sup>207</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, 1970; Gary Scott, National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, "American Revolution Statuary," Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., July 14, 1978, 7:2; Goode, *Outdoor Sculpture*, 364-365.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 140

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

The result of these various and diverse improvements was the transformation of the city. In a March 1880 edition of the *Century Magazine*, a report commented on this topic: "Within the past ten years Washington has ceased to be a village."<sup>208</sup> The *Graphic* reported in November of 1875 that many people who "remember [Washington] as it was in the old days before the war can hardly believe that it has been transformed into the new and elegant city of to-day."<sup>209</sup> Indeed, by the 1880s, Washington had been transformed from a provincial town into a cosmopolitan capital.<sup>210</sup> The government function was growing, as were the number of federal workers. In addition, immigrants from many countries were settling in Washington. The eastern section of Pennsylvania Avenue was home to the city's Chinatown and Greek and Italian merchants from the 1880s until the 1930s when the construction of the Municipal Center displaced them. As a result of this large growth in population, new shops, houses and services opened rapidly. A new building type reached Washington, that of a taller building dedicated only to commercial activities. Such structures were erected out of cast iron, stone, or brick, and located along the city's major retail thoroughfares, such as Pennsylvania Avenue, F Street, and 7<sup>th</sup> Street.<sup>211</sup> Many of these buildings have since been demolished, greatly altered, or incorporated into a new project (such as the U.S. Storage & Company Building, which is now part of 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue); some of the notable remaining examples, however, are detailed below. During this time of Washington's expansion, many of the building types were logically developed in clusters near to large government buildings associated with their trade. Banks, for example, were opened near the Treasury Department and the Center Market. Offices were primarily constructed near the Old Patent Office, and retail was located mostly north of the Center Market on 7<sup>th</sup> Street.

The only remaining late-nineteenth-century office buildings still standing on Pennsylvania Avenue are the **Central National Bank Building (Contributing Building)** and the **Evening Star Building (Contributing Building)**. The Central National Bank Building was constructed in 1858 as the St. Marc Hotel, but was purchased by the Central National Bank in 1887. The bank immediately hired architect Alfred B. Mullett to convert the building into offices, as well as to add two towers with conical roofs. The building sits on a trapezoidal site at the important intersection of 7<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. Apex Liquors moved into the building in the late 1940s, giving the building its common name.

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<sup>208</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 239.

<sup>209</sup> The Junior League of Washington, 236.

<sup>210</sup> Ibid., 241.

<sup>211</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 100-101.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 141

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

The Evening Star Building was constructed in 1898-99 to a design by architect Walter Gibson Peter of Marsh & Peter. This Beaux Arts office building stands at the northwest corner of 11<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. The Evening Star Building is notable since it was "one of the first multi-story structures erected [in Washington] after the depression of the 1890s" and also for its ornate and elegant classicism.<sup>212</sup> The building served as the offices and printing plant of the *Evening Star* newspaper. The paper had moved to the southwest corner of Pennsylvania and 11<sup>th</sup> Street in 1854, and operated there until its own building was completed across the avenue in 1899. It remained at this building until it moved to a new plant on Virginia Avenue, S.E., in 1955. (The *Star* maintained its prominence in the newspaper industry of the District until the 1960s when the *Washington Post* "gained the national reputation, the circulation and the advertising lineage that had been the *Star*'s for decades"<sup>213</sup> and the (then) *Washington Star* eventually ceased operations in 1981.) The Evening Star Building was remodeled as commercial offices in 1959 and subsequently rented to the United States government.

The earliest commercial building to be erected on F Street, directly to the south of the Patent Office, was the **LeDroit Building (Contributing Building)** completed in 1875. This office building predates the use of elevators and was the first commercial building to be constructed among the row houses that once surrounded the Old Patent Office. Designed by architect James McGill, the building is a preeminent example of the commercial Italianate style.<sup>214</sup> Other commercial buildings followed shortly, including 812 F Street (1875-76), the Adams Building at 814-16 F Street (1878), 818 F Street (1881), and the Romanesque Revival **Warder Building (Contributing Building)** at the corner of 9<sup>th</sup> and F streets (1892; also known as the Atlas Building).

Located diagonally across from the Patent Office Building at the southwest corner of F and 9<sup>th</sup> streets, stands the imposing granite **Washington Loan and Trust Company Building (Contributing Building)**. When constructed in 1891 to a design by architect James G. Hill, the building represented a new type: the elevator office building. As a result of this technology, the building reached nine stories, substantially taller than many of its neighbors on F Street. A major addition was constructed on the west side of building in 1926 using the same design and materials

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<sup>212</sup> Richard Longstreth, "The Unusual Transformation of Downtown Washington in the Early Twentieth Century," *Washington History* 13:2 (Fall/Winter 2001-2002), 56.

<sup>213</sup> Richard R. Crocker, National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, "Evening Star Building," (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Oct. 11, 1977), 4.

<sup>214</sup> "Rehabilitation of Historic Buildings: 800 F Street, NW," *NCPC Quarterly* (Fall 1999): 8.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 142

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

as the original. The Washington Loan and Trust Company was the first trust company to be established in Washington; it later merged with Riggs National Bank in 1954.<sup>215</sup> (The building was recently rehabilitated into a hotel, the Courtyard by Marriott.)

The **National Union Building (Contributing Building)**, designed in the Romanesque Revival style by architect Glenn Brown, was erected in 1890 at 918 F Street. Brown also designed the **Kann's Department Store Warehouse (Contributing Building)** in 1904 at 715-19 D Street, the style of which is more classical since he was greatly influenced by the 1893 Columbian Exhibition. The six-story National Union Building served as the headquarters of the National Union Fire Insurance Company from 1890 until 1946. As it illustrates, many companies with national interests, such as insurance companies, were drawn to the nation's capital during the commercial development of the 1880s and 1890s. The downtown area was the prime location for such commercial ventures.

Several other late-nineteenth-century commercial buildings lining F Street have been altered and some, as in the case of the Atlantic Building, have been reduced to facades. The eight-story Atlantic Building, constructed in 1887-88 to a design by James G. Hill, is considered to be Washington's first skyscraper.<sup>216</sup> Romanesque Revival in style, the building was constructed by a group of real estate investors. The building's 142 offices housed mostly lawyers, who needed to have offices near the Pension Building and Patent Office.<sup>217</sup> The Department of Agriculture's Forest Service occupied the entire building from 1905 to 1940, noted as the organization's most formative years.<sup>218</sup> The Atlantic Building and its three late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century neighbors, 920 F Street (1911), 922-24 F Street (1876), and 926 F Street (1891), have all been demolished save for their facades, which await re-development.

As the main nineteenth-century route leading to the Center Market, 7<sup>th</sup> Street was a busy commercial corridor lined with offices and banks, especially near its intersection with Pennsylvania Avenue. Buildings constructed on the lots formed by the intersection of 7<sup>th</sup> Street with the diagonally aligned Pennsylvania and Indiana avenues possess unique footprints and

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<sup>215</sup> Nancy C. Taylor, National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, "Washington Loan and Trust Company," (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, November 6, 1970), n.p.

<sup>216</sup> Suzanne White, "Bernstein Changes Course on Atlantic," *Washington Business Journal* (July 20-26, 2001), 61.

<sup>217</sup> Don't Tear It Down, Downtown Survey, Atlantic Building, (February 1981), n.p.

<sup>218</sup> Don't Tear It Down, Downtown Survey, 930 F Street, (1981), n.p.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 143

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

prominent corner markers, such as towers. One such example is the **Firemen's Insurance Company Building (Contributing Building)** constructed in 1882 at the northeast corner of Indiana Avenue and 7<sup>th</sup> Street. The building was designed by P. J. Lauritzen and its corner is marked by a polygonal tower with a gold dome. The Firemen's Insurance Company was incorporated by an act of Congress in 1837, and was first located across the Avenue from the Center Market. The company then constructed its own building on its current location on the former site of the Corcoran Fire Insurance Company. The Firemen's Insurance Company is the capital's oldest insurance company in continuous operation; indeed, the company remained in this building for over 100 years.<sup>219</sup> This area became known for its concentration of insurance companies. The **National Union Insurance Company Building (Contributing Building)** occupied the lot adjacent to the Firemen's Insurance Company Building at 643 Indiana Avenue. A Queen Anne-style facade, designed by Glenn Brown, was added to an existing building in 1882 to provide a stylish headquarters for the company.<sup>220</sup>

On the south side of Indiana Avenue, on a trapezoidal lot at 301 7<sup>th</sup> Street, sits the **National Bank of Washington Building (Contributing Building)**. This small, Romanesque Revival building was designed by James G. Hill. It was completed in 1889, and an addition was constructed on its east side in a matching style in 1921. The building was occupied by the Bank of Washington, which was established in 1809 and was the first Washington bank of purely local origin and interest.<sup>221</sup> The bank also had a branch near the Capitol, but this branch across from the Center Market was for many years the oldest banking institution in Washington still in existence. The building now serves as a branch of Riggs Bank.

In addition to the large new commercial buildings erected in the late nineteenth century, many small commercial buildings continued to be built in the post-Civil War years. These buildings were predominantly located on Pennsylvania Avenue, F Street, and 7<sup>th</sup> Street. One example of a modest commercial building is the four-story brick Italianate **443 7<sup>th</sup> Street (Contributing Building)**, at the southeast corner of 7<sup>th</sup> and E streets. Constructed before 1873,<sup>\*</sup> the building does not differ greatly from its contemporary, the LeDroit Building, in terms of size and materials, but it is more modest in its fenestration and decoration. It housed a small clothing firm, Eiseman & Brother, Clothiers. Groupings of commercial buildings, somewhat smaller in size than 443 7<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>219</sup> Murphy and Szoradi, Architects, *Property Study and Report for the Firemen's Insurance Company Buildings* (Bethesda, MD and Washington, D.C.: March 1983), n.p.

<sup>220</sup> By 1890, however, it had relocated to 918 F Street, also designed by Glenn Brown.

<sup>221</sup> Tanya Beauchamp, National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, "National Bank of Washington," (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, January 2, 1974), n.p.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 144

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

Street, are still located on F Street. The more intact buildings include: **912 F Street (Contributing Building)**, **914 F Street (Contributing Building)**, **938 F Street (Contributing Building)**, and **940 F Street (Contributing Building)**. Most are three to four stories in height and were constructed in the 1870s and 1880s. Both 912 and 914 F Street were constructed as residences and were converted to commercial use in the 1880s.

Two imposing federal buildings were constructed in the last two decades of the nineteenth century: the **Old Post Office (Contributing Building)** and the **Pension Building (Contributing Building)**. The Old Post Office was the first public building to be erected in the future Federal Triangle area<sup>222</sup> – an area which throughout the late nineteenth century had a notorious reputation for crime and disreputable businesses.<sup>223</sup> The construction of the massive stone post office building, on a site bounded by 11<sup>th</sup>, 12<sup>th</sup>, C, and D streets, commenced in 1891. The Romanesque Revival-style building was designed by Willoughby J. Edbrooke of the office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury to house the Post Office and Post Office Department. The design is reminiscent of H. H. Richardson's Alleghany County Courthouse in Pittsburgh due to its large clock tower, massive base, and handsome arches. Finished in 1899, the building was criticized for its out-of-date style at a time when classical elements were most praised (and the popularity of the Beaux Arts style of architecture and the City Beautiful movement).<sup>224</sup> After surviving many proposals for its demolition, the Old Post Office is one of the few remaining institutional examples of Richardsonian Romanesque architecture in Washington.<sup>225</sup> (The main Post Office branch moved to a new building adjacent to Union Station in 1914, and the Post Office Department offices moved to the newly constructed Post Office Department in Federal Triangle in 1934. At this time, the Post Office Building became known as the Old Post Office.)

### **The McMillan Plan and Its Influence on Washington's Downtown**

The city of Washington and the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site as they exist today largely took shape in the twentieth century. The design for reorganizing the city's monumental core that was created early in the century, now generally known as the McMillan plan, provided a framework that built on L'Enfant's eighteenth-century Baroque ideas and guided planners and

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<sup>222</sup> Scott and Lee, 169.

<sup>223</sup> HABS DC- 695, 2.

<sup>224</sup> Scott and Lee, 169.

<sup>225</sup> Suzanne Ganschinietz and Nancy C. Taylor, National Register of Historic Places Inventory - Nomination Form, "Old Post Office and Clock Tower," (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, March 23, 1973), n.p.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 145

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

architects of public buildings away from late nineteenth-century eclecticism. The McMillan plan, prepared by the Senate Park Commission in 1901-02, represents the primary American example of the City Beautiful movement. It included the reclamation of land for waterfront parks, the creation of parkways, improvements to the Mall, the erection of monuments, and the construction of government buildings. The plan was conceived as a guide for future growth and remains an important influence on the shape of the city.<sup>226</sup>

The McMillan plan grew from the ideas of prominent Washington businessmen seeking to reshape the city's appearance, and it evolved over a period of several years from the ideas of professional designers, politicians, and concerned citizens. In October 1898, several influential citizens met to discuss the celebration of Washington's first century as the nation's capital. A committee of nine men was selected to prepare plans for the celebration and to meet with President William McKinley to discuss their implementation. In his message to Congress in December, McKinley recommended an appropriation by Congress to help commemorate the anniversary. Congress responded with \$10,000 for a committee appointed by the President to prepare plans and for that committee to meet with the previously established citizens' committee and the congressional committees on the District of Columbia. The first meeting of the joint committees took place on February 21, 1900, although separate meetings had taken place previously. The citizens' committee had already prepared plans for the centennial celebration. These plans included a variety of public improvement projects, such as the construction of a municipal building for the city, a new Executive Mansion, statues of worthy Americans, enlargement of the Capitol grounds, a memorial bridge across the Potomac River to Arlington National Cemetery, and a policy of building future government buildings south of Pennsylvania Avenue. A committee of five was then appointed to review the report and make recommendations. This group was chaired by Senator James McMillan of Michigan, the chairman of the Senate's Committee on the District of Columbia.

McMillan's committee set December 13, 1900, as the date for the anniversary celebrations and recommended that a "Centennial avenue" be constructed diagonally across the Mall from the Capitol to the Potomac River, justifying that recommendation with reference to L'Enfant's call for a "Grand avenue" [sic] in that location. A meandering central roadway on the Mall featured prominently in an improvement scheme for the city's monumental core also created in 1900 by Franklin W. Smith, a politically connected manufacturer of naval hardware and amateur historian. Senator McMillan himself created a plan that incorporated an axial avenue between the Capitol and the Washington Monument. Public criticism of both these designs, however, convinced

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<sup>226</sup> For a more detailed analysis of the background and development of City Beautiful principles and the McMillan plan, please see Robinson & Associates, Inc., National Historic Landmark-Nomination Form, "The Plan of the City of Washington" (draft), January 4, 2001, District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 146

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

McMillan of the desirability of including professional designers in plans for the city, and he introduced legislation that gave the President the authority to appoint an architect, a landscape architect, and a sculptor of national reputation to conduct studies in collaboration with the Chief of the Army Corps of Engineers. The study area included the White House grounds, the Mall, and what is now Federal Triangle. A connection between the Potomac Park and the National Zoological Park was also to be studied. The bill, as passed by Congress, appropriated \$6,000, for the project with authority given to the United States Army's Chief of Engineers, which was to retain a landscape architect as consultant.

Colonel Theodore A. Bingham was the Chief of Engineers at the time, and he contracted with Samuel Parsons, Jr., of Parsons and Pentecost, a New York landscape firm. Parsons had worked with Frederick Law Olmsted, Sr., and Calvert Vaux on Central Park. The improvement plans, unveiled for the President, visiting governors, and the commissioners of the District of Columbia during the centennial celebration on December 13, 1900, recommended domed east and west extensions of the White House as well as the avenue running down the center of the Mall.

Protests against these plans followed quickly. The American Institute of Architects and its secretary, Glenn Brown, who had recently completed an important study of the Capitol, led the opposition. At the end of 1901, Brown organized the AIA's annual convention in Washington around the theme of the redevelopment of the national capital. During the convention, architects such as Cass Gilbert, Paul Pelz, and George Oakley Totten, Jr., presented their own ideas for the improvement of central Washington, as did landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. Immediately after, the AIA committee met with Senator McMillan and his District committee. Consequently, on December 17, 1900, McMillan proposed legislation that would have created a commission of two architects and a landscape architect to study and report on the development of Washington's park system and on the location of public buildings. Rather than bring this resolution before the full Congress and face opposition from the House of Representatives, especially Illinois Congressman Joseph Cannon, who was well known for his criticism of government expenditures for public building, McMillan decided to make this commission responsible only to the Senate. This, finally, was the Senate Park Commission, also known as the McMillan Commission. It consisted of Daniel Burnham, chief architect of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, Olmsted, Jr., and Charles Follen McKim of the New York architectural firm McKim, Mead and White. Later, sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens was added to the commission, and a fifth contributor was Charles Moore, McMillan's Harvard-educated secretary and clerk for the Senate District committee.<sup>227</sup>

<sup>227</sup> Repts, 70-93; National Capital Planning Commission, 114-120.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 147

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

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In June 1901, Burnham, Olmsted, McKim, and Moore traveled to Europe for nearly two months, visiting Paris, Rome, Venice, Vienna, Frankfurt, and London, and their environs. Especially important were trips to Versailles, Vaux-le-Vicomte, and Fontainebleau to inspect the executed designs of French landscape architect André Le Nôtre, whose work L'Enfant knew from his childhood at Versailles, where his father was a court painter. Olmsted took extensive photographs. Travel time was used to discuss ideas and sketch plans. Certain decisions were made en route, such as the general form of the memorial bridge to Arlington Cemetery and the necessity of removing the railroad station and tracks from the Mall.<sup>228</sup>

Plans, photographs, and models were created and the commission's report was written during the summer, fall, and early winter of 1901. On January 15, 1902, the report, written by Moore and Olmsted, was presented to the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia and then to the Senate as a whole. On the same day, an exhibit of the commission's plans, photographs, and models was held at the Corcoran Gallery of Art for President Theodore Roosevelt and his Cabinet. The exhibit opened to the general public on the following day, illustrating the main points of the McMillan plan:

- The Capitol was to be surrounded by buildings designated for the use of Congress and the Supreme Court.
- Cultural and educational buildings were to line the Mall, and carriage drives would run between the Capitol and the Washington Monument.
- The grounds of the monument were to receive formal treatment, including a sunken garden on the west side.
- Executive buildings were to surround Lafayette Square.
- The area between Pennsylvania Avenue and B Street [Constitution Avenue] was to be acquired by the government and devoted to municipal buildings, such as a city hall, a new market, an armory, and an auditorium.<sup>229</sup>

The commission's drawings established Classicism as the dominant manner in which public buildings would be designed and emphasized the Baroque aspects of L'Enfant's plan, such as the axial avenues and public parks at prominent intersections. In both these principles, the commission followed the tenets of the City Beautiful movement, which had come to exert tremendous influence on public architecture especially since the classically inspired 1893 World's Columbian Exposition held in Chicago. Burnham, McKim, and Saint-Gaudens had all

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<sup>228</sup> Reps, 94-98.

<sup>229</sup> Ibid., 109-112.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 148

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

lent their expertise to the exposition's execution.<sup>230</sup> City Beautiful planning was based on the principles of the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, where several of the leading proponents of the movement had studied, including McKim. City Beautiful designers emphasized movement through sequential spaces organized by unified building groups. The integration of landscape and architecture, attention to the form and character of open space, and the formal treatment of roadways and other public areas were also hallmarks of the movement. Individuals moving through such formal, integrated, architecturally defined sequences, it was believed, sensed the impact of the shaped space, and City Beautiful adherents claimed moral and economic benefits from its influence. Such a powerful and moving impact was therefore considered appropriate for the national capital.<sup>231</sup>

In his committee report on the plan, Senator McMillan acknowledged that it could not be implemented within a single generation and emphasized the necessity for long-range planning. The tactic of limiting the McMillan Commission to Senate responsibility in order to avoid a floor fight with the House, however, meant that the plan had no legislative authority to accomplish any of the endeavors it recommended. In addition, McMillan's death earlier that year removed its most influential ally. Copies of the report were no longer distributed after the senator's death, and commission members, who had worked without compensation for a year, didn't use their influence to see their recommendations executed. Roosevelt, although he agreed with the commission's ideas, did not include the plan in his legislative agenda.<sup>232</sup> Much of the McMillan plan was ultimately implemented or guided construction in Washington's central core, but that implementation required efforts over a long period of time by men like Burnham, Olmsted, and Moore, all of whom were appointed as members of the Commission of Fine Arts when it was created in 1910 to oversee the design of Washington's public architecture and sculpture. Implementation of the McMillan plan also required adjustments to the changing governmental, economic, and civic conditions that emerged in the first half of the twentieth century, a period of American history that witnessed the Great War, the Depression of the 1930s, the New Deal programs of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and World War II.

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<sup>230</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, 135-136; Repts, 134; Thomas S. Hines, "The Imperial Mall: The City Beautiful Movement and the Washington Plan 1901-02," in *The Mall in Washington, 1791-1991*, ed. Richard Longstreth (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1991), 81-86.

<sup>231</sup> Hines, 81; Robinson & Associates, Inc., 74-76.

<sup>232</sup> Green, 138; National Capital Planning Commission, 132-133.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 149

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

**Downtown Business Growth Near Pennsylvania Avenue in the Early Twentieth Century**

The chief influence of the McMillan plan on the area that is now the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site was the designation of the triangle of land bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue, B Street, and 15<sup>th</sup> Street as a target for development. This designation followed the desires of prominent city businessmen, a committee of whom had suggested the redevelopment in 1898. To create a more regular triangle on which to rebuild, the McMillan plan suggested the extension of B Street beyond its terminus at 6<sup>th</sup> Street to its intersection with Pennsylvania Avenue a block to the east.<sup>233</sup> However, this tenet of the plan was not implemented immediately.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the area that was to become the Federal Triangle encompassed both the heart of the downtown business district and the notorious neighborhood known as Hooker's Division since the Civil War. The business district stretched from Pennsylvania Avenue north to G Street and from 6<sup>th</sup> Street west to 15<sup>th</sup> Street. By 1913, the Division had grown on the south side of the Avenue to cover the area from the foot of Capitol Hill to the Treasury Building. The lack of Congressional authority behind the McMillan plan meant that the present historic area retained this dual character for some time after the plan was presented. Still, this portion of the city did witness physical changes in the first quarter of the century, prior to the creation of the Federal Triangle, which completely transformed the area south of Pennsylvania Avenue in the 1930s.<sup>234</sup>

The increasing strength of the federal government in domestic issues drew to Washington wealthy Americans who sought to influence federal policy. The presence of these men in turn helped change the shape of the city. These changes included the construction of splendid residences in the city's northwest quadrant, especially around Sheridan Circle on Massachusetts Avenue and DuPont Circle on Connecticut Avenue, but it also meant the construction of larger and more modern office buildings. For the most part, these new buildings did not replace commercial structures in the old downtown but expanded it north to K Street and west of the White House to 19<sup>th</sup> Street, often replacing residential buildings in neighborhoods around the city's public squares. Eighteen commercial buildings six stories or taller were built in Washington between 1900 and 1909, 25 others between 1910 and 1916. The effect was to draw some businesses, such as department and specialty stores and speculative office buildings, away from Pennsylvania Avenue, while encouraging others to concentrate in the area.

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<sup>233</sup> Robinson & Associates, Inc., 81-82.

<sup>234</sup> Longstreth, 53; Green, 2:167.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 150

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

Following the precedent of large, ornate office buildings established in the late-nineteenth century, such as the Washington Loan and Trust Company Building and the Evening Star Building, the most important office building to be erected in the early part of the twentieth century was the **National Press Building (Noncontributing Building)** in 1926. Located at the corner of 14<sup>th</sup> and F streets, the building played a prominent role as the Washington headquarters for many regional newspapers. The building, which included an elaborate theater when it opened, has been drastically altered over the years; the theater was demolished in 1964 and the office building was re clad and expanded in 1984-85. An additional multi-use building erected in this period was the **Odd Fellows Temple (Contributing Building)** at 419 7<sup>th</sup> Street. Completed in 1917, the seven-story-plus-attic building housed a lodge for the fraternal order, the Independent Order of Odd Fellows, on the upper two floors while a furniture store and leased offices occupied the rest of the building.

As the central government grew larger and the demand for access to government leaders increased, hotels received additions and new ones were built. On Pennsylvania Avenue itself, the **Willard Hotel (Contributing Building)** was rebuilt into a larger and more opulent hotel in 1901-04 and the Raleigh was added to in 1905 and 1911. Two others, the **Harrington Hotel (Contributing Building)** on E Street between 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> and the **Hotel Washington (Contributing Building)** on the corner of 15<sup>th</sup> and F streets were finished by the end of World War I. These new and expanded buildings gained in attractiveness as well as size as business leaders self-consciously attempted to upgrade the city's appearance. Henry J. Hardenburgh, who also designed the Plaza Hotel in New York, was architect for the Willard, while Thomas Hastings, of Carrère and Hastings, architects of the New York Public Library, designed the Hotel Washington. Although a building height limit was imposed in 1910, Washington newspapers wrote enthusiastic stories of the downtown transformation, comparing the new buildings favorably in appearance and convenience with those of the federal government and with the commercial buildings of New York.<sup>235</sup>

The lone public building constructed early in the century was the **District Building (Contributing Building)**, completed in 1908, and designed by the Philadelphia firm of Cope & Stewardson. Located at 1350 Pennsylvania Avenue at the corner of 14th Street, the District Building housed the municipal government. Built of white marble with a gray granite base, the District Building consists of a rusticated two-story base, a three-story shaft articulated with Corinthian columns, and an attic level. Belt courses, cornices, balconies, a variety of window treatments, a cartouche over the entrance featuring an eagle flanked by reclining figures, and sculptures by Adolph de Nesti at the attic level made the District Building the most elaborately decorated structure in the area that became the historic district.

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<sup>235</sup> Longstreth, 53-58; Green, 172.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 151

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

Old City Hall was entirely refaced in stone as part of a major restoration effort by Architect of the Capitol Elliott Woods in 1916-18. The original brick building covered with stucco was essentially rebuilt of brick, reinforced concrete, and steel, and faced with limestone. The exterior was rebuilt to Hadfield's design, while the interior was entirely redesigned by Woods. The building was again altered in 1935 and 1966, at which point the building was again District property, and was used as the Court of General Sessions. The Old City Hall Building now sits empty and is awaiting a new local government use. During renovation, the 1868 statue of Abraham Lincoln was removed, but it was returned (on a small pedestal rather than its former 35-foot column) in 1923. A fountain and a statue were also added to Judiciary Square at about this time. In 1923, the **Joseph J. Darlington Fountain (Contributing Object)**, dedicated to the memory of a leader of the Washington Bar Association, was placed in the southwest corner of the square, and winding walks laid out around it. Incorporated into the landscaping plan was a 15-foot-high, **brick ventilating shaft (Contributing Structure)** constructed for the Old City Hall in 1892. The courses of these walks and the brick tower remain in place.<sup>236</sup> The statue of South American liberator Jose de San Martin, a copy of the original in Buenos Aires, Argentina, was erected in the center of the square in 1925.<sup>237</sup>

As the quality of some of the buildings along Pennsylvania Avenue rose in the early years of the twentieth century, the avenue also received additional commemorative statuary and some of its public reservations were improved. Five memorial sculpture were added to Pennsylvania Avenue in the early years of the century, representing different aspects of Washington history: statues of Brigadier General Count Casimir Pulaski, General William T. Sherman, Alexander Robey Shepherd<sup>238</sup> (now in storage), General Albert Pike, and the Dr. Benjamin Stephenson Grand Army of the Republic Memorial. The end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth witnessed the memorialization of heroes of the both the Civil War and the American

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<sup>236</sup> architrave partnership, 126; Architect of the United States Capitol, *Report*, ( July 1, 1892), Curator's Office, Architect of the Capitol, Washington, D.C., 4.

<sup>237</sup> Stanley, 74-75. The statue of San Martin was removed to Virginia Avenue and 20<sup>th</sup> Street, N.W., from the square when the Metro was constructed in the 1970s.

<sup>238</sup> Shepherd was the executive officer of the Board of Public Works in Washington from 1871 to 1874 and oversaw a massive public works program for the city. His statue, designed by Ulric Stonewall Jackson Dunbar, was erected in front of the District Building in 1909. It was moved to Reservation 32 at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 14<sup>th</sup> Street in 1931 during the construction of the Federal Triangle. Shepherd's statue was placed in storage when Western Plaza was built in 1980 and remains there.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 152

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

Revolution throughout the country.<sup>239</sup> The statue of **Brigadier General Count Casimir Pulaski (Contributing Object)** was erected in 1910, in Reservation 33 at the intersection of 13<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. Sculpted by the Polish artist Kazimierz Chodzinski, the statue was erected on a nine-foot high granite pedestal designed by architect Albert Randolph Ross. The bronze figure depicts Pulaski in the uniform of a Polish marshal. Pulaski wore his country's uniform while serving in George Washington's army during the American Revolution.<sup>240</sup>

The **Statue of General William T. Sherman (Contributing Object)** and the **Dr. Benjamin Stephenson Grand Army of the Republic Memorial (Contributing Object)** are examples of later efforts to memorialize heroes of the Civil War. By the end of the Civil War, Sherman's victories over the Confederate army in Atlanta and Savannah were crucial in ending the war. A movement to create a memorial to Sherman began shortly after his death in 1891, and Congress provided \$50,000 for the monument in 1892. Danish-born sculptor Carl Rohl-Smith won an open competition for the Sherman memorial in 1896. His monument, which was dedicated in 1903, consists of a bare-headed Sherman on horseback atop a granite pedestal. Rohl-Smith embedded in the pedestal bronze plaques illustrating scenes from Sherman's life and bronze portraits of Sherman's corps commanders. Freestanding statues representing War and Peace and the four divisions of the Army (Cavalry, Infantry, Artillery, and Engineers) stand at the base of the pedestal. **Sherman Park (Contributing Site)** was landscaped in 1903 to the plans of Colonel Thomas W. Symons, Superintendent of the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds. The plan featured a circular walk around the statue and other walks that curved through flower beds. The circular and curving walks were replaced in 1934 with diagonal walks flanked by rows of willow oaks and American elms, many of which remain today.<sup>241</sup>

In contrast to the array of figural statues in the Sherman monument, a simple granite shaft commemorates Stephenson, a surgeon with the 14<sup>th</sup> Illinois Infantry Regiment during the Civil War who founded the Grand Army of the Republic, an organization of honorably discharged Union veterans. The memorial was completed in 1909 at the intersection of what was then Louisiana Avenue (now Indiana Avenue) and Seventh and C streets.<sup>242</sup> This triangular space had

<sup>239</sup> The statues of four foreign generals in Lafayette Park (Lafayette, Rochambeau, Von Steuben, and Kosciuszko) were all erected between 1891 and 1910.

<sup>240</sup> Warren-Findley, 99-100; Goode, *Outdoor Sculpture*, 366; Richman, n.p.

<sup>241</sup> Lori Thursby, "General William T. Sherman Statue, Washington, D.C.," *President's Park Notes* 1 (September 1999), National Park Service, National Capital Region, Washington, D.C., 1-12.

<sup>242</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, n.p.; Goode, *Outdoor Sculpture*, 360; Richman, n.p.; Warren-Findley, 115-117.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 153

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

been created as Reservation 36A by 1903, with a corresponding public space on the south side of C Street, where the Temperance Statue stood. The southern reservation, however, was not numbered on maps published by the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds.<sup>243</sup> Nearby, in Reservation 188 at the southwest corner of the intersection of 3<sup>rd</sup> and D streets, the statue of **General Albert Pike (Contributing Object)** was erected in 1901 by the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite of Freemasonry. Pike, a brigadier general in the Confederate army during the Civil War, who was also a high Masonic official, Although this statue is the only memorial in the city of a man who had served in the Confederate army, Pike is depicted as a Masonic leader, not as a Southern officer.<sup>244</sup>

A block from the District Building on 15<sup>th</sup> Street was Poli's Theatre, previously known as Albaugh's Opera House. President Woodrow Wilson frequently attended vaudeville performances at Poli's, and several theaters in the area offered entertainment to visitors and residents early in the twentieth century. A theater known as "the old Bijou" stood south of Pennsylvania Avenue between 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> streets, and Iron Hall, also known as Metzerott Hall, was across the street. The National Theatre (not within the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site boundaries) welcomed visitors at 1321 Pennsylvania Avenue. Theater-goers could also visit the Washington at the corner of 11<sup>th</sup> and C streets on the south side of the Avenue.<sup>245</sup> Except for the National, none of the theaters are extant.

The area around Center Market remained the focus of Washington's mercantile businesses in the early years of the century, but it, too, faced the decentralization that characterized the city's businesses early in the century. Five and dime stores such as the Kresge & Company at 438 7<sup>th</sup> Street, opened in 1918, and **Woolworth's (Contributing Building)** at 406-410 7<sup>th</sup> Street, opened in 1917. Several department stores opened in the blocks just north of Center Market, such as a new branch of **Lansburgh's Department Store (Contributing Building)** at 6<sup>th</sup> and E streets. Designed by Milburn, Heister & Company, the large department store was erected in 1916 with a large addition following in 1924. The facade of the six-story building is clad in ornamental terra cotta divided into twelve arcades and large windows in the Chicago Commercial style commonly used for department stores. Lansburgh's was founded in 1860 by Gustave and Max Lansburgh; the present building was an addition to the store's original buildings at 418-30 7<sup>th</sup> Street, which are no longer standing.

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<sup>243</sup> HABS No. DC-691, 6.

<sup>244</sup> Goode, *Outdoor Sculpture*, 228. The Pike statue was removed in 1972 during construction of the Labor Department Building. In 1975, the statue was moved to a raised planted area between the D.C. Municipal Center and the Department of Labor on D Street.

<sup>245</sup> Green, 2:246; Federal Writers' Project, 635-637.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 154

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

Competitor Woodward and Lothrop moved its dry goods business from 921 Pennsylvania Avenue to 11<sup>th</sup> and F Street in 1887 (not within the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site boundaries). Other retailers followed Woodward and Lothrop to F Street, making the thoroughfare a rival of Pennsylvania Avenue and Seventh Street for commercial dominance. The avenue did boast a number of mercantile establishments early in the twentieth century, such as C.G. Cornwell and Son, which sold groceries, luxury items, and liquor at 1412 Pennsylvania Avenue, and the Bradbury Piano Company in the 1200 block. In addition to merchants, printing and bookbinding establishments were located on the avenue. Gibson Brothers operated a printing business at 1238 Pennsylvania Avenue, and Andrew Butler Graham's photo-lithograph business stood at 1230.<sup>246</sup>

Modest commercial buildings were also erected north of the avenue, along D and E streets. These streets, however, did not attract the office and high-end retail establishments that clustered on the F Street streetcar line. Two on D Street, between 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> streets, are still standing: **709 D Street (Contributing Building)** and **717 D Street (Contributing Building)**, while others have been demolished for new office and apartment buildings. Both buildings, constructed out of brick with stone ornament, were erected in 1904 to serve as warehouses. Several small-scale commercial and light industrial buildings still remain on E Street and are reminiscent of the contrast between small-scale buildings and large office towers, such as Washington and Loan Trust Company Building which is located on F Street in the same square. A great variety of building types and functions lined the streets of early-twentieth-century downtown Washington. These buildings, **905 E Street (Contributing Building)**, **915 E Street (Contributing Building)**, **917 E Street (Contributing Building)**, and **919 E Street (Contributing Building)**, served as warehouses or showrooms for an auction house, a printing and stationary supplier, and a tobacco company. All four buildings feature display windows, casement windows, and terra-cotta ornamentation typical of their commercial function and 1910s and 1920s construction dates.

The Potomac Electric Power Company expanded its facilities in this area as well. Although PEPCO constructed a generating plant on the northeast corner of 14<sup>th</sup> and B streets, south of Pennsylvania Avenue, it opened one of its first substations at 405 8<sup>th</sup> Street before 1910. The utility company built its headquarters at **999 E Street (Contributing Building)** in 1930 and **Substation #117 (Noncontributing Building)** at 412-22 8<sup>th</sup> Street in 1957.

German and German Jewish merchants like Kann, Lansburgh, and many others dominated the city's dry goods trade. Several Italian merchants established fruit-selling businesses in the

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<sup>246</sup> Walter F. McArdle, "The Development of the Business Sector in Washington, D.C., 1800-1973," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* 1973-1974, 588-589; National Capital Planning Commission, 255-256.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 155

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

commercial center of the city. Unlike other cities in the United States, Washington did not have a large influx of immigrants at the turn of the century. Joseph Gauza's fruit business, which stood on the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 10<sup>th</sup> Street, was one of these immigrant-operated businesses.<sup>247</sup> A large concentration of Chinese immigrants lived and worked on both sides of the avenue east of 4 1/2 Street. Chinatown remained in this location from 1880 to 1930, when redevelopment of the area forced the residents and merchants north to H Street.<sup>248</sup>

Washington also had one of the largest populations of African American citizens of any city in the country in the early years of the twentieth century, but the period seems to have witnessed a decline in black-owned businesses and employment opportunities. The Capital Savings Bank, the only African American bank in the city, closed its doors at 609 F Street in 1902, although a number of black-owned businesses continued to operate out of the building thereafter.<sup>249</sup> The Capital Savings Bank had opened in 1888 at 804 F Street before purchasing its own building two blocks away in 1893. The *Colored American*, a newspaper financed by Booker T. Washington, ceased publication in 1904, and many African-American directors of music, art, domestic and manual arts, and physical education programs in black schools lost their jobs to whites in the years after 1900. A law segregating the city's street cars, which ran through the historic area, was first introduced in 1906 and several times thereafter, but was never passed. If not by statute, segregation was enforced by custom. Work spaces in the Bureau of Printing and Engraving were segregated in 1904, and the races were separated in locker rooms, bathrooms, and lunchrooms in the Treasury and Interior departments by 1909. President Woodrow Wilson endorsed the concept of segregation in 1913. Some businesses, however, denied African Americans any access at all. The National Theatre allowed African Americans to watch its plays and entertainments from the upper balcony until 1873, when it banned them outright. The situation did not change until 1952.<sup>250</sup>

The land south of Pennsylvania Avenue had also become a center of Washington industry in the late nineteenth century and remained so early in the twentieth. Lumberyards, such as the one run by W.A. Pierce on 14<sup>th</sup> Street between C and D, as well as foundries and mills, occupied lots between the avenue and B Street. Machine shops, junk dealers, plumbing supply stores, and a

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<sup>247</sup> Press, 66.

<sup>248</sup> Federal Writers' Project, 632; Green 398-399.

<sup>249</sup> Green, 207-224. Green dates the closing of Savings Bank to 1903.

<sup>250</sup> Sandra Fitzpatrick and Maria R. Goodwin, *Guide to Black Washington*, revised edition (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1999), 27-28, 34.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 156

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

transfer company could also be found in the area south of the avenue. Brothels remained from the Civil War days, especially along Ohio Avenue and C Street. Three stood in the 1400 block of C Street alone. In an effort to clean up the area, Congress passed a law making prostitution in the District illegal in 1914. Hooker's Division was also home to the city's poor, but residents were no longer destitute as they had been during the Civil War. Housing in the area was small and cheap: brick or wood row houses that rented for 15 dollars per month.<sup>251</sup>

In 1918, the Public Buildings Commission, the Congressional advisory board charged with overseeing the District, published a highly critical analysis of the area known as Hooker's Division:

Pennsylvania Avenue is the great thoroughfare connecting the legislative and executive branches of the Government. The character of the occupancy of the area between the Avenue and the Mall is low, and the tendency of retail business toward the northwest is steadily working for further deterioration. Nothing short of radical measures to bring this area into a higher grade of occupation will save the situation.<sup>252</sup>

The character and reputation of the area was further damaged in July 1919 when riots against the city's black residents began at the Knights of Columbus headquarters on Pennsylvania Avenue between 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> streets. Violence against African Americans continued for five days, killing four and injuring 70.<sup>253</sup>

A second difficult period immediately preceded the construction of Federal Triangle buildings. In May 1932, thousands of veterans traveled to Washington to seek payment of bonuses they were promised for fighting in World War I. The bonuses were not due to be paid until 1945, but the widespread unemployment caused by the Depression caused many former soldiers to seek immediate compensation. By June 1932, 20,000 "bonus marchers" had migrated to Washington and especially to the area around Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the White House. Pelham D. Glassford, himself a general during the war, was Washington's police superintendent at the time, and he sought housing for the marchers. Camps were created on the Anacostia flats

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<sup>251</sup> Press, 66-69.

<sup>252</sup> U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report of the Public Buildings Commission*, S. Doc. 155, 65<sup>th</sup> Cong., 2d sess., 1918, 56, cited in Press, 69.

<sup>253</sup> Green, 2:266-269; Federal Writers' Project, 708. The Federal Writers' Project places the beginning of the rioting at the intersection of 6<sup>th</sup> and B streets.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 157

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

and elsewhere in the city, and some marchers were quartered in abandoned buildings south of Pennsylvania Avenue in what is now Federal Triangle. After the Senate defeated legislation that would have paid the veterans their bonuses on June 15, many marchers left the city, but nearly 10,000 remained through the legislative session. With donations for their cause running out, some marchers panhandled in the business district between 7<sup>th</sup> Street and the Treasury Building and south of G Street to the Mall. Some also set up soft drink stands and sold souvenirs.

In late July, the Treasury Department demanded that the buildings within the area intended for the Federal Triangle be vacated so that demolition could start prior to the beginning of construction. City commissioners instructed the police to begin clearing the building at the intersection of Pennsylvania Avenue and 6<sup>th</sup> Street, which Glassford supervised on July 28. Several buildings were cleared before violence began, and police shot two men. The city commissioners then asked for federal troops to intervene. General Douglas MacArthur organized soldiers from Fort Myer on the Ellipse south of the White House, and cavalry, infantry, and tanks marched down Pennsylvania Avenue toward the marchers. MacArthur's troops attacked the veterans, who quickly departed. Similar moves on the settlement camps dispersed the marchers. American soldiers inflicted 70 casualties among the bonus marchers.

### **Construction of the Federal Triangle**

As the previous discussion indicates, downtown Washington in the early decades of the twentieth century consisted of a tangle of competing interests and property types. The area now included in the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site encompassed monumental municipal buildings, mercantile structures large and small, cheap row houses, brothels, modern hotels, and theaters. Washington was not, however, the only city in the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to consider at least a portion of its downtown a chaotic landscape in need of order and refinement. Observers of urban life, such as novelist Henry James, considered American cities ugly and unworthy of comparison to European cities due to their rapid and haphazard growth. The country's population increased from 31.4 million in 1860 to 91.9 million in 1910, while the number of people living in cities with populations greater than 25 thousand increased even more rapidly – from six million at the beginning of the Civil War to 45 million fifty years later. Paralleling the desire for aesthetic improvement in American cities was the Progressive drive for the reform of overcrowded and often unsanitary housing and of dangerous mills and factories, to which attention was called by the muckraking journalists of the 1890s.<sup>254</sup>

An aesthetic solution to the physical disorder could be found in the ideas of the City Beautiful movement expressed in the McMillan plan, developed in 1901-02. The plan called for the

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<sup>254</sup> Hines, 80-87.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 158

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

redevelopment of the area between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Mall as a municipal center for the city of Washington. The McMillan Commission's report states:

During the past two decades a sentiment has developed both among residents of the District and also in Congress, that the area between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Mall should be reclaimed from its present uses by locating within that section important public buildings. The avenue itself is one of the historic thoroughfares of the world. . . . [N]evertheless, for the most part, the thoroughfare, spacious as it is in itself considered, is lined by structures entirely unworthy of the conspicuous positions they occupy. . . . Furthermore, the present location of the city post-office and of the great central market, together with the fact that the business of the city is concentrated largely along this avenue, both suggest that within this area the public buildings of the municipality, as distinct from the General Government, may well be located.<sup>255</sup>

While the recommendation that the area south of Pennsylvania Avenue be devoted to city buildings was first implemented only in the construction of the District Building (which opened in 1908), the idea of replacing the random and often ramshackle construction in the area with a coordinated grouping of public buildings retained its influence over the imaginations of city and federal officials, as well as concerned citizens and businessmen.

In the first year of its existence, 1910, the Commission of Fine Arts reminded Congress of the McMillan plan in suggesting that office buildings for the departments of State, Justice, and Commerce and Labor be located in a tract of land bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue and B Street on the north and south and 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> streets on the east and west – the heart of what had been known as Murder Bay. This land was acquired by the government in 1910. Plans were approved for the buildings, but no appropriations for their construction were made by Congress.<sup>256</sup>

At this time, most federal government offices occupied rented space around Pennsylvania Avenue. The State, Justice, and Commerce and Labor buildings proposed in 1910 were attempts to remedy that situation. Congress acted again in 1916, when it created the Public Buildings

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<sup>255</sup> Report of the Park Commission to the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, *The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia*, 1902, quoted in Repp, 132.

<sup>256</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, 150, 172.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 159

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

Commission, which included members of both political parties, both houses of Congress, the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, and the Architect of the Capitol, to coordinate the construction of government offices. Legislation creating the commission also authorized the Commission of Fine Arts to report on the need for federal office space. Due to American involvement in World War I, however, no action was taken on the findings of either commission. In fact, World War I exacerbated the disorder of Washington's built environment, as temporary buildings were constructed on public land in front of Union Station and on the Mall to house the expanding federal government and its workers. In 1923, President Calvin Coolidge recommended the construction of three or four buildings to satisfy the immediate needs of his executive departments and authorized the Commission of Fine Arts to report on previous legislation relating to public buildings. The CFA's report recommended a comprehensive scheme for federal buildings guided by the planning principles illustrated in the L'Enfant and McMillan plans.<sup>257</sup>

With the Public Buildings Act of 1926, which appropriated \$50 million for federal construction projects throughout Washington, the drive to organize the area south of Pennsylvania Avenue gained the funds needed for its realization. The Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury received responsibility for planning development of the area and turned over the development of the project's particulars to a board of consulting architects headed by Edward H. Bennett. Schooled at the École des Beaux Arts, Bennett had worked with Burnham on a plan for Chicago in 1908 and began his own planning firm in 1909. Bennett's consulting board included some of the most outstanding architects of the time: Louis Ayres, William Adams Delano, and John Russell Pope of New York City, Arthur Brown, Jr., of San Francisco, and Milton Medary of Philadelphia. Board members were reimbursed only for their expenses, but each was promised the opportunity to design one of the buildings in the complex. The board coordinated the project with the National Capital Park and Planning Commission (created in 1926), the Commission of Fine Arts, and the Office of the Supervising Architect.<sup>258</sup>

A plan for the Federal Triangle was produced in 1926, and Congress voted on January 13, 1928, to acquire the private land between Pennsylvania Avenue and the Mall for not more than \$25 million.<sup>259</sup> Influenced by the Commission of Fine Arts, the Board of Architectural Consultants altered the initial plan, however. The CFA had already noted, in 1926, that the plans it had approved in 1910 for the State, Justice, and Commerce and Labor department buildings were

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<sup>257</sup> Kohler, 53; Green, 2:291; National Capital Planning Commission, 150-151.

<sup>258</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, 170-175.

<sup>259</sup> Reys, 170.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 160

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

obsolete due to the growth of these federal departments. After the initial plans for Federal Triangle were made public, the commission recommended that some smaller buildings in the scheme be combined to form larger elements of a composition modeled on the Louvre-Tuileries complex in Paris. In the changes conceived by the commission, some east-west streets became passageways for traffic within buildings, and colonnades and courtyards provided light, air, and communication. In September 1927, the Board of Architectural Consultants submitted reports complying with the CFA's recommendations. The architects' efforts to accommodate the growth of the federal government and the commission's Louvre model resulted in the destruction of portions of L'Enfant's plan in this part of the city. Twenty-three blocks were realigned to create the Federal Triangle, and some streets, such as Ohio Avenue and C and D streets were lost. The composition eliminated an important vista in L'Enfant's plan, from Old City Hall along what was then Louisiana Avenue to the Mall, when it placed the Justice Department between 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> streets and erased a segment of the street. The resulting project of seven new buildings was larger than the Louvre-Tuileries complex.<sup>260</sup>

The Board of Architectural Consultants conceived the buildings in the Federal Triangle in Classical Revival styles, influenced by such diverse factors as the McMillan plan, the Commission of Fine Arts, Secretary of the Treasury Andrew W. Mellon, and contemporary architecture in Washington, and there seems to have been strong agreement among the participants on the subject of architectural expression. Mellon wrote that he felt responsible for translating the Beaux Arts-inspired McMillan plan into reality, including its classical details. European Modernism was not unknown in the United States at this time, although it would not become a major influence on the country's architecture until an exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in New York in 1932 brought it to a large audience. As Bennett noted, however, "modern 'blunt' architecture [was] not acceptable to Mr. Mellon for Departmental Buildings in Washington." President Herbert Hoover also felt the necessity of continuing to build in the tradition already established in such federal buildings as the Capitol, the White House, the Treasury, the Patent Office, and the Tariff Commission Building. "It is our primary duty to do more than erect offices," he wrote. "We must fit that program into the tradition and the symbolism of the Capital."<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Kohler, 54; National Capital Planning Commission, 178. Federal Triangle covers 70 acres, while the Louvre encompasses 48, and the Triangle's Constitution Avenue side is 4,000 feet long, as opposed to 2,000 feet at the Louvre. In the plans for the city by L'Enfant and Ellicott, the street that became Louisiana Avenue led directly to the planned location of an equestrian statue of George Washington. The off-axis placement of the Washington Monument, however, meant that the Louisiana Avenue vista stretched across the Mall to the Potomac River.

<sup>261</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, 175.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 161

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

Classical Revival architecture had already accompanied the development of downtown Washington in the early twentieth century, preparing the way for the Federal Triangle designs. Four buildings employing Classical or Renaissance Revival forms were constructed along 17<sup>th</sup> Street – across the Ellipse from the site on which the Commerce Department would be built – before the Federal Triangle project began: the Pan American Union Building (now the Organization of American States), by Paul Philippe Cret and Albert Kelsey; the American Red Cross National Headquarters, by S. B. P. Trowbridge and Goodhue Livingston; Continental Memorial Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, by Edward Pearce Casey, with additions by William J. Marsh and Walter C. Peter and John Russell Pope; and the Corcoran Gallery of Art, by Ernest Flagg, with additions by Waddy B. Wood and Charles Adams Platt.<sup>262</sup>

The Board of Consulting Architects attempted to harmonize their buildings by adopting certain guidelines beyond the general Classical Revival manner. The buildings were fashioned from the same materials (rusticated granite bases and limestone facades on steel frames), rose to the same height (except for the National Archives), and employed consistent cornice lines and belt courses to connect them visually. The board planned two plazas to serve as physical and visual links between the separate elements of the composition. The architects also sought to create the idea of a public precinct through the consistent use of wide sidewalks, generous plantings, and broad streets. Within these parameters, however, each of the architects sought to vary the motifs employed – Classical orders, porticoes and corner pavilions, roof profiles, building footprints, window and door treatments – in order to avoid the potential for monotony in a large composition, the architectural consistency of which was broken only by the District Building and the Old Post Office.<sup>263</sup> In addition to the order and beauty of the composition, the architects and their government sponsors saw the scale, materials, and sophistication of the Federal Triangle as a reflection of the international influence and economic affluence of the United States in the early decades of the twentieth century.<sup>264</sup>

Architect Louis Ayres's **Commerce Department Building (Contributing Building)** was the first building constructed set the standard design excellence and monumentality. It was finished in 1932. Seven stories plus a basement are contained in the composition of rusticated base, smooth shaft, and attic. The structure is steel, the facing gray Indiana limestone, and the variegated red terra-cotta roof tiles. The 15th Street elevation, facing the Ellipse, consists of four projecting Doric colonnades supporting triangular pediments and separated by office blocks.

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<sup>262</sup> Scott and Lee, 207-210.

<sup>263</sup> Of course, the Triangle plan envisioned replacing these buildings.

<sup>264</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, 176-180.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 162

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

This elevation presents a uniform face to the Classical Revival buildings across the Ellipse on 17<sup>th</sup> Street. The main elevation along 14th Street is divided into three sections, so that the immense building appears as three distinct units. The piano nobile features a colonnade of colossal Doric columns, establishing the monumental quality of the Triangle's buildings. The 14<sup>th</sup> Street elevation was also conceived as the western terminus of the planned "Grand Plaza," which, with its fountains, trees and grass, was intended to resemble the park-like atmosphere of the Tuileries Gardens in the Louvre complex.

At the opposite end of the proposed Grand Plaza, the Board of Architectural Consultants placed the **United States Post Office Building (Contributing Building)**, now known as the Ariel Rios Federal Building. Designed by William A. Delano of Delano and Aldrich in 1934, its west elevation consists of a hemicycle articulated by a row of monumental engaged Doric columns centered between two wings. This elevation faces the principal front of the Commerce Building. The southern leg of the Grand Plaza was formed by the north elevation of Arthur Brown, Jr.'s, **Labor Department/Departmental Auditorium/Interstate Commerce Commission Building (Contributing Building)**, completed in 1935.<sup>265</sup> Due to the presence of the District Building at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 14<sup>th</sup> Street, the Grand Plaza scheme could not be completely realized, but ultimately only the plaza's architectural framework was executed due to the presence of the Southern Railway building and the demand for parking in the open space between these buildings. Several other City Beautiful plans for city centers in the United States remained on paper for the same reason.<sup>266</sup>

These three buildings illustrate the care taken by the Board of Architectural Consultants to vary the designs of individual buildings within the restraints imposed by the use of Classical Revival forms. In all three designs, the tremendous lengths of the elevations are broken up in a variety of ways. Pedimented pavilions on the 15<sup>th</sup> Street elevation of the Commerce Building and the Constitution Avenue side of the Labor Department/Departmental Auditorium/Interstate Commerce Commission Building divide those facades into visually comprehensible units and strengthen their corners, and Brown also provided a temple front at the center of his composition. Delano used the hemicycle to the same purpose, as well as to form a transition from the Roman Classicism of the designs of Ayres and Brown to the French Classicism of his Post Office Building. A mansard roof therefore caps its 12th Street hemicycle (the west-facing hemicycle has a tile roof), and its portico is supported by four pairs of Ionic columns. The hemicycle was intended to be mirrored across the street in the design of the **Internal Revenue Service Building**

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<sup>265</sup> Scott and Lee, 171-174. Brown's building now houses the United States Customs Service, the Labor Department having moved to its own quarters.

<sup>266</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, 178-179.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 163

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

**(Contributing Building)**, to recall the circular Place Vendome in Paris. A 12<sup>th</sup> Street circle, planned for this area, was never realized. Traffic flow and the Old Post Office prevented the execution of the second public space in the Federal Triangle.

The presence of the Old Post Office also interrupted the design of the Internal Revenue Service, completed in 1935 to the plans of Louis A. Simon, the chief architect in the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury. Simon included a hemicycle facing 12<sup>th</sup> Street to match Delano's, but its northern arm would have run right through the Old Post Office, itself a product of the Supervising Architect's office. Due to the economic crisis of the 1930s, the Old Post Office, still functional after three decades of service, was not demolished to accommodate this design. Design of the IRS Building began prior to the approval of the Federal Triangle scheme, and its massive size (the two blocks between 10<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> streets) influenced the Board of Architectural Consultants to consider the Triangle as a single large composition. The IRS was a bureau of the government, rather than a department, and in the hierarchical scheme of the Federal Triangle composition, departmental buildings were to receive greater sculptural detail than bureaus. As built, the IRS is more austere than it was conceived of by Simon and less sculpturally rich than the other elements of the complex.

The **Department of Justice (Contributing Building)**, filled the trapezoidal block between 9th and 10th Streets. It might be considered the most contemporary of the buildings in the Federal Triangle, incorporating as it does elements of modern design into the Classical massing, refined materials, and sculptural elements common to the other buildings in the complex. Designed by Milton Medary, of the successful Philadelphia firm of Zantzinger, Borie, & Medary, the Justice Department was constructed between 1931 and 1935. Medary employed the elements common to the other Federal Triangle buildings of the period: a limestone attic and piano nobile resting on a rusticated granite base; pedimented Classical pavilions strengthening the corners of the Constitution Avenue elevation, similar to the Brown's Labor/Departmental Auditorium/Interstate Commerce Commission block farther to the west; and Ionic colonnades on the Pennsylvania Avenue and 9th Street elevations. On 10th Street and on Constitution Avenue, however, pilasters of Modernist sparseness separate the Justice Department's bays, and decoration (aluminum grilles, door surrounds, railings, window frames) leans toward Art Deco.

Next to the Justice Department's sparseness is John Russell Pope's ornamental **National Archives (Contributing Building)**. Pope's four monumental Corinthian porticoes and the increased height of the building mark it as important, as does its location. The Pennsylvania Avenue entrance faces 8<sup>th</sup> Street at a site L'Enfant marked for special treatment, although L'Enfant left the site open for one of the five fountains he planned for the city. In addition to reinforcing the importance of this street, halfway between the Capitol and the White House, the placement of the National Archives ties the Federal Triangle into the northern portion of downtown. Robert Mills' Old Patent Office faces the Archives from F Street, and the Carnegie Library continues the

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 164

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

monumentality of the 8<sup>th</sup> Street axis at K Street. The increased ornamentation of the building can also be seen as appropriate to its two functions, which are indicated by its two entrances. Researchers enter the building from Pennsylvania Avenue to use the Archives' collection of manuscripts and documents. Visitors climb a processional staircase from Constitution Avenue to view documents relating to the founding of the country: the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, and the Bill of Rights.<sup>267</sup>

Bennett had been instrumental in conceiving the plan of the Federal Triangle and helped put together the Board of Architectural Consultants. Due to high-placed opposition and financial concerns, however, he had to fight to secure his opportunity to design a building in the complex: the **Federal Trade Commission (Contributing Building)**, which was completed in 1938. Gilmore Clarke, a landscape architect and member of the Commission of Fine Arts, argued against building at the intersection of Pennsylvania and Constitution avenues, considering the site too small. A fountain or memorial would be more appropriate, Clarke reasoned, to set off Pope's Archives building. The financial constraints of the continuing Depression also threatened completion of the building. Pope, however, countered Clarke, arguing that the Archives needed a framing building and the Triangle an appropriate eastern terminus. The Federal Trade Commission also needed space, and this combination of factors led to the CFA's approval of the building's plans in May 1936. For his part, Bennett was willing to keep costs in check in order to see the building completed. As a result, the Federal Trade Commission is perhaps the most severe design in the Federal Triangle. It is, however, enlivened dramatically at the important junction of Pennsylvania and Constitution avenues, where an Ionic colonnade rounds the corner on the piano nobile and a dome marks the importance of the site as well as the beginning of the Triangle.<sup>268</sup>

Bennett restrained the sculptural detail, and therefore cost, of his building, thus enabling the decorative program for the site to remain in place. This foresight, too, made the Federal Trade Commission Building a fitting end to the 1930s Federal Triangle construction. The Board of Architectural Consultants, with the encouragement and attention of the Commission of Fine Arts, planned a decorative program for the entire complex. On either side of the Federal Trade Commission Building stand two larger-than-life-size figures each depicting a muscular man controlling a colossal, straining horse. The sculptures, known as "Man Controlling Trade" and designed by Michael Lantz, were sculpted in the forceful, streamlined Art Deco manner, and this style reverberates through the decorative program of the Triangle, influencing not only sculpture but paintings, mosaics, and window and door treatments. The FTC Building, for instance,

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<sup>267</sup> Scott and Lee, 169-176; Reps, 19-20.

<sup>268</sup> Kohler, 59-60; Scott and Lee, 176-177.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 165

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

includes portals with sculptural panels illustrating trade themes. Chaim Gross and Robert Laurent executed the industry and shipping panels over the doors facing Pennsylvania Avenue, while the Constitution Avenue panels, by Concetta Scaravaglione and Carl Schmitz, depicted scenes relating to agriculture and trade. Medary's Justice Department Building is perhaps the most complete example of a comprehensive decorative program, including as it does sculpture and architectural details designed by C. Paul Jannewein of New York, murals relating to law and justice, mosaics by John Joseph Earley, and decorative aluminum doors, window frames, stairs, elevators, and light fixtures.<sup>269</sup>

**Construction on Judiciary Square**

Construction of a complex of public buildings also altered the character of Judiciary Square in the 1930s, but in this case the public buildings were courthouses and they reorganized space that had been a park since the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The park was used for summertime religious services, musical performances and neighborhood sports, public gatherings, and military drills in the first decades of the twentieth century. During the Depression of the 1930s, many citizens who no longer could afford a roof over their heads called the park benches home.<sup>270</sup> The quality of the park had already begun to erode by the time the courthouse scheme had been approved by the National Capital Park and Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts in 1936. An increasing number of workers began driving downtown during the 1920s, expanding the demand for parking. A parking lot was established on the east side of the Pension Building in 1926, and commuters used the grassy areas along the narrow drives near the existing court buildings to park their cars. Some of the grassy areas worn to dirt by parked cars were eventually paved for parking lots.<sup>271</sup>

A Municipal Center had been proposed by the NCPPC for Judiciary Square and the area between D Street and Pennsylvania Avenue in 1929. Drawings of this proposal mimic the forms and scale of the Federal Triangle buildings. However, nothing was built south of the Old City Hall until after World War II.<sup>272</sup> The scale and forms for the courthouse buildings north of Old City Hall between 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> streets in the 1930s remained faithful to the standards of their nineteenth-

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<sup>269</sup> Kohler, 60; Scott and Lee, 174-177.

<sup>270</sup> Stanley, 99-100.

<sup>271</sup> Stanley, 77-81.

<sup>272</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, 181-182, 203, 218; Swanke Hayden Connell Architects, "E. Barrett Prettyman Federal Courthouse: Historic Structure Report, Corrected Final Submission," prepared for the U.S. General Services Administration, April 1999, 28-30.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 166

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

century predecessor. Elliott Woods, who was Superintendent of the U.S. Capitol Buildings and Grounds from 1902 until his death in 1923, set the parameters for the rest of the Judiciary Square complex. In 1908, he designed the **District of Columbia Court of Appeals (Contributing Building)**, which was completed in 1910.<sup>273</sup> In its Ionic columns and scale – three stories rather than the seven of the Federal Triangle buildings – it corresponded with Old City Hall to its immediate southeast. Plans of the square from 1922 show that Woods foresaw a building to match the Court of Appeals on the opposite side of the square. Constructed as the Juvenile Court in 1938 (see below), this building may have had its origins in early plans for the Court of Appeals, which Woods initially imagined as one of two wings added to the east and west sides of Old City Hall.<sup>274</sup> Woods knitted the threads of a judiciary ensemble even tighter in 1917 when Woods supervised the reconstruction of Old City Hall in the same materials used in his Court of Appeals.

The architect for the other three court buildings in Judiciary Square – the **Police Court (now Superior Court Building A; Contributing Building)**, the **Municipal Court (now Superior Court Building B; Contributing Building)**, and the **Juvenile Court (now Superior Court Building C; Contributing Building)** – was Nathan C. Wyeth, Washington's municipal architect, who had served under Woods at the Capitol. All three were paid for through funds from the Public Works Administration, one of the New Deal programs of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The first to be constructed was the Police Court, which was approved by Congress on May 6, 1935. Construction began in the fall of 1936 after the transfer from the federal government to the District of a 66-foot-wide strip of land along F Street (which included the roadway as well as the walks on either side). The land was needed to provide space for Wyeth's design, and construction also required straightening the portion of F Street that curved around the south elevation of the Pension Building. The straightening of F Street resulted in the loss of the marble fountain that had been constructed in the center of the park in 1878 and moved to the Pension Building entrance in 1887. Wyeth sited the Police Court along the west side of Judiciary Square between E and F streets north of Woods's Court of Appeals. The finely finished limestone wall surfaces, the roundheaded windows, and the distyle in antis porticoes at the north and south ends of the building all recall the details of Hadfield's and Woods' designs.

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<sup>273</sup> It now houses the U.S. Court of Military Appeals.

<sup>274</sup> architrave partnership, "United States Court of Military Appeals: Historic Structures Analysis and Report," prepared for the General Services Administration, National Capital Region, Washington, D.C., October 1984, 9-10, 125-126.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 167

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

Construction of the Juvenile and Municipal court buildings on the east side of Judiciary Square to mirror the Court of Appeals and the Police Court began in the fall of 1938.<sup>275</sup> Once again the forms, materials, and scale matched the buildings across the square, although the Juvenile Court is not an exact replica of the Court of Appeals. The five court buildings and Meigs' Pension Building formed a campus-like quadrangle around the fountain, San Martin statue, walks, trees, and flowers of Judiciary Square. The setting has, however, been compromised by the creation of parking lots and the National Law Enforcement Memorial (see below) since the courts' construction, and many of its historic features (the Pension Building fountain, the San Martin statue, as well as the plantings) have been removed. One part of the square relatively untouched by these changes is the southwest corner, where the Darlington Fountain, constructed in 1923, remains in its original location. Also remaining is a brick ventilating tower that was incorporated into the landscape plan that was implemented in the 1920s. And while the materials of the walks winding through this area have changed, they continue to follow the same courses established at the time the area was landscaped.<sup>276</sup> The continuity of architects involved in the Judiciary Square designs may account for the ensemble's coherence. Edward Clark was Architect of the Capitol from 1865 until his death in 1902. He designed the compatible north extension of Old City Hall in 1881. Woods began working for Clark in 1885, then succeeded him in 1902, and Wyeth, in turn, worked for Woods. All three maintained the forms and scale of their predecessors while working to modernize and expand the facilities for the changing needs of their clients.

Wyeth, who was Washington's municipal architect from 1934 to 1946, showed his ability to design in contemporary forms when a delayed plan to create a Municipal Center for the District of Columbia south of the Old City hall began to take shape in the late 1930s. A municipal center between Pennsylvania Avenue and what was then B Street [Constitution Avenue] had been part of the McMillan plan of 1902, but ultimately became the site of the Federal Triangle. Albert L. Harris, Wyeth's predecessor as municipal architect, began planning a 10-block Municipal Center in 1927 on land bounded by B Street and Indiana Avenue and 3<sup>rd</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> streets. Drawings of this early plan dating from 1929 show a monumental Beaux Arts group of buildings similar in form and scale to the Federal Triangle. Buildings were razed in 1932 as Harris's plans underwent revisions, but no funds for construction were forthcoming from Congress. Wyeth submitted a

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<sup>275</sup> Stanley, 55, 82-84.

<sup>276</sup> Various maps of the square produced since the construction of the Darlington Fountain show the same pattern for the walks that exists today. These include a 1929 site plan reproduced in the Historic American Buildings Survey for Judiciary Square (HABS No. DC-690). This plan is an update of a 1923 plan. A 1932 map from *Baist's Real Estate Atlas of Surveys of Washington, District of Columbia*, volume I, shows the same pattern.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 168

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

reduced plan, which was approved in 1934, but construction on a single building, called the **Municipal Center (Contributing Building)**, did not begin until 1939.<sup>277</sup>

Wyeth designed the building, located at 300 Indiana Avenue, in the Art Deco manner, and it was completed in 1941. The six-story building is faced with limestone, as is Woods's reconstruction of Hadfield's City Hall. Three-story limestone piers, carved to suggest classical columns, and recessed vertical window strips echo the porticoes of the earlier building.<sup>278</sup> On the approach to the western entrance to the Municipal Center is a high-relief granite panel called *Urban Life*, which forms part of the retaining wall for the terrace on which the center was built. Designed by sculptor John Gregory, who also provided sculpture for the Folger Shakespeare Library and the Federal Reserve Board Building, the relief uses classical gods to illustrate aspects of modern life, such as courts, hospitals, business, and sanitation. A relief sculpture designed by Lee Lawrie, who worked with Bertram Goodhue on the 1923 National Academy of Sciences Building on Constitution Avenue, was built across the plaza from Gregory's panel. The figures in this panel symbolize Light, Water, and Thoroughfare. When the Moultrie Courthouse was constructed in 1975-76, Lawrie's relief was incorporated into the building's east approach.<sup>279</sup> Located on the Indiana Avenue side of the Municipal Center is an octagonal fountain designed by the John J. Earley Studio and built between 1934 and 1941.<sup>280</sup> (The noted Earley Studio fabricated concrete mosaics to the Justice Department and to Meridian Hill Park, among other Washington landmarks.) The fountain was rededicated as the Washington Area Law Enforcement Memorial by the Ladies Auxiliary Fraternal Order of Police on May 12, 1980.

Wyeth also designed the **District of Columbia Recorder of Deeds Building (Contributing Building)** at 515 D Street, and the Central Public Library, both of which were completed in 1942. The municipal architect continued to strip classical details from his four-story design for the

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<sup>277</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, 180-181, 203; Swanke Hayden Connell Architects, 28-30. Scott and Lee (182-183) state that two buildings were constructed as part of the Municipal Center -- the present building and another where the Moultrie Courthouse now stands. None of the documents reviewed for this study, however, indicate that the western building was constructed.

<sup>278</sup> Wirz and Stiner, 95-96; Scott and Lee, 182-183.

<sup>279</sup> Goode, *Outdoor Sculpture*, 224. Documentation reviewed for this study does not clarify whether or not the relief panels were included in the original Municipal Center design and construction. As with the freestanding sculptures flanking the Federal Trade Commission Building and those at the entrances to the National Archives, the relief panels at the Municipal Center are not considered individual resources for this nomination.

<sup>280</sup> Robinson et al, n.p.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 169

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

Recorder of Deeds, counting on flat vertical strips of limestone separated by slightly recessed lengths of windows to suggest columns without the aid of the incised capitals of the Municipal Center. A flat cornice of stylized leaves provides the only carved ornament for the exterior of the building. In its lobby, however, are portraits of ten Recorders of Deeds, a position that has traditionally been filled by African Americans. Seven murals decorate the lobby walls; one portrays Benjamin Banneker, the African-American mathematician who assisted Andrew Ellicott with his surveys of the land that became the District of Columbia.<sup>281</sup> The Central Public Library, which fulfilled a portion of Wyeth's 1934 plans for a complex of city government buildings, stood in the middle of the block facing Pennsylvania Avenue between what was then John Marshall Place and 6<sup>th</sup> Street. It, too, utilized the limestone sheathing and minimalist classical references of other Washington government buildings of the 1940s and 1950s.<sup>282</sup>

The possibility that other aspects of Wyeth's plans for the area south of Old City Hall would be realized ended when Washington architect Louis Justement designed the **E. Barrett Prettyman Courthouse (Contributing Building)** south of the Municipal Center. A new federal courthouse was needed due to the overcrowding of the courts in Old City Hall and the Court of Appeals. Justement's original design received initial approval from the Commission of Fine Arts in October 1947, although he responded to requests for changes from the CFA and the National Capital Planning Commission until final approval was given in January 1948. President Harry Truman laid the building's cornerstone on June 27, 1950, and the building opened in November 1952. Justement's building responds to Wyeth's Municipal Center in its materials, massing, and stripped Classicism. Once again, flat, limestone-veneered piers separated by vertical strips of windows suggest colonnades. Window divisions also suggest the Classical composition of podium, shaft, and attic. Justement, however, adheres to the Modernist aversion to ornament, employing no pediments, entablatures, porticoes, or carved decoration.<sup>283</sup>

Like other public buildings within the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, however, art work was commissioned for both the interior and exterior of the Prettyman Courthouse. Bronze plaques were incorporated into doors and doorways, high-relief bronze busts were installed in the Court of Appeals courtroom, and statuary was placed on corbels in the ceremonial courtroom. Sculptor Carl Paul Jennewein, who had coordinated the decorative arts program for the Justice Department Building, designed the central feature of the courthouse's art program, the **Trylon of**

<sup>281</sup> "Announcing Washington's Most Endangered Places 2000," *D.C. Preservation Advocate* (Autumn 2000): 5-6.

<sup>282</sup> Historic American Buildings Survey, Old D.C. Central Public Library, HABS No. DC-372, Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Washington, D.C., n.d.

<sup>283</sup> Swanke Hayden Connell Architects, 30-35.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 170

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

**Freedom (Contributing Object)** that marks the courthouse's entrance on Pennsylvania Avenue. It was carved from Somes Sound granite by Vincent Tonelli and Roger Morigi. Reliefs illustrating the United States Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the seal of the United States decorate the 24-foot-high, triangular-plan form. Approved in 1949, the trylon was finished in 1954.<sup>284</sup> Facing Pennsylvania Avenue near the southeast corner of the courthouse is Paul W. Bartlett's bronze statue of English jurist **Sir William Blackstone (Contributing Object)**, whose *Commentaries* on the British legal system helped shape the American Constitution.<sup>285</sup> Commissioned in 1923, the statue was erected near Elliott Woods's Court of Appeals in 1943. It was moved to its site near the Prettyman Courthouse in 1952.<sup>286</sup>

**The Decline of Pennsylvania Avenue and President Kennedy's Response**

Completion of the Prettyman Courthouse ended the boom in public building, which had begun a quarter of a century before with the construction of the Commerce Department Building, in the area now included in the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site. Another quarter of a century passed before a building of comparable size and importance was built in the area – the Moultrie Courthouse, which opened in 1976. During the 1940s and 1950s, government activity in the area was for the most part limited to the addition of works of art, such as the **Captain Nathan Hale Memorial (Contributing Object)**, placed on the Constitution Avenue side of the Justice Department in 1946, and the **Statue of Albert Gallatin (Contributing Object)** erected on the north side of the Treasury Department in 1947. More contemporary American leaders were also memorialized at this time. The **Oscar S. Strauss Memorial Fountain (Contributing Object)**, erected in 1947 on 14<sup>th</sup> Street across from the entrance to the Commerce Department, commemorated Theodore Roosevelt's Secretary of Commerce and Labor. The Strauss fountain was the only element of the Federal Triangle's Grand Plaza that was executed. The **Mellon Memorial Fountain (Contributing Object)** was appropriately erected in 1952 in a small public reservation across from the entrance to the National Gallery of Art, which Mellon funded. The fountain, in honor Treasury Secretary Andrew Mellon, was donated by his friends. The reservation is now known as **Mellon Park (Contributing Site)**.

A number of factors influenced the decline of the avenue, including the congestion caused by the concentration of government workers in Washington's central core and the post-World War II decision to locate some federal construction, such as the Pentagon, in the suburbs or in other

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<sup>284</sup> Swanke Hayden Connell Architects, 38; Goode, *Outdoor Sculpture*, 222.

<sup>285</sup> Goode (1974), 221.

<sup>286</sup> National Capital Planning Commission, 103



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 171

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

sections of the city.<sup>287</sup> The poor condition of Pennsylvania Avenue that spurred John F. Kennedy to form his ad hoc committee on its rejuvenation reflected the demographic and economic trends of these years. The suburbs in Maryland and Virginia, which accounted for 39.4 percent of the metropolitan population in 1950, grew rapidly, accounting for 74 percent of area residents in 1970. Many department stores, corporations, and even small commercial businesses left the area for the West End or the suburbs of Maryland and Virginia in the 1940s and 1950s – when the widespread popularity of automobiles and the move of many professionals to the suburbs drastically altered the vibrancy, safety, and prosperity of Washington's old downtown.<sup>288</sup>

The shift in the relative importance of the Pennsylvania Avenue area in the 1940s and 1950s can be seen in the few buildings still standing from that period. Indicative of the modest expectations of the era are two buildings in the business district north of the avenue. One is **522 10<sup>th</sup> Street (Contributing Building)**, a simple Art Deco building constructed in 1950 as a one-story restaurant, known as the Waffle Shop. Another is **Pepco Substation #117 (Noncontributing Building)**. Designed by Stone and Webster in 1957, the sleek modern building had five entrances but no windows and was faced with granite at the ground level and porcelain-coated steel above. In 1986-87, the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation replaced the substation's existing facade with a combination of historic building elements from buildings they had demolished and new materials. More ambitious was **1275 Pennsylvania Avenue (Noncontributing Building)**, which sits at the prominent corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 13<sup>th</sup> Street. Oriented toward the White House when constructed in 1953-54, it was unusual for Washington in its International Style simplicity and ribbon windows. In 1987, the building was entirely refaced in Alabama limestone and reoriented toward the avenue by the firm Smith, Segretti, Tepper, McMahon, Harned. Another International Style project, the **Judiciary Building (Noncontributing Building)**, was constructed at 601 Indiana Avenue in 1961, using bands of limestone to separate its strips of ribbon windows.

The impetus for the dramatic transformation of Pennsylvania Avenue and its neighboring streets took place during John F. Kennedy's inaugural parade on January 20, 1961. President Kennedy noticed the blighted and decayed condition of the avenue, reacting to the small-scale commercial buildings which lined the north side of the avenue; many of which were in disrepair or were boarded up and sitting vacant. In fact, by the 1960s, the stretch of roadway between the Capitol and the White House was "widely considered a disgrace to the nation, lined with deteriorating

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<sup>287</sup> Ibid., 223-225.

<sup>288</sup> Gutheim (1977), 255-256; Walter F. McArdle, "The Development of the Business Sector in Washington, D.C., 1800-1973," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (1973-1974): 588-589.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 172

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

structures on the north side and large, unremarkable buildings on the south.”<sup>289</sup> Afterwards, the president and his secretary of labor, Arthur J. Goldberg, discussed what could be done to improve the poor condition of the avenue. Also during this time, Kennedy was disappointed by the inadequate state of new federal office buildings after his review of the progress of the 1959 Public Buildings Act.<sup>290</sup> At the beginning of the 1960s, federal office space was described as “disorderly, inefficient, and wasteful,”<sup>291</sup> with many buildings classified as temporary, obsolete, or substandard.<sup>292</sup> Thus major attention was given by Kennedy and his administration to solving these two shortcomings.

At a Cabinet meeting on August 4, 1961, President Kennedy directed that a survey be made of the government’s immediate and long-term space needs, with attention given to the Greater Washington area. The formation of a committee was suggested by Secretary Goldberg; as a result, Frederick G. Dutton, Special Assistant to the President, organized an ad hoc committee to develop guiding principles on the future design of federal buildings. The Committee was comprised of Goldberg; Luther H. Hodges, Secretary of Commerce; Goldberg; David E. Bell, Director, Bureau of the Budget; Bernard L. Boutin, Administrator, General Services Administration; and Timothy J. Reardon, Jr., Special Assistant to the President. As part of their findings, the Ad Hoc Committee developed a proposal for the redevelopment of the span of the avenue between the White House and the Capitol. Kennedy enthusiastically approved this proposal.

One year later, on June 1, 1962, the Committee published the *Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space*, which called for new construction of office buildings and improved design. A section of the report entitled “Guiding Principles for Federal Architecture” called for the construction of new government buildings and the demolition of obsolete Government-owned buildings. One goal established by the report was to reduce the number of buildings that were leased from the private sector. Various issues were raised, such as whether departments should be decentralized immediately or in the future. Overall, the report called for improvement in new federal building design, with such recommendations as: the need

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<sup>289</sup> “Pershing Park,” HABS DC-695, 3.

<sup>290</sup> *The Origins of the Public Buildings Service Administration History: Final Report*, (August 31, 1994), 50.

<sup>291</sup> Letter of Transmittal to President John F. Kennedy from the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space, June 1, 1962.

<sup>292</sup> Robinson & Associates, Inc., “Byron G. Rogers Federal Building and Courthouse,” Colorado Cultural Resource Survey, Architectural Inventory Form (May 19, 2000), 16.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 173

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

for efficient and economic buildings, the avoidance of an official style, the inclusion of fine art in new design, and the need to respect regional traditions. The report's guidelines were intended for national implementation, but the density of federal architecture in the capital ensured that the recommendations would have special influence in Washington – namely in regards to the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue, to which the report devoted an entire section.

The *Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space* lamented the incompleteness of both the Federal Triangle and the Municipal Center. The Grand Plaza of the Federal Triangle was left incomplete and had become a parking lot, and only a portion of the Municipal Center was constructed.<sup>293</sup> In addition to calling for the completion of these two features, the report described the avenue as “a vast, unformed, cluttered expanse at the heart of the Nation’s Capital.”<sup>294</sup> The Committee called for the demolition of the decayed buildings on the north side of the avenue, and the construction of new public and private buildings following their guidelines. The north side presented a scene of desolation: “block after block of decayed nineteenth-century buildings, many of which are vacant above the first story, only rarely interspersed by partially successful efforts at modernization. The roadway, sidewalks, lampposts and other features of the avenue have been sorely neglected. Increasingly the Capitol itself is cut off from the most developed part of the city by a blighted area that is unsightly by day and empty by night.”<sup>295</sup> Wisely, the report advised that “care should be taken not to line the north side with a solid phalanx of public and private office buildings which close down completely at night and on weekends, leaving the Capitol more isolated than ever. Pennsylvania Avenue should be lively, friendly and inviting, as well as dignified and impressive.”<sup>296</sup> Thus, the report, in its desire to construct more federal office space, determined that the area north of the avenue seemed like the perfect location since it was found to be greatly in need of revitalization. Furthermore, the Committee found this proposed construction provided an opportunity to form a joint public and private effort to redevelop the area into both private and government office space. The Committee recommended a three-point architectural policy for the federal government to enact:

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,

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<sup>293</sup> Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space, *Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space*, (June 1, 1962), 15.

<sup>294</sup> Ibid., 15.

<sup>295</sup> Ibid.

<sup>296</sup> Ibid., 15-16.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 174

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

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. Specific attention should be paid to the possibilities of incorporating into such designs qualities which reflect the regional architectural traditions of that part of the Nation in which buildings are located. Where appropriate, fine art should be incorporated in the designs, with emphasis on the work of living American artists. Designs shall adhere to sound construction practice and utilize materials, methods and equipment of proven dependability. Buildings shall be economical to build, operate and maintain, and should be accessible to the handicapped.

2. The development of an official style must be avoided. Design must flow from the architectural profession to the Government, and not vice versa. The Government should be willing to pay some additional cost to avoid excessive uniformity in design of Federal buildings. Competitions for the design of Federal buildings may be held where appropriate. The advice of distinguished architects ought to, as a rule, be sought prior to the award of important design contracts.
3. The choice and development of the building site should be considered the first step of the design process. This choice should be made in cooperation with local agencies. Special attention should be paid to the general ensemble of streets and public places of which Federal buildings will form a part. Where possible, buildings should be located so as to permit a generous development of landscape.<sup>297</sup>

Interestingly, the report paid attention to the physical infrastructure of the avenue itself and not just the buildings and landscapes that line it. The report stated that "much repairing and rearranging is in order. The object should be to produce an avenue on which it is pleasant to walk as well as possible to drive. Benches, arcades, sculpture, planting and fountains should be encouraged."<sup>298</sup> Ultimately, the report left the responsibility to improve the avenue and its buildings upon the National Capital Planning Commission. The aegis for constructing new federal office buildings, however, was left up to the General Services Administration. During the last months of his life, President Kennedy familiarized himself with the main approaches and recommendations contained in this report. Kennedy was never able to see the changes made to

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<sup>297</sup> Quoted in the Ad Hoc Committee's section titled "Guiding Principles for Federal Architecture," in the *Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space*, June 1, 1962.

<sup>298</sup> Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space, 16.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 175

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

the avenue from this report and its successors, but it was apparent that he regarded the revival and reconstruction of Pennsylvania Avenue as a "foremost opportunity to regenerate the central city of Washington and to set high standards for federal architecture throughout the District and Nation."<sup>299</sup>

It was concluded that the nation's premier architects and planners should be enlisted to prepare a plan for the transformation of the avenue as a result of the Ad Hoc Committee's above findings. The *Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space* recommended that this appointed group should follow three principles:

*First*, the Pennsylvania Avenue project was to be regarded as a continuation of the work on the Federal Triangle begun in the 1920s, which itself followed from the report of the McMillan Commission at the beginning of the century. The fundamental spirit of the L'Enfant plan was to be carried out.

*Second*, the plan was to emphasize the role of the Capitol as the building at the center of the city.

*Third*, the development was to provide a mixture of public and private construction. The area to the north of the Avenue was not to consist exclusively or even predominantly of public buildings, but was to include as large a number as possible of private enterprises.<sup>300</sup>

Following the publication of the *Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space* and at the insistence of Secretary of Labor Goldberg and his assistant Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Kennedy appointed the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue in June 1962 to implement these recommendations. A panel of prominent architects, critics, landscape architects, planners, politicians, and artists was selected to serve on this council, including Frederick Gutheim, Douglas Haskell, Frederick L. Holborn, Dan Kiley, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Chloethiel Woodard Smith, Paul Thiry, Ralph Walker, William Walton, and Nathaniel A. Owings, who was made Chair of the Council. Owings considered the area between the White

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<sup>299</sup> Nathaniel A. Owings, Letter of Transmittal, April 1964, in President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, *Pennsylvania Avenue: Report of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), preface.

<sup>300</sup> President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, *Pennsylvania Avenue: Report of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964), 3.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 176

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

House and the Capitol and “contemplated a totally new creation along Pennsylvania Avenue” with everything torn down and replaced with a “monumental national avenue framed with totally new monumental structures.”<sup>301</sup> Owings’ statement seems extreme, yet his view was a popular sentiment at the time when countless historic buildings were demolished in the name of urban renewal.

Following the shocking assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963, the avenue was the site of his funeral march, a “somber, unwelcome” occasion witnessed by a national and international audience.<sup>302</sup> Kennedy’s vision for Pennsylvania Avenue was carried forward by the members of the President’s Council. The result of the group’s findings, entitled *Pennsylvania Avenue: Report of the President’s Council on Pennsylvania Avenue* (now often called the 1964 plan or the “Green Book”), was published in April of 1964. The plan was supported by Kennedy’s successor, President Lyndon B. Johnson. The tenets of the plan “intended to provide an illustrative pattern of development and to define major public improvements” by replacing the rundown Main Street character of the avenue with the uniformity of sleek, imposing office buildings.<sup>303</sup> The recommendations for the development and revitalization of the Pennsylvania Avenue area were important since they marked the “start of a continuing effort to rehabilitate the historic ‘Grand Avenue.’”<sup>304</sup>

In the 1964 plan, the Council developed six underlying principles and premises:

1. Pennsylvania Avenue is inseparable from its adjoining area.
2. The Avenue, as the Nation’s ceremonial way, should have a special character.
3. The Avenue should do honor to its lofty destinations.
4. The Avenue should be harmonious in itself and linked with the City around it in both its architecture and its planning.
5. The Avenue should be pleasant to traverse either by foot or by vehicle.
6. The Avenue should be reclaimed and developed as a unified whole.<sup>305</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Richard W. Sellars and Melody Webb, *An Interview with Robert M. Utley on the History of Historic Preservation in the National Park Service – 1947-1980* (Santa Fe: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1985), 30, quoted in Allaback, 17.

<sup>302</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), 15.

<sup>303</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, *The Pennsylvania Avenue Plan 1974* (Washington, D.C.: 1974), VIII.

<sup>304</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 294.

<sup>305</sup> President’s Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 18-19.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 177

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

The plan established a new building line which was to be set back 50 feet from the existing line on the north side of the avenue.<sup>306</sup> The 1964 plan detailed this proposal, "Dimensions of the roadway should remain substantially unaltered. The curb-to-curb width, including gutters, would perhaps be 5 feet narrower. The south sidewalk would be widened 5 feet for 'grandstanding' effects but the building line would not be moved back. The north sidewalk would be widened by moving the building line back to allow typically a 75- or 80-foot sidewalk, permitting the grandstanding effect to be introduced on that side also and allowing for three rows of trees instead of two."<sup>307</sup> Distinctive improvements were proposed for the avenue itself, including rows of trimmed trees (two rows on the south side and three rows on the north side), paving (to be stepped in a grandstand fashion to provide good views of parades), special street furniture, lighting, street graphics, and crosswalks. Construction north of the avenue was to conform to a uniform building height of 110 feet to balance the height of the Federal Triangle buildings.<sup>308</sup> Towers would be located the same distance from the avenue to create a streetscape. Smaller buildings would be constructed north of the slabs creating superblocks, which often would contain courtyards and interconnected buildings that would traverse streets in many cases. At the important intersection of 8<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, a submerged terrace and fountain was planned on the north side of the avenue. Overall, the plan attempted to create a "Northern Triangle" office district of both governmental and private office buildings, as well as landscaped public areas.

The first building to conform to the 1964 plan was the Presidential Building, located at the corner of 12<sup>th</sup> Street and Pennsylvania Avenue. Completed in 1968, the building was designed by Edmund W. Dreyfus & Associates to conform to the 50-foot setback proposed for new buildings on the avenue. The building also utilized the arcade, special paving, and landscaping features proposed in the 1964 plan. Built in the prominent style of its day, Brutalism, the Presidential Building was the precursor of the FBI Building and the projected new image for the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue. The grid-like windows and box-like shape of the building was reclad and remodeled in 2001 by Shalom Baranes Associates; it is now identified as **1111 Pennsylvania Avenue (Noncontributing Building)** after its renovation.

Although unconnected to the Council's specific plans to renovate the avenue, the **Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Stone (Contributing Object)** at the southeast corner of the

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<sup>306</sup> The right-of-way of Pennsylvania Avenue east of the White House is 160 feet.

<sup>307</sup> President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 31.

<sup>308</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, (1974), IX.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 178

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

intersection of Pennsylvania Avenue and 9<sup>th</sup> Street, contributed to the ceremonial presence sought by Kennedy and his chosen advisors. Dedicated on April 12, 1965, and designed by New York architect Eric Gugler, the memorial consists of a simple white marble block, 6 feet 10 inches long, 3 feet 8 inches wide, and 3 feet 3 inches high, on which are inscribed "In Memory Of/Franklin Delano/Roosevelt/1882-1945." The memorial's status as a contributing object lies in its association with Roosevelt's own wishes for a memorial to his life. In an article in the March 1961 issue of *Atlantic Monthly*, Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter reported a conversation with Roosevelt in 1941, in which the President stated that, if a monument should be dedicated to his memory, he preferred an unadorned stone with a simple "In memory of" inscription, and he preferred that it be located on the triangle where it was eventually built, which was very near the National Archives building that he admired so much. Roosevelt, Frankfurter wrote, asked him to remember his wishes. He also told his secretary Grace Tully. Frankfurter conveyed Roosevelt's wish to President Harry Truman and to the Roosevelt National Memorial Commission. When the commission announced the winner of a design competition for the memorial, Frankfurter published the story in *Atlantic Monthly* in order to make Roosevelt's desires more generally known.<sup>309</sup> A group of Roosevelt's friends and associates privately raised the money for the erection of the stone and a bronze plaque recording Frankfurter's conversation with Roosevelt. No specific legislation authorized the memorial stone's construction, although it was approved by the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts.<sup>310</sup>

The 1964 plan proposed the transformation of E Street into a underground street enclosed with a platform of pedestrian walkways. In addition, Constitution Avenue, at its difficult intersection with Pennsylvania Avenue, was to be placed under the avenue in an underpass. The plan included the creation of a huge open space at the intersection of Pennsylvania Avenue and 15<sup>th</sup> Street. Named National Square, it would contain a large fountain in the center of the square with a raised terrace on the north side. To create the large size of the plaza, both the Willard and Washington hotels would have been demolished. The Council was attempting to correct the problematic axis of Pennsylvania Avenue, which had lost its vista of the White House when the Treasury Building was erected, by creating a new terminus.

The problem of how to resolve Pennsylvania Avenue's intersection with the White House Grounds had been of concern since the Treasury was planned (beginning in 1836). In 1850, for example, President Fillmore hired Andrew Jackson Downing to design the White House Grounds. Downing proposed that a marble triumphal arch be placed at the end of Pennsylvania Avenue to

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<sup>309</sup> This memorial was to be erected along the Tidal Basin near the Jefferson Memorial. A memorial to Roosevelt in this location, designed by Lawrence Halprin, was eventually built in the 1990s.

<sup>310</sup> Hoover, 107-111.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 179

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

serve as the entrance to the grounds and as a terminus for the avenue's vista.<sup>311</sup> The 1964 plan proposed a similar form: a large column to support the Sherman monument at the western end of the plaza and a White House Gate. In addition, it was believed that the National Square's pedestrian character would "produce a sense of celebration and create a popular gathering place."<sup>312</sup> Ultimately, the Commission of Fine Arts disapproved the plan noting that "Its enormous paved area, similar in size to the Place de la Concorde in Paris, would have been unbearable in Washington's hot, humid summers, and to build it would have required the demolition of two Washington landmarks, the Willard and Washington hotels, at a time when the preservation movement was just beginning to gather momentum."<sup>313</sup> South of the avenue, the plan called for the completion of the great circle in the Grand Plaza of Federal Triangle. This included the demolition of all of the Old Post Office save its tower, which was to be incorporated into a new building.

The 1964 plan emphasized the importance of maintaining vistas, but no effort was placed upon preserving the area's historic buildings. In addition to the Willard and Old Post Office, numerous buildings of national importance were slated for demolition (under the auspices of the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue); these included the Evening Star Building, the Hotel Washington, the National Press Club, and others. An equally devastating loss, in terms of downtown's character, would have been the demolition of numerous nineteenth-century buildings of primarily local value.

The lack of interest in the historic fabric of Pennsylvania Avenue in the 1964 plan led to various efforts to preserve the area's buildings. In fact, the plan was published during a period when preservation was becoming a respected cause both nationally and in Washington. In the early 1960s, a greater desire to preserve "long-cherished institutions and activities as well as structures," resulted in major studies of historic preservation by experts like Carl Feiss.<sup>314</sup> This effort culminated in the formation of the city's Joint Committee on Landmarks<sup>315</sup> in 1964 and

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<sup>311</sup> Reps, 50-51.

<sup>312</sup> President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 43.

<sup>313</sup> Kohler, 105.

<sup>314</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 293.

<sup>315</sup> The Joint Committee on Landmarks was the predecessor to the current Historic Preservation Review Board.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 180

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

established Washington as one of the pioneers of urban conservation.<sup>316</sup> At the same time, the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 created both the National Register of Historic Places and the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (which reviews any federal project that affects a historic site or structure). As a result of these strides, many historic buildings located on Pennsylvania Avenue, such as the Old Post Office, became rallying points "for supporters of a new approach to Pennsylvania Avenue's redevelopment, one that would incorporate, rather than obliterate, many of its historic and architectural significant structures."<sup>317</sup> The effort to preserve the Old Post Office resulted in the creation of a local advocacy group, founded as "Don't Tear It Down" in 1971, and now known as the D.C. Preservation League.

An additional event in Washington's early preservation movement was the designation of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site. To assist in generating funds for the Kennedy-inspired plans for the avenue, the National Park Service completed a historical study of the area. The Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, at its 53<sup>rd</sup> meeting in Alaska, held from July 30 to August 11, 1965, considered the historical significance of Pennsylvania Avenue and its historically related environs in Washington, D.C., and found that the district possessed "outstanding national historical significance."<sup>318</sup> The avenue was evaluated for its national significance within the framework of the Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1935. A report compiled by the National Park Service in 1965 determined that its distinction "rest[ed] on the symbolic values derived from the ceremonial role Pennsylvania Avenue has played in national life for a century and a half, on the association of the district during these years with men and events of national consequence in American history, and on the survival of a group of historic buildings individually of significance in the history of the United States."<sup>319</sup> On September 30, 1965, Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, with the backing of President Johnson, designated the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site. The site consisted of several blocks north and south of Pennsylvania Avenue between the White House and the Capitol, both of which were excluded for jurisdictional reasons. The National Historic Site was added to the newly formed National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966.

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<sup>316</sup> Gutheim, (1977), 293.

<sup>317</sup> Andre Shashaty, "Sweet Victory - At Last!" *Historic Preservation* (February 1984): 48.

<sup>318</sup> Stewart L. Udall, *The Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, Washington, D.C. (Order of Designation)*, (September 30, 1965), 2.

<sup>319</sup> Department of the Interior, (1965), iii.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 181

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

Since the National Park Service was sympathetic to the historic resources found within the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, it did not support Owings' vision, which included large-scale demolition of historic fabric within the area. The Park Service's policy towards historic areas "compromised the modernist redevelopment plan" which had been proposed for the avenue.<sup>320</sup> The designation of the area was both a recognition of its historic significance and an attempt to control future development that might occur along the avenue in association with the 1964 plan. The *Summary Report of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site Designation* determined that "an historic district must be established which will circumscribe the avenue and its immediately associated historic sites and those surrounding areas essential to its further development as a recognizable and unique national historic enclave."<sup>321</sup>

President Johnson continued the efforts started by Kennedy to improve the avenue with the establishment of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue by Executive Order on March 25, 1965. The following distinguished list of prominent politicians and Washingtonians served as the sixteen appointed members of the Commission: Chairman, Nathaniel A. Owings; Vice Chairman, Daniel Patrick Moynihan; Stewart L. Udall, Secretary of the Interior; Henry H. Fowler, Secretary of the Treasury; John T. Connor, Secretary of Commerce; W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor; Nicolas deB. Katzenbach, Attorney General; Lawrence F. O'Brien, Postmaster General; Honorable Lawson B. Knott Jr., Administrator of General Services; Robert C. Weaver, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development; William Walton, Chairman, Commission of Fine Arts; Mrs. James H. Rowe Jr., Chairman, National Capital Planning Commission; Walter N. Tobriner, President of the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia; S. Dillon Ripley, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; John Walker, Director, the National Gallery of Art; and George J. Stewart, Architect of the Capitol.

The Commission continued to work on implementing and improving the 1964 plan. Owings served as the chairman of this group, which in essence was a re-formation of the Council. The Commission's plan, *Pennsylvania Avenue: Report of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue*, was issued in January of 1969. The report, known as the "Blue Book," used the 1964 plan as a basis and tried to improve upon some of its principles. In addition, the report's redevelopment plan took into account three buildings, the Presidential Building, the FBI Building, and the Labor Department, all under construction since the 1964 plan. Both the Presidential and FBI buildings conformed to the principles of the 1964 plan, such as uniform setbacks and height, arcades, and landscaped plazas, which were advocated again in the "Blue

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<sup>320</sup> *The National Significance of Pennsylvania Avenue and Historically Related Environs* (National Park Service, Division of History Studies, 1965), quoted in Allaback, 17.

<sup>321</sup> Kerr and Gutheim, 8.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 182

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

Book.” In fact, the Temporary Commission worked closely with the FBI Building architects during 1965-67 to ensure that the building respected the new ideals for the avenue.<sup>322</sup> Some critics viewed the design as “refreshingly modern when compared with the classically inspired Rayburn House Office Building and the Federal Triangle buildings.”<sup>323</sup> Upon completion, however, the building was met with less than enthusiastic responses. The predominant critique of the FBI Building was that its fortress-like facades were so “inaccessible that the building is out of character with the hopes for pedestrian-oriented development of the avenue.”<sup>324</sup>

In addition, the *Report of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue* called for the Constitution Avenue underpass, the E Street pedestrian shelf, and the completion of Federal Triangle, as did the 1964 plan. The main difference between the 1964 and 1969 plans was that the latter proposed a down-sized version of National Square, although the report still recommended the demolition of the Willard and Washington hotels. The “Blue Book” also attempted to help the city recover from the riots that followed the assassination of Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., on April 4, 1968. Rioting in the capital had centered along black commercial corridors, such as H Street, N.E., and 7<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> streets, N.W., in the Shaw neighborhood. In addition to the wide destruction of property, the riots negatively affected the morale of the city. Although no great property damage occurred within the Pennsylvania Avenue district, the area was greatly affected since the civil disturbances increased the trend of urban flight for residents, department stores, and businesses alike. A pedestrian mall was added in the middle of F Street, between 7<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> streets, in the early 1970s in an attempt to bring shoppers back to the commercial heart of the city, but this project failed and the street was fully reopened to traffic in the late 1990s as part of mitigation for the MCI Center project's closure of several city blocks. The Commission hoped that its redevelopment plan would revitalize downtown by reinvigorating the “commercial heart of Washington as the center of a metropolis.”<sup>325</sup> It would, however, be many years before downtown returned to a semblance of its former glory because its decayed condition was so serious. Those shops and companies that remained could ill afford to maintain their downtown investments, and many banks redlined the avenue. Between 1960 and 1969, the Pennsylvania Avenue corridor suffered a 42 percent loss of business, and in 1969, there

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<sup>322</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, (1974), IX.

<sup>323</sup> Scott and Lee, 197.

<sup>324</sup> Craig, 526.

<sup>325</sup> President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, *Pennsylvania Avenue: Report of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue*, 1969, 4.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 183

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

were ten completely vacant buildings in the corridor, and 82 more were vacant above the first floor.<sup>326</sup>

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who had been greatly involved in the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue under Kennedy and Johnson, returned to Washington under President Nixon to become his assistant for urban affairs. Moynihan resumed his stewardship of the Pennsylvania Avenue redevelopment effort, and astutely gained Nixon's support for the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue. As a result, Nixon personally lobbied Congress on behalf of a quasi-governmental development agency with vast powers for purchasing land and raising bond revenues.<sup>327</sup> In September of 1970, Moynihan accompanied Nixon on a walking tour of the avenue, following which the President immediately sent a statement to Congress urging it to pass bills establishing a Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation. It was not until 1972, however, that Congress passed the enabling legislation to form the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation.

In 1976, during the latter years of the Nixon Administration, Moynihan ran for and won an open seat as junior U.S. senator of New York. As a member of the important Senate Committee on the Environment and Public Works, Moynihan assumed statutory responsibilities for oversight of PADC affairs. M. Jay Brodie, PADC's executive director from 1984 to 1993, called on Moynihan's support on many occasions to advance PADC priorities, and he credited Moynihan's powers of persuasion and his perseverance with having prevented the Willard Hotel from being demolished, and with guiding the development of the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center.

**The Creation of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation and the 1974 Plan**

In an attempt to improve the condition of Pennsylvania Avenue and the area to its north, Congress established the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation on October 27, 1972. Conceived as a cooperative venture between the federal government and private enterprise, the corporation was founded on the premise that "a strong public commitment [could] stimulate an even greater amount of private initiative and investment."<sup>328</sup> Congress determined that national interest "required that the area adjacent to Pennsylvania Avenue between the Capitol and the

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<sup>326</sup> David Takesuye, Urban Land Institute, "America's Main Street," [http://www.uli.org/Content/About/Nichols/Nichols\\_L3\\_Street.htm](http://www.uli.org/Content/About/Nichols/Nichols_L3_Street.htm), n.p.

<sup>327</sup> Ibid., n.p.

<sup>328</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, *Annual Report 1983 – Entering the Second Decade* (Washington, D.C.: 1983), n.p.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 184

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

White House be developed and used in a manner suitable to its ceremonial, physical, and historic relationship to the legislative and executive branches of the federal government, and to the governmental buildings, monuments, memorials and parks in and around the area."<sup>329</sup> Furthermore, Congress agreed that the 100-acre rectangular area surrounding Pennsylvania Avenue needed a blending of federal presence with a variety of other community, residential, and commercial uses.<sup>330</sup>

To accomplish these improvements, the PADC was given a broad range of powers, including the "authority to sue and be sued in its own name, i.e., without the protection of the U.S. government; to acquire property through eminent domain proceedings; to develop new and rehabilitated buildings; to manage property; to establish restrictions and standards ensuring conformance to the plan; to borrow money from the U.S. Treasury; to enforce the PADC plan with respect to construction of federal projects (typically exempt from local zoning and building codes, though not exempt from historic preservation regulations and overlays)."<sup>331</sup> As a Federally owned agency, the corporation was exempt from local and federal taxes and property tax assessments, though Congress included in the corporation's budget a payment to the city in lieu of property taxes.<sup>332</sup> In general, its powers were similar to those of city development entities, except that the PADC held within it the powers of eminent domain and the power to regulate other agencies, two powers that are usually retained by the jurisdiction governing a development agency. The act provided that District and other federal agencies "may continue to exercise their powers within the area, consistent with the development plan."<sup>333</sup>

The boundaries of the corporation's domain differed from those of the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site. Several areas were excluded from the realm of the PADC, including Federal Triangle, Judiciary Square, the Pension and Patent buildings, Squares 347 and 377 (which house the Ford's Theatre National Historic Site), and the Peace Monument. The corporation's area included the east half of Square 254, which was not included within the National Historic Site. The corporation was run by a 15-member board of directors, eight of whom represented the private sector, and the remaining seven were high-level public officials, including four Cabinet

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<sup>329</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation (1974), 1.

<sup>330</sup> Takesuye, n.p.

<sup>331</sup> Ibid., n.p.

<sup>332</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, (1974), 1.

<sup>333</sup> Ibid., 1.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 185

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

members, the mayor of the District of Columbia, and the chairman of the City Council.<sup>334</sup> In addition, eight nonvoting members acted as liaisons to various organized arts, architecture, planning, and development interests in the city. The Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation Act stated that the Secretary of the Interior would serve as a voting member of the Board of Directors of the PADC. It also mandated that the Secretary review and comment on any development plans.

Appropriated funds were made available to the corporation in early summer of 1973, at which time, the corporation, headed by Executive Director John M. Woodbridge, hired a 15-member staff. In early 1974, a plan for the development of the avenue was completed and made available for review by the Secretary of the Interior and the Mayor/Commissioner of the District of Columbia. Prior to its transmittal to Congress in October, the National Park Service responded with a 55-page document dated June 14, 1974. The Secretary of the Interior characterized the 1974 plan as "a courageous attempt to renew and revitalize the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue . . . The plan retains many of the good features and major objectives of the original 1964 plan and at the same time it has refined the design concept to reflect a new approach to urban redevelopment."<sup>335</sup> The plan was approved by Congress after extensive public review.<sup>336</sup> The PADC published *The Pennsylvania Avenue Plan: 1974* in October of 1974. The general objectives of the plan were as follows:

1. Making the Avenue function as a bridge, not a barrier, between the monumental Federal core to the south and the city's downtown to the north.
2. Reinforcing the Avenue's special role as the physical and symbolic link between the White House and the Capitol.
3. Bringing new economic life – jobs, shopping and business opportunities – to the Avenue, while reinforcing existing economic activity along the Avenue and in the adjacent downtown core.
4. Enhancing the tax base of the city through more intensive use of land in this prime location.

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<sup>334</sup> Takesuye, n.p.

<sup>335</sup> Department of the Interior, *The Secretary of the Interior's Review of the Pennsylvania Avenue Plan - 1974* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, June 14, 1974), 9.

<sup>336</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, *1981 Annual Report*, (Washington, D.C.: 1981), 4.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 186

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

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5.      Making the Avenue an attractive and enjoyable place for residents and visitors – a place that will be a center of activity around the clock instead of just during the day.
6.      Maintaining the historic continuity of the Avenue through preserving buildings representative of different eras and styles that give tangible evidence of how the Avenue has developed and been used over the years.
7.      Introducing new buildings on currently under-utilized land that will represent the best of modern architectural and planning concepts while complementing and enhancing the existing fabric.
8.      Structuring a development program that can be implemented in a timely fashion and is consistent with the overall market demand in that area.<sup>337</sup>

A major component of the plan was a desire to reestablish residential uses on the avenue. A total of 1,500 residential units were planned to the east of the FBI Building, primarily in the area between 7<sup>th</sup>, 9<sup>th</sup>, and E streets and Pennsylvania Avenue. In addition to some single apartment buildings on 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> streets, the main component of the planned residential area was a huge "Italian Hill Town" housing complex at Market Square in a plan conceived by Owings. Overall, there was a desire to transform the northern side of the avenue into a ceremonial element equal to the Federal Triangle area to the south. To achieve a uniformity on the north side, the 1974 plan enthusiastically advocated the use of the 50-foot setback called for in the 1964 plan. It also proposed that the existing buildings on the north side of the avenue be altered by removing a portion of each frontage on the avenue so that the buildings would conform to a common setback. The Evening Star Building would be the only historic building allowed to project from the building line, and it was anticipated that the ground floor of the building would be converted to an arcade allowing the broad sidewalk to pass through it.

The 1974 plan included a far greater preservation sensibility – mainly a desire to retain landmark buildings – than the 1964 plan. Many historic buildings, such as the Willard and the Old Post Office, were to be retained *in situ*, but the plan did not place as much value upon the vast number of modest nineteenth-century commercial buildings. The plan, for example, proposed the demolition of several squares of historic buildings, such as Square 348. In addition, the relocation of facades, especially those located on squares fronting Pennsylvania Avenue, was widely advocated as the favored preservation method. The National Park Service did not

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<sup>337</sup> Department of the Interior, (1974), 5.



United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 187

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

=====

wholeheartedly argue against the proposed relocation of facades; instead, the agency recommended the treatment of buildings *in situ* in addition to whatever relocations were deemed necessary. The NPS did, however, warn that there should be no "fabrication of 'historic' street scenes or reconstruction of non-existing buildings."<sup>338</sup> Furthermore, some buildings were to be retained, but their setting would have been compromised by proposed development. The National Bank of Washington and the Central National Bank Building were both to be preserved, but the public space in front of them was to be filled with a new building. The challenge of balancing the "demands of much-needed new development with the re-use of older buildings" was quite complex.<sup>339</sup> As a result, many supporters of the plan believed that relocation and "facadism" (retention of only the front facade of a building) were the most logical preservation tools to ensure the character of the area while promoting its livelihood economically; on the other hand, many preservationists found that the integrity of the historic buildings was compromised by this practice.

The authors of the 1974 plan saw the following problems with the avenue: "the overall lack of visual focus, the inefficient and awkward relationship of streets, buildings and open spaces, and poor traffic conditions."<sup>340</sup> In an attempt to unify the avenue's skyline, matching cornice lines and building heights were to be enforced along the avenue. Many public spaces were planned, such as a memorial to General Pershing and Market Square. Other new public spaces would be created in order to correct traffic problems and the existence of awkward small triangles of space near some of the intersections, such as those at the intersection of Pennsylvania Avenue and E Street. The triangles at this intersection, which contained the Pulaski Statue and Shepherd Statue in 1974, would be replaced with a large open space, Western Plaza. The avenue would be improved with new landscaping, paving, and lighting. To improve circulation, the 1974 plan proposed the construction of an underpass at the intersection of Constitution and Pennsylvania avenues. This action was opposed by the Secretary of the Interior, the National Capital Planning Commission, the Joint Committee on Landmarks, and the National Gallery of Art, as it would alter the character of both avenues, particularly Constitution Avenue. In addition, the plan attempted to strengthen the vista of Pennsylvania Avenue. Two proposed projects, Western Plaza at 13<sup>th</sup> and E streets and Market Square at 8<sup>th</sup> Street, broke the continuity of L'Enfant's street pattern, but left the Pennsylvania Avenue and 8<sup>th</sup> Street vistas intact.

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<sup>338</sup> Ibid., 18.

<sup>339</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, (1983), 22.

<sup>340</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation (1974), VII.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8 Page 188

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

---

**The Work of the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation**

A main goal of the 1974 plan was to improve the aesthetic appearance of the rundown avenue. The PADC intended to transform its "sidewalks into broad, tree-lined esplanades" shaded with "a canopy of willow oaks."<sup>341</sup> The plan called for the thoroughfare to be completely relandscaped, repaved, and reilluminated, with new brick paving, specially designed tree grates, granite curbing, and distinctive new lighting. Further, it found that public improvements would be profitable since good infrastructure often attracts development – primarily, the PADC believed that these amenities would not only make the area more livable but also act as a "catalyst for private development."<sup>342</sup> This assumption continued to guide PADC's program as it progressed from west to east down the avenue. All work on the avenue implementing the goals of the plan was carried out under the PADC's Public Improvements Program. The Public Improvements Team consisted of PADC staff and Civil Engineering, Landscape Architecture, Lighting, Traffic Engineering, and Construction consultants. This initial group of consultants provided design details for a specific section of the avenue, but the group changed as new consultants were recommended to the PADC Chairman. The effective system allowed the corporation to maintain "continuity of the overall design concept, yet encourage variety in individual sections."<sup>343</sup>

The first improvements – the completion of the roadway configuration and new sidewalks and street furniture on the southern side of the Pennsylvania Avenue between 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> streets – were completed in time for Ronald Reagan's 1981 inaugural parade. The improvements were extended to 10<sup>th</sup> Street in late 1981. During this particular campaign, a decorative sidewalk, designed by artist Aleksandra Kasuba, was installed in front of the Old Post Office at the corner of Pennsylvania Avenue and 12<sup>th</sup> Street.<sup>344</sup> The design, which celebrates the rebirth of this landmark structure, was constructed of multi-color granite and brick, "recalling the poly-chromed Victorian interior of the building."<sup>345</sup> Also completed in 1981 was the sidewalk on 13<sup>th</sup> Street between the avenue and E Street, in addition to roadway reconstruction and the realignment of the

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<sup>341</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, *1980 Annual Report*, (Washington, D.C.: 1980), 14.

<sup>342</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, *Pennsylvania Avenue: An American Place* (Washington, D.C.: 1993), n.p.

<sup>343</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, (1981), 19.

<sup>344</sup> In 1983, the Old Post Office and plaza around it were renamed the Nancy Hanks Center after the Chairwoman of the National Endowment for the Arts from 1969 to 1977.

<sup>345</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, (1981), 19.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 189

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

avenue between 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> streets in preparation for future work. The avenue's pavement was further improved with the removal of streetcar tracks from the section between 6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> streets. By the end of 1982, construction of sidewalks had been completed or was underway in over half of the public improvements area. In 1983, improvements included new sidewalks adjacent to the Federal Triangle buildings between 6<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup> streets, and in front of the Presidential Building. The remaining portion of the roadway was completed in 1984 in time for Reagan's 1985 inauguration. By 1984, all sidewalk improvements were completed, including many side streets as part of the corporation's Side Street Improvement Plan, and 700 willow oaks were planted.<sup>346</sup>

New elements of street furniture were added to the avenue in 1981. New cast-iron benches with wood-slat seats, designed by Sasaki Associates, were installed in single and double versions. New tree grates designed by craftsman and blacksmith Albert Paley were installed. In 1982, drinking fountains and trash receptacles were designed by in-house staff and sent to bid. Both items were manufactured and installed along the avenue during 1983. The drinking fountains design was based upon the ornamental tree grates, while the trash bins were utilitarian and functional in their design. These features all became standard along the new sidewalks. A new lighting system was implemented in April of 1988 from 3<sup>rd</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> streets; it encouraged outdoor activities after dark for pedestrians. In addition to modern, twin-headed light fixtures that focused light downward for pedestrians, decorative "Washington Globe" lamp posts were installed along the entire avenue. The street lights had been designed for the city in the 1920s to illuminate major city streets and avenues along the Mall and near the memorials.<sup>347</sup> Also, the Federal Triangle facades were illuminated at night starting in 1988. In 1989, the sidewalk around the FBI Building was redone with new granite curbs and brick pavers installed perpendicular to the street. New granite planter boxes, tree grates, benches, kiosks, newspaper vending boxes, and drinking fountains were also installed. Three rows of new willow oaks were planted along the avenue in front of the FBI Building, while the existing little leaf lindens were left in place along 9<sup>th</sup> and 10<sup>th</sup>

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<sup>346</sup> Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, *Annual Report: The Second Decade – The Second Year* (Washington, D.C.: 1984), 14.

<sup>347</sup> Department of the Interior, National Park Service, *Cultural Landscape Report: West Potomac Park, Lincoln Memorial Grounds*, Part 1: Site History, Analysis and Evaluation and Design Guidelines, (National Capital Parks Central, National Park Service, August 1999), 36, 162; Raymond Grenald Associates, *Pennsylvania Avenue Lighting Plan*, prepared for the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, National Capital Region, Land Use files, (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, September 30, 1977), 2-3, 9-13. The *Cultural Landscape Report* credits the design of the Washington Globe lamps to General Electric while the *Pennsylvania Avenue Lighting Plan* credits them to Lincoln Memorial designer Henry Bacon.

United States Department of the Interior  
National Park Service

NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES  
CONTINUATION SHEET

Section 8      Page 190

Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site  
Washington, D.C.

streets. Parade post sockets were removed from the curb line in an effort to eliminate them from the entire avenue.<sup>348</sup>

The consistent landscaping treatment addressed concerns over the lack of visual coherence along the avenue and the desire to make the street itself attractive to residents, workers, and visitors. As has been noted, another part of PADC's efforts to address that issue was the improvement of existing parks and the creation of new recreational spaces in the area. Between 1979 and 1993, the PADC created five public spaces out of federal reservations and right-of-ways (Freedom Plaza, Market Square Park, Indiana Plaza, John Marshall Park, and Meade Plaza), completely redesigned an existing park (Pershing Park), and renovated two existing public spaces (Sherman Park and Mellon Park). Of these eight spaces, only in Pershing Park and John Marshall Park did designers create entirely new landscapes. Each of the others incorporated previously existing elements into their designs. Included among the design teams who organized these spaces were such nationally renowned architects as Robert Venturi and Wallace K. Harrison and landscape architects such as J. Paul Friedburg, George Patton, and Wolfgang Oehme and James van Sweeden. By hiring different designers for each of the parks, the PADC sought to add variety to the public spaces, which would be connected by the sidewalks, light fixtures, street furniture, and trees. This attempt to foster variety within the consistent treatment of the avenue is therefore not unlike the scheme underlying the design of the buildings of the Federal Triangle. Materials used by the PADC-era designers, however, differed greatly from each other, while a consistency of materials was one of the factors that enhanced the continuity of the Federal Triangle designs.

As was the case with the installation of sidewalks and street furniture along Pennsylvania Avenue, the earliest efforts to create public parks took place between 13<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> streets. The 1964 plan for Pennsylvania Avenue by the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue placed a public space called National Square in this area. As has been noted, construction of this broad paved plaza, however, would have required the demolition of the historic Willard and Washington hotels, as well as National Theater and the National Press Club, and was therefore opposed by the Commission of Fine Arts when the PADC began its redevelopment of the avenue. Concerns related to the "western sector" of the PADC site included traffic flow, the abrupt interruption of Pennsylvania Avenue at 15<sup>th</sup> Street, and the numerous small traffic islands and public reservations present. By the mid-1970s, a solution arose that placed the Pershing Memorial on Pennsylvania Avenue between 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> streets (in Square 226, the location approved for the memorial nearly 20 years before) and opened another plaza between 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> streets. L'Enfant, Ellicott, and the McMillan Commission had all left a block open at this site for public uses in their plans for the city, and it was at that time the site of Reservations 32 and

<sup>348</sup> As late as 1986, a "Sidewalk Usage" plan of the avenue shows parade post sockets in place. All posts have been removed since then. The installation date and exact role that the parade post sockets played during parades is unknown.