DC STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE
DETERMINATION OF ELIGIBILITY FORM

PROPERTY INFORMATION

Property Name(s): J. Edgar Hoover Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Headquarters
Street Address(es): 935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20535
Square(s) and Lot(s): Square 378, Lots 852 and 820
Property Owner(s): General Services Administration
Please include a current map(s) to indicate the location of the property/properties.

The property/properties is/are being evaluated for potential historical significance as/for:

- ☒ An individual building or structure.
- ☐ A contributing element of a historic district (specify):
- ☐ A possible expansion of a historic district (specify):
- ☐ A previously unevaluated historic district to be known as (specify):
- ☐ An archaeological resource with site number(s) (specify):
- ☐ An object (e.g. statue, stone marker etc.) (specify):
- ☐ A new multiple property/thematic study regarding (specify):
- ☐ Association with a multiple property/thematic study (specify):
- ☐ Other (specify):

Source: Bing Maps, Microsoft 2014

Description, rationale for determination, photos & other pertinent information (enter below):

Executive Summary

Introduction

The following study provides an evaluation of the eligibility of the J. Edgar Hoover Building Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Building in Washington, DC, better known as the FBI Building, for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. The evaluation was prepared in accordance with the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. The General Service Administration's (GSA) Eligibility Assessment Tool was utilized for the initial identification analysis that led to this Determination of Eligibility (DOE) but the formal evaluation was made in accordance with the National Register Criteria for Evaluation. As this property will not meet the typical minimum 50-year threshold for National Register consideration until the year 2025, Criteria Consideration G, Eligibility for Exceptional Importance, was applied.

This DOE includes a brief discussion of the project purpose, the study methodology, and a context of the planning, design, and construction of the FBI Building. The report also provides a physical description of the building and site, an assessment of the FBI Building's integrity of location, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association, and a statement of significance (i.e. determination of eligibility).

Purpose

The purpose of this report is to provide the General Services Administration (GSA) with an objective and independent professional assessment of the eligibility of the FBI Building to be listed in the National Register of Historic Places. Under the regulatory requirements of Section 110 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 (as amended), GSA is directed to identify, evaluate, and nominate to the National Register of Historic Places qualifying properties under its ownership. This Determination of Eligibility will allow the GSA to better guide planning and decision-making for the future disposition of the building and site. GSA commissioned this report to fulfill its Section 110 statutory obligations.

Methodology

To properly assess the potential eligibility of the FBI Building and place it in context, Quinn Evans Architects conducted research on the FBI Building directly related to the history of the building as well as the building's place in history locally and nationally. Available primary and secondary source documentation was collected and reviewed to develop the background, context, and a statement of significance. Sources included materials provided by the GSA, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA), the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC), the American Institute of Architects (AIA), the Ryerson and Burnham Library at the Art Institute of Chicago, and the Chicago History Museum. These repositories provided published histories, newspaper articles, journal articles, oral histories, original drawings, correspondence, and meeting transcripts and minutes. In additional to published materials and unpublished primary sources, Quinn Evans Architects conducted limited survey site visits at the FBI Building on April 12, 2013, and July 11, 2013. Access was limited due to security concerns, but most public spaces were toured to permit an assessment of the physical integrity. The site visit included photographic surveys of existing conditions for spaces that were made available to the project team.

Quinn Evans Architects, a full-service architecture firm with over twenty-five years of historic preservation experience, prepared this Determination of Eligibility (DOE) for the GSA in September 2013. This DOE was prepared under the direction of Baird M. Smith, FAIA, FAPT (historical architect). Thomas C. Jester, AIA (historical architect and architectural historian), Ruth E. Mills (historian and architectural historian), and Kathryn S. Irwin, AIA (historical architect), conducted the research, analysis, and writing. All staff that worked on this DOE meets the qualifications under 36 CFR 61 as professionals in their respective disciplines.

Organization

This Determination of Eligibility is organized into five sections:

> *Background and Context*: Contains general histories of the Federal Bureau of Investigation as an agency and the efforts to redevelop Pennsylvania Avenue.
>
> *History and Chronology*: Presents the history of the FBI Building's planning, design and construction.

FBI Building Design: Discusses the design context of the FBI Building, including its architectural style, designers, and a comparative analysis

Architectural Description and Analysis of Integrity: Provides a description of the building and an analysis of its integrity

Determination of Eligibility: Analyzes the building's eligibility for listing in the National Register of Historic Places

Summary of Findings

The FBI Building is located at 935 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, in Washington, DC. Occupying two combined city blocks and the right-of-way of the 900 block of D Street, NW, the site is bounded on the south by Pennsylvania Avenue, Tenth Street on the west, Ninth Street on the east, and E Street on the north. The property is identified as UTM: 18S 324387m E 4307046m N on the Washington West USGS quadrangle map. Designed by the Chicago-based firm C.F. Murphy Associates and constructed in several phases starting in 1967, the building was dedicated in 1975, although some areas were not entirely completed until 1977. The building was constructed by Norair Engineering and Blake Construction Company, both based in Washington.

Founded in 1908, the FBI, which resided for its first 67 years within various Department of Justice buildings, had seen a need for a purpose-built headquarters since before World War II. With its growing body of agents, specialists, and staff, the Bureau, which was at the height of its power and national visibility in the middle decades of the twentieth century, saw a new building as a means to consolidate its key divisions, such as records, fingerprinting, laboratory, etc, into one location. After Congressional approval in the early 1960s, design began, but was then quickly suspended to wait for the results of the Pennsylvania Avenue Advisory Council's (PAAC) recommendations. A protracted period of design review then followed, as the various reviewing bodies, including the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) and Commission of Fine Arts (CFA), debated (and influenced) the final design. After final approval of a general design, the construction moved forward in several phases, beginning with the basement levels in 1967 through to substantial completion in 1975.

The building was almost immediately a failure on a number of levels. The completion of the building coincided with a publicly contentious period in the history of the FBI in the early 1970s, and the building became a symbol to many of the FBI's declining reputation during this period. Its final design met with harsh criticism from most contemporaries. Many in the design community viewed it as a conglomeration of disparate parts and opinions, a building "designed by committee" and ultimately realized in a form far from what was originally intended for this site in terms of planning principles and design ideals. The building's Brutalist style did not find favor with the general public, which viewed it as cold and forbidding. Finally, the building was essentially obsolete as soon as it was completed. As the FBI continued to grow as an agency throughout the following decades, many of the key functions around which the building had been designed and constructed, including record storage, the laboratory, and the fingerprint division, could not operate and grow within the building and were eventually transferred to other facilities.

Determination of Eligibility

The J. Edgar Hoover Federal Bureau of Investigation Building is determined NOT ELIGIBLE for the National Register of Historic Places.

Criterion A
The FBI Building is not eligible under National Register Criterion A for its association with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the federal government's primary criminal investigative and counterintelligence agency, because it does not meet the requirements under Criteria Consideration G.

The FBI Building primarily houses the administrative functions of the Bureau. Historically, the agency's significant activities are associated with its investigative and law enforcement actions, which chiefly take place in the field offices. Significant events associated with the Bureau as a federal agency took place prior to the construction of this building, when it was housed within the Department of Justice. Sufficient time has not passed to establish the

significance of the FBI Building in relation to the agency's historical context after 1975 and the existing historical evidence is not sufficient to justify a claim of exceptional importance.

In addition, the interior elements and functions that made this building unique to the FBI as an agency have been lost or suffered greatly diminished integrity. The building was designed around the Bureau's need for extensive file storage, and once housed significant and unique functions including the laboratory and fingerprint divisions and the FBI's very popular tour, at one time the second most popular tourist attraction in Washington DC. These functions have all been moved out or suspended, leaving the FBI Building essentially as generic Federal office space.

The FBI Building's association with the Pennsylvania Avenue Advisory Council's plan for the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue was also considered as a potential area of significance. Although the significance of the PAAC has yet to be evaluated, the FBI Building is not exceptionally significant under the requirements of Criteria Consideration G in relation to the PAAC because it was not executed in accordance with the plan.

Criterion B
The FBI Building is not associated with the life or work of a significant person. FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover is a significant person in United States history, but the building is associated with him in name only; he died before the building's construction was completed.

Criterion C
The FBI Building's significance under Criterion C was considered under three potential areas of significance: as an example of Brutalist architecture, either locally or nationally; as an example of design under the plan to redevelop Pennsylvania Avenue; and as the work of architects C.F. Murphy and Stanislaw Z. Gladych.

Compared to other representatives of Brutalist architecture both locally and nationwide, the FBI Building is not distinctive. Its design did not comply with some of the most critical portions of the PAAC's plan, and in fact was repeatedly compromised as the design team attempted to respond, over the course of several years, to the often conflicting preferences of the client and various reviewers. Finally, the FBI Building was not among the most significant works of C.F. Murphy and/or Stan Gladych, and Gladych's is not recognized as a master in the field of architecture. The building is therefore not exceptionally significant under Criterion C.

Criterion D
The FBI Building is not likely to yield exceptionally significant archeological information or to represent any innovative or unusual construction methods that could yield future information.

Background and Context

The Federal Bureau of Investigation[1]

The J. Edgar Hoover Federal Bureau of Investigation Building was the first purpose-built headquarters of the FBI, the Federal government's chief investigative and law enforcement agency. The FBI was founded in 1908 to address a perennial lack of detective personnel in federal government. Congress had created the Office of Attorney General in 1789, but the office had little work to do before the Civil War. In 1865, the Secret Service was established, largely to deal with counterfeiting of currency during and immediately after the Civil War. Originally part of the Treasury Department, the Secret Service was the federal government's first detective force.

Throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, it remained difficult for federal law enforcement agencies to hire investigative personnel, in part due to resistance by various factions to giving the federal government more power. The Department of Justice, created in 1870, briefly received funding for investigative personnel, but Congress soon restricted them to the investigation of counterfeiting. For the next two decades, the Department relied

[1] This history is drawn from a number of sources, including *The FBI: A Centennial History, 1908-2008; The FBI: A Comprehensive Reference Guide; Broken: The Troubled Past and Uncertain Future of the FBI; The FBI (*Rhodri Jeffreys Jones); and the "History of FBI Headquarters" on the FBI's website at http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/history/hq. See bibliography for complete references.

on private detective bureaus, chiefly the Pinkerton Agency, until Congress outlawed the use of private detectives by the Federal government. In the early 1900s, President Theodore Roosevelt circumvented this directive by "borrowing" Secret Service agents from the Treasury Department and temporarily reassigning them to the Department of Justice. After Congress cut off this option, the Department of Justice, under Roosevelt's direction, formed its own "Special Agent Force" in 1908. The following year, under the Taft administration, the "Bureau of Investigation of the Department of Justice" was formally established. It would be renamed the "Federal Bureau of Investigation" in 1935.

The FBI spent its first decade competing with other Federal agencies, chiefly the Secret Service, over jurisdiction, eventually winning primacy over national security. The Bureau's first major growth period was during World War I, when up to 400 agents carried out anti-espionage activities. Although the Bureau grew throughout the 1910s, reaching 1,127 employees in 1920, it suffered from a lack of direction from the president after World War I, focusing on low-level crime and politically motivated investigations like the anti-Communist "Red Scare" of the late 1910s.

In 1924, 29 year old J. Edgar Hoover, who had risen rapidly in the ranks of the Bureau in the late 1910s and early 1920s, was appointed director of the Bureau. By this time, the Bureau's ranks had fallen to 650 employees and would fall further to 581 by 1930. To revitalize the Bureau, Hoover implemented a strategy of professionalism and scientific investigation. New agents were required to have a background in the law or accounting, and Hoover established a training school (1928) and crime lab (1932). These improvements would transform Hoover and the Bureau into a respected symbol of police professionalism.

Under Hoover, the 1930s to the 1950s would become the golden age of the FBI. The gang-busting activities of Bureau agents in the 1930s, with the capture or killing of famous gangsters like John Dillinger, George "Baby Face" Nelson and Alvin "Creepy" Karpis, turned FBI agents into heroes in popular culture and in Hollywood movies. It was during this period that agents were dubbed "G-men". To capitalize on this popularity, the FBI established a public relations "formula" that would credit the entire FBI team, not individual agents, for solving cases.

Most of these high profile investigations and actions would take place through the FBI's field offices. Even before its official establishment in 1908, the Bureau had assigned special agents to New York and Chicago. This would eventually evolve into the field office structure, which included the primary field offices located in major cities (there are currently 57) as well as smaller resident agencies associated with the primary field offices. Cases were primarily investigated through the field offices. The New York Field Office, for example, led the investigation of the famous Lindbergh baby kidnapping in 1932, while the Chicago Field Office was responsible for pursing notorious criminals like Al Capone and John Dillinger.

By 1941, the FBI had over 1500 agents. Although Hoover had to scramble to deflect criticism from the FBI for missing the signs of the impending Pearl Harbor attack, in general the Bureau worked robustly on counter-espionage activities during World War II, further raising its credibility and popularity.[2] The bureau had increased to 4,886 agents, with 8,305 support staff, by 1944.

The Bureau continued to increase its influence and popularity after World War II and throughout the 1950s. The focus of the Bureau during this period was the campaign against Communism. It organized a grassroots campaign and enlisted mass media programs to inform the public and keep public opinion on its side. Undercover agents would become the new popular and romantic symbol of the Bureau in the 1950s. As head of the Bureau, J. Edgar Hoover's power was growing. He was powerful enough to stymie even the elected president, as he did in struggles with Harry Truman, although he preferred to work under a sympathetic leader when he could, as he did under President Eisenhower. The late 1950s and early 1960s would represent the pinnacle of the FBI's prestige and power, with the Bureau and its director serving as American icons dominating domestic security and law enforcement.

Despite the popularity and respect it commanded, there were serious flaws developing in the organization. Hoover, now in his 60s, refused to retire, and his conservatism and iron hold on the Bureau made it out of step and less relevant to changing American culture and views in the 1960s. In the late 1950s, the FBI inaugurated a covert intelligence program called COINTELPRO to infiltrate and discredit political organizations. Originally aimed at the Communist Party, it later expanded its activities to other groups like the Ku Klux Klan, "black radicals" and the student Left. Hoover actively loathed Martin Luther King, Jr. and engaged in harassment and threats against King and his circle. The FBI also came under harsh criticism for its failure to detect the threat posed by Lee Harvey

[2] The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was not created until 1947, although the intelligence organization that inspired it, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), also coordinated intelligence operations during World War II, chiefly behind enemy lines.

Oswald, who assassinated President John F. Kennedy in November of 1963. The US Senate Select Committee to Study Governmental Operations with Respect to Intelligence Activities (the Church committee) would conclude in 1975-76 that some of the FBI's activities during this period were illegal.[3]

Most Americans, however, were unaware of these programs, and the popularity and power of the Bureau remained high through the 1960s. At times up to half a million visitors visited the FBI, both in its old location in the Department of Justice and in its new headquarters across Pennsylvania Avenue, to see its tour (for many years the second most popular tour in DC after the White House tour), including evidence from some of the Bureau's most notorious cases and a visit to the firing range to see agents in action.

The Bureau would suffer a series of blows to its reputation in the 1970s. Hoover had a politically contentious relationship with the last President he served under, Richard Nixon, but even Nixon did not have the political capital to force Hoover's resignation. Although Hoover was now 77 years old, he showed no sign of slowing down, until the morning of May 2, 1972, when he was found dead on the floor of his apartment. President Nixon signed Public Law 92-520, officially designating the FBI's new headquarters as the J. Edgar Hoover FBI Building, two days after his death, on May 4. Although there were a number of tributes to Hoover immediately following his death, the praise of Hoover was tempered in some quarters. The Washington Post, picking up on the symbolism of the new building, noted that "the cost and size of the FBI Building tells much about Hoover's impact on American life, his virtual immunity from criticism, the absence of any real restraints upon him, and his agency's lack of accountability, and it epitomizes his grandiosity."[4] As investigations like Watergate and the Church Senate Committee determined that the FBI under Hoover had engaged in illegal activities in the name of national security, opinion turned against Hoover, and a fierce debate arose in the press over keeping his name on the building.

Throughout the 1970s, the FBI encountered a series of disasters that further tarnished its reputation. Hoover's successor, L. Patrick Gray, burned key evidence in the Watergate scandal in 1973, leading to his removal from office. Although COINTELPRO had been terminated in 1971, the FBI's unwillingness to release its files reduced the public's confidence in the FBI's ability to safeguard its civil liberties. A series of cases, from Watergate to Wounded Knee to the Patty Hearst kidnapping, ended disastrously for the Bureau, further damaging its credibility.

As the FBI moved into the 1980s and 1990s, it slowly regained some of its credibility and purpose. The Bureau focused its efforts first on violent crime, and later on counter-terrorism. The primacy of the field offices in investigation and enforcement continued throughout the FBI's later decades. In 2001, the Washington Field Office led the response to the terrorist attack at the Pentagon on September 11, while the Boston Marathon bombings in April of 2013 were investigated by the Boston Field Office.

The FBI's crime laboratory remained one of its most positive assets, providing the technical skills and scientific innovations that would solve many cases over the decades. The laboratory, which served as the main technical investigative facility for the entire organization, remained in the headquarters building until it moved to a separate facility at the Bureau's Quantico Training Academy in 2003. Although it has not regained the level of public trust that it enjoyed during the golden age of the 1930s and 1940s, the FBI remains the nation's premier law enforcement and security agency.

Federal Office Buildings and the Pennsylvania Avenue Plan

In the 1950s and 1960s, the federal government needed more space and changes were made in federal policy to address the need as well as improve the quality of federal buildings. The Public Buildings Act of 1959 was created to provide authority for the orderly planning and construction of public buildings. Prior to this, in the mid-1950s, a shift took place in the Public Buildings Service (PBS) of the General Service Administration (GSA) to use private architects rather than architects employed by the federal government to design federal projects.[5] The early years of the 1960s, specifically 1961 and 1962, were influential in the planning of the FBI Building. During President John F. Kennedy's inaugural parade on January 21, 1961, Kennedy was reportedly dismayed by the deterioration of the building stock along the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue, the ceremonial axis between the Capitol and the White

[3] Athan Theorharis (ed.), *FBI: A Comprehensive Reference Guide* (Phoenix, AZ: The Oryx Press, 1999), 128-129.
[4] Abraham S. Blumberg, "The FBI, Past and Future," *Washington Post*, May 7, 1972.
[5] Robinson and Associates, *Growth, Efficiency, and Modernism: GSA Buildings of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s*, (Washington, DC: General Services Administration, 2003), 37.

House.[6] Many buildings, both public and private, were in disrepair, boarded up, and vacant. Kennedy and Justice Arthur J. Goldberg (then Secretary of Labor) discussed what they saw and decided to do something about it.[7]

After a cabinet meeting on August 4, 1961, Kennedy appointed an Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space to advise the administration on space needs, particularly in the Washington area.[8] On June 1, 1962, the Ad Hoc Committee's findings were issued as the *Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space*. The Report stated that more than 50,000 federal employees in the Washington area worked in crowded, poorly lit, poorly ventilated, obsolete or temporary buildings.[9] Additionally, 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." The responsibility to improve the avenue was left to the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) while GSA was to guide the construction of new federal office buildings. Kennedy appointed the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue in June 1962 to implement the Ad Hoc Committee's recommendations. The panel included prominent architects, critics, landscape architects, planners, politicians, and artists including chairman Nathaniel A. Owings (architect), Frederick Gutheim (urban planner and historian), Douglas Haskell (architect, critic), Frederick L. Holburn (Special Assistant to the White House), Dan Kiley (landscape architect), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (Assistant Secretary of Labor), Chloethiel Woodard Smith (architect and city planner), Paul Thiry (architect), Ralph Walker (architect), and William Walton (critic, advisor to President and Mrs. Kennedy on architectural and artistic projects in Washington, DC). Walton became chairman of the Commission of Fine Arts while serving on the PAAC. Thiry became a member of the National Capital Planning Commission while on the council.

Redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue

The President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue was given the task of redesigning the northern side of Pennsylvania Avenue. Also known as the Pennsylvania Avenue Advisory Council (PAAC), it reported to the NCPC.[10] The PAAC was charged with preparing plans for the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue as the 'great thoroughfare' it was originally intended to be.[11] The Final Report of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, entitled "Pennsylvania Avenue," was published in April 1964 and is known as the "green book" (for its green cover). The report was not published until April due to President Kennedy's assassination on November 22, 1963. President Kennedy familiarized himself with the main approaches and recommendations in the report but did not live to see the final detailed recommendations. However, 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."[12] However much the PAAC believed the recommendations to be a set of "definite proposals," they stated that the proposals "must remain flexible in their terms....and do not wish the report to be read as a set of frozen formulas.....some of the pictorial treatments...are suggestions rather than prescriptions."[13] The PAAC emphasized that the recommendations are interrelated and that Pennsylvania Avenue "cannot be reclaimed and redeveloped except as a unified whole."[14]

Three principles were laid out for the PAAC to follow:

> *First, the Pennsylvania Avenue project was to be regarded as a continuation of the work on the Federal Triangle begun in the 1920's, 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.*

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[6] Some versions of the story note that it was Kennedy's aide, not Kennedy.
[7] "Pennsylvania Avenue," President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964, mentions Justice Goldberg.
[8] The 1964 report on Pennsylvania Avenue states the committee was created in May 1961.
[9] Thomas E. Luebke, editor, *Civic Art: Centennial History of the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts* (Washington, DC: U.S. Commission of Fine Arts, 2013), 294.
[10] There are several variations to the name of this council. For the purposes of this document, PAAC will be used.
[11] President's Memorandum on May 23, 1962 - quoted in Edward L Kamarck (ed.), *Arts in Society: Government in Art* (Vol. 2, No. 4, 1963), 108.
[12] Letter of Transmittal, April 1964 in the opening pages of *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.

> *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 predominately of public buildings, but was to include as large a number as possible of private enterprises.*[15]

At the time of the writing of the report there was a good amount of traffic congestion and surface parking lots in addition to the deteriorated commercial building stock of random styles along the north side. Additionally, the federal buildings of the Federal Triangle were seen as turning their backs on Pennsylvania Avenue while their fronts faced the National Mall. This in effect made Pennsylvania Avenue a border or boundary line rather than a unifying street. The PAAC asked the questions, "Had not too strong a boundary been drawn...? Was it not necessary to reconsider the "boundary line" as really a seam or bond in a fabric uniting the Government with its constituent?"[16]

The "recommendations" had six underlying principles and premises ("because the Avenue, if it is to serve as a "grand axis," must be approached as unity")[17]:

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 on foot or by vehicle.*
6. *The Avenue should be reclaimed and developed as a unified whole.*[18]

The revitalization plan for Pennsylvania Avenue was far reaching and incorporated many large proposals requiring a great deal of infrastructure and urban planning and design (see figures 1 and 2). The recommendations for the avenue were categorized into 7 areas and then further discussed in detail in the report. The seven areas were: the Capitol Plaza area, the Constitution [Avenue] underpass and the National Gallery area, the Archives cross axis and the new Market Square, the Avenue itself, the "Northern Triangle" office district [where the FBI Building is located], the Federal Triangle, and the White House Gate and a new National Square. The plan provided a pattern of development and defined major public improvements.[19] The purpose was "…to provide an image to arouse public and governmental enthusiasm which might lead to more detailed development plans and implementation procedures."[20] The north side of Pennsylvania Avenue was to be lined with shops and buildings with open arcades and courtyards. New buildings were to have open second floors to accommodate parade spectators. Originally, the plan created a very large National Square at Fifteenth Street and called for the demolition of the Washington Hotel, Willard Hotel, and the Old Post Office building. Additionally, much of E Street and part of Constitution Avenue were to be lowered such that automotive and pedestrian traffic would become "disentangled" through the implementation of different levels for walking, driving, parking, and shopping. These large initiatives were ultimately eliminated from the plan.

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[15] *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964, 3.
[16] Ibid., 16.
[17] Ibid., 18.
[18] Ibid., 18-19.
[19] The 1964 plan was endorsed by the American Institute of Architects at the 1964 convention and approved in principle by the CFA and NCPC.
[20] Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, *The Pennsylvania Plan 1974* (Washington, DC: Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation, 1974),viii.

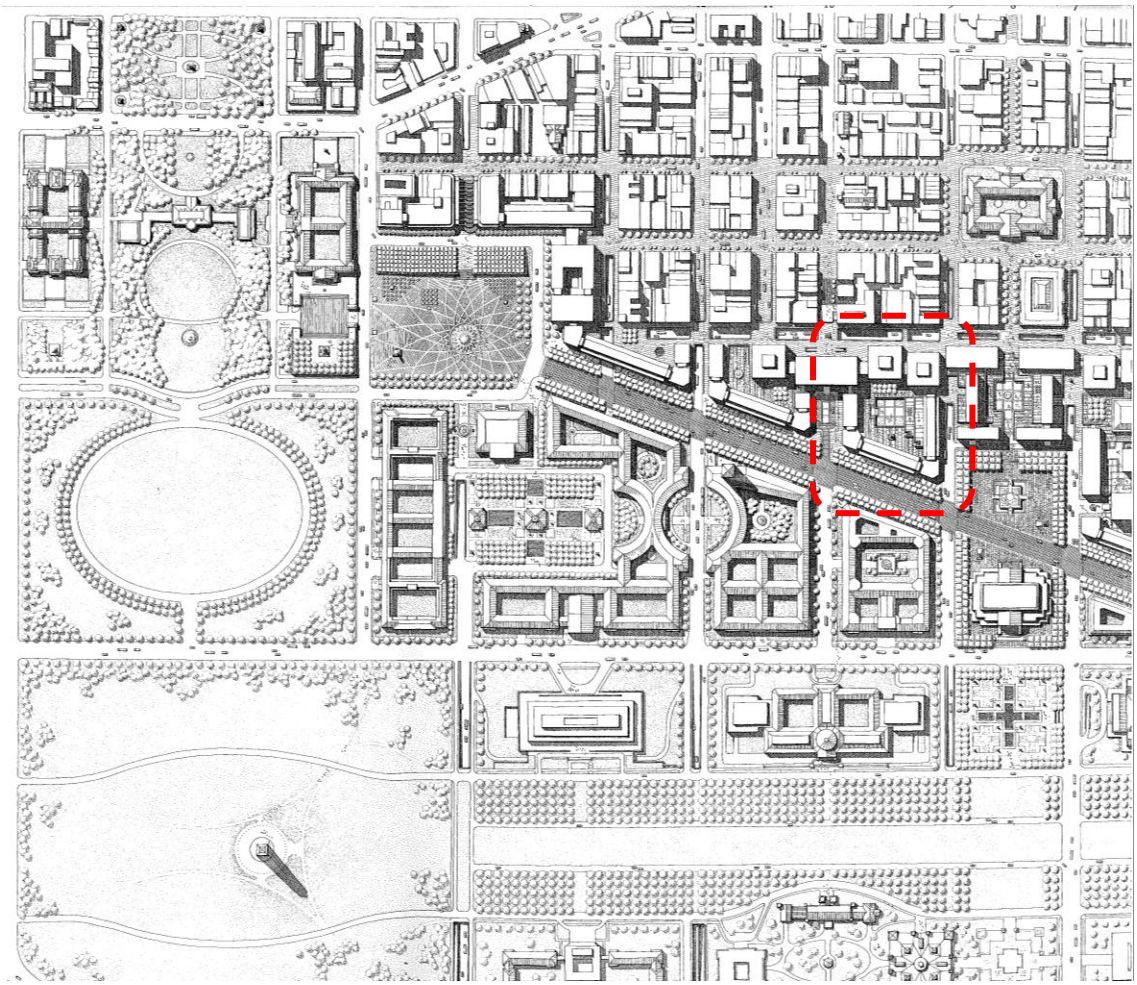

Figure 1 - West half of the illustrative site plan, Pennsylvania Avenue Proposal, The President's Council for Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964 (Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964). The city block where the FBI building is now located is within the dashed red lines. In this plan, E Street is lowered and D Street no longer extends to 10th Street.

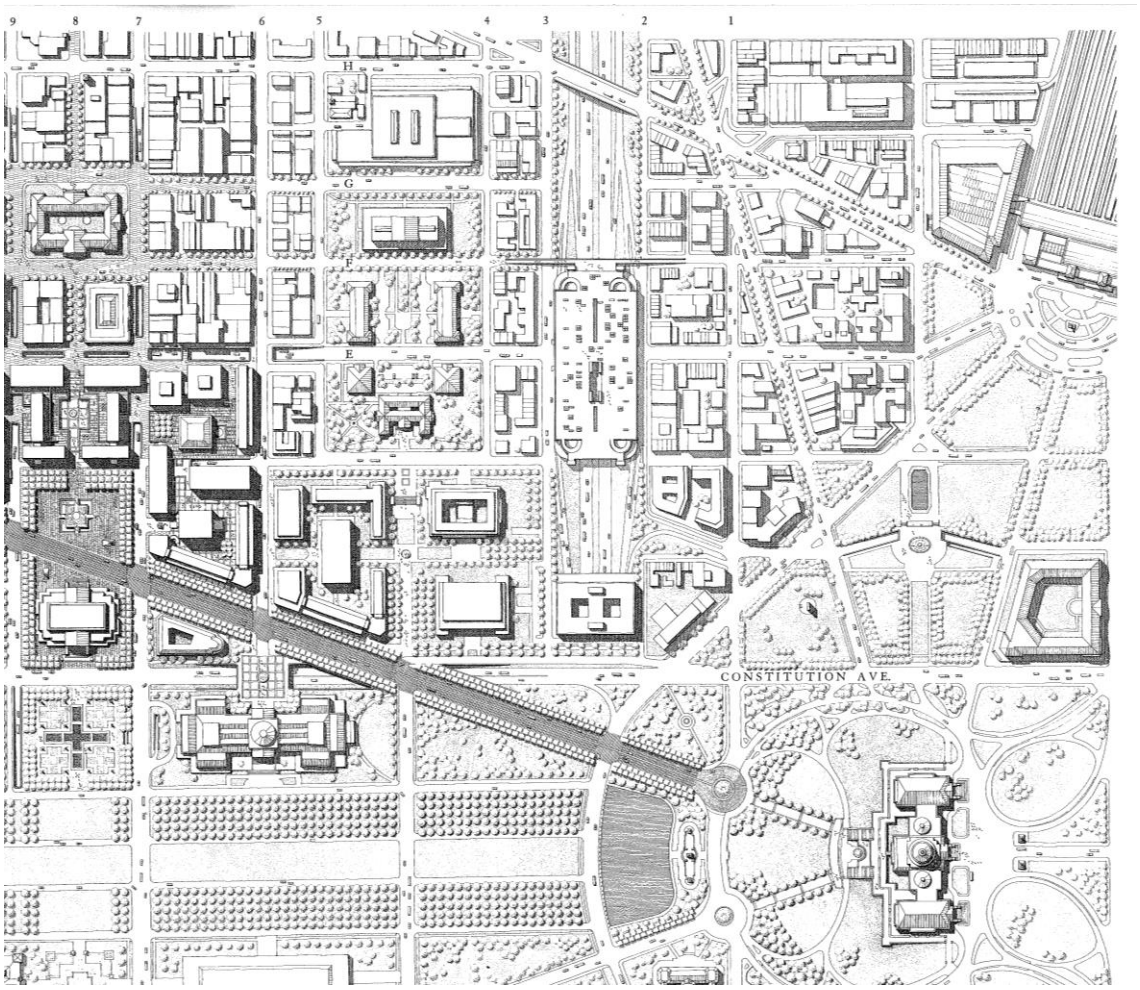

Figure 2 - East half of the Illustrative site plan, Pennsylvania Avenue Proposal, The President's Council for Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964 (Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964)

Under the category "The Avenue itself," the north sidewalk would be widened to allow "typically a 75 or 80-foot sidewalk width, permitting the grandstanding effect to be introduced...allowing for three rows of trees...instead of two." "Sidewalks should receive a grandstand treatment, being stepped up by extra curbs five and ten feet back from the pavement edge - this so that parade watchers could easily look over one another's shoulders." "Trees should be trimmed...denser crowns and throw more shade; they are controllable in height, and leave the architecture...less obscured." "Arcading...would be the typical treatment of the Avenue's northern facades, from 9th Street...would reinforce the shading...of the trees...and give grateful shelter from rain and snow" (figure 3). The FBI Building was constructed with a 76 foot setback, 26 feet of its original setback plus 50 feet additional and three rows of shade trees to comply with the recommendation.

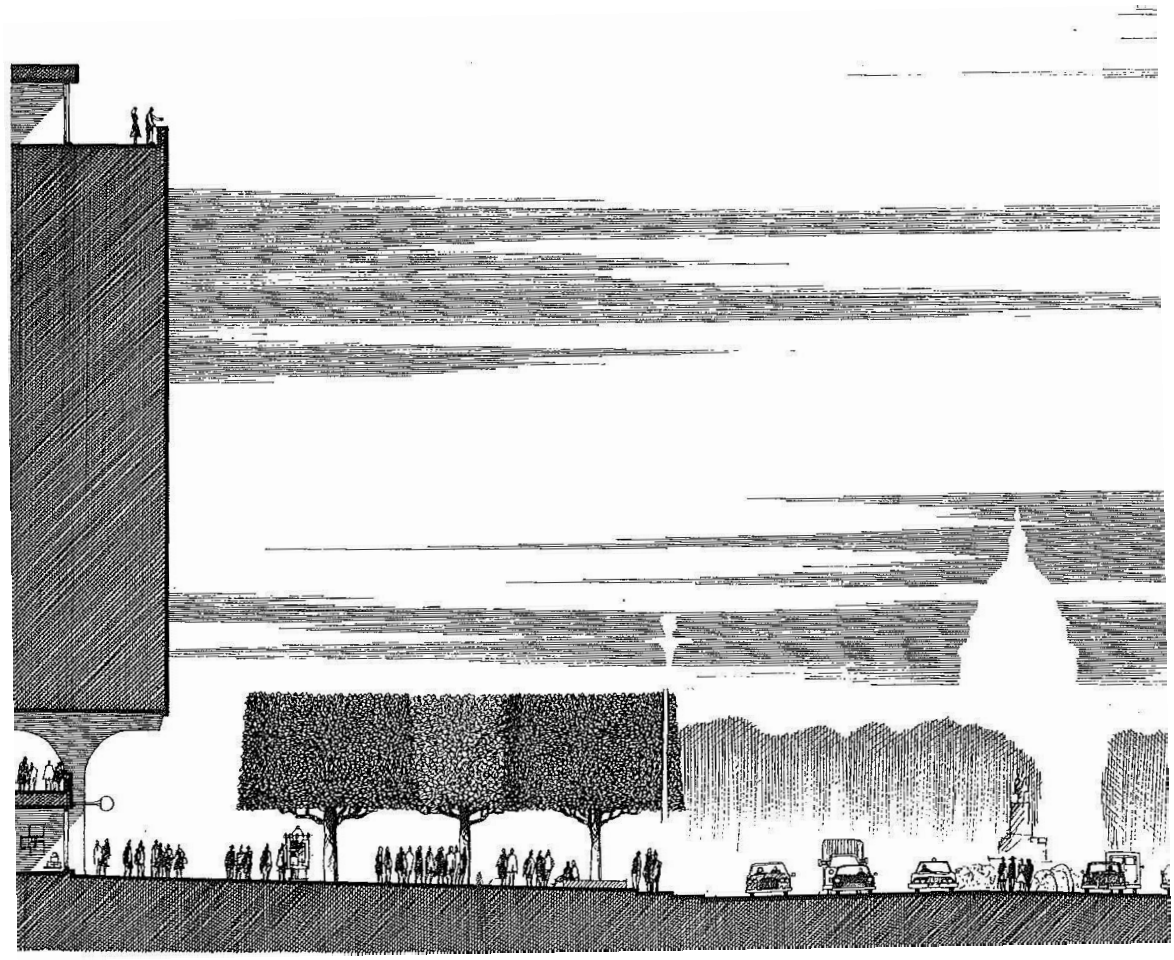

Figure 3 - Detail of vertical section through Pennsylvania Avenue as proposed (Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964). Note the arcade, second floor observation terrace, three rows of trimmed trees, and stepped sidewalk near the avenue.

The fifth category listed was "The 'Northern Triangle' office district." This is the area where the FBI building is located (figures 4-6). The report acknowledges that "Government moves have already been made which predetermine that development will be dense...it will consist of large governmental department or agency groups alongside private office buildings." The PAAC saw three problems: 1) accommodating large or "oversized" governmental building groups alongside a ceremonial avenue which has to be harmonious on both sides, 2) supplying government buildings and private offices with services..."to prevent chaos these must be preplanned on superblock scale," and 3) maintaining profitability in an area where businesses could "easily be starved...by too much governmental monumentality alongside." The PAAC offered the platform concept where E Street traffic would be lowered to Pennsylvania Avenue's elevation (figure 6). Two parking platforms would be located at this lower level. The upper level (at the original E Street elevation) would be a "pedestrian shelf." The ground level "shelf" (at the Pennsylvania Avenue elevation) "establishes concourse areas within superblocks."[21] Again, colonnades are mentioned as serving "to lift up the buildings so as to create under them a series of open, shaded pedestrian arcades"(figure 7).[22] The PAAC also preferred to place large governmental buildings at the back of the block along E Street where the buildings could be taller up to 160 feet (figure 8). This was a reaction to a trend of government agency buildings being large, compact, "squarish" plans, on many floors with open space all around.[23] By the time this report was published in April 1964, the architects of the FBI Building had been meeting since April 1963 with members of the PAAC and already presented various schemes for a large rectangular building with open

[21] *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964, p. 33. Later it is stated on page 34 that the superblock would extend from 9th Street to 12th Street.
[22] Ibid., 33.
[23] Ibid., 34.

space all around. The PAAC also had recommendations for combining retail with government buildings. "To obtain economic revenue from the land...that is not devoted to Government use, the ground and mezzanine levels must be made attractive for special uses." They saw "no reason for such complications" as service uses (drugstores and restaurants) being incorporated in Federal buildings "when they can so easily establish themselves within a few steps."[24]

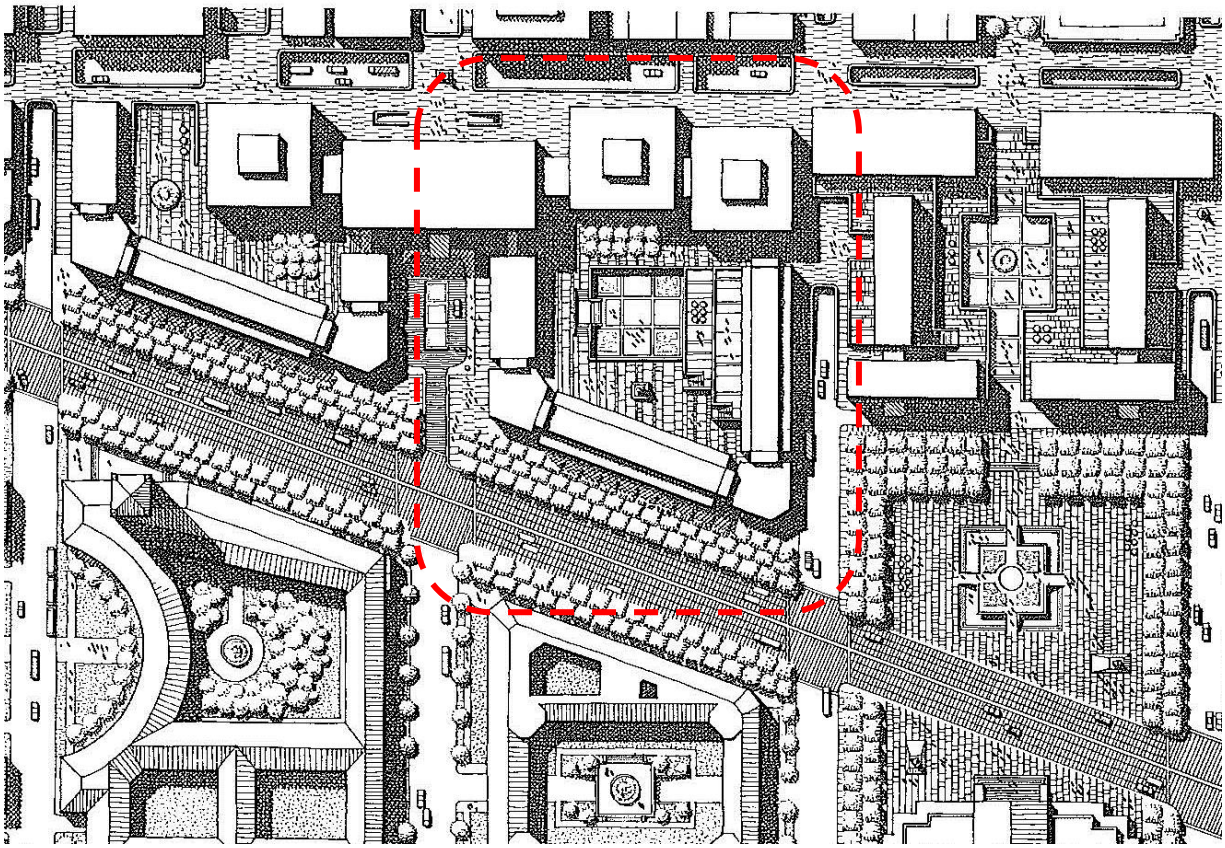

Figure 4 - Detail of partial plan of proposed Northern Triangle office area as the core of the whole "Northern Triangle" (Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964)

[24] Ibid., 35.

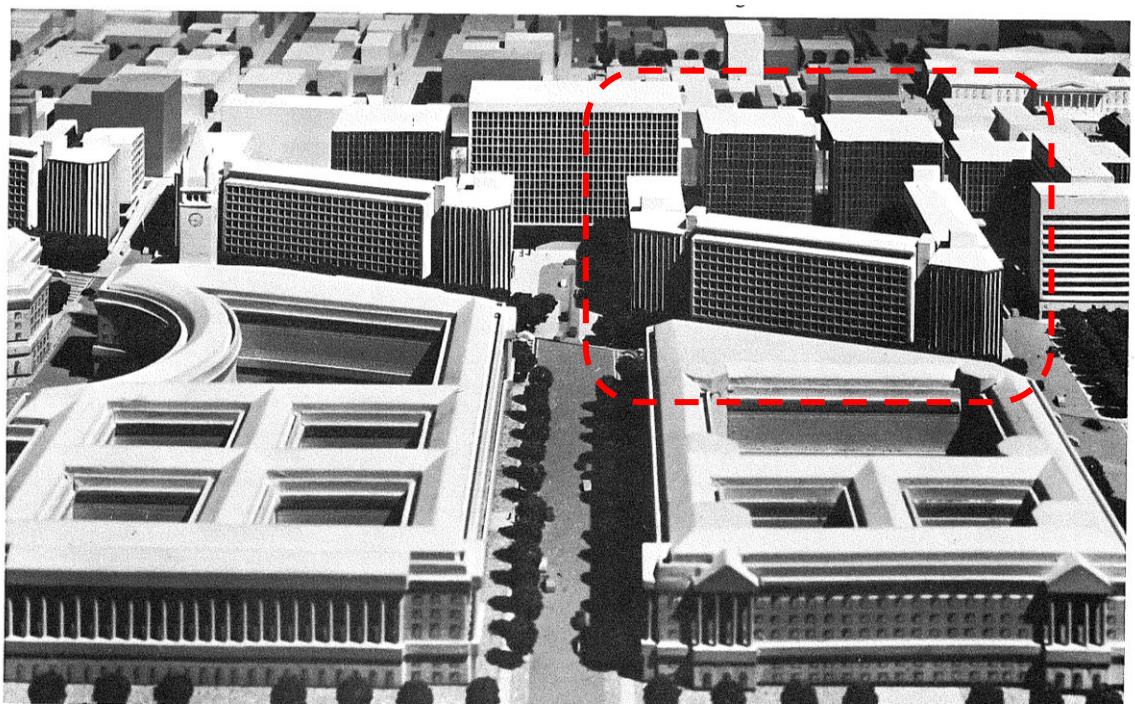

Figure 5 - Model view of a "Northern Triangle" superblock seen from across the Avenue (Source: Pennsylvania Avenue, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964).

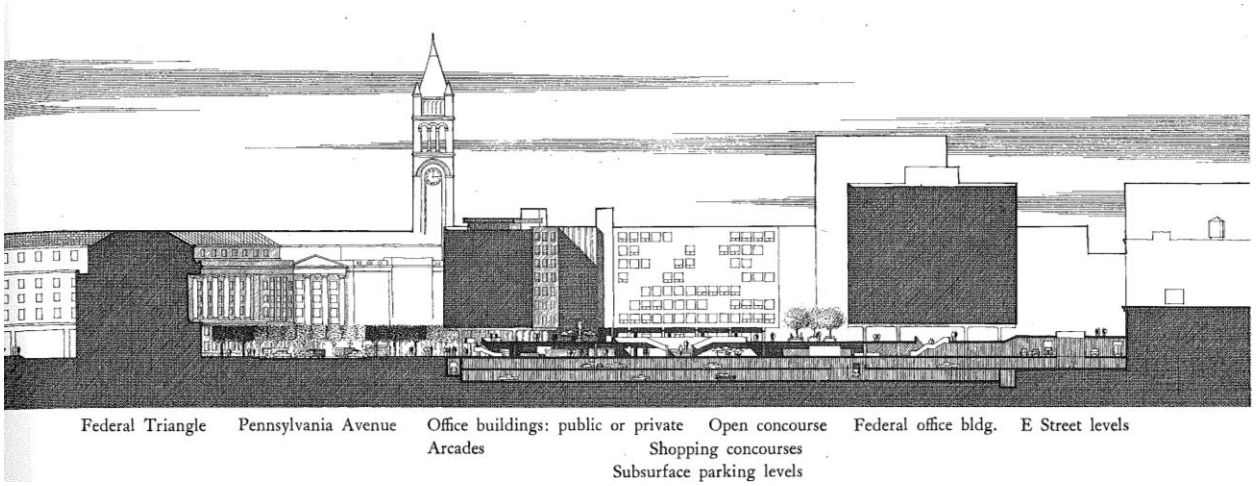

Figure 6 - Typical vertical section across Pennsylvania Avenue as proposed, in the area near 9th Street (Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964). The section is cut right through the block between 9th and 10th Street (where the courtyard of the FBI Building is now). Note that the buildings along Pennsylvania Avenue were planned to be either public or private and that the tall building along E Street was planned to be a Federal office building. The taller building behind the shaded one was also to be a Federal office building that extended over 10th Street. Vehicular traffic on E Street is shown to be a level below while pedestrian traffic is above.

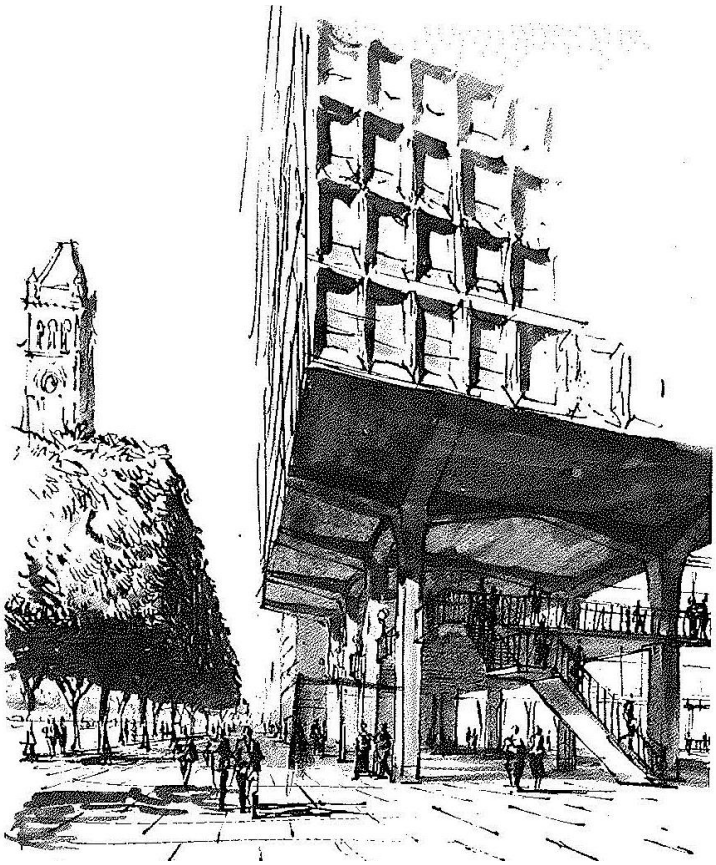

Figure 7 - Artist's sketch of north arcade (Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964)

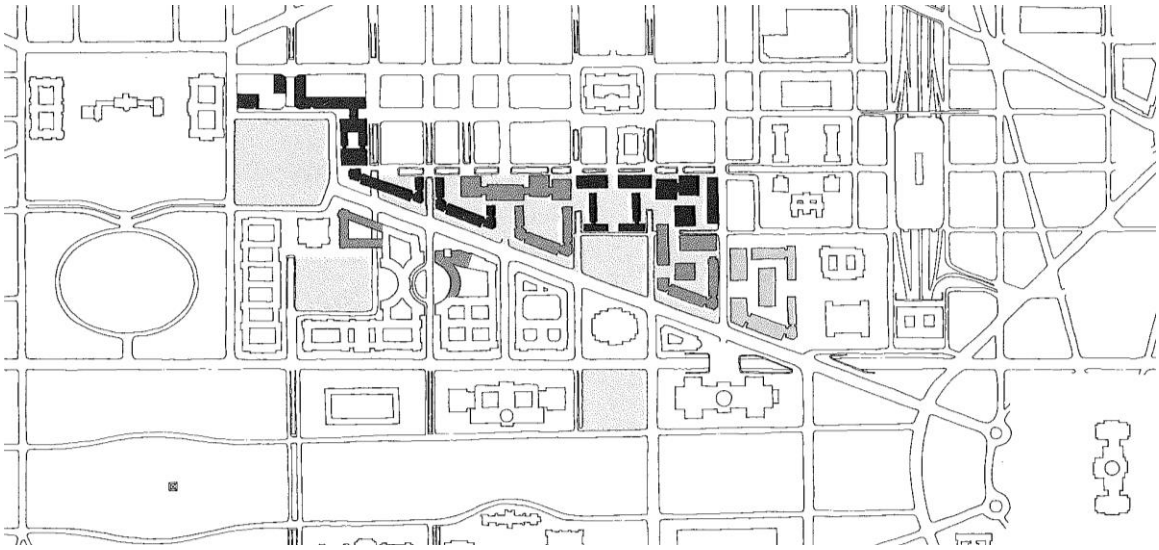

Figure 8 - Cropped diagram of proposed land use (Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964) Buildings in black are for private use (commercial, institutional, entertainment, cultural). Dark gray buildings are federal buildings (the FBI Building was slated for this area). Medium gray buildings are municipal buildings. Light gray indicates multi-level areas with a pedestrian level above and parking for 10,000 cars below.

The third section of the report's "recommendations" is called "General Factors," which included guidelines for land use and building height standards. Redevelopment was to be about 50% private construction and 50% government construction. The land use diagram shows Federal buildings in the 9th to 12th Street superblock. A U-shaped Federal building would front Pennsylvania Avenue while rectangular and square buildings would line E Street from 9th to 11th Street. The height limit for buildings along Pennsylvania Avenue were to be a maximum of 120 feet while those along E Street were allowed 160 feet with central elements of "important Government groups related to E Street" might be allowed to be up to 220 feet.[25]

The PAAC "urged GSA to redesign the [FBI] building to conform to the Pennsylvania Avenue Plan" and GSA agreed to have an open second floor and open arcades and courtyards.[26] When the FBI Building was presented to the Commission of Fine Arts on October 20, 1964, the general plan conformed to the 1964 plan's concepts developed by the PAAC with its massing, setback, building height, open second floor, courtyard, red brick sidewalk, three rows of trees, and wide steps for elevated parade viewing.[27] However, the open arcades along the first floor were heavily debated between 1965 and 1967 and ultimately were not implemented in the design for security reasons.

The President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue was established by President Lyndon B. Johnson on March 26, 1965, with Nathaniel Owings still as chairman, to continue to work on the plan. Members of the commission included many of those previously on the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, including Dan Kiley, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and Chloethiel Woodard Smith. At the same time, the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, in which the FBI Building is located, was designated in 1965.[28] In January 1969, when the updated Pennsylvania Avenue plan was published (known as the "blue book" for its blue cover), construction was underway in the Capitol Plaza Area and on the "Northern Triangle" office district with the Labor Department Building, the FBI Building, and the Presidential Building at 1111 Pennsylvania Avenue (figures 9 and 10). The report discusses in detail ten areas: the Capitol Reflecting Pool, Labor Building, National Gallery-Judiciary Square, E Street Distributor, Eighth Street Axis, FBI Building, Federal Triangle, Presidential Building, Superblock, and National Square. In the FBI Building section, the report notes that the building is set back 50 feet from the present building line for a 76 foot wide sidewalk. The report also notes that visitors were expected to enter from E Street at ground level through a landscaped plaza that lead to the arcade overlooking Pennsylvania Avenue.[29] Three underground parking levels were planned to be reached by E Street which was to be depressed at a future date.

The first building to conform to the 1964 plan was the Presidential Building (completed in 1968), a private office building at 12th and Pennsylvania Avenue which conformed to the additional 50 foot setback for new buildings (for a total of 76 feet) (figure 11). The building had an arcade created by the 14'-0" extension of the third floor, a balcony on the second floor for "preferred seats for ceremonial events," special paving, landscaping features, and was built in a Brutalist style.[30] While the FBI Building was under construction at this time, the Phase II construction for work above the foundation would not begin until 1971. "With the notable exception of the FBI Building, major physical changes along the avenue resulting from the Kennedy initiative did not occur until Congress formed the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation (PADC) in 1972."[31] The PADC published the Pennsylvania Avenue Plan in October 1974. Many of the proposed improvements, which included the retention of landmark buildings, did not occur until the late 1970s and early 1980s. The corporation was dissolved in 1996.

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[25] Ibid., 53.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Commission of Fine Arts Minutes, October 20, 1964.
[28] Construction of the FBI Building was not initiated until after the establishment of the Pennsylvania Avenue Historic District. It was evaluated as non-contributing when the NHS documentation was updated in 2007.
[29] *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1969, 39.
[30] Ibid., 50. However, the Presidential Building with its grid-like windows and box-like shape was reclad and remodeled in 2001 by Shalom Baranes Associates and is now known as 1111 Pennsylvania Avenue (figure 12).
[31] Robinson & Associates, Inc., *DC Modern: A Context for Modernism in the District of Columbia, 1945-1976: Historic Context Study (*Washington, DC: District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office, 23 January 2009), 93.

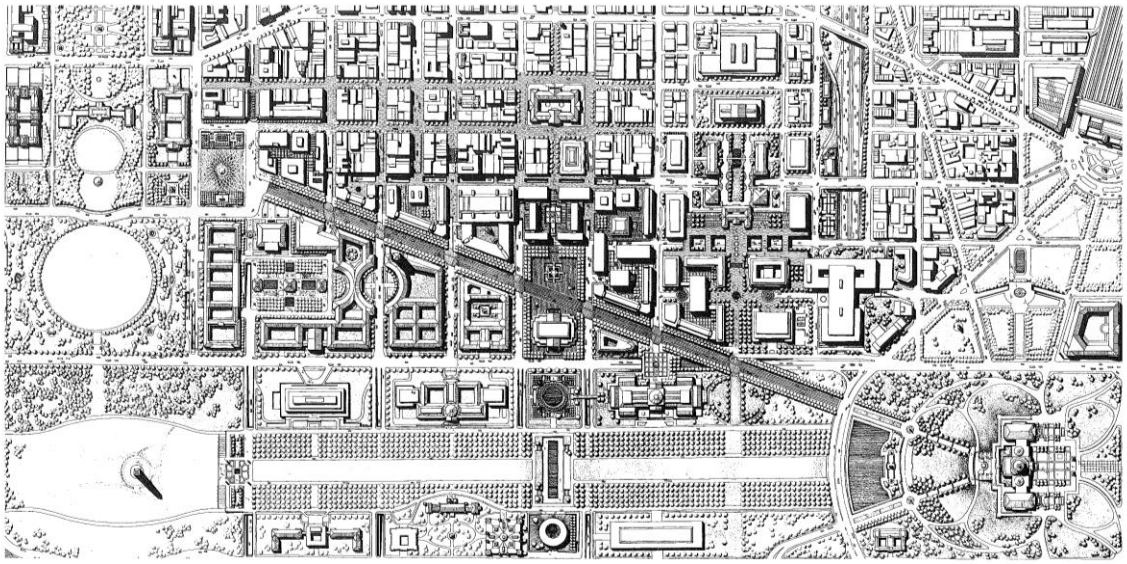

Figure 9 - Master Plan for Pennsylvania Avenue, as reviewed since the Council's original 1964 presentation (Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1969). The roof plan of the FBI Building has been inserted into the plan. E Street is still shown as being lowered under a pedestrian level. 10th Street no longer has a building extended across it.

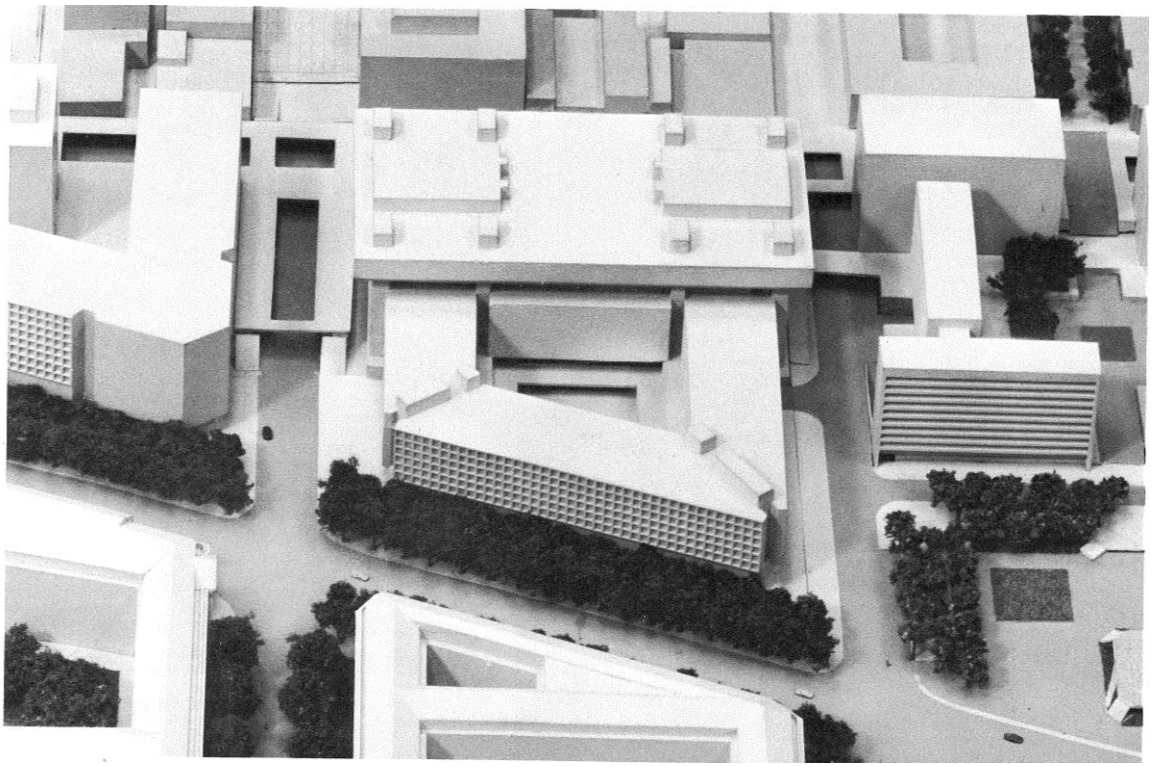

Figure 10 - Model of the FBI Building within the 1969 proposed plan for Pennsylvania Avenue (Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1969).

Figure 11 - The Presidential Building and pilot landscaping project for Pennsylvania Avenue (1968) Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1969). The Evening Star (built 1898) is at the east side of the block along 11th Street. The Presidential Building was designed such that a later addition would extend along Pennsylvania Avenue, blocking 11th Street, to 10th Street.

Figure 12 - Photograph of the Presidential Building at 1111 Pennsylvania Avenue which was re-clad in 2001 (left), 1101 Pennsylvania Avenue (middle, the Evening Star Building built 1898 with a 1989 addition designed by SOM), 1001 Pennsylvania Avenue (right, built 1987 designed by Hartman Cox), and the FBI Building (far right at edge of photo) (Source: Google, accessed 2013)

Guiding Principles for Federal Architecture

Within the *Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space* were the "Guiding Principles for Federal Architecture" penned by Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, then Assistant Secretary of Labor. This section stated that the design of Federal office buildings, particularly those in the nation's capital, must meet a two-fold requirement. "First, it must provide efficient and economical facilities for the use of Government agencies. Second, it must provide visual testimony to the dignity, enterprise, vigor, and stability of the American Government." A three-point architectural policy was then recommended by the committee:

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

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) headquarters (1965-1968), designed by the internationally recognized architect Marcel Breuer, was the first federal project in the nation's capital built under the 1962 "Guiding Principles for Federal Architecture."[32] The U.S. Tax Court (1974) by Victor Lundy was the second Washington example of the exceptional group of federal buildings deriving directly from the Principles.[33] Another early effort by the GSA to create new federal office buildings that were economical, efficient, and a manifestation of Kennedy's initiative to improve the quality of federal architecture was Federal Office Building No. 5 (now the James V. Forrestal Building, sometimes known by its nickname "the Little Pentagon") by Curtis and Davis Architects and Planners (1969).[34] In this discussion in *DC Modern: A Context for Modernism in the District of Columbia, 1945-1976 (*prepared for the District of Columbia Historic Preservation Office in 2009), the FBI Building is not discussed as being an example a project that was designed according to the "Guiding Principles."

FBI Building History and Chronology

Pre-Construction History

As the Federal Bureau of Investigation grew into a mature organization in the 1930s and 1940s, the need for more space to house its growing staff and centralized functions became more critical. At its founding in 1908, the Bureau's first chief had his office in the headquarters of the Department of Justice (DOJ), at the time in the Baltic Hotel on K Street, NW (demolished 1926), but agents worked out of field offices. From 1917 to 1934, the Bureau occupied the Denrike Building at 1435 K Street (no longer extant). In 1934, it moved into the main Department of Justice Building on Pennsylvania Avenue between Ninth and Tenth streets, where it would remain until the current headquarters across the street was completed in 1975.

The Bureau increasingly took up more space in the DOJ Building, eventually claiming more than two-fifths of the available space, and spilling out into rented facilities around the Washington, DC area. After first requesting a separate building in 1939, it appeared the Bureau might get its own quarters in 1941. The House Appropriations Committee suggested to Congress that the FBI needed its own building in early 1941, and in November of the same year, the National Capital Park and Planning Commission was asked to approve the site and size of a proposed new headquarters building, to be designed by W. E. Reynolds, the Commissioner of Public Buildings, and Louis A. Simon, the Treasury Department's Supervising Architect.[35] The United States' entrance into World War II in

[32] Robinson & Associates, Inc., *DC Modern: A Context for Modernism in the District of Columbia, 1945-1976*, 123.
[33] Ibid., 126.
[34] Ibid., 125.
[35] FBI, "History of FBI Headquarters" http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/history/hq.; "Site for FBI Building Up For Action," *Washington Post*, November 13, 1941, 19.

December of 1941 postponed Federal construction projects like the FBI Building, and though it was reported at the end of the war that a new FBI Building was under consideration, the intense competition for post-war building funding made it difficult to proceed.[36] By this time, in addition to taking up a large portion of the Department of Justice, the FBI had complete use of the DC Armory building. The Bureau needed massive amounts of space to house its nearly 100 million fingerprint records, training facilities, shooting ranges, and laboratory equipment.[37] Investigative activities remained within the purview of the local and regional field offices, which remained the case throughout its history and into the present.

By 1961, a new FBI headquarters was much closer to reality. In April of 1962, Congress approved the plan. Funding for the building, estimated at $10 million in 1945 and $12 million in 1962, sometimes fell victim to partisan squabbling in Congress. In September of 1962, House Representative Albert Thomas, the chair of the appropriations committee, removed the funding for site acquisition and design from the budget, only to have the Senate later restore it. In January of 1963, the GSA announced the selection of the new site for the FBI Building, bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue, and E, Ninth, and Tenth streets, purchased for a cost of $41.17 per square foot.[38] The site chosen for the new building covered 291,000 square feet, and included a 34,000-square foot section of D Street that would be closed in order to create the large building footprint (figure 13). The site was directly across the street from the Bureau's current headquarters, the Department of Justice Building.

Figure 13 - View of the two blocks bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue, 9th and 10th Streets prior to demolition for the FBI Building (Source: GSA Regional Office Archives)

Building Design and Design Reviews

From the very beginning, the FBI Building was seen as the key to the Pennsylvania Avenue redevelopment plan. The building was to be the first major federal building along the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue to be built in accordance with the recommendations in the Pennsylvania Avenue report of 1964. The design had to not only meet the programmatic and security requirements of the FBI, but also create a contemporary building that was a visual testament to the dignity and stability of the American Government in accordance with the *Guiding Principles*. Announcing the purchase of the site in January of 1963, GSA Administrator Bernard L. Boutin noted, "the site chosen for the new FBI Building not only offers outstanding advantages to the Government, but also will provide a focal point for revitalization of the Capital's most famous thoroughfare."[39] Boutin assured that the new building would be in harmony with the principles of the plan, still under development, but which included not only the creation of a grand public axis, but also a pleasant atmosphere with open space, greenery, and other features

[36] "FBI's Building Plans Would Help District," *Washington Post*, September 30, 1945, B1; FBI, "History of FBI Headquarters."
[37] "FBI's Building Plans Would Help District," *Washington Post*, September 30, 1945, B1.
[38] "Cash for New FBI Home Restored to GSA Budget," *Washington Post*, September 21, 1962, 4; FBI, "History of FBI Headquarters" http://www.fbi.gov/about-us/history/hq.
[39] Jean M. White. "Block to North of Pennsylvania Ave. Selected as Site for New FBI Building," *Washington Post*, January 3, 1963, B1.

designed to make the Avenue friendly at a pedestrian scale. In order to avoid a monolithic Federal building and promote economic redevelopment and after-working-hours use of the Avenue, a key part of the plan was the inclusion of cafes and shops on the ground floor.[40]

1963

The Chicago firm of C. F. Murphy Associates was chosen as the principal design architect in 1963 with Stanislaw Gladych serving as lead designer and Carter Manny as project manager. At GSA, architect Karel Yasko, Public Buildings Service, GSA, had principal responsibility for the project.[41] Originally, the design was to be completed by December 1964 with the construction contract to be awarded in March 1965 and completed by 1967. However, it was during the beginning of design that the PAAC was creating a plan for the redevelopment along Pennsylvania Avenue.

The design for the FBI Building had to meet approval by three separate commissions: the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) (planning), Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) (fine arts), and (after 1964) the PAAC which was officially under NCPC.[42] NCPC reviewed the site while CFA reviewed the architecture. In addition, the design had to meet the approval of the FBI (the tenant), GSA (the client), and Congress (the funder). However, legally, neither FBI nor DOJ had to approve the exterior design.[43] The FBI was primarily concerned about the interior space; however, the Director, J. Edgar Hoover, had choice words for the exterior design, stating it was "obnoxious" in 1966 and later in 1972 that it "looks like something from Mars."[44]

The plan to include shops on the ground floor of the FBI Building, championed by Nathanial Owings, a founding partner in Skidmore, Owings and Merrill (SOM) and head of the PAAC, was immediately contentious. In January of 1963, the FBI "made it clear that it would not permit commercial use of its ground floor" as prescribed by the Pennsylvania Avenue plan.[45] However, GSA assured that it had not discarded the principles of the Pennsylvania Avenue redevelopment plan, and suggested that including arcades and open spaces might serve the same function as first floor retail.[46]

C. F. Murphy Associates, along with professional cost consultants, reviewed GSA's project space directive and building cost budget in a negotiating session on March 25, 1963. After reviewing construction costs of current buildings in the area, they met with representatives of the PAAC and NCPC and concluded that the budget would not be sufficient for the FBI's special requirements and "the special place it holds on Pennsylvania Ave."[47]

At an April 22, 1963 meeting between C.F. Murphy Associates and the PAAC, Owings explained the objectives of the PAAC and presented its preliminary schemes. The FBI site was shown with a "doughnut" block following the diagonal of Pennsylvania Avenue. Owings commented that the 2,000,000-sf program was too large for the site.

On June 5th, C.F. Murphy met with GSA to review their findings. GSA assured them that they thought the budget was sufficient. C.F. Murphy then "proceeded with preliminary design studies with the understanding that the quality of the building would be similar to other standard F.O.B. [Federal Office Building] and GSA buildings." The design schemes at this early stage were of the "simple rectangular type of building that would meet the requirements of the space directive and the cost budget."[48] In that same month, C.F. Murphy presented a series of eight initial studies to PAAC and NCPC. The schemes included a diagonal "doughnut" and a freestanding rectangular block (figures 14-18). The "Chronology" states that the architects indicated that the 2,000,000SF program called for "large flexible areas and is not suited to a 'doughnut'-type building." The models of the rectangular form show it to be very Miesian

[40] Wendell P. Bradley, "FBI Building May Be Giving Ave. New Life" By *Washington Post*, January 5, 1963, B1.
[41] In the November 1965 CFA minutes, Yasko's title is stated as Assistant Commissioner of Design and Construction.
[42] NCPC was formerly called the National Capital Park Commission until the 1952 passage of the National Capital Planning Act which established it as the central planning agency for the federal government in the National Capital Region.
[43] Susan Rosenfeld Falb, Ph.D., *History of the J. Edgar Hoover Building* (Washington, DC: Office of Congressional and Public Affairs, March 1987), 2.
[44] Ibid., 2.
[45] Ada Louise Huxtable, "Plan for Rebuilding Pa. Avenue is Near Completion," *The New York Times,* 20 August 1963, 1.
[46] Willard Clopton, "Council Held Confident On FBI Building Plan," *Washington Post*, January 27 1963 B1.
[47] C.F. Murphy, Letter to Mr. Leonard L. Hunter, January 12, 1968.
[48] Ibid.

in design, which was consistent with the design style most associated with C.F. Murphy Associates and Stan Gladych's projects until that time.[49]

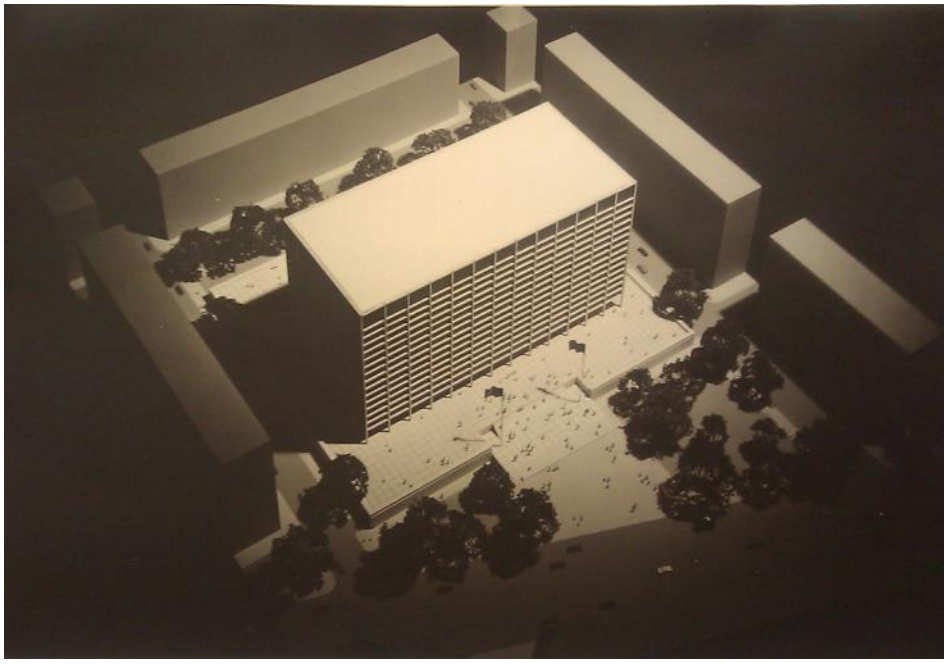

Figure 14 - Initial study, June 1963 (Source: Scrapbook of Request for Additional Services material, 1968)

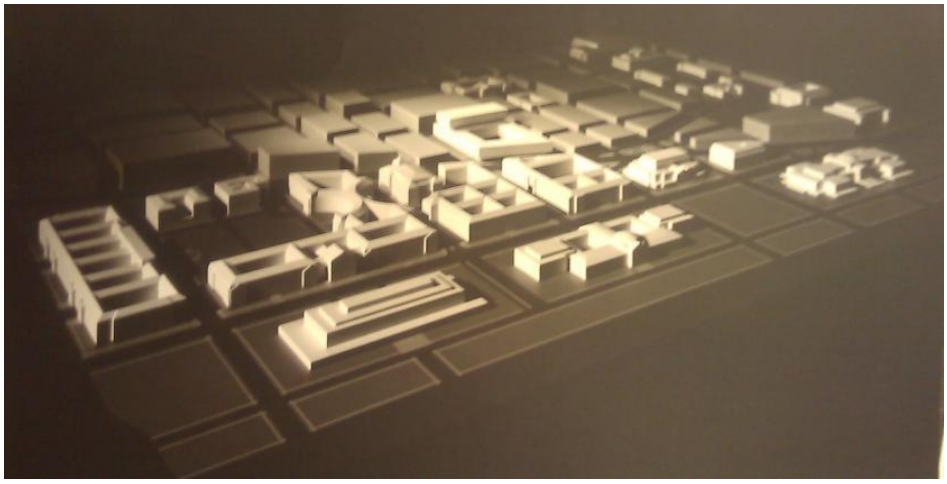

Figure 15 - Initial study, June 1963 (Source: Scrapbook of Request for Additional Services material, 1968). Note the "doughnut" parti.

[49] Important projects included the Filtration Plant and early terminals at O'Hare. See Franz Schulze, "Mies van der Rohe in America," in John Zukowsky, ed., *Chicago Architecture and Design: 1933-1993* (New York: Prestel),156.

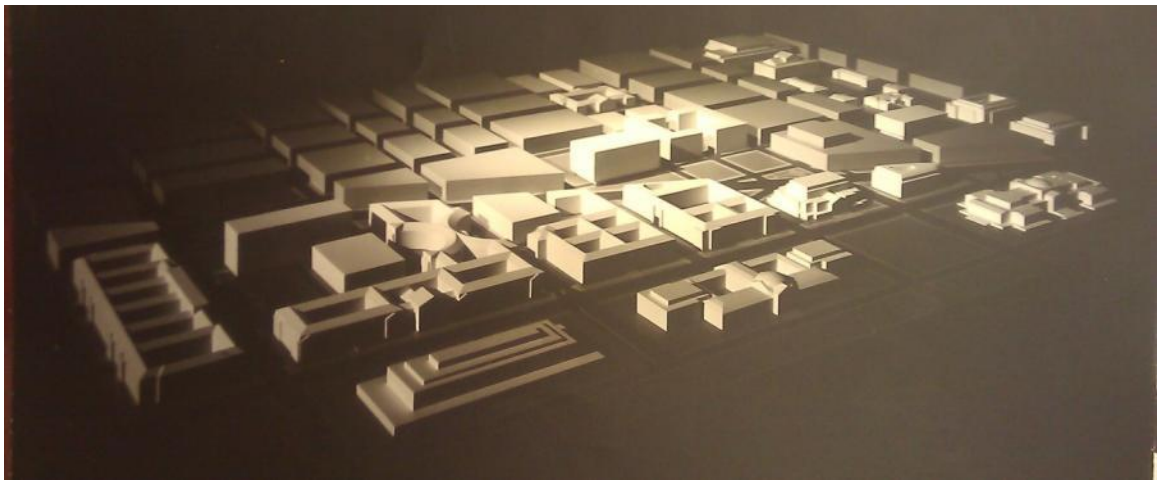

Figure 16 - Initial study, June 1963 (Source: Scrapbook of Request for Additional Services material, 1968). Note the "rectangular block" parti.

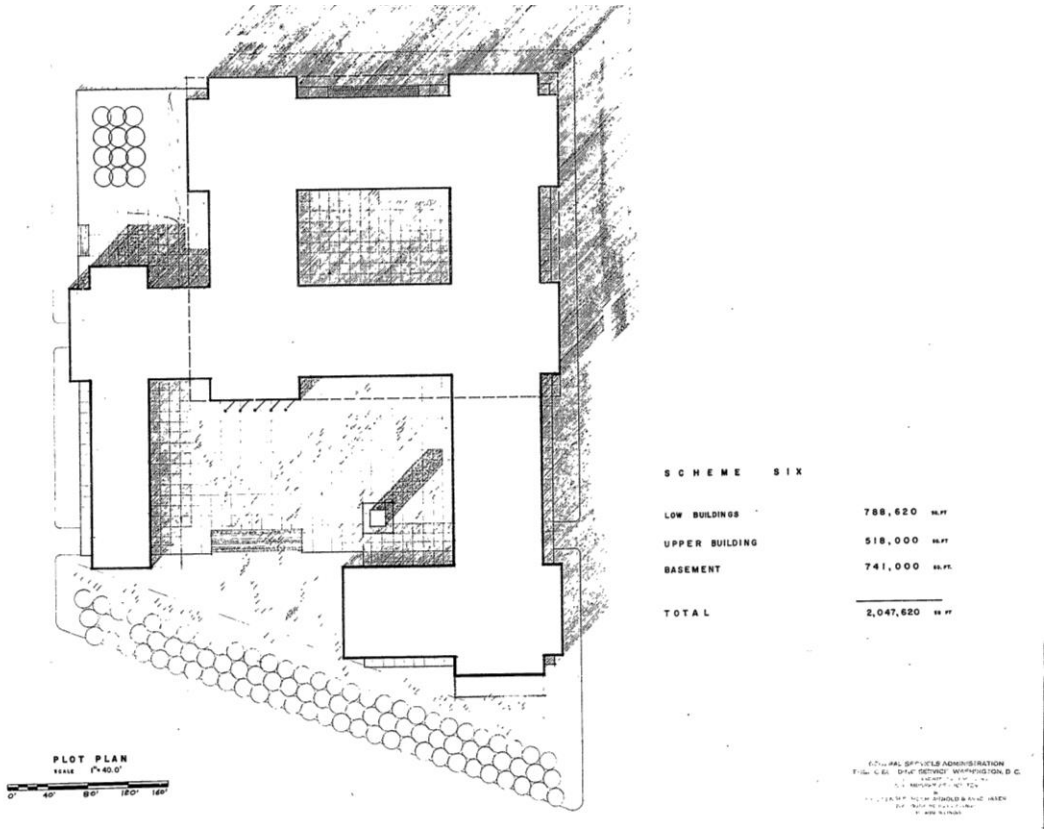

Figure 17 - Scheme Six Plan, 1964 (Source: NCPC)

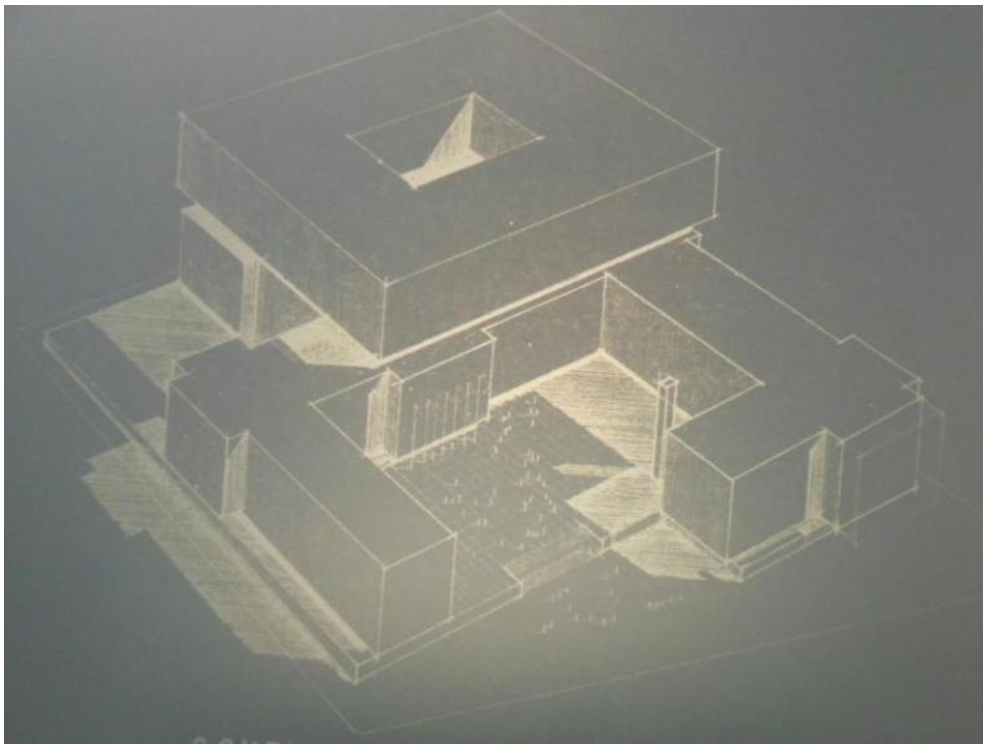

Figure 18 - Scheme Six Plan, 1964 (Source: NCPC)

On July 24, 1963, the architects presented a rectangular block scheme to the PAAC at NCPC (scheme number seven) (figures 19 and 20).[50] Gladych initially produced a scheme for "a very simple, rectangular building, a simple, Miesian kind of concept... in terms of exposing a concrete frame and cladding it with marble or granite, similar to Hartford [Insurance Building by SOM in Chicago]."[51] However, "Owings did not like it and wanted the building to follow the diagonal line of Pennsylvania Ave."[52] The PAAC showed the development of their work and they "recognize large requirements of FBI by removing it from Pennsylvania Avenue to E Street and extends it across 10th Street. Diagonal building along Pennsylvania Avenue is retained, but is suggested for other than FBI occupancy."[53] The future depressed E Street (a lower level for vehicular traffic while pedestrian traffic remains above) was also introduced. The architects noted that Owings did not seem to be in complete agreement with the PAAC presenter, John Woodbridge, Chief of the Staff on the PAAC, in that the architects sensed that Owings "had misgivings about following [the] old baroque diagonal. He [Owings] even suggested possibility of rectangular towers for FBI Building and Labor Building as focal points" and of increasing the height restriction for a "few strategically placed building, but height to be less than Washington monument."[54] C.F. Murphy commented that they sensed Woodbridge's displeasure at Owings' comments but they took "hope that Mr. Owings may change direction of PAC work to more modern approach."[55] Yasko (GSA) told the architects to "tread water" until the Pennsylvania Avenue plan was further along.[56]

[50] C.F. Murphy, "Outline of the Chronology of Design Development for FBI Building April 1963-August 1967." The NCPC files have drawings for Scheme Seven but it is dated 1964.
[51] Chicago Oral History Project, "Oral History of Carter Manny" (Chicago, IL: The Ernest R. Graham Study Center for Architectural Drawings, Department of Architecture, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1995. Revised edition, 2001) 239.
[52] Oral History of Carter Manny, 239.
[53] C.F. Murphy, "Outline of the Chronology of Design Development for FBI Building April 1963-August 1967."
[54] C.F. Murphy, "Outline of the Chronology of Design Development for FBI Building April 1963-August 1967." John Woodbridge is also called the staff architect of the PAAC in the CFA records.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Much of the information contained herein is from C.F. Murphy's "Outline of Chronology of Design Development for FBI Building April 1963-August 1967" found in a scapbook that seems to be a collection of documents in support of a letter requesting additional services.

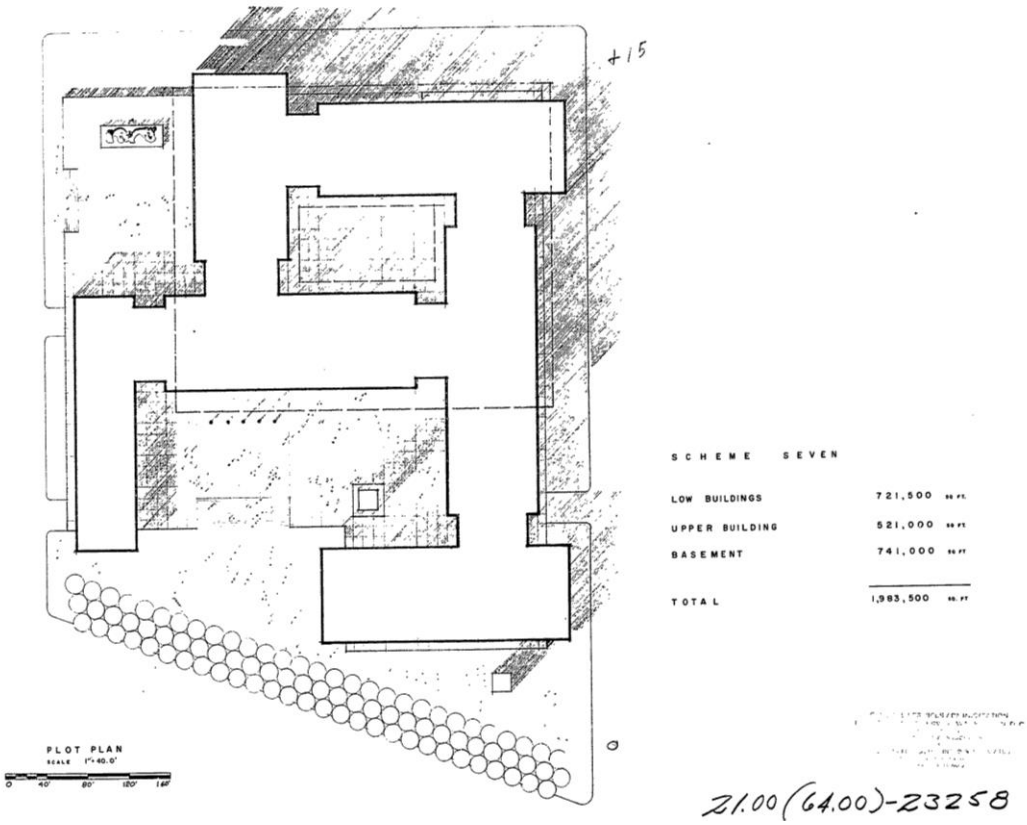

Figure 19 - Scheme Seven Plan, 1964 (Source: NCPC)

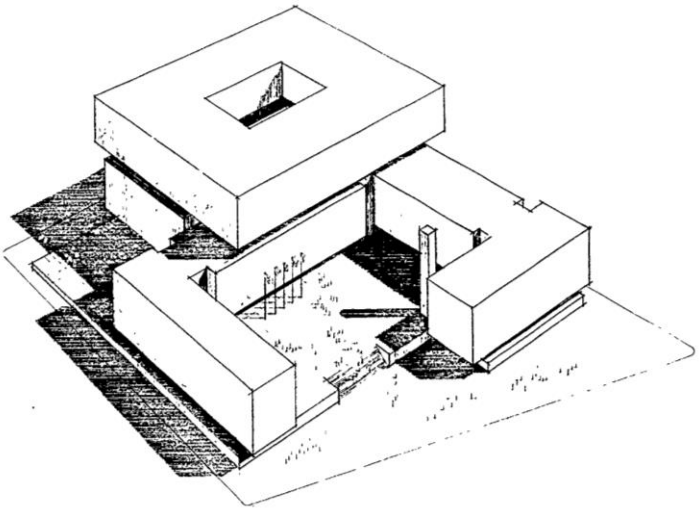

Figure 20 - Scheme Seven Perspective, 1964 (Source: NCPC)

Yasko visited C.F. Murphy Associates in Chicago on August 30, 1963 after meeting with Owings and told them to use the previous meeting as a guideline with the lower portion of the building following the Pennsylvania Avenue diagonal. As the FBI Building was a major component and was to be one of the first projects developed along

guidelines by the PAAC, GSA halted design work on September 5th, 1963 until the completion of the Pennsylvania Avenue study.[57]

1964

By March 1964, the Pennsylvania Avenue plan was far enough along that the design of the FBI Building could resume. The architects met with GSA on March 3rd, and on March 17, 1964 they received a letter to re-active the project. The letter provided guidelines for the design: high mass on E Street less than 160'-0", low building on Pennsylvania Avenue to match cornice line of the Department of Justice, E Street building to be held away for future building in notch to close 10th Street. Prior to the publication of the report in April 1964, C.F. Murphy recognized that "it was obvious, however, from several meetings held with PAC representatives prior to publication of the report that a simple block building similar to other F.O.B. structures and highly suited to the needs of the FBI, would not fit in with the grand design for Pennsylvania Avenue."[58]

The architects presented new massing schemes on April 24, 1964 to the GSA. The new massing showed a series of blocks with a small building along the avenue aligned with the city grid (not the diagonal) for the Washington Field Office (figures 21 and 22). The FBI expressed "concern about smaller masses and so much area being left open to the public."

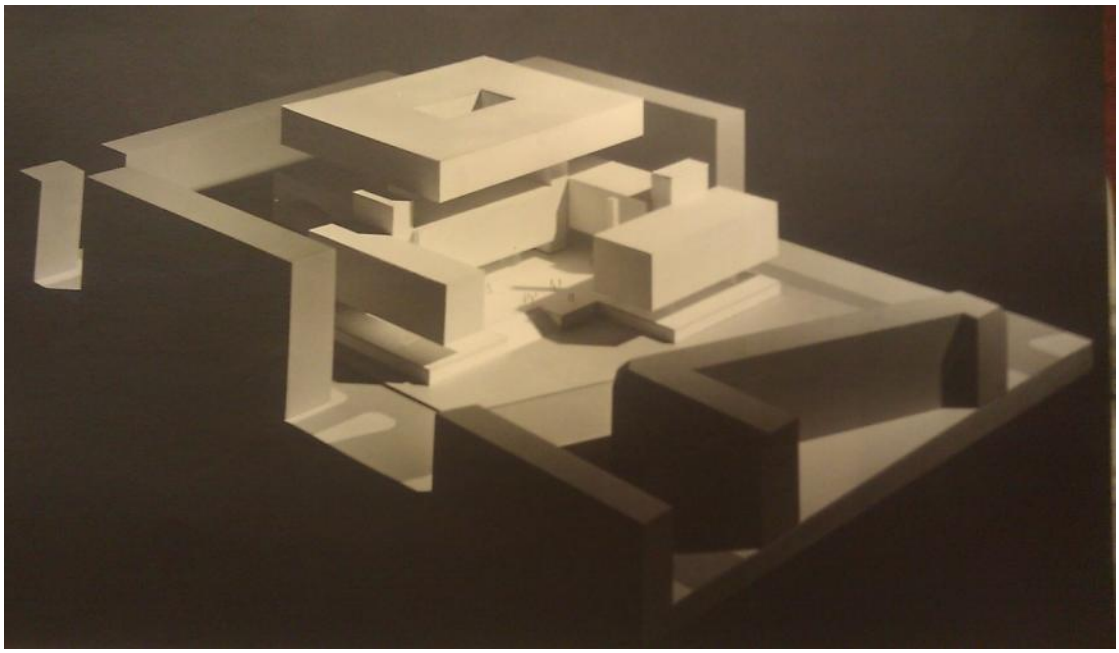

Figure 21 - Early study model of scheme based guidelines established by the PAAC, April 1964 (Source: Scrapbook of Request for Additional Services material, 1968)

[57] Abbott Combes, "FBI Building Costs Set at $109 Million," *The Washington Post*, 11 December 1971, B1. Also, C.F. Murphy's "Request for Additional Services," February 20, 1968 mentions the stop order from GSA.
[58] C.F. Murphy, Letter to Mr. Leonard L. Hunter, January 12, 1968. C.F. Murphy uses the abbreviation "PAC" for "PAAC" throughout their documentation.

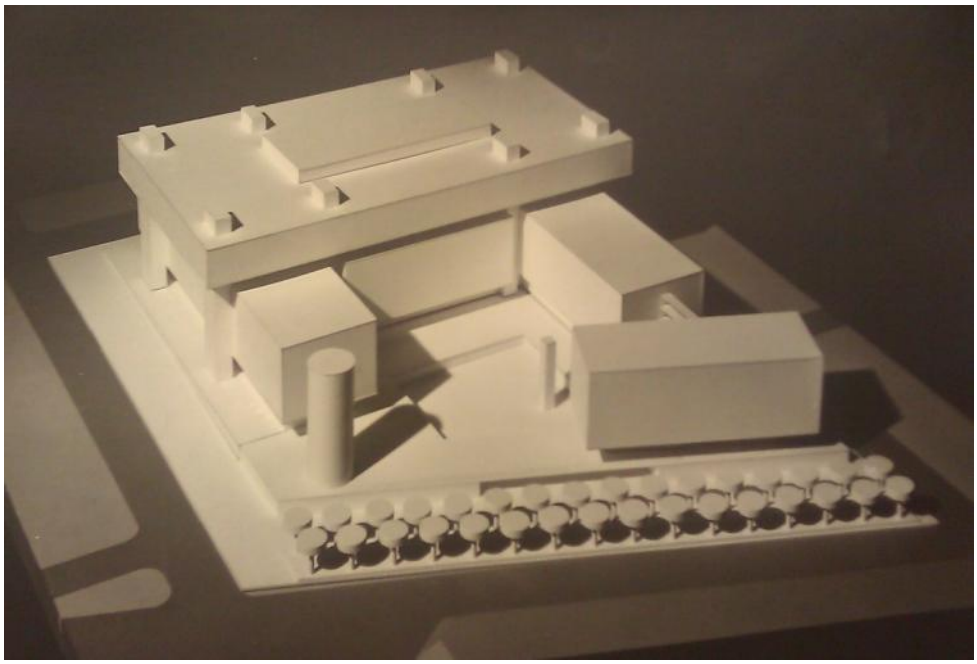

Figure 22 - Early study model of scheme based guidelines established by the PAAC, April 1964 (Source: Scrapbook of Request for Additional Services material, 1968). There are three other schemes that offer variations along Pennsylvania Avenue.

Shortly after the PAAC report was published, Owings met with C.F. Murphy on July 20, 1964 where he suggested that the Washington Field Office be turned parallel to Pennsylvania Avenue and a "tray" be used to separate the commercial area from the FBI Building. Between August and September, C.F. Murphy and GSA exchanged sketches and comments.

The formal review process with NCPC and CFA began in October 1964 and culminated almost three years later in the fall 1967. However, additional design review by CFA continued in the years afterward during construction. One year prior to the start of the review process, President Kennedy, an advocate of good design, had appointed six new seats to the CFA. The most outspoken of the members was architect Gordon Bunshaft, partner at Skidmore, Owings & Merrill (SOM). The Owings in the firm was the same Owings as the chairman of the PAAC, Nathaniel Owings.

The NCPC approved an overall design concept on October 1, 1964. In order to avoid the sense of a monolithic block, Gladych's solution was a two-level design: a lower eight story structure on Pennsylvania Avenue and a twelve story structure on E Street with a plaza in the center and a platform for the public's use in viewing parades.[59] Gladych noted that the building fulfilled a number of the PAAC's requirements: an open, airy design, set back from the street with an internal courtyard and viewing platforms on the open air second floor level. The only concern NCPC had was the 172'-0" height of the building along E Street. Yasko (GSA) told NCPC that the architects "had solved the most 'insurmountable problem of fitting the design into the Pennsylvania Avenue concept' without sacrificing the special needs of the FBI."[60] C.F. Murphy recorded that one of the NCPC members congratulated GSA and the architects for the excellence of the solution and that Yasko was "delighted" with the progress on the project.[61] Gladych described the building as "expressing the 'precise, integrated form of the FBI.'"[62] The cost (which had been estimated at $12 million two years previously) had risen to $65 million.[63]

On October 15, 1964, Mr. Owings sent a telegram of congratulations to C.F. Murphy which stated, "Congratulations to you and your associates who worked on the FBI Building design. Model is splendid concept. Appreciate your full cooperation."

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[59] Leroy F. Aarons, "Group Hails Design for FBI Offices." *The Washington Post*, 2 October 1964, B1.
[60] Aarons, "Group Hails Design for FBI Offices."
[61] C.F. Murphy, "Outline of the Chronology of Design Development for FBI Building April 1963-August 1967."
[62] Aarons, "Group Hails Design for FBI Offices." The article also states that the building would include "platforms on the Ninth and Tenth St. sides that could be carried across E St. for an envisioned pedestrian arcade."
[63] Aarons, "Group Hails Design for FBI Offices."

When the architects presented the design to CFA on October 20, 1964, the general plan conformed to the concepts developed by the PAAC; however, the height was still taller (by six and a half feet) than the maximum 160 foot restriction of 1910 and the 1964 Plan. During the CFA meeting, Bunshaft pointed out that John Woodbridge, staff architect for the PAAC, was drawing sections for what the PAAC wanted that "have nothing to do with what the FBI is doing."[64] Bunshaft stated that the design, as developed by the architects, "indicated a second story arcade on a solid podium had better proportion than the PAAC's studies which showed the first two floors very high in relationship to the top floors."[65] The design incorporated many features of 1964 PAAC recommendations with an open second floor (for parade viewing by the public), a broad red brick sidewalk, three rows of trees, and three wide steps for parade viewing at the sidewalk. The "Chronology" states that Mr. Bunshaft commended the architects for producing an "exciting scheme with a beautiful parti" and suggested that the scale of the courtyard was not quite right and that the Pennsylvania Avenue facade was "too precious." The architects further recorded that Bunshaft did not like the "link solution to front building" and wanted further study of the corners.[66] It should also be noted that Bunshaft stated, "that looks like a concrete building...."[67]

The initial response to the design by the architectural community was positive. In October 1964, architect Paul Thiry, who sat on both the NCPC and PAAC, called the action approving the design “memorable, representing the beginning of the Pennsylvania Avenue plan.”[68] Architectural critic Wolf Von Eckardt praised the initial design as “gutsy” and bold, comparing it favorably to Gyo Obata’s National Air and Space Museum, Le Corbusier’s raw concrete structures in Chandigarh, India, and Paul Rudolph’s Yale University Art and Architecture Building. The design was “brutally modern” but classical in its symmetry and dignity and appropriate for a “national police headquarters.” Von Eckardt asserted that the building would be the “key to the success of the whole scheme [i.e. the Pennsylvania Avenue plan].” [69]

In the fall of 1964 and winter of 1965, the architects were busy creating and sending more sketches and concepts to GSA for approval.

1965

In March of 1965, the street development plan with the additional 50'-0" setback was approved by NCPC (figure 23).

On April 6, 1965, the architects met with GSA and FBI to discuss security measures for the building and proposed the moat solution along E Street. The architects provided more studies at the 9th and 10th Street corners later in the month. In August of the same year, the architects met again with GSA and FBI. Yasko (GSA) reported that Owings (PAAC) was "intrigued" by the moat concept. Yasko liked the concept of a spline (tall narrow elements) at the corners.

C.F. Murphy met with both GSA and FBI on September 30, 1965 to discuss the public tours. It was during this meeting that it was suggested the public tours should enter off of E Street rather than "hidden away off courtyard."

Funding issues continued to delay the project. In May of 1965, the House Appropriations Committee denied a $45.8 million request for funding, one of only two projects turned down of 34 proposed. The committee questioned the design’s space efficiency ratio, which at 68.6 percent was ten percent lower than comparable buildings, and justified the delay by noting that construction could not begin until June of 1966 anyway. It was nearly a year and a half before the House Appropriations Committee finally approved $11.3 million for the project, enough to proceed with construction of the foundation.[70] The GSA would be forced to use a phased construction process in order to cope with design changes and funding delays.

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[64] Commission of Fine Arts, Transcript, October 20, 1964.
[65] Commission of Fine Arts, Minutes, October 20, 1964.
[66] The "Chronology" states this meeting as occurring on the 23rd. The "link solution" is not explained further.
[67] Commission of Fine Arts, Transcript, October 20, 1964.
[68] Aarons, “Group Hails Design for FBI Offices.”
[69] Wolf Von Eckardt, “New ‘Federal’ Style is Emerging for Government Office Building,” Von Eckardt alludes to Brutalism in calling it “brutally modern” but notes this is an “as yet nameless style.”
[70] Elsie Carper, “Funds Assured For FBI Building,” *Washington Post*, October 22,1966, B3.

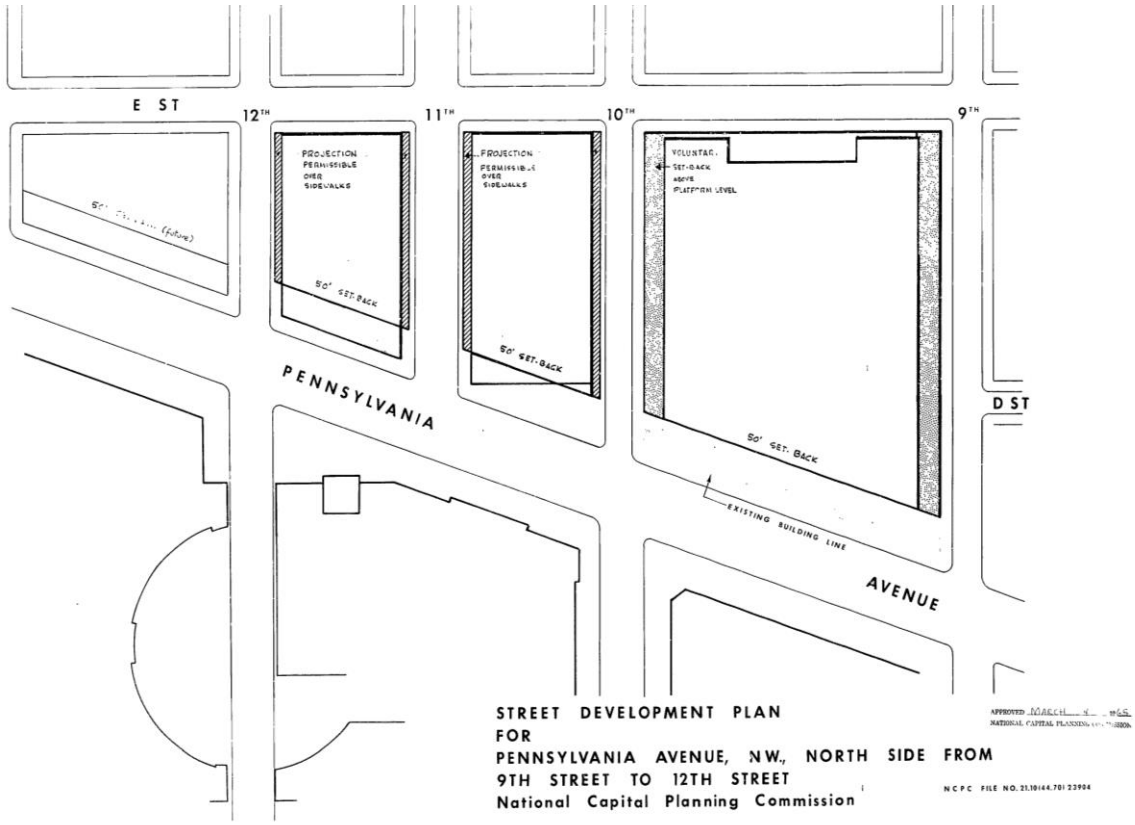

Figure 23 - Street Development Plan for Pennsylvania Avenue, 1965 (Source: NCPC). Note the 50'-0" setback from the existing building line. Also note the permissible projections over the numbered streets.

Meanwhile, the design reviews continued. On October 19, 1965, the architects met with CFA and presented the poured-in-place concrete building set in a moat along the bordering streets off of Pennsylvania Avenue. Manning explained that the moat solution ("a la the Treasury Building") was in response to the two or three feet high plinth at the corner of 9th and E Streets which FBI deemed a "very severe security problem."[71] In response to the moat, Bunshaft replied, "Feudal, isn't it?"[72] In a discussion on proportions, Walton commented, "If this were for any other agency, I wouldn't worry half so much, but the public outcry of that bulk rearing up in the heart of the city is going to be tremendous when it's FBI."[73] Bunshaft added, "Outside of that, I think you've done a terrific job of solving this. That's a very difficult thing, and you've done it very nicely."[74] CFA was pleased with the design and had two main comments: to reduce the top mass to two floors and lengthen it, and that "the building should be on a solid base with no other openings than the main entranceway." "The idea of incorporating open commercial spaces in the base to enliven the view for pedestrians along Pennsylvania Avenue was thought to be completely contradictory to its architectural function." In a November 2, 1965 letter to Yasko, Assistant Commissioner of Design and Construction, Public Buildings Service, GSA, Chairman Walton stated that "to incorporate glassed-in store areas or exhibition spaces along the sidewalk would completely deny the structural purpose of the base and as a result give a superficial character to the design."[75] Interestingly, Chairman Walton was also a member of the PAAC.

One month later on November 15, 1965, the architects provided new models and made revisions according to CFA's recommendations. It was at this meeting that Nathanial Owings, Chairman of the PAAC "expressed the desire to have the base treated as a tray with open areas below containing gardens, fountains, etc. He felt it should not appear as a podium constructed of masonry, or concrete."[76] Yasko commented that because of security aspects of the FBI, a

[71] CFA Transcript, October 19, 1965, 134-135.
[72] CFA Transcript, October 19, 1965, 136.
[73] CFA Transcript, October 19, 1965, 136-137.
[74] CFA Transcript, October 19, 1965, 137-138.
[75] CFA Minutes, October 19, 1965.
[76] This is likely related to previous comments by PAAC Chairman Owings in 1963 who stated that it should be a "park-like avenue in which buildings could float."

grill with gate would be required. CFA was pleased with progress but asked for continued study of the base or tray along Pennsylvania Avenue in trying "to meet the aims of the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission to incorporate an open and interesting space along the sidewalk."[77]

1966

On February 2, 1966, C.F. Murphy hired a conceptual structural consultant to help with various structural solutions. Floor plans, models, and elevation drawings were presented to CFA on November 15, 1966. It was at this meeting that the review of the facade got underway. CFA felt the "facade appeared clumsy and without scale. The facade's verticality failed to express the floors, or the structural system" (figure 24). In the same meeting, CFA also reviewed landscape plans for Pennsylvania Avenue which they thought were "overdone." The plans showed three rows of precisely trimmed trees along the north side. CFA suggested a single or double row of natural formed trees would not compete as much with the architecture. In the follow-up meeting with architects the next day, Bunshaft expressed the commission's approval of the massing but stated that the facade was unsatisfactory as was the central court with the complicated sculptural forms and protrusions. In a letter sent from Chairman Walton to Knott on November 29, Walton stated that "the Commission does not believe the design is proceeding well....The building lacks scale and the massive elevations look monotonous and in some ways awkward."[78] Another letter from Walton to Chairman Owings stated that CFA was very concerned about the density of the proposed planting: "Buildings define space and should be seen, yet coverage of these closely planted trees...is going to completely shut off the view...foliage is in line with eye level of the pedestrian on viewing platforms on north side."[79] He also commented about severely clipped versus natural and free form of the south trees and thought the red brick looked too residential in character and suggested granite paving blocks.

On December 1, 1966, NCPC approved the preliminary site and building plans, including the mechanical penthouses, despite exceeding height restrictions along the avenue.[80] Further study for more openness on Pennsylvania Avenue and restoring the arcade were recommended.

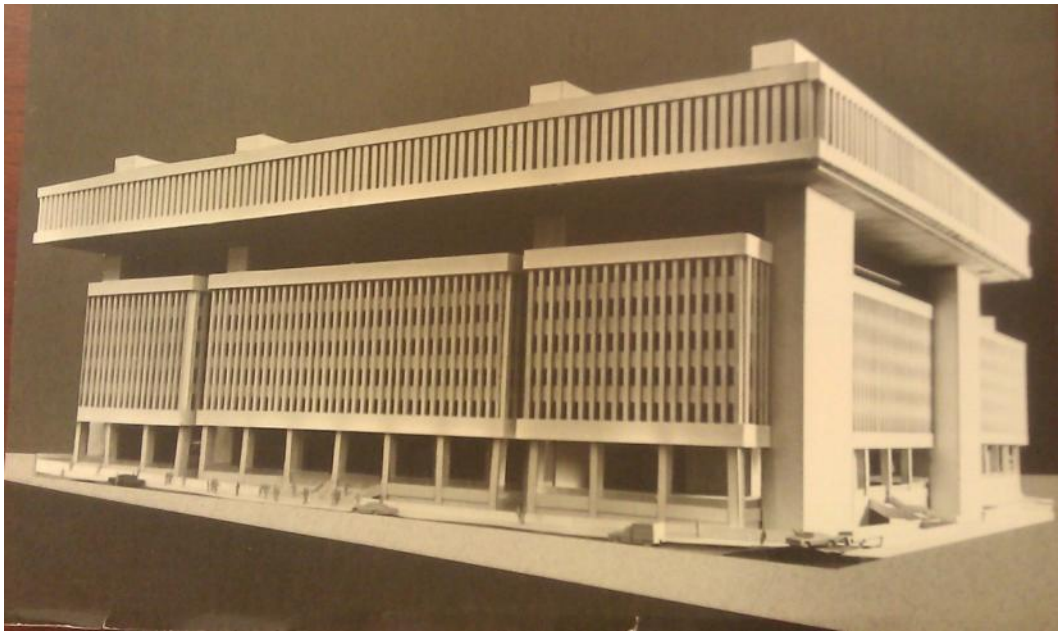

Figure 24 - Elevation model, August-October 1966 (Source: Scrapbook of Request for Additional Services material, 1968)

[77] Letter from Walton to Knott, Administrator, GSA, CFA Minutes November 15, 1965.
[78] Letter from Walton to Knott, Administrator, GSA, CFA Minutes November 16, 1965.
[79] CFA Minutes, November 16, 1966.
[80]" FBI Building Approved After Penthouse Fight," *Washington Post*, December 2,1966, D2.

1967

On January 25, 1967 the architects presented revisions to the courtyard which were approved by CFA. In April of that year, revisions to the elevation were presented and this is when the discussion of the first and second floor architectural expression got under way (figures 25-29). CFA commented that the "columns of the loggia section [at the second floor] should continue to the ground and the base recessed several feet behind the columns."[81] The PBS GSA representative requested that "the Commission reconsider this decision since his agency is under pressure to begin construction of the substructure within fiscal year 1967 as funds have been appropriated for this."[82] A letter from Chairman Walton on April 27, 1967 stated that the "treatment of the base of the building adjoining the sidewalks is particularly oppressive in the present scheme."[83] However, it was during this meeting that Bunshaft stated, "we think what you've done in the development of the facade of this building is just wonderful....I think the pattern you have here and the scale of that is really beautiful." Aline Saarinen added, "The indentations, the masses, the plasticity, the strength are good." Bunshaft concluded, "We all thought the feeling of it was really good. We feel it is quite a wonderful day on your building. Let's hope they build it."[84]

Figure 25 - Perspective Study of Southeast Corner, C.F. Murphy (Source: GSA Regional Office Archives)

Figure 26 - Perspective Study of Northeast Corner, C.F. Murphy (Source: GSA Regional Office Archives)

[81] CFA Minutes, April 18, 1967.
[82] CFA Minutes, April 18, 1967.
[83] CFA Minutes, April 19, 1967.
[84] CFA Transcript, April 19, 1967,141 and 144.

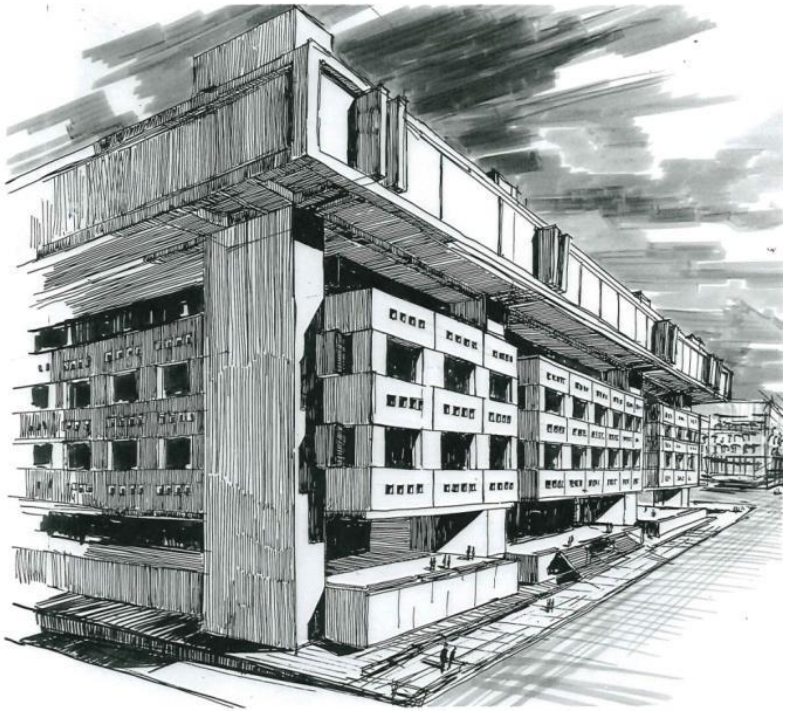

Figure 27 - Perspective Study of Northeast Corner, C.F. Murphy (Source: GSA Regional Office Archives)

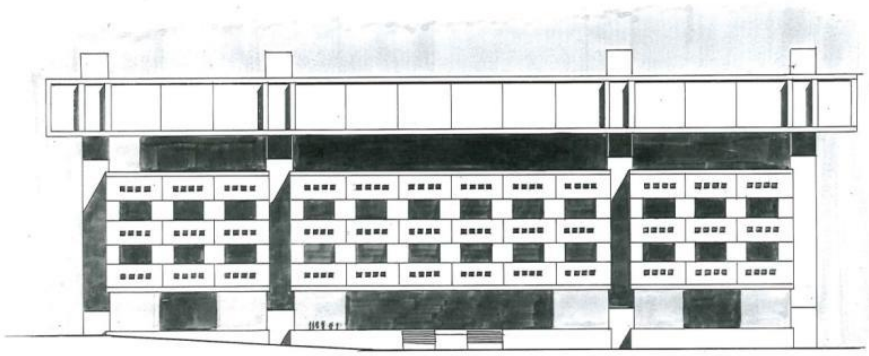

Figure 28 - Facade Study of E Street Facade, C.F. Murphy (Source: GSA Regional Office Archives)

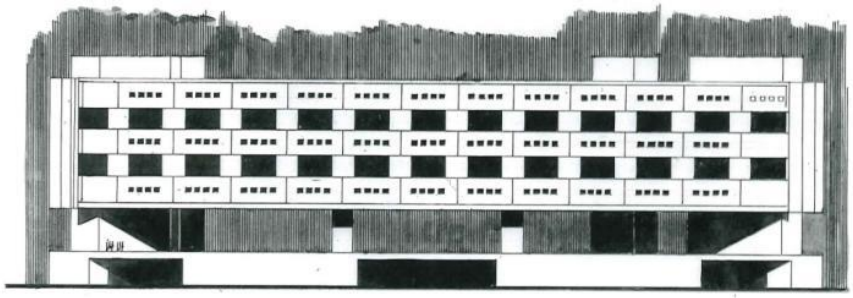

Figure 29 - Facade Study, C.F. Murphy (Source: GSA Regional Office Archives)

Revisions presented in June were found to be unacceptable. In the June 20th meeting, Bunshaft stated, "I think we have to tell them, the F.B.I., what to do -- and tell them very clearly, so that the G.S.A., and the F.B.I. --These poor architects, I think , are in a real clamp." Bunshaft continued this sentiment by stating, "If you don't mind, I think I would like to say, 'The architects have been in a bind, between the different planning people, and the client.'"[85] In the follow-up meeting with the architects on June 21, 1967, CFA recommended that the "ground floor exterior wall must be recessed to the rear face of the columns; the second floor slab edge beam must be turned down; and that the railing enclosing the second floor deck be fairly heavy looking."[86] The minutes state that the architect "agreed this was a reasonable solution." In the negotiations for an arcade to comply with the PAAC's plan, CFA offered free-standing columns and then pilasters while the architects and the FBI stood their ground, citing the concern that "undesirables" would hide in the arcades to mug or molest young female employees.[87] This was the last CFA review before construction started. See figures 30 to 32 for renderings of the approved design.

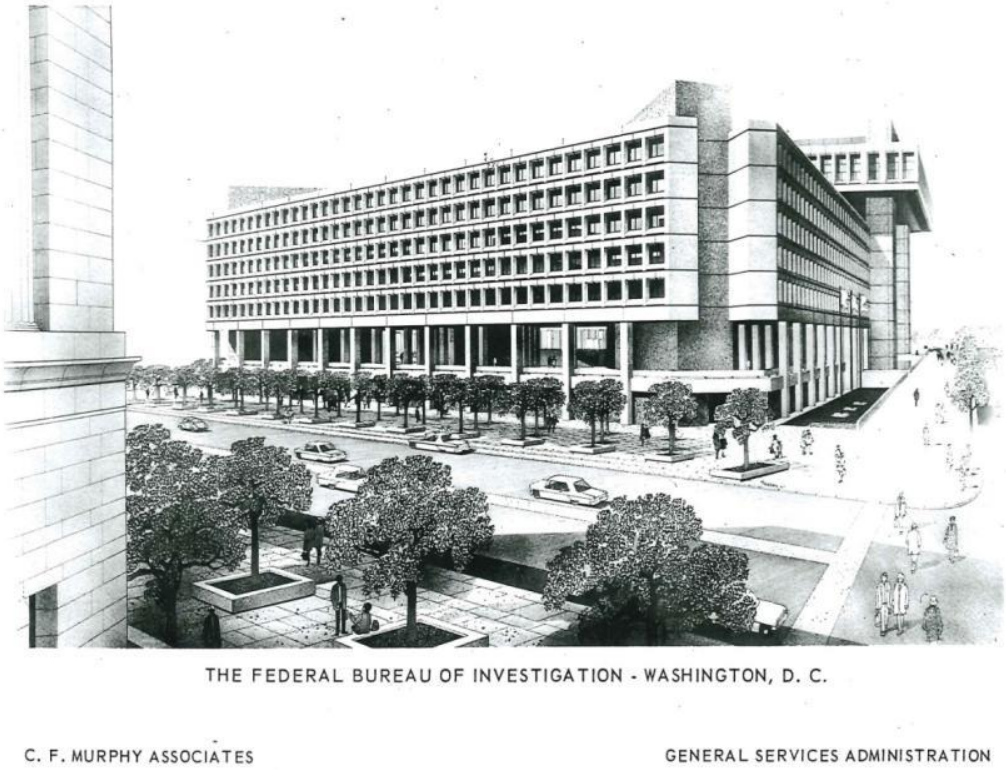

Figure 30 - Perspective view of approved design, C.F. Murphy (Source: CFA, GSA Regional Office Archives, and Scrapbook of Request for Additional Services material, 1968)

[85] CFA Transcript, June 20, 1967, 39 and 42.
[86] CFA Minutes, June 21, 1967.
[87] Richard Severo, "Plans Approved for FBI Building," *Washington Post*, September 15, 1967, C1.

Figure 31 - Perspective view of approved design, C.F. Murphy (Source: CFA, GSA Regional Office Archives, and Scrapbook of Request for Additional Services material, 1968)

Figure 32 - Perspective view of approved design, C.F. Murphy (Source: CFA and GSA Regional Office Archives)

On August 21, 1967, schemes of the facade were presented to GSA. Scheme A was selected by Leonard Hunter (figures 33 and 34).[88] On August 22, 1967, GSA presented the four schemes (A through D) to Owings who insisted on an arcade along Pennsylvania Avenue. However, the FBI opposed the arcade and approved Scheme A. On the 28th, GSA instructed C.F. Murphy to prepare for the NCPC final review based on Scheme A.

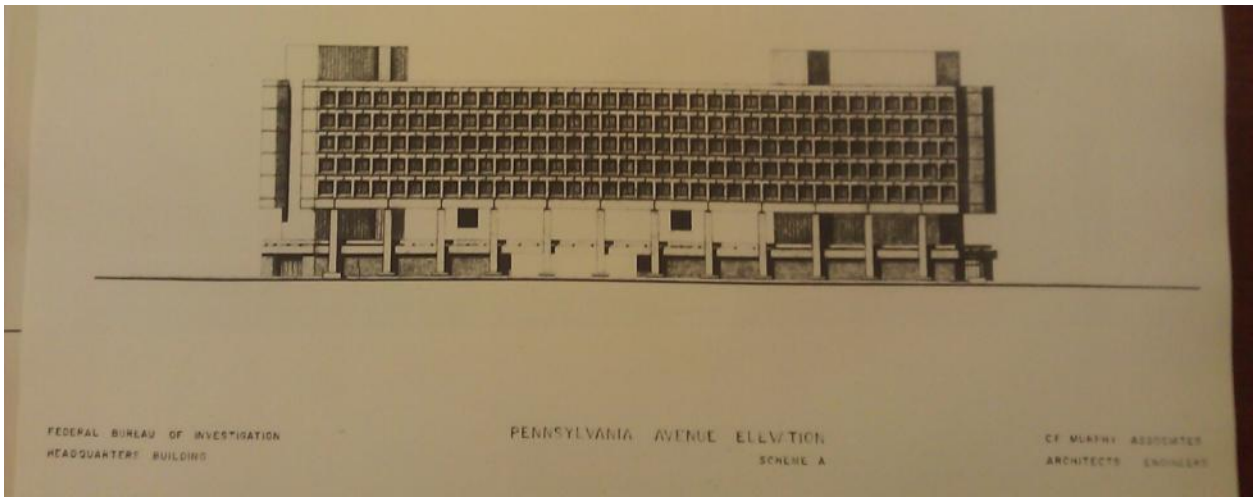

Figure 33 - Pennsylvania Avenue Elevation Scheme A, C.F. Murphy (Source: Scrapbook of Request for Additional Services material, 1968)

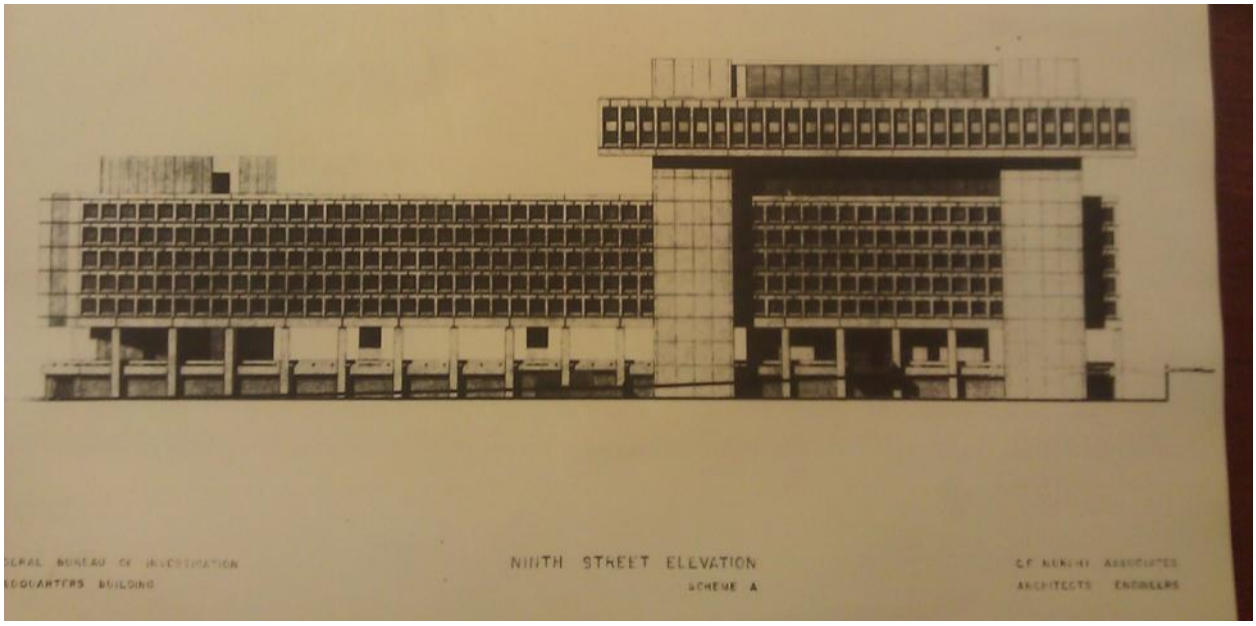

Figure 34 - Ninth Street Elevation Scheme A, C.F. Murphy (Source: Scrapbook of Request for Additional Services material, 1968)

[88] In 1968, Leonard Hunter was Acting Commissioner for Design and Construction at GSA.

On September 14, 1967, NCPC approved the plans without the arcade (figures 35-38). At this meeting, PAAC Chairman Owings protested the plan for the FBI Building stating that "If we let the FBI do this, the Pennsylvania Avenue plan will be defeated before it starts."[89] The FBI spokesman, John Mohr, assistant to FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, held strong to the elimination of the arcade for security reasons, at which the NCPC voted for the exemption for the FBI. The final ground floor exterior wall design would consist of blank concrete walls slightly set back from the vertical columns. An offer to soften the blank walls by covering them with a visually softer material was made, but budget considerations would eliminate that plan too.

Figure 35 - Proposed first floor plan, 1966 (Source: NCPC). Note the library "protrusion" in the southwest corner of the courtyard.

[89] Severo, Richard, "Plans Approved for FBI Building."

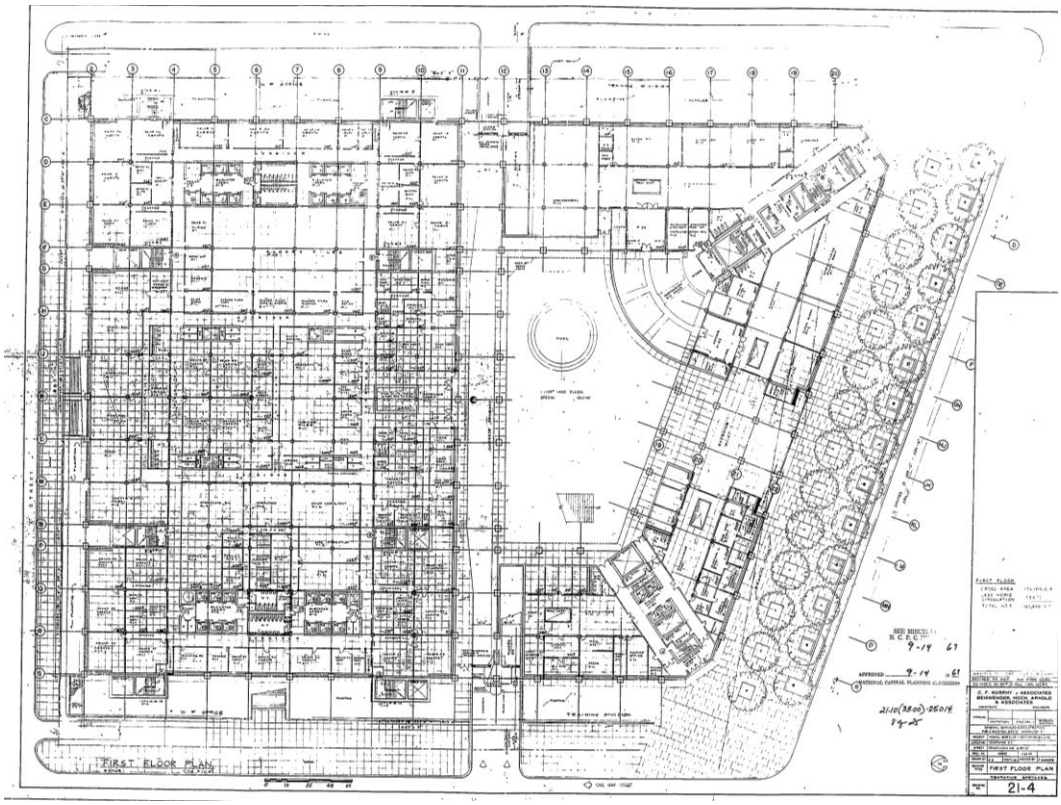

Figure 36 - Approved first floor plan, 1967 (Source: NCPC)

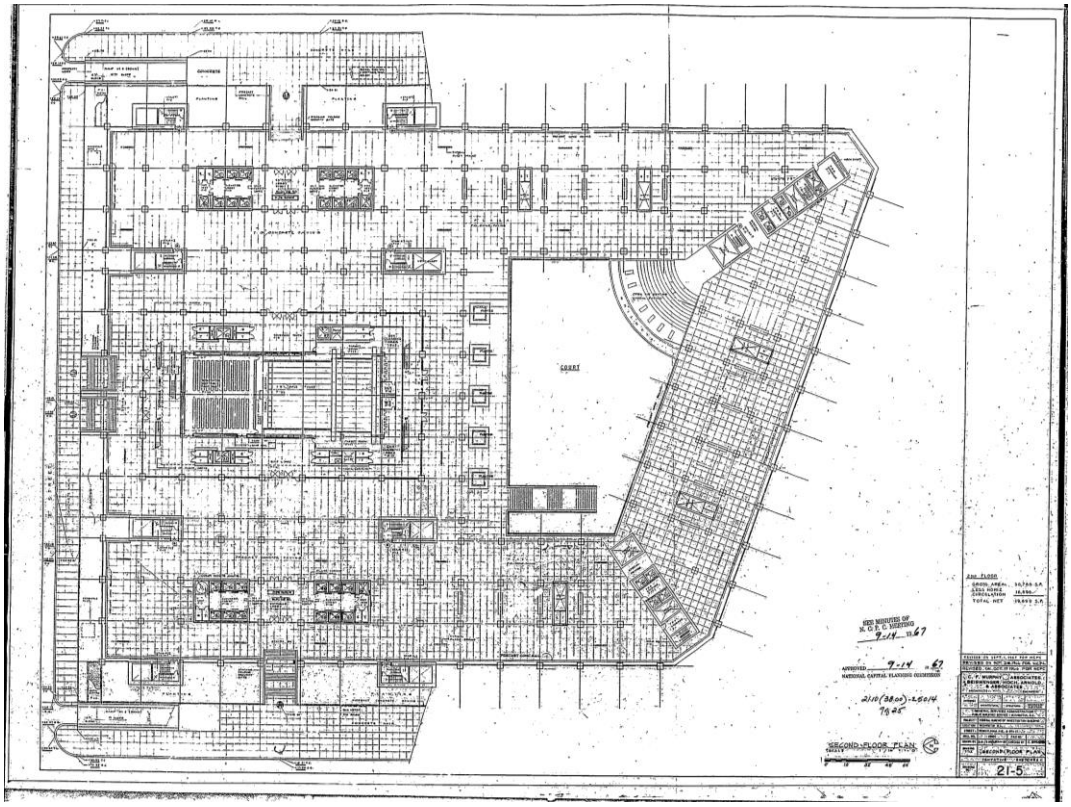

Figure 37 - Approved second floor plan, 1967 (Source: NCPC)

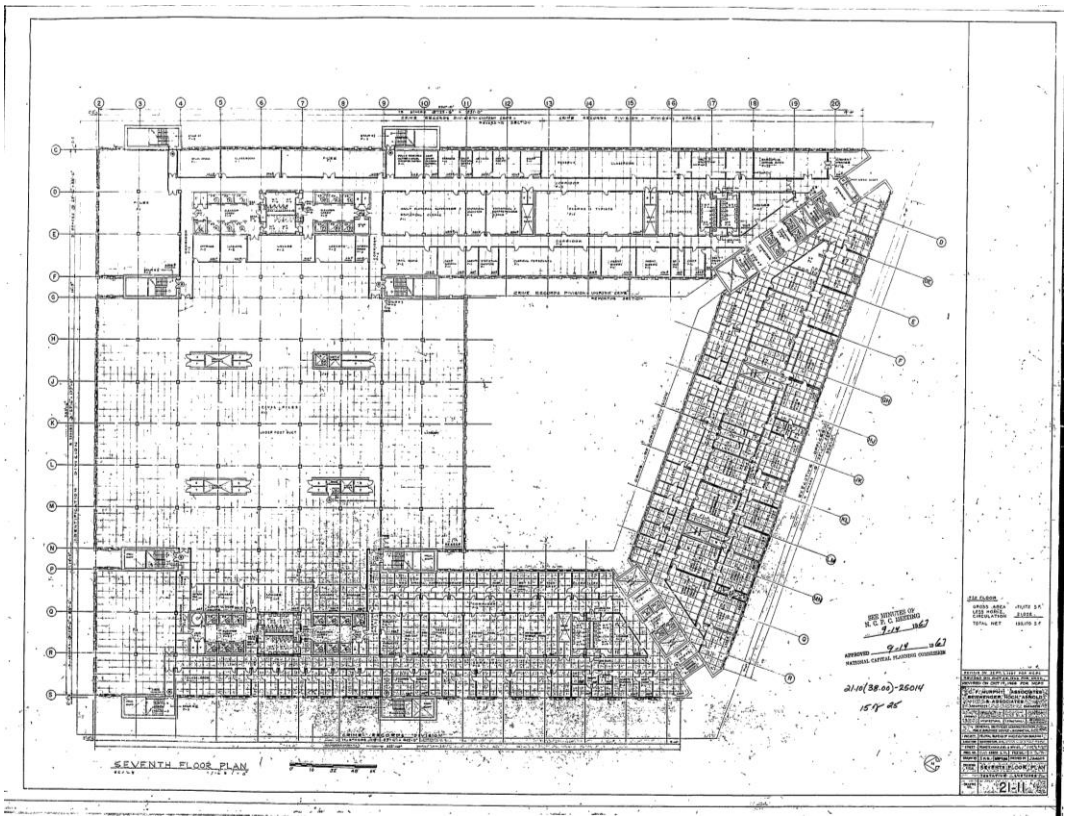

Figure 38 - Approved seventh floor, 1967 (Source: NCPC). This floor is fairly typical of the floors that extend from Pennsylvania Avenue to E Street. Along Pennsylvania Avenue are the executive offices. The north end of the plan (along E Street) is an open plan for file storage.

From the fall of 1967 through winter 1968, C.F. Murphy requested additional fees for various issues that needed to be addressed. C.F. Murphy was at a financial loss and stated that the design was only 50% completed. Their February 20, 1968 Request for Additional Services letter to GSA provided much back-up material. A January 12, 1968 letter discussed how the project had increased both in quality - from a standard Federal office building to the highly specialized FBI program - and in complexity.

"No matter what the resolution of the present conflicting views of NCPC, PAC and FAC, we believe that all agree, however, that the basic design as it stands today will give an unusually fine building and, indeed, represents a remarkable resolution into architectural form of the almost overwhelming restrictions placed on the project. A simple comparison of the FBI building with typical F.O.B. buildings in Washington should quickly demonstrate the different levels of quality required for the FBI building and should clearly attest to the much greater effort required of its architects." "The special circumstances attending the FBI project were aptly summarized in a letter from Mr. Yasko to us in mid-1963: 'I would re-emphasize the significance of this project to all of us concerned with its development. What is done here will have an impact on Washington greater, probably, than any building done in this generation.' Such an exhortation, we believe, clearly calls for an effort much greater than could be expected from architects commissioned to design a typical F.O.B. [Federal Office Building] structure!"

Shortly after its approval CFA began to have its doubts. In 1969, Chairman Walton stated, "we are all scared of the size of it. It is a blockbuster. And the symbolism of putting this size building for the FBI right in the heart of the city is terrible."[90] "For all its monstrosity, the FBI Building does express some of the aesthetic values of the Walton commission.....Faced with a difficult, perhaps impossible, program, its designers did create something impressive. That was thanks, in part, to the assertive Commission of Fine Arts of the 1960s."[91]

[90] Luebke, *Civic Art: Centennial History of the U.S. Commission of Fire Arts*, 299.
[91] Luebke, *Civic Art: Centennial History of the U.S. Commission of Fire Arts*, 299.

The FBI Building continued to undergo review by CFA as design changes were made during construction and after. The treatment of the facade was reviewed by CFA in 1970 when the architects proposed a combination of several different textures and patterns. CFA felt that the combination "tended to reinforce the severity for the design."[92] In the transcripts, Bunshaft states "we don't go into three tones myself, as a rule, but...." and later "I personally think we have such a sculptural building, and it is very sculptural. Do you know what I mean? Lumps out...I don't think you would need all those planes of material. It's something that ought to be built out of the one material." In response, Roche stated, "I think it's a very ugly building." Bunshaft replied, "Well, I mean, to emphasize it is wrong." Roche then commented, "It's monstrous." The following page Bunshaft states, "I think this is, as Kevin says, a pretty tough, very big building, and I think the simpler the material, the better." A little later, Bunshaft states, "If I were doing it myself, I would get it a little rougher nap but not as rough as that, and I wouldn't do the fluting. You know, I mean, good figures, good aggregate." Roche replied , "Well, it is not going to improve it very much." Bunshaft, "Well, at least it won't emphasize - it won't emphasize it so much. What do you think? We can't make the building over, but this is emphasizing it and just making it - imagine the bottom of that around little smooth columns." There is slight discussion about bringing the architects and GSA into the room to ask their reasons why they proposed the different textures but certain members do not feel the need to find out. Smith even makes the comment "We don't care why." Carter Manny and others from GSA came in to the meeting. Manning immediately responded that he agreed with CFA preference, one texture, without any further discussion. Bunshaft made the flip comment, "If you fellows are surviving, in another five years you might have it built. I'd like to see a different group. It's been a long time."

Construction drawings were completed in 1971 (figures 39 to 42).

From 1977-79, CFA reviewed the designs for the sculpture in the courtyard in honor of J. Edgar Hoover.

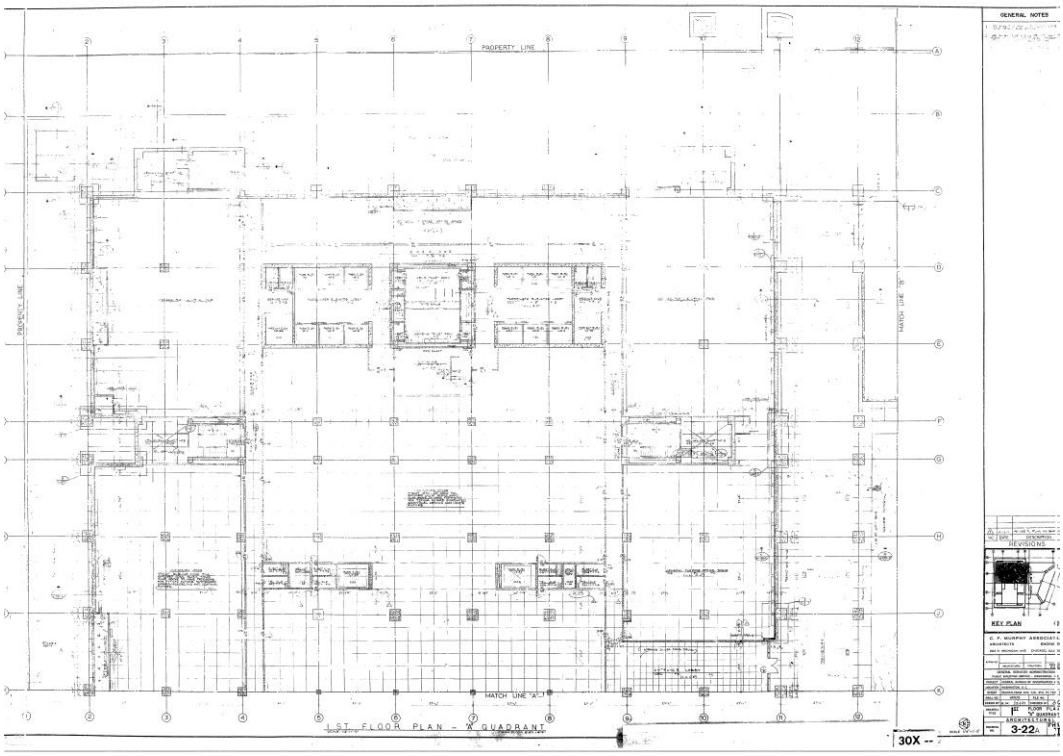

Figure 39 - Original Drawing - 1st Floor - A Quadrant (Northeast corner), 1971 (Source: GSA)

[92] CFA Minutes, July 8, 1970. Following quotes are from the transcript of that meeting.

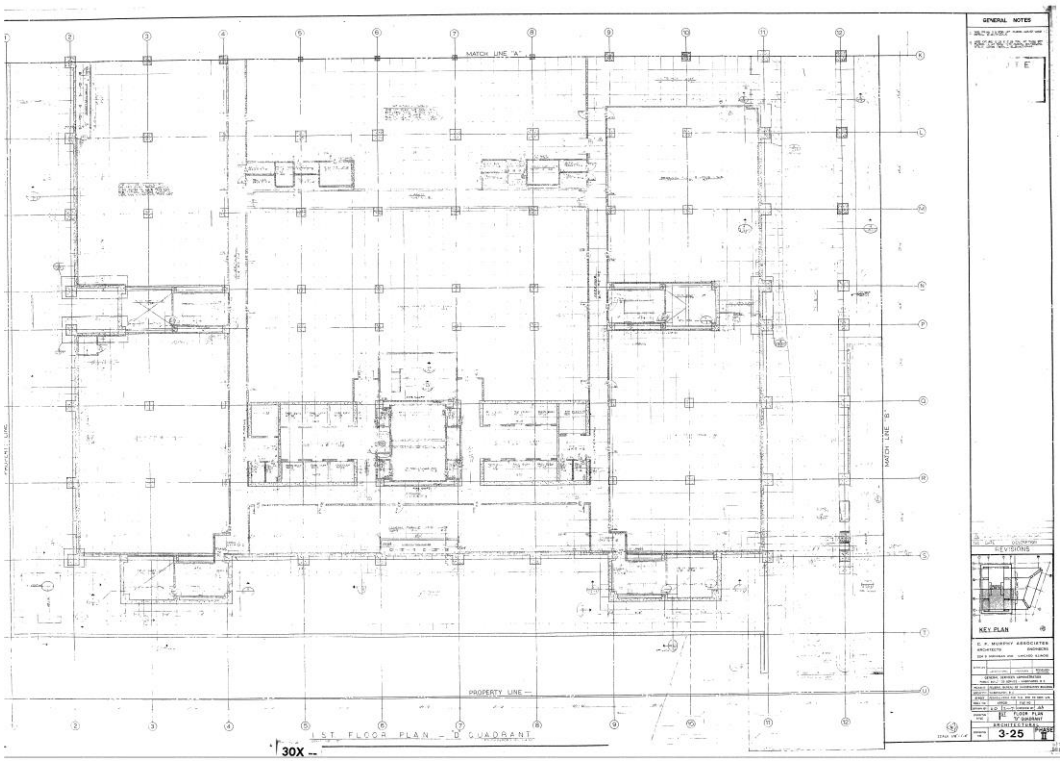

Figure 40 - Original Drawing - 1st Floor - D Quadrant (Northwest corner), 1971 (Source: GSA)

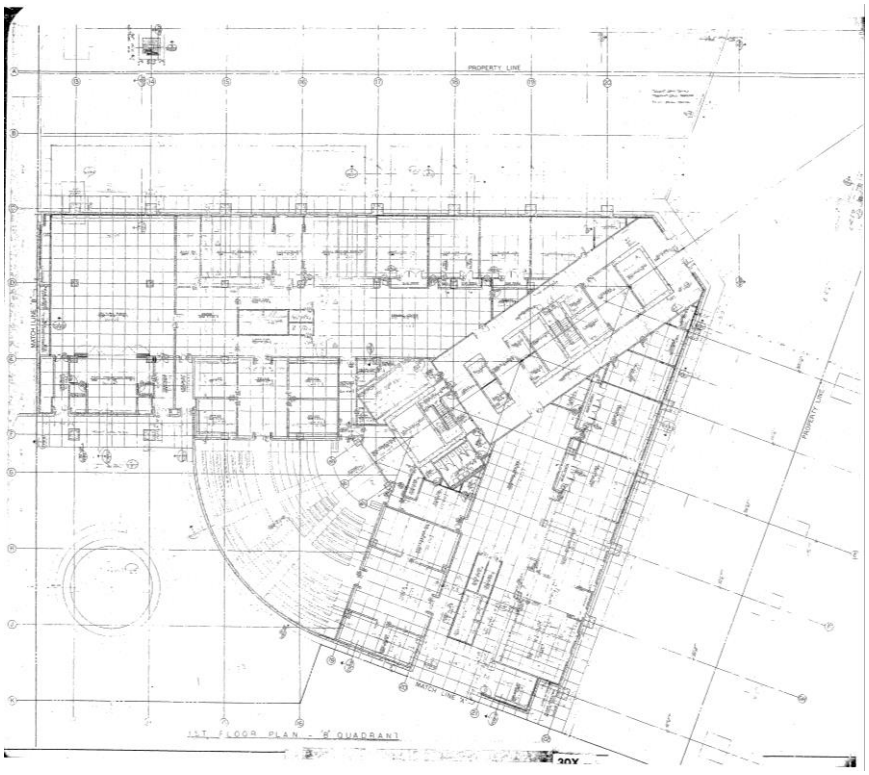

Figure 41 - Original Drawing - 1st Floor - B Quadrant (Southeast corner), 1971 (Source: GSA)

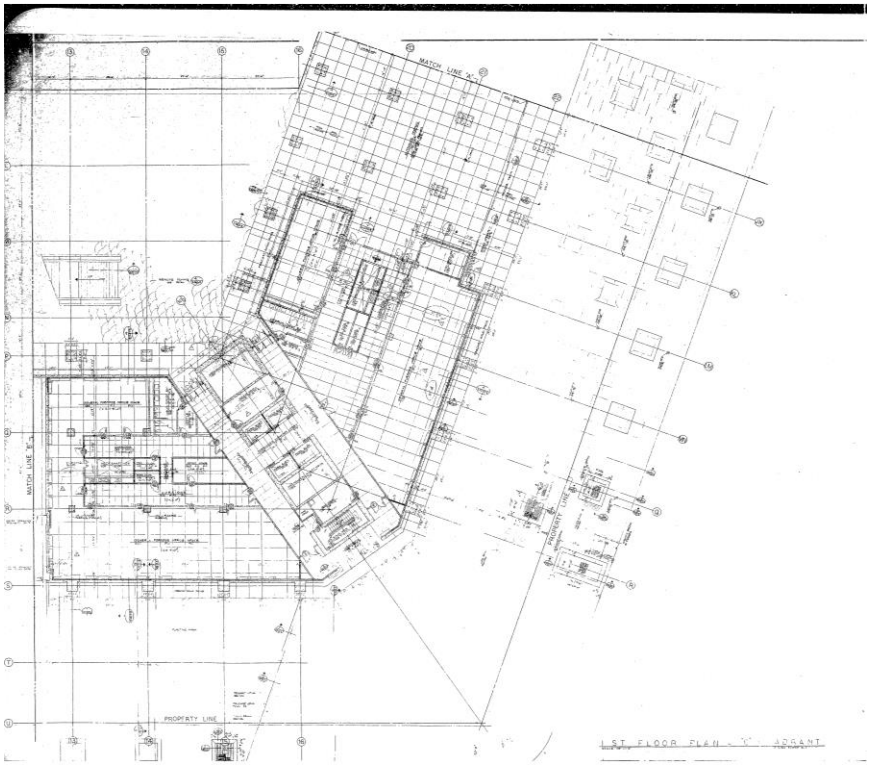

Figure 42 - Original Drawing - 1st Floor - C Quadrant (Southwest corner), 1971 (Source: GSA)

Building Construction, Occupation, and Critical Reception

In November of 1967, the Bureau of the Budget authorized GSA to award the construction contract for the first phase, covering site clearing, excavation and the construction of the foundation and lower basement levels, to Norair Construction Company. Phase I construction officially started in December of 1967 (figures 43 to 45).

The massive building project would remain plagued by delays and rising costs. By June of 1970, the estimated cost had ballooned to $102.5 million, making the FBI Building now the most expensive US government building to that point, but only $31.8 million of that had been appropriated. Progress was slow; the contractor was still working on the substructure floors and estimated completion would not be until early 1974.[93] Nearly a year and a half later, after the submission of only two bids for the remainder of the building – the superstructure – Blake Construction Company was awarded the contract, and costs continued to rise, from over $109 million in December of 1971 to over $126 million the following August.[94] The rising costs were attributed to increases in standard construction costs, frequent changes to the design, and construction worker strikes.

Work continued slowly; by August of 1972, the building was only up to the second floor level.[95] It took more than three years after that for the building to finally be completed. FBI employees began moving into the new building in June of 1974; by the following summer, the building was virtually complete, but only 45% occupied.[96] Although President Gerald Ford dedicated the building on September 30, 1975, it would not be until June of 1977, thirty-eight years after the first proposal for a separate FBI Building and fifteen years after Congress approved construction on the Pennsylvania Avenue site that the last employees would move into the building (figure 46).

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[93] Jean R. Hailey, "New Home for FBI Expected To Be Costliest U.S. Building: Estimated at $102.5 Million," *Washington Post*, June 19, 1970, B8.
[94] Walter Pincus, "Hoover's Lasting Monument: New Headquarters for FBI," *Washington Post*, June 9, 1971, A6; Abbott Combes, "FBI Building Costs Set at $109 Million: FBI Building Cost Up Sharply," *Washington Post,* December 11, 1971, B1.
[95] Robert Donin, "Halt Claimed to FBI Building Cost Rise: FBI Of[ice Cost Rise Halt Seen," *Washington Post*, August 12, 1972, B1.
[96] Gail Robinson, "FBI Moves After 8 Years, $126 Million," *Washington Post*, June 21, 1975, B2.

Figure 43 - Southwest view of the cleared site towards the Old Post Office Building (tower in background), circa 1967 (Source: GSA Regional Office Archives)

Figure 44 - South view of the cleared site towards the Department of Justice, circa 1967 (Source: GSA Regional Office Archives)

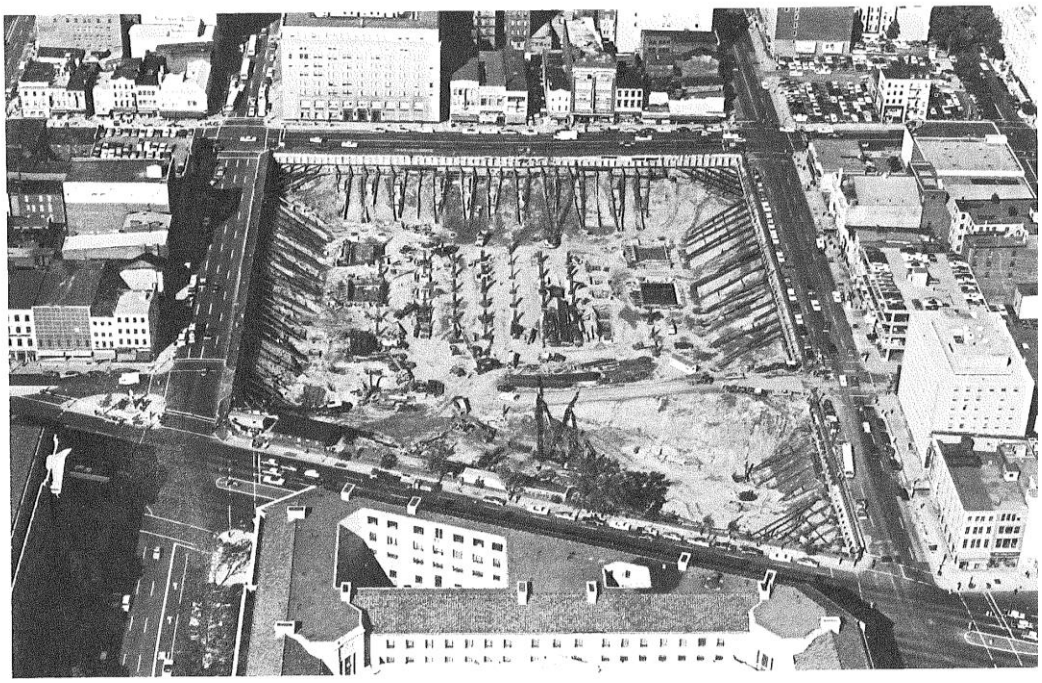

Figure 45 - Site of FBI Building under construction (ca. 1968) (Source: *Pennsylvania Avenue*, President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1969)

Figure 46 - Photographs of the Dedication Ceremony September 30, 1975 from Carter Manny's scrapbook (Source: Carter Manny)

Reactions to the building by its new tenants were mixed. Many appreciated the increased space, the lighting, and the new amenities, including a 700 seat auditorium, a medical center, two-story basement gym, the extensive analytical and photographic labs and studios, and the in-house publishing facilities. The view from the eighth floor cafeteria was expansive, and visitors appreciated the new, expanded tour facilities. Other workers cited the design style, rough concrete walls, the lack of windows and carpeting, and the confusing interior layout as negative factors. [97]

Outside opinions of the building were less equivocal; it was almost universally panned. New York Times architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable, who in 1969 had praised the Brutalist Boston City Hall, gave C. F. Murphy credit for making the best of their assignment, but noted that "even so, it will look like a modern dinosaur."[98] Other critics were less forgiving. Wolf Von Eckardt, who had praised the preliminary design as gutsy, had nothing but scorn for the final product. "If the last and most sickly arrogant of the Roman emperors had dreamed of modern architecture, they would have dreamed of the new FBI headquarters," he wrote in January of 1974, as the building was approaching completion. Von Eckardt listed it among five examples of bad taste in Washington architecture, and called it "not only forbidding and inhuman (but) brutal." Von Eckardt blamed the design review process, specifically the Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) and Gordon Bunshaft for the forbidding blank concrete wall and gravel moat at the ground floor level.[99] In a similar vein, New York Times architecture critic Paul Goldberger, also blaming the multiple bureaucracies through which the design had to pass, called it "one of the dullest buildings in a city of dull buildings" and noted that "the absence of color would not in itself be so important were it not an indication of the utter banality that pervades every aspect of this design."[100]

Time did not soften opinions of the building. In 1977, Washington Post journalist Haynes Johnson called it a "gigantic pillbox on stilts" and noted the irony that this building was the first "tangible fruit" of the PAAC, which had by that time been replaced by the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation (PADC) which was created in 1972. The building received little notice in the national architectural press; articles in publications like the *Architectural Record* and *Progressive Architecture* came early in the design phase, or were reprints of articles printed in newspapers, like Ada Louise Huxtable's 1972 *New York Times* opinion piece, reprinted in the *Architectural Forum*. Paul Gapp, architecture critic for the Chicago *Tribune* published a piece in the April 1978 *Inland Architect*, echoing the criticism of others that the design review process was to blame for the poor design, again pointing the finger at Gordon Bunshaft, who had insisted on a "more strongly expressed base" rather than the arcaded shops. Gapp lamented that this was a compromise design, satisfying no one but the FBI. Gapp also placed the building into the larger context of urban planning, calling it a "textbook example of a missed opportunity in city planning and another symbol of the bland architectural homogenization which has afflicted the capital since World War II."[101] As early as 1979, there were calls to demolish the building, and there has been little revision of opinion as to the building's architectural quality, even in recent years with the reassessment of Modern architecture in general.[102]

How had this building, which in the early 1960s had been seen as the linchpin in the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue, become one of the country's most reviled structures? As noted above, a number of the contemporary critics blamed the design review process. Indeed, with so many entities with reviewing authority interested in the design of this building, it became, as architecture critic Ada Louise Huxtable noted, a "bone of contention."[103] In order to satisfy the FBI, it had to be functional, of adequate size, and secure. GSA wanted an inexpensive building. The Pennsylvania Avenue Advisory Commission (PAAC), which issued its plan in April of 1964, wanted a flexible design that provided human scale for pedestrians and fit into their grand design for a ceremonial avenue. According to the "Guiding Principles," it should represent the finest in contemporary architectural thought, symbolizing the progressive nature of American development.

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[97] Linda Newton Jones, "Workers React to New Offices: FBI Building Is 'Magnificent'--'Plain'," *Washington Post*, October 1, 1975, C1.
[98] Ada Louise Huxtable, "The F.B.I. Building: A Study in Soaring Costs and Capital Views on Beauty *New York Times,* January 24,1972, reprinted in *Architectural* Forum, April 1972.
[99] Wolf Von Eckardt, "Rating Washington's Architecture: In terms of taste: The good, the bad and the overrated," *Washington Post*, January 6, 1974, 18; and Wolf Von Eckardt, "New FBI Building: Perfect Stage Set For Orwell's '1984': Cityscape Concrete Contradiction," *Washington Post,* July 12, 1975, B1. The other four were the Watergate Complex, the Sam Rayburn House Office Building, "those tapered follies on K St. NW," (the Slick Sisters) and "the bathtub on Thomas Circle" (Ramada Inn).
[100] Paul Goldberger, "$126-Million F.B.I. Building, Named for Hoover, Dedicated," *New York Times,* October 1, 1975, C1.
[101] Gapp, "Washington's FBI Building Missing Its Mark," *Inland Architect* April 1978.
[102] George Lardner Jr ,"FBI Guards Its Building Walls, Says Boutiques May Have Ears," *Washington Post*, August 8, 1979, B1.
[103] Ada Louise Huxtable, "Plan for Rebuilding Pa. Avenue is Near Completion."

Another factor was its architectural style. When it was first designed in the early 1960s, Brutalism as an architectural style was new; Wolf Von Eckardt in 1964 had called it an "as yet nameless style." In 1964, Von Eckardt could call the style gutsy; ten years later, he termed it "a waning phase in the evolution of 20th-century architecture, often called 'Brutalism,' [which gave] shape and form to this dream of architectural vainglory." Brutalism was never a particularly popular style; many called it cold and forbidding. While that may have been appropriate for the FBI headquarters, it did not win the building many fans.

The building's design also reflected a certain period in federal architectural design ideals which by the mid 1970s had passed on. While the "Guiding Principles" had relied on independent architects to design the best of the new architectural styles, the result was, in the words of Haynes Johnson, to "design a building unto itself" with little concern for its setting. Paul Goldberger, in comparing the FBI Building to Le Corbusier's monastery at La Tourette, asserted that the latter fit its setting on a hillside, while the FBI Building overwhelmed its site. Robert A Peck, assistant director of the Federal Architecture Project, in 1977 suggested that the idea to get "distinguished" architects to design "prettier" buildings was a failure and made federal architecture out of touch with the people. By the 1970s, the focus was less on new construction, and more on reusing historic buildings.

Opinions had also changed about the FBI itself. The organization had remained well-respected and revered in public opinion even through the 1960s; but by the early 1970s, the tide of public opinion had reversed. Revelations about the counter-intelligence operations of director J. Edgar Hoover, the disastrous results of investigations like Watergate, Wounded Knee, and the Patty Hearst kidnapping, and allegations of corruption within the organization tarnished its image. The new building – overpriced, unwelcoming, and fortress-like – was completed at a low point in the Bureau's public reputation, and may have become a symbol of all that the public disliked in the FBI. Naming the building after former director, J. Edgar Hoover only reinforced the association.

Post-Construction Alterations

Washington planners did not abandon their attempts to put retail into the ground floor of the FBI Building to ameliorate the deadening effects of the blank concrete wall. In January of 1976, the DC Municipal Planning Office again proposed retail space on the first floor, enabled by the recently enacted Public Buildings Cooperative Use Act, which permitted the federal government to lease space for public amenities in Federal buildings.[104] Robert A. Peck, assistant director of Federal Architecture Project, supported the plan, as well as holding public concerts in the amphitheatre.[105] Although the FBI did hold public concerts in the courtyard from time to time, it continued to reject the proposal to put retail on the ground floor, although in 1979, it did offer to reface the concrete walls to make them look nicer.[106] The second story pedestrian observation deck, originally intended to be a public space, was never easily accessible; although the FBI tour remained popular, FBI security personnel discouraged or prohibited casual walking through the open mezzanine.[107] Even the public tours, once the second most popular tour in the capital behind the White House, were periodically suspended due to security concerns, and the tour has been effectively closed to all but FBI personnel and their guests since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Other security measures have been gradually added. Gigantic concrete planters were placed around the entrances to prevent vehicles from crashing into the building. The main entrance, which had previously been an open passage into the courtyard, was filled in, first with gates, then with tarps, then with a complete infill with a secure entry system including metal detectors and multiple levels of security.

Since 2001, the condition of the building has been a perennial concern. As the building neared and then passed the thirty year mark, many of its systems, including HVAC, elevators, etc, were nearing the end of their service life. Structural problems, some due to deferred maintenance, some due to inferior construction techniques, became more apparent.[108] In 2006, a piece of concrete from the façade came loose and fell to the sidewalk on Pennsylvania Avenue. Loose concrete was removed and netting hung around the upper floors to prevent further loss, but the condition was not corrected and the netting remains in place today.

By 2007, talk of moving the FBI to a new facility was seriously under consideration. Architectural, engineering and real estate assessments of the building cited its poor condition and inferior construction, noting that even if the GSA

[104] Wolf Von Eckhardt, "Scaling the Wall," *Washington Post*, April 28, 1979, B1.
[105] Robert A. Peck, "Federal Fortresses," *Washington Post*, February 19, 1977, B1.
[106] George Lardner Jr ,"FBI Guards Its Building Walls, Says Boutiques May Have Ears," *Washington Post*, August 8, 1979, B1.
[107] Gapp, "Washington's FBI Building Missing Its Mark," *Inland Architect,* April 1978.
[108] GAO, "Actions Needed to Document Security Decisions and Address Issues with Condition of Headquarters Buildings," 2011, 42

made all of the $660 million needed in urgent renovations, the building could still not be classified as "Class A" office space, and added to that would be serious disruption to the FBI staff and work. [109]

Some key functions had already been moved out. In 2003, the FBI laboratory, which had served as the main laboratory investigative facility for the entire organization and its field offices, moved to a separate building at the Quantico academy site, and, with no capacity to expand on the current site, the FBI has had to once again distribute some of its functions to other space around the capital. With the removal of these unique FBI functions and spaces, the FBI Building, with the minor exception of the small firing range, is essentially an administrative headquarters similar to other Federal office space in Washington DC. Actual field investigation in the Washington DC area is done out of the Washington DC field office, which has its own building.

In the early 2010s, the FBI and GSA continue to assess the condition of the building and the FBI's future in it. In 2010, the GSA downgraded the building to the status of a "transition asset" (a structure whose useful life is six to fifteen years) and limited renovations. The building continues to deteriorate, and the GSA and FBI have been reluctant to expend funds on a building that they consider inefficient in its design and not easy to reconfigure.[110] In 2011, the US Senate Committee on Environment and Public Works voted unanimously to direct GSA to seek a firm to build a new, 2.1 million square foot secure building on federal property somewhere in the national capital region to serve as a new FBI headquarters, leaving the future of the building on Pennsylvania Avenue as yet undetermined.

FBI Building Design

The Modern Movement and Brutalist Architecture

With the 1950s shift by the Public Buildings Service to the use of private rather than government architects and the directive by the *Guiding Principles* that designs for Federal buildings should "incorporate the finest in contemporary architectural thought," the emphasis in Federal design naturally shifted to Modern architecture, then the dominant theme in the architectural profession.

Although Modernism was seen by many as a European import, the principles of Modern design were already present in America by the time Modernists like Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe arrived in the US. The formal and overtly historical styles of the Beaux Arts school, which had dominated American architecture in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, gradually found opposition in the early 1900s from architects like Louis Sullivan, who coined the phrase "form follows function" and became the "father of the modern skyscraper;" Frank Lloyd Wright, whose Prairie School broke from using the traditional styles of Europe to create an indigenous North American style; and Albert Kahn, who pioneered a new form of industrial building constructed of reinforced concrete that allowed for multiple stories, fewer internal columns, and large window areas to light the factory floors. Kahn stripped away style and ornament to present clean, simple buildings that clearly expressed their function. Kahn's work in industrial architecture would later inspire some of the founders of the International Style in Europe, including Le Corbusier and Gropius.

At the same time, architecture and design in Europe was also breaking from the past in the early decades of the twentieth century, with several movements, including Art Deco and the Bauhaus, reflecting this change. The International Style, which exemplified Modernism in the mid twentieth century, represented a complete break from historical reference and styles, emphasizing radically simplified forms, functionality, lack of ornament, and the use of the machine in the mass production of materials and methods. With its origins in early twentieth century European modernism, the style was advanced by the French architect Le Corbusier and the German Bauhaus School, founded by Walter Gropius in 1919.

American interest in the European Modernists came in the early 1930s, chiefly through Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Jr. and Philip Johnson's 1932 exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, where the term "International Style" was coined in their book, "The International Style: Architecture Since 1922," which accompanied "Modern Architects," the exhibition catalogue.[111] This coincided with the completion of the first skyscraper of the style constructed in the

[109] GAO, "Actions," 45-46.
[110] GAO, "Actions," 22-23, 36.
[111] "The International Style: Architecture Since 1922," (New York, NY: W. W. Norton and Company, 1932).

United States, Philadelphia's PSFS (Philadelphia Saving Fund Society) Building, designed by William Lescaze and George Howe (1932). Thus when the Nazi regime, which hated the Bauhaus movement, forced adherents of the style to flee Germany later in the 1930s, they found a welcome in the United States. Most, like Gropius, Marcel Breuer, and Mies van der Rohe, were invited to take up influential teaching positions at American universities, training the next generation of architects. While Le Corbusier remained in France, his influence was also felt in America, particularly in the field of urban planning. Over the next few decades, adherents of the International Style taught by them, including I. M. Pei, Paul Rudolph, and landscape architect Lawrence Halprin, would become superstars of American architecture.

As the students of the previous generation matured into their full architectural careers in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Modernism became the dominant architectural style in America, driven in large part by the industrial innovations of America's World War II and post-war eras, which provided the inexpensive, mass-produced materials popular in modern architecture, like glass, aluminum, and steel. As Modernism matured, architects also began experimenting beyond the strict International Style to create different expressions of Modernism, such as the "New Formalism" of Minoru Yamasaki and Edward Durell Stone, the evolving styles of Philip Johnson, and the eclectic style of Louis Kahn. Other noted architects designing in the United States during this period included Eero Saarinen, Victor Lundy,
and I. M. Pei.

Perhaps the most startling and controversial of the Modern architectural styles was Brutalism.[112] Although the term would become descriptive of the style's appearance, in actuality it was coined by English architects Alison and Peter Smithson from the French term "béton brut," or "raw concrete." It perfectly described the buildings of Le Corbusier who designed the first Brutalist buildings, in particular the Unite d'Habitation (1952), the 1953 Secretariat Building in Chandigarh, India, and the monastery of Sainte Marie de La Tourette (1960). The chief characteristics of the style were the use of board-formed concrete which left the marks of the boards visible, repetitive geometric forms, often with deep recesses that took on an almost sculptural quality, and the exposure of both building services and the internal functions on the exterior, often expressed in the projection of major interior spaces, such as city council chambers or public offices. The most well-known architects of the Brutalist period include the aforementioned Le Corbusier and the Smithsons, internationally, and in America, Paul Rudolph, Marcel Breuer, and Ralph Rapson, among others. Significant examples of the style in America include Rudolph's Yale Art and Architecture Building (1963) and the main campus of the University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth (1966-1971); Breuer's Whitney Museum of American Art (1966) and the Campus Center and Garage at the University of Massachusetts Amherst (1965/1969); and one of the most famous examples, the Boston City Hall (1969), built from a competition-winning design by Kallmann, McKinnell & Knowles/Campbell, Aldrich & Nulty (figures 47-48).

[112] For a current exploration of Brutalism's history and influence, see *Brutalism* (New York: CLOG Press, 2013).

Figure 47 - Art and Architecture Building, Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut (Source: AIA.org)

Figure 48 - Boston City Hall, Boston, Massachusetts (Source: Wikipedia.org)

With Federal architecture in the 1950s and 1960s turning to private architects trained in the Modernist styles, many of the most significant Federal buildings of the era were exemplars of Modern design. These include buildings such as Mies van der Rohe's Federal Center in Chicago (1965-1974) and Walter Gropius' John F. Kennedy Federal Building in Boston, Massachusetts (1966), as well as Washington DC examples such as Marcel Breuer's Robert C. Weaver Federal Building (1968), and Victor Lundy's U.S. Tax Court Building (1974).

Brutalism in Washington, DC

As Brutalism gained favor nationally in the U.S., designers in Washington were slow to embrace the new style. Marcel Breuer's HUD building, completed in 1968, marked a watershed for the acceptance of Brutalist design in Washington (figure 49). Earlier projects that fall into the vein of Brutalism—Charles Goodman's Hawthorne School in Southwest—were less monumental and prominent. I.M Pei's L'Enfant Plaza buildings were more monumental, but lacked the sculptural ruggedness that Breuer's HUD Building conveyed. The FBI Building must also be considered in this time period, as it was designed between 1963 and 1967 (construction was substantially completed in 1975). With its prominent location along Pennsylvania Avenue, a strong, muscular massing, and characteristic treatment of exposed concrete and precast window elements, the building would become one of the most visible Brutalist buildings in Washington.

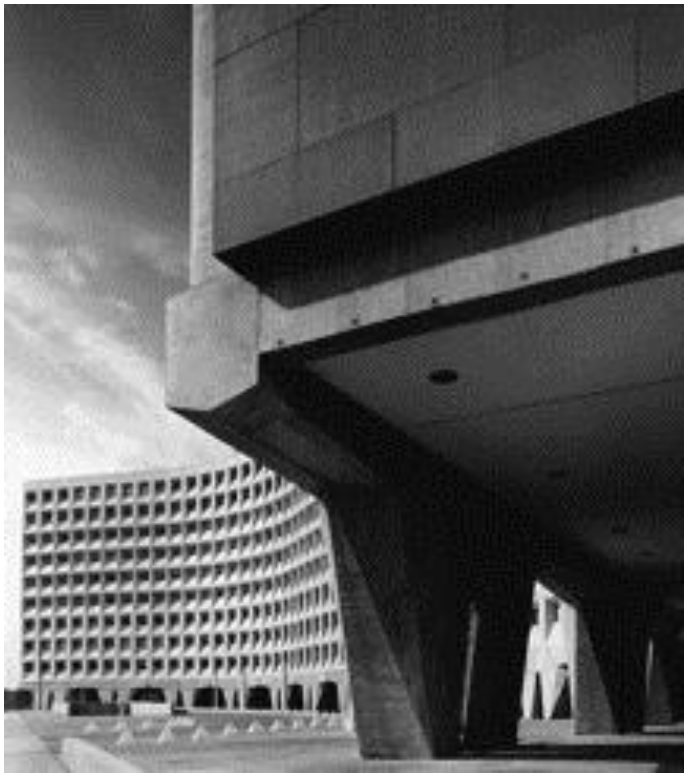

Figure 49 - Housing and Urban Development Building, Washington, DC (Source: GSA.gov)

A number of Brutalist buildings in Washington, DC that were built in the 1970s are more sculptural in their expression . This includes the Hirshhorn Museum (SOM, 1974), Lowinger Library at Georgetown (Warnecke, 1970), and Third Church of Christ (I.M. Pei, 1971). The Third Church of Christ was recognized for the quality of concrete, and the Hirshhorn's pure geometry and modern aesthetic fit well with the building's function as a museum of modern art.

Reflecting the conservative nature of architecture in Washington, it is not surprising that a number of buildings constructed in the late 1960s and 1970s reflect a more subdued variant of Brutalism. This includes the Sunderland Building (Keyes, Lethbridge, Condon, 1969), the original IMF Headquarters (Vincent Kling, 1973), the AIA Headquarters (The Architects Collaborative, 1973), the WMATA Headquarters (Keyes, Lethbridge, Condon, 1974),

and the Resolution Trust Corporation Building (Max Urbahn, 1977), which was originally the Federal Home Loan Bank Board Building.

Despite-Washington's growth during the 1960s and 1970s, formalism was more commonly selected by architects during this period and concrete was less favored as a material than stone. Late examples of Brutalism include the Hubert H. Humphrey Building (Marcel Breuer, 1976) and the University of the District of Columbia (1976).

The Designers

C.F. Murphy Associates

The FBI Building was designed by C.F. Murphy Associates. Based in Chicago, the firm was founded by Charles Francis Murphy in 1960 and operated until 1981.[113] Trained as a bookkeeper, Murphy worked as a specification writer for D.H. Burnham & Company from 1911 to 1912. Following Ernest Graham to a new firm that became Graham, Anderson, Probst, and White following Burnham's death, Murphy gained enough experience to obtain his architectural license.[114] Murphy also gained valuable management and business skills from Graham.[115] After Graham's death in 1936, Murphy formed the first of three firms that would bear his name, Shaw, Naess, and Murphy. The name was changed to Naess and Murphy in 1947, and around 1960 the firm was known as C.F. Murphy Associates.[116]

In 1956, Charles Murphy executed a bequest of his former mentor, Ernest Graham, establishing the Graham Foundation for the Advanced Studies in the Fine Arts. The Graham Foundation remains active today in supporting architecture research and programs nationally.

C.F. Murphy Associates was a prolific firm in Chicago during the 1960s and 1970s. Charles Murphy, Jr. realized the importance of talented designers to win and execute projects. Stan Gladych was the first talented architect hired by Murphy (away from SOM), and the firm would go on to hire a "succession of talented architects," including Gladych, Otto Stark, Jacques Brownson, Gene Summers, and Helmut Jahn.[117] The firm grew quickly. By 1969 the firm had 400 employees and was securing high-profile public and private commissions, primarily in Chicago and the surrounding suburbs.[118] Only Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM) were comparable during this period for the number and quality of large modernist projects in Chicago.[119] In a 1969 article about the firm's work, the Chicago Tribune wrote: "In the Chicago architectural arena, C.F. Murphy Associates is the perennial contender for, and often winner of, the prized contract for the design of an important building."[120] The firm was comfortable acting as lead designer and working in association with other high-profile architects to execute large and complex projects.

Prominent large-scale public commissions in Chicago included multiple projects over 25 years at O'Hare Airport, including Terminal 2 and 3 (1961), Heating Plant (1962), Rotunda Building (1962), Parking Garage (1973), and Hilton Hotel (1972). Other major public projects included the Chicago Center District Water Plant (1964), Chicago Civic Center (now the Daley Center) (1965), and McCormick Place (1971) (figures 50 to 55).[121] Federal commissions included the large, influential complex known as the Chicago Federal Center (1964), a collaboration between C.F. Murphy Associates and Mies van der Rohe. For the Chicago Federal Center, C.F. Murphy Associates was primarily responsible for the architectural detailing and planning, providing support to Mies's small office.[122] The other large government project was the FBI Headquarters in Washington. C.F. Murphy's work also included major office projects for private clients in Chicago's loop, including the Blue-Cross Blue-Shield Building (1968), the First National Bank (1969), and Continental Center (1962). Outside of the Chicago loop, the firm designed

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[113] In 1982 C.F. Murphy Associates became Murphy/Jahn. See Chicago Architects Genealogy Project, SAH.
[114] Kevin Harrington, "Murphy, C.F. Associates." In *The Grove Encyclopedia of Art* (New York: Oxford University Press), 385.
[115] Kevin Harrington, "Murphy, C.F. Associates," 385.
[116] Ibid, 385.
[117] Ross Miller, "Helmut Jahn and the Line of Succession," in *Chicago Architecture and Design* (New York: Prestel, 2000), 305. According to Miller, Murphy "watched passively as his competitors, Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM), and the Office of Mies van der Rohe, did better and more elegant work." That would change after Murphy began hiring the best talent for his large-scale commissions.
[118] "C.F. Murphy—Perennial Contender for Architectural 'Plums," Chicago Tribune, 1 June 1969, D1.
[119] Landmark Designation Report – Continental Center, 55 E. Jackson Blvd., 7 July 2011.
[120] "C.F. Murphy—Perennial Contender," D1.
[121] Alice Sinkevitch, *AIA Guide to Chicago* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Company), multiple building entries. Refer to index.
[122] See National Register nomination for the Chicago Federal Center, Section 8, page 17.

Malcolm X College (1971), Mercy Hospital (mid-1960s), and the expansion of DePaul University campus, where they were responsible for eleven buildings.[123]

Figure 50 - O'Hare International Airport, Chicago, Illinois (Source: Stan Z. Gladych Architect Book)

Figure 51 - City of Chicago Central District Filtration Plan, Chicago, Illinois (Source: Stan Z. Gladych Architect Book)

[123] Sinkevitch, *AIA Guide to Chicago.* See also, Continental Center landmark designation report.

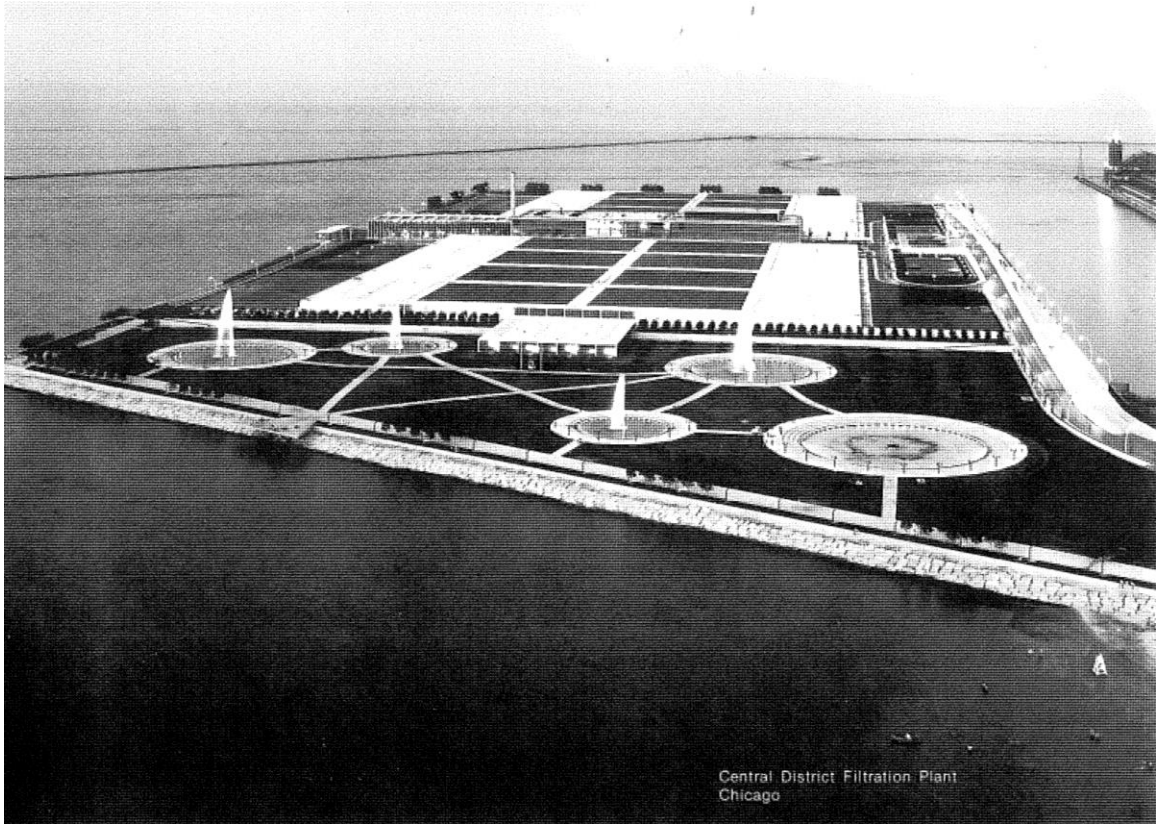

Figure 52 - City of Chicago Central District Filtration Plan (Source: Stan Z. Gladych Architect Book)

Figure 53 - Blue Cross Blue Shield Building, Chicago, Illinois (Source: UIC Digital Collection)

Figure 54 - First National Bank, Chicago, Illinois (Source: Stan Z. Gladych Architect Book)

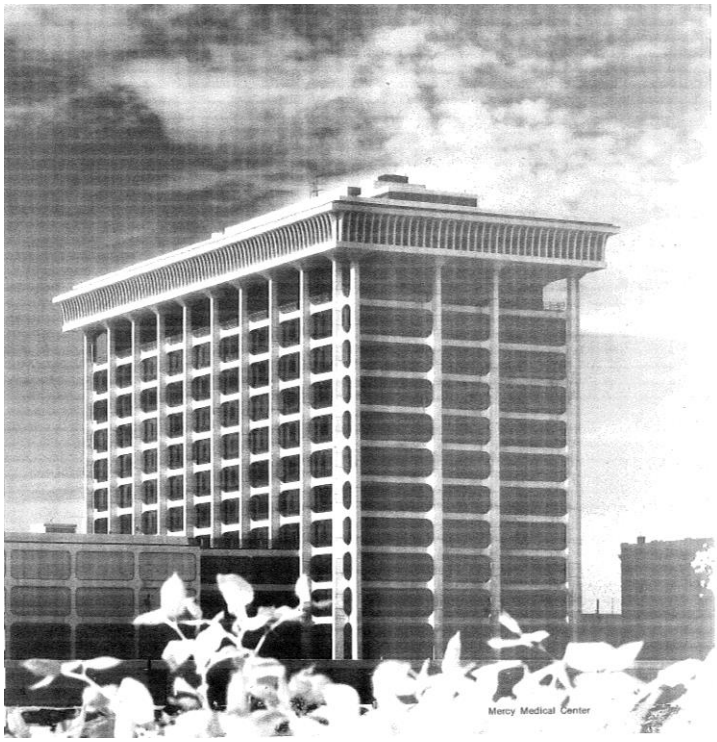

Figure 55 - Mercy Medical Center, Chicago, Illinois (Source: Stan Z. Gladych Architect Book)

Stanislaw Z. Gladych

The lead designer for the FBI Building was Stanislaw Gladych (figure 56). Born on January 25, 1921 in Warsaw, Poland, Gladych emigrated from Poland during WWII and relocated in London.[124] Educated at the Polish School of Architecture, which was affiliated with the University of Liverpool, Gladych graduated in 1950.[125] Prior to immigrating to the United States, Gladych worked in London at Scotland Yard and later for an architecture firm run by Alistair McDonald. The date of Gladych's immigration to the United States is not known, but he joined Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill in New York, where he began to distinguish himself as a talented and hard-working young designer. After a stint working on a project for SOM in Okinawa, Japan, he moved to SOM in Chicago.[126] Testament to his work ethic is a quote from an oral interview with Walter Netsch, with whom Gladych worked on the Air Force Academy as one of his key assistants (project designer and planner).[127] Netsch recalled: "And Stan, oh, he was marvelous. He'd be willing to spend all night with me, working away."[128] Gladych is credited with the concept for the folded plate roof at the Air Force Academy.[129]

Figure 56 - Photograph of Stan Gladych and Carter Manny in front of O'Hare (Source: Carter Manny)

Following the completion of the Air Force Academy project, and with no new projects on the boards at SOM, Gladych parted ways with SOM and moved to Naess and Murphy in 1956, where his long partnership with Carter

[124] James S. Pula, editor, *The Polish American Encyclopedia* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, 2011), 148. According to Carter Manny, Gladych worked "in the underground in Poland." He was captured by the Russians and spent time in a Siberian prison. See Oral History of Carter Manny. Chicago Oral History Project. The Ernest R. Graham Study Center for Architectural Drawings, Department of Architecture, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1995, revised edition 2001, 153-154.
[125] Pula, *The Polish American Encyclopedia*, 148. See also, Stanislaw Z. Gladych file, American Institute of Architects Archives.
[126] See Oral History of Carter Manny. Chicago Oral History Project. The Ernest R. Graham Study Center for Architectural Drawings, Department of Architecture, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1995, revised edition 2001, 154-155. See also, Stanislaw Z. Gladych, Architect. Personal portfolio and resume. University of Detroit at Mercy.
[127] Oral History of Carter Manny. Chicago Oral History Project. The Ernest R. Graham Study Center for Architectural Drawings, Department of Architecture, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1995, revised edition 2001, 152.
[128] Oral History of Walter Netsch. Chicago Oral History Project. The Ernest R. Graham Study Center for Architectural Drawings, Department of Architecture, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1997-2000, 126.
[129] Oral History of Carter Manny, 155. Carter stated: "Stan was a very modest person, but he did say that it was his idea for that chapel—you know, the Air Force chapel for the three religious faiths which has that unusual folded plate roof. Stan likened the roof to hands in an attitude of prayer. That was Stan's idea; he took it to Netsch. I think Netsch would probably dispute this, but knowing Stan and how thoroughly honest he was and what a modest person he was, I really suspect there is a lot of truth to his claim and that a lot of that design came from him."

Manny began.[130] He was hired by Murphy to work on the City of Chicago Central District Filtration Plant. Gladych rose in the ranks of C.F. Murphy's corporate hierarchy from designer to chief of design. In 1967, he was made a partner in charge of design. According to Carter Manny, following the departure of Don Colby, Gladych became the firm's "…star designer."[131]

Although Gladych was not trained at IIT like many of the other Mies protégés that worked at SOM and C.F. Murphy, he clearly embraced the Miesian tradition and what became known as the "second Chicago School" that emerged from the Mies influence in Chicago and the imprint he left through his buildings.[132] A quiet, modest, and intensely private and principled individual, Stan Gladych was, according to Carter Manny, "…a top Miesian. He's kind of like Bruce [Graham]. Both had sensitivity and appreciation for Mies….They were almost more Miesian than Mies. A lot of people don't recognize that in Gladych, but I think Gladych was really one of the architectural leaders in this city."[133]

Working together, Stan Gladych and Carter Manny completed some of the most enduring, and well-received projects that C.F. Murphy produced, including O'Hare Airport, and the First National Bank, and the Central District Filtration Plant.[134] They also worked together on the FBI Building. Carter Manny's respect for Stan Gladych was made clear in his 1995 interview. "Gladych," he said, "…was always consistent and was always conscious of the overall….He wasn't above change, but there was a consistency with him."[135] This approach would serve Gladych well during the contentious process to gain approval for the FBI Building from various agencies, including NCPC, CFA, and the PAAC.

Politics intervened in 1969 when a "young turk," the talented Gene Summers, who was trained by, and worked for, Mies, was named chief of design at C.F. Murphy.[136] Gladych, who was in the hospital at the time recovering from surgery, was told by Carter Manny that he would be reporting to Summers upon his return. Carter Manny recalled Stan's response after being given this news: "Carter, I can never come back to that firm, and I will never come back."[137] Gladych kept his word, leaving the firm mid-stream during the construction of the FBI Building. Following his departure from C.F. Murphy, Gladych took a position as president of the architecture division at Howard, Needles, Tammen, and Bergendoff (HNTB), commuting to New York from Chicago.[138] The arrangement was short lived, and he formed his own consulting practice, S.W. Gladych Design & Planning Consultant, in 1972, but it appears that Gladych never practiced architecture after his departure from HNTB.[139] At the time Gladych left C.F. Murphy Associates, he was only 48, but he had made valuable contributions to the rise of C.F. Murphy and to its status as a leader in shaping the Chicago skyline. Gladych died in 1982 after a difficult fight with cancer at the age of 60.

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[130] According to Carter Manny, Gladych had "some sort of falling out with Netsch".
[131] Carter Manny Oral Interview, 177.
[132] Oral History of Carter Manny, 178. On the influence of the Mies followers, see Blair Kamin, "Masters of Understatement, Chicago Tribune, February 6, 1998. Kamin wrote: "Moreover, many of Mies' best followers were here architects and engineers like Jacques Brownson, Myron Goldsmith, Stanislaw Gladych, Bruce Graham, Fazlur Khan, Gene Summers, and the trio of Louis Skidmore, John Merrill, and Nathaniel Owings." See also, Oswald Grube,, Peter Pram and Franz Schulze, *100 Years of Architecture in Chicago* (Catalog of Exhbit at Museum of Contemporary Art, Chicago, 1976) and Carl Condit, *Chicago 1930-70: Building, Planning and Urban Technology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974).
[133] Oral History of Carter Manny, 155.
[134] See Stanislaw Z. Gladych, Architect. Portfolio in the collection of the University of Detroit Mercy. A rare and remarkable surviving document presumably prepared by Gladych himself, the portfolio provides a comprehensive list of his designs for office buildings, banks, airports, industrial buildings, colleges and universities, and health care facilities. The document details Gladych's specific design role on each project. The accuracy of the design attribution still requires confirmation with other sources.
[135] Oral History of Carter Manny, 235.
[136] Oral History of Carter Manny, 343-344. See also, "Chicago Architect Gene Summers Dies," Chicago Tribune, December 13, 2011.
[137] Oral History of Carter Manny, 344.
[138] Telephone interview between Thomas C. Jester and Manny H. Carter, 19 July 2013. See also, Stanislaw Z. Gladych portfolio and resume. University of Detroit Mercy.
[139] Gladych discontinued his AIA membership in 1980. Stanislaw Z. Gladych to American Institute of Architects, February 15, 1980. AIA Archives.

Carter Manny

Born in Michigan City, Indiana, on November 16, 1918, Carter H. Manny (figure 56) was educated at Harvard University, graduating magna cum laude in 1941 with a Bachelor of Arts degree in architecture.[140] At Harvard he studied under Walter Gropius. Prior to matriculating in the architecture program at the Illinois Institute of Technology (IIT) in 1946, where he studied under Mies van der Rohe, Manny spent four months at the Taliesin Fellowship apprenticing under Frank Lloyd Wright. Manny graduated from IIT in 1948 with a second bachelor's degree.[141] Manny joined the firm of Naess and Murphy in 1948 as a designer and draftsman. In 1954 Manny was promoted to project manager, and elevated to partner in 1958 (two years before the firm's name was changed to C.F. Murphy Associates).[142]

A skilled manager, Manny spent many years on some of the firm's largest and longest-running projects, such as O'Hare Airport, Civic Center, and the FBI Building. Speaking about his role on the FBI project, Manny stated "I was the gray-flannel administrator (figure 57)"[143]

Elected as a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects in 1970, Carter Manny made additional contributions to the field of architecture beyond his lengthy and successful career at C.F. Murphy Associates. He maintained a long relationship with the Graham Foundation for the Advanced Study in Fine Arts, serving as trustee from 1955 until 1970, director from 1971 until 1993, and director emeritus to this day.[144] Carter Manny retired from C.F. Murphy (later Murphy/Jahn) in 1983.

Figure 57 - Photograph of Stan Gladych, Carter Manny, and J. Edgar Hoover in 1968 (Source: Carter Manny)

[140] Oral History of Carter Manny, 1. See also, Carter Manny FAIA Application, AIA Archives.
[141] Carter Manny FAIA application. See also, Oral History of Carter Manny,
[142] Carter Manny FAIA application. See also, Oral History of Carter Manny, 198-99.
[143] Oral Interview of Carter Manny, 246.
[144] www.grahamfoundation.org.

Architectural Style and Analysis

The FBI Building is one of the most visible and largest examples of Brutalism in Washington. The design for the building includes all of the features that one associates with this mode of late modern architecture: exposed concrete, deep window recesses, strong, powerful massing, and monumentality. The building's design modulated the massing to accommodate the need to incorporate a large amount of office space and other functions while simultaneously attempting to respect the urban context along Pennsylvania Avenue. Combining asymmetrical elements and masses with repetitive and symmetrical bays, the design attempted to straddle the poles between monumentality and fitting into the neighborhood.

Among the other Brutalist federal buildings of the period in Washington, the U.S. Housing and Urban Development (HUD) Building by Marcel Breuer stands out. Sometimes referred to as an example of expressionism, the HUD Building features all of the same hallmark characteristics of Brutalism. Completed in 1968, the building was heralded as a model of the design quality sought by the federal government under the "Guiding Principles." Breuer's design has a strong, sculptural massing and faceted façade, with contrasting-colored materials, comprising both pre-cast and cast-in-place concrete. With its strong gestalt and successful plaza and intact interiors, the building represents an important work by a master architect.

John Carl Warnecke's Lauinger Library at Georgetown is arguably another iconic Brutalist building of note in Washington. Completed in 1970, the charcoal-toned concrete was selected to relate the building to Healy Hall. The exterior is a tour-de-force of Brutalist massing with concrete fins, projecting saw-tooth bays, and deeply recessed windows. The massing, defined by the tall tower, is strong and well balanced. Lauinger's interior is largely undistinguished, if mostly intact.

Also with a strong gestalt and successful site design is the Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden, designed by Gordon Bunshaft and completed in 1974. The building's simple massing, based on pure geometry, gives it a resolved, and sculptural presence. Characteristic of Brutalist design tenets, the interior façade has deep window recesses and the sculptural pilotis and coffers of reinforced concrete. Although far more intimate in scale than the FBI Building, the Hirshhorn Museum nevertheless is far more successful as an example of Brutalism of the period.

Gladych worked to select a concrete color for the FBI Building that would be warm in tone. However, the sheer mass of the building prevents this attention to detail from shining. At the Third Church of Christ, Scientist, which was designed by Araldo Cossutta while working for I.M. Pei and constructed in 1970, the textured concrete was skillfully executed and award-winning. More playful than the FBI Building, Third Church of Christ was widely praised upon its completion. Its sculptural massing is forceful, and the building's interior is original and intact.

It is also worth comparing the FBI Building to other Brutalist office buildings in Washington that relate to a more stylistically subdued form of Brutalism reflecting the conservative tendencies in Washington. Keyes, Lethbridge, Condon's Sunderland Building of 1969 (1320 19th Street NW) created an abstract façade with deep window recesses. In 1974 Keyes, Lethbridge, Condon completed the WMATA (now Metro) offices (600 5th Street NW), which is more formalist in composition and has deep overhangs. Like the WMATA Building, Max Urbahn's Resolution Trust Corporation Building (1700 G Street NW) conveys a classical formalism in concrete and is distinguished by deeply recessed windows. More similar in treatment to the FBI Building is the original IMF (International Monetary Fund) Office Building by Vincent Kling, which was completed in 1973 at the corner of 19th and G Streets NW. This concrete building is characterized by its regular bays with a strong verticality. Projecting window bays on one of the uppermost floors gives the building an understated monumentality.

At the national level, the FBI Building must also be considered in the context of the work of C.F Murphy Associates. Much of C.F. Murphy's work was Miesian in form and execution. Gladych's best regarded work in Chicago (the Central Filtration Plant, O'Hare, and First National) were all modern designs that followed Mies' principles. One exception is the Blue Cross-Blue Shield Building, which was completed in 1968. Located at 55 West Wacker Drive in the Loop, the 15-story building was designed by Otto Stark, one of the many talented young designers working at C.F. Murphy. *Inland Architect* Magazine described the building as "a Cadillac kind of building" and *Architectural Record* described the building as a "muscular, positive architectural statement."[145] The interiors, which were altered in the 1980s, featured warm-colored teak wood surfaces and furnishings that contrasted with the deep concrete waffle-slab coffers and bush-hammered concrete walls. Less successful were C.F. Murphy's two Brutalist buildings

[145] See John D. Cramer, "Chicago Brutalist "Cadillac:" C.F. Murphy Associates' 1968 Blue Cross-Blue Shield Building." Blog post, www.chicagomodern.wordpress.com, 1 February 2012.

at Depaul University in Chicago, the Arthur Schmitt Academic Center and the Stuart Center, built in 1968 and 1978 respectively. Both were also designed by Otto Stark.

The FBI did not garner the accolades of other noted Brutalist buildings contemporary with its design and construction. Boston City Hall, on the other hand, was an eagerly awaited new civic building that resulted from a national competition and was completed in 1969. The winning design, by Kallmann, McKinnell and Wood (KMW), was spatially complex and included sophisticated urban siting that engaged people as they moved through the square and into and through the building. KMW's design featured a strong, muscular massing with abstract façade compositions, tectonic feats and gymnastics, and a highly complex south lobby that remains largely as designed. More successful at the urban scale and architecturally than the FBI Building, Boston City Hall received many awards, including an AIA National Honor Award in 1969. The building would inspire other designers and influence the design field nationally and internationally.

Less significant than Boston City Hall is a later project by Marcel Breuer, the Strom Thurmond Federal Building in Columbia, South Carolina. Completed in 1975, this 16-story Brutalist office building features deeply recessed windows, rough concrete walls, and a strong massing. Juxtaposed with the exposed concrete on the interior are brick walls and floors. The interior treatment of the public space is more colorful and thoughtful than the interiors at the FBI Building.

Brutalism's other undisputed master was Paul Rudolph. Rudolph's best known work, the Art and Architecture School at Yale University, was not well received by critics upon completion in 1963, but today the building is regarded as a significant work by a master. The muscular concrete exterior, which includes a series of prominent vertical masses intersected by horizontal elements, gives way to spatially complex and light-filled interiors that were recently rehabilitated.

It has been suggested that Gladych was inspired by Le Corbusier's Saint Marie de La Tourette in Lyon, France. This building was completed in 1965 and commands a strong presence as sited. With forceful projecting repetitive window bands at the upper floors and sections of the building hovering on pilotis and allowing passage into a central courtyard, it is difficult to imagine Gladych was not aware of this precedent. La Tourette is more abstract than the FBI Building and succeeds as an object in a rural setting that is far removed from the urban conditions Gladych faced when he designed the FBI Building.

Compared to many other examples of Brutalism locally, nationally, and internationally, the FBI Building was less distinguished and less resolved architecturally and spatially. Challenged by the large, complex building program, the politics of Washington's multiple review agencies, and the inevitable budget constraints, C.F. Murphy's design for the FBI Building never met its potential. Stan Gladych was most comfortable and assured designing buildings in the tradition of Mies. His most well-respected and significant buildings in Chicago were not brutalist but elegantly designed glass and steel boxes, such as the Central Filtration Plant and terminals at O'Hare.

Architectural Description and Analysis of Integrity

Architectural Description

Setting

Opposite the Department of Justice Building, the FBI Building is located at 935 Pennsylvania Avenue, within the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site but identified as non-contributing to the district (figures 58 and 59). It takes up a double city block with Pennsylvania Avenue to the south, E Street to the north, and Ninth and Tenth streets to the east and west, respectively. D Street stops at 9th Street and does not continue to 10th Street. It is set back 76'-0" from Pennsylvania Avenue. This is the initial 26'-0" setback plus the additional 50'-0" prescribed by the Pennsylvania Avenue Plan of 1964. Three rows of shade trees line the sidewalk along Pennsylvania Avenue. The site slopes down from E Street to Pennsylvania Avenue with a grade change of about a half story. A gravel-filled moat wraps three sides of the building along Ninth, Tenth, and E Streets which provides both security as well as parking garage access. There is a special blast-proof paving around the building.[146]

[146] Huxtable, Ada Louise, "The FBI Building: A Study in Soaring Cost and Views on Capital Beauty," *The New York Times,* 24 January 1972.

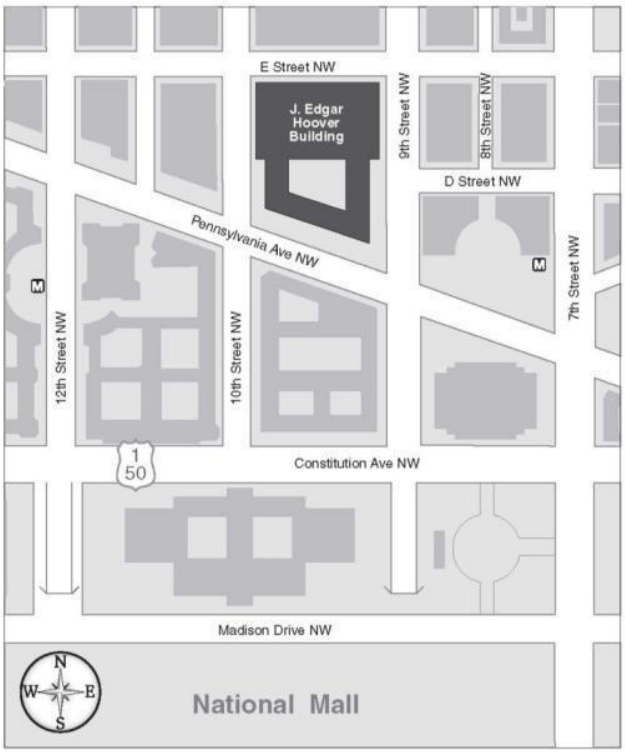

Figure 58 - Site plan of the J. Edgar Hoover Building (Source: GAO Report / National Park Service)

Figure 59 - USGS Quad Map, Washington West (Source: USGS)

Exterior

Three floors are below grade while seven stories rise above Pennsylvania Avenue and eleven stories rise above E Street to a height of 160 feet (figures 60 and 61). The building is made of two levels, a mass of five stories set on two-story double-height pilotis that wrap the entire double block and the large cantilevered "hat" set on four engaged piers on Ninth and Tenth Streets set above the seven stories mass but in actuality capping the taller 11 story building structure lining E Street (figure 62). The double-height pilotis span two stories with a recessed blank panel on the first floor creating a blind colonnade and an open second floor observation terrace (figure 63).[147] Access to the building is through the first floor level on Pennsylvania Avenue at the middle and corners of the block. Stairways cross over the moat along Ninth, Tenth, and E Streets to the second floor observation terrace (figure 64). These stairways are now for egress only.

The exterior is made of buff-colored precast and cast-in-place concrete with an aggregate of crushed dolomitic limestone, "a unique composition."[148] "Hoover preferred a granite exterior, and the architects were willing to comply, but the cost, an extra $8,000,000, was too great for stone to receive serious consideration."[149] To create the facade texture, the contractors poured the concrete into reusable steel forms separated by metal ties. The ties remained in the concrete and when the molds were removed they left the "holes" throughout the exterior creating a dimpled effect. Canted precast window frames enclose windows with bronze-tinted glass. Corner piers contain the services.

Figure 60 - East view along Pennsylvania Avenue. Three rows of trees per the Pennsylvania Avenue Plan (Source: QEA, 2013)

[147] The second floor observation terrace was closed to the public immediately after opening in 1975 for security reasons.
[148] Rosenfeld Falb, Ph.D, Susan, *History of the J. Edgar Hoover Building,* Washington, DC: Office of Congressional and Public Affairs, March 1987, 4.
[149] Ibid., 4.

Figure 61 - Northwest corner of building at E and 9th Streets (Source: QEA, 2013)

Figure 62 - West facade along 10th Street (Source: QEA, 2013)

Figure 63 - Second floor terrace (Source: QEA, 2013)

Figure 64 - East view along E Street (Source: QEA, 2013)

Exterior Alterations

The exterior remains relatively unchanged since designed. The recessed areas between pilotis along Pennsylvania Avenue received several modifications, initially temporary murals and then later granite panels. "Attempts to 'humanize' the area included the introduction of historic flags at the second floor level and placement of kiosks along the sidewalk... partially implemented was a proposal for exhibits in the open second floor area....exhibit space was placed near the public tour line in 1986....a plan for permanent sculptures in the recessed areas along the first floor of Pennsylvania Avenue was under discussion in 1986."[150] Rooftop penthouses were added. A day care playground was added on the second floor observation terrace in the southeast corner but has remained closed since September 11, 2001 and is used only on Family Days. After portions of the concrete on the upper levels began to spall and fall onto the sidewalk, netting was installed in 2006 to catch falling debris and protect pedestrians on the sidewalks below.

Courtyard

A courtyard lies in the middle of the block at the first floor level (figures 65 and 66). In the northwest corner are grand stairs leading up to the second floor terrace which wraps the perimeter of the courtyard. In the opposite corner is a curved "protrusion" (as described in the CFA minutes), the exterior wall of the auditorium. A large circular pool lies near the auditorium. It still operates on special occasions.

Courtyard Alterations

In 1977 the memorial to J. Edgar Hoover with a medallion and inscription was added to the curved exterior wall of the auditorium in the courtyard. In 1978, the sculpture group representing Fidelity, Bravery, and Integrity designed by Frederick Shrady, Jr. was presented by the Society of Former Special Agents and installed next to the grand stair. Benches in the courtyard were also added. Polished uba tuba granite was placed on the south courtyard walls in 1991 to receive a bronze plaque reproducing the Bill of Rights. The FBI was the only executive branch agency to receive this honor from the Judicial Conference of the United States Committee on the Bicentennial of the U.S. Constitution.

Figure 65 - Courtyard (Source: QEA, 2013)

[150] Ibid., 4.

Figure 66 - Courtyard (Source: QEA, 2013)

Interior

The building consists of 2,800,876 gross square feet of space.[151] This includes 1,978,728 net square feet of space for 7.090 employees, including 1,024 parking spaces. "As early as 1956, Hoover expressed an interest in the interior design of the building. "Large numbers of employees occupy working areas and as a consequence, the working areas should be designed to promote the highest degree of morale; in other words, the space should be attractively furnished with durable materials with the best type of lighting, air conditioning and ventilating equipment."[152] Initial design proposals included space for automatic data processing (ADP) areas. During construction additional design alterations revised the ADP areas to incorporate new technological developments. The notion was discussed that future files might be automated and hence require less space but the idea was rejected as it would not be implemented in the near future. Two proposals were removed from the plans in 1967: a tunnel between FBI and DOJ buildings and nuclear generator from basement (which had been requested by FBI in the 1963 specifications). Until 1970, the Washington Field Office was to be included in the building.

The building had three primary divisions: 1) Fingerprint Division, 2) Records Division, and 3) Investigative Division (with lab). The Fingerprint Division moved out in 1995. Per the 1967 drawings submitted to NCPC for review during the design process, the floors contained the various divisions and rooms:

> 3rd Basement - parking garage, auto-wash, gymnasium (figure 82), exercise room, locker rooms, large mechanical room
>
> 2nd Basement - Laboratory Division, Files and Communication Division, Administrative Division, parking garage, radioactive labs, mass spectographic area, test pattern range
>
> 1st Basement - Laboratory Division, Administrative Division, engraving, assembly -silkscreen, plastics, typographical, drafting room, paper storage and cutting, camera room, voucher statistical storage area, trucking concourse

[151] Approximately 2.4 million gross square feet is noted in the 2011 GAO report.
[152] Rosenfeld Falb, Ph.D, Susan, *History of the J. Edgar Hoover Building,* Washington, DC: Office of Congressional and Public Affairs, March 1987, 4.

First Floor - entrance, entrance lobby, Training Division, auditorium, amphitheater (1967 drawing)/lecture room (1971 drawings), classrooms, concourses, steno-typing classroom, Washington Field Office was planned for this floor but was removed from the design in 1970.

Second Floor - plaza/viewing platform, rifle range and spectator seating, scheduled tours location

Mezzanine - exhibit areas (figure 67), tour leader offices

Third Floor - Physics and Chemistry Laboratory division (figure 68), Documents Section and Lab Division, Special Investigative Division, Laboratory Division Front Office, Voucher Statistical Section Administration Division, general statistics, payroll preparation, data processing, shoe prints examination rooms (figure 69), typing pool

Fourth Floor - Files and Communication Division, (Lab Division) Cript Analysis & Translation Section, Laboratory Division Electronic Section, Domestic Intelligence Division

Fifth Floor - Files and Communications Division, General Investigative Division

Sixth Floor - Identification Division Fingerprint Correspondence Section, Inspection Division, Administrative Division Personnel Section, Files and Communication Correlation Personnel Records Unit

Seventh Floor - Identification Division, Crime Records Division - Uniform Crime Recording Section, Crime Records Division - Division Office, Executive Offices (including director's office, assistant director's office, and conference room), Crime Records Division, civil files, library

Eighth Floor - classrooms, offices, Cafeteria, serving areas, dining areas, promenade (roof terrace) (figure 81), roof

Ninth Floor - Identification Division (Criminal Files)

Tenth Floor - Identification Division Assembly Section

Eleventh Floor - Card Index Section, civil files, criminal files, Card Index

Twelfth Floor - Mechanical Equipment Room

Roof

In addition to office space, the FBI Building housed the following:

- Filing areas (500,000 square feet)
- Maintenance shops, printing, and paper storage areas (300,000 square feet)
- Special laboratory areas (89,000 square feet)
- Gymnasium and physical training areas (includes a two-story basketball court, exercise rooms) (figure 82)
- Auditorium (416 seats)
- Amphitheater
- Classrooms
- Conference Room (now known as the William H. Webster Conference Room)
- Library for training
- Auto repair facilities for Washington Field Office

- Firing range
- Photography laboratory (for both still and motion pictures)
- Laboratory test pattern range and ballistics testing area
- Medical clinic
- Morgue (never used, in 1986 it was used for evidence storage)
- Cryptographic vault
- Film library
- Cafeteria (8th floor) with access to a rooftop patio (figure 81)
- Automatic data processing areas (ADP) (required raised floors)

Figure 67 - FBI Tour, mezzanine level, ca. 1975-78 (Source: FBI)

Figure 68 - FBI Laboratory Division, 3rd Floor, ca. 1980s/1990s (Source: FBI)

Figure 69 - Laboratory Division, 3rd Floor, JEH Building, ca. 1980s/1990s (Source: FBI)

A special, reinforced, extra-thick "security slab" existed beneath the open second floor to help protect from street-level explosions.[153] The interior had white vinyl floor tiles, polished concrete ceilings and floors painted white. Some of the original vinyl flooring and terrazzo still exists. All the painted metal 9'-0" doors and metal frames are original. All interior partitions are concrete block and for the most part seem to be extant. The Executive office spaces are in their same location and it is likely that interior partitions have not changed much however finishes have been redone.

[153] Huxtable, Ada Louise, "The FBI Building: A Study in Soaring Cost and Views on Capital Beauty," *The New York Times,* 24 January 1972.

The Bonaparte Auditorium, Webster Conference Room, and Firing Range Spectator Seating all have original linear wood grid wall treatments and ceiling finishes. The Bonaparte Auditorium seating frame and end standards (not upholstery) is original.

A dual elevator system, one for public and one for staff, plus a dual set of hallways, (smaller ones for public which isolated them from the FBI workers) were installed. In several areas, glass partitions were installed so that the public could see the FBI employees at work.[154] Special features included a pneumatic tube system and a conveyor belt system for handling mail and files. The interior systems included:

- Dual elevator system (one for tours for the general public and one for staff)[155]
- Special secure communications systems
- Alarm and smoke detection systems
- Waste disposal system (an incinerator) for disposal of documents (later removed)
- Special secure telephone system
- Emergency power system
- Pneumatic tube system (removed)
- Conveyor system (for special handling of mail and files)[156] (later removed)
- Mechanical system
- Electrical system
- Plumbing system ("extra required for abnormally high population of building"[157])

Interior Alterations

The FBI Building once housed a handful of divisions as listed earlier. Currently there are 27 divisions of the FBI (though one or two of those may be defunct). After the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the FBI added intelligence responsibilities to their criminal law enforcement responsibilities. In 2003, the FBI laboratory, which had served as the main laboratory investigative facility for the entire organization and its field offices, moved to a separate building at the Quantico academy site, and, with no capacity to expand on the current site, the FBI has had to once again distribute some of its functions to other space around the capital.

An entrance lobby has been created in what was once the breezeway between Pennsylvania Avenue and the courtyard (figure 70). The corridors and office spaces have received carpeted floors and acoustical ceiling tiles (where once were plaster ceilings) (figure 78). The Fingerprint Division and records storage have been transferred to an off-site location.[158] During the 2000s, the FBI has implemented several countermeasures to improve security to include doors, windows, barriers, and screening checkpoints.[159] "To accommodate additional staff at the Hoover Building, the FBI has reconfigured parts of the building's interior, including converting about 200,000 square feet of basement, cafeteria, and storage space to offices. Renovations were implemented reactively as the agency's mission grew."[160] "Since 2004, GSA has completed or is in the process of completing several recapitalization projects at the

[154] Tours were suspended after the September 11, 2001 attacks.
[155] Escalators, not elevators, were listed in the 1971 article "FBI Building Costs Set at 109 Million."
[156] Combes, Abbott, "FBI Building Costs Set at $109 Million," *The Washington Post,* 11 December 1971.
[157] 1971 article "FBI Building Costs Set at 109 Million."
[158] United States Government Accountability Office, *Federal Bureau of Investigation: Actions Needed to Document Security Decisions and Address Issues with Condition of Headquarters Buildings," Washington, DC: GAO, 2011,* 8.
[159] Ibid., 13.
[160] Ibid., 18.

Hoover Building, including an $11.4 million chiller replacement, a $5 million upgrade to the building's electrical closets, and a $5.2 million project to install energy-efficient lighting. "[161]

In 1985 NCPC reviewed the rooftop microwave antenna and mechanical equipment (a remote radiator system). However, that was only a small part of a larger project to modernize FBI's methods of information handling and processing. This project was called AIDS-III which stands for Automated Identification Division Phase III, and was part of an incremental automation effort which began in August 1973 for fingerprint and name check processing (which had greatly increased from 3 workdays in 1960s to 29 workdays in 1980). The construction was planned for the 10th and 11th floors renovation to support new computer hardware and peripherals. Installation of a full wet pipe sprinkler system in the 10th and 11th floors was incorporated into the project.[162]

The following is a floor by floor discussion of renovations:[163]

> 3rd Basement - The autowash is now gone. Only some Washington Field Office vehicles/fleet may come into garage. The gymnasium and exercise rooms are still extant. The gym, which originally had a rubber floor, had a wood floor installed 20 years ago and has since been refinished a number of times. The lockers and toilet rooms have been renovated. A lactating room is now located in what was the whirlpool. New stairs were added in recent years within the southeast corner to access 1st Basement for the new women's locker room (currently under construction) and cardio room.
>
> 2nd Basement - The Test Pattern Range is now just a storage room. The radioactive lab and radioactive material storage is also now just storage.
>
> 1st Basement - This floor is primarily storage now. The construction for a new women's locker room just began in what was once a drafting room. Most all of the print shop and special projects (casework, framing) spaces moved to Quantico when the labs moved to Quantico. Some print shop/silkscreen spaces still exist along E Street.
>
> 1st Floor - In the 1970s, the Pennsylvania Avenue breezeway into the courtyard was completely open, then gates were added, then a tarp was added to the gate to block any views into the courtyard. Three years ago, the breezeway was completely enclosed to create security check-in, screening, badge counters, and lobby (figure 70). The data center used to be in main block (the northern half of the site along E Street). (Originally this area was planned for the Washington Field Office but this was changed by the time of construction.) The data center recently moved out to another location. Following that move, a small renovation occurred to create more office space. The entrance lobby off of the north side of the courtyard was the escort badge area and where fingerprints were taken for contractors. It was recently renovated in last 6 months and will become a historical center/education space to show decades of cases. The Charles J. Bonaparte Auditorium has its original seats (though reupholstered), new carpeting, original wall paneling (a linear wood grid with brass mesh behind it), and original plaster ceiling (figures 71 and 72). The William H. Webster Conference Room (formerly known as the Flag Room, called Lecture Room on 1971 drawings, and called Amphitheater on 1967 drawings) is used as overflow classroom space (figures 73 and 74). It has original wall paneling (linear wood grid) on walls and around columns. The Concourse along 9th Street is now the Directors Portrait Gallery (figure 75). The Concourse on east side of Pennsylvania Avenue is now an exhibit area for an exhibit on counterterrorism (figure 76).

[161] Ibid., 21.
[162] In the NCPC file it was noted that a future project was planned by GSA's NCR to correct sprinkler deficiencies.
[163] Much of the information about the alterations comes from the institutional knowledge of the head of facilities at the FBI Building who has been at the building for 34 years.

Figure 70 - Entrance Lobby, first floor (Source: QEA, 2013)

Figure 71 - Auditorium, first floor (Source: QEA, 2013)

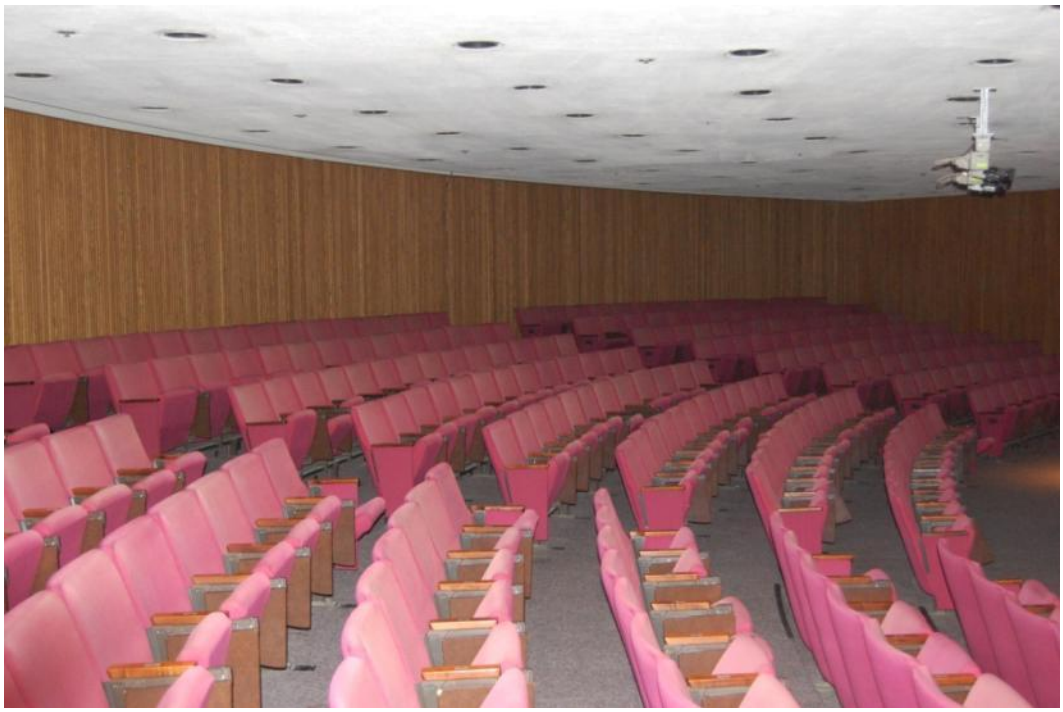

Figure 72 - Auditorium, first floor (Source: QEA, 2013). Linear wood paneling, plaster ceiling, and seats are original. Seats have been reupholstered.

Figure 73 - Conference Room, first floor (Source: QEA, 2013). Linear wood paneling and plaster ceiling is original.

Figure 74 - Conference Room, first floor (Source: QEA, 2013)

Figure 75 - Exhibit Area, first floor (Source: QEA, 2013)

Figure 76 - Exhibit Area, first floor (Source: QEA, 2013)

Figure 77 - Typical elevator lobby (Source: QEA, 2013)

Figure 78 - Typical corridors (Source: QEA, 2013). Floor, wall, and ceiling finishes are not original.

Courtyard - The Belgian block paving is original. It has had to be re-set in some locations. The pool fountain has been turned off and is only turned on for special occasions such as concerts.

2nd Floor - Access to the open second floor used to be via stairs over the moat on E, 9th, and 10th Streets. FBI workers used to enter via 9th and 10th Streets into the two banks of elevators. Metal gates now block those three entrances and have since been supplemented by metal doors (the gates are in place but no longer function). The doors were added because of corrosion and deterioration problems with gates and the concrete.

Tours used to begin on the 2nd floor at the visitor entrance off of the E Street stair where they took an escalator up to the mezzanine level for the exhibit space. VIP tours entered on the west (10th Street) side of 2nd floor tour area while regular tours entered on the east (9th Street) side of 2nd floor tour area. The tours ended after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. The escalator has since been removed and is now enclosed as a storage area. The other escalators have been removed. The firing range has been renovated twice due to codes and is still in active use. The spectator seating for tours watching the firing range originally had bench seating but now has theater chairs and new carpeting. The wood paneling (which appears to be rift sawn oak) is original. (The same paneling was in director's office until it was removed in last 9 months.) The Educational Center is in the previous location of the main entrance lobby on the north side of the courtyard. It is currently in the process of being renovated to show new exhibits on September 11, 2001 and the history of the FBI.

The majority of the second floor is still open but it is no longer used as a public viewing platform (observation terrace) for the public. Public access to the terrace was discouraged or prohibited as early as 1978. The pink and gray granite benches and planters appear to be original (they are shown as rectangular blocks on 1967 plans). The open-air amphitheater on top of the auditorium is rarely used.

Mezzanine- The small floor plate of the mezzanine once had a large public exhibit space and offices for tour leaders. It is now half exhibit space and half FBI police offices and locker rooms. The escalators have all been removed.

3rd Floor - The Physics and Chemistry Lab Division are no longer here having moved out in 2003. All functions have changed on this floor and the spaces have been completely renovated. Only the circulation route for the

employees is intact. The extent of the now suspended tour used to go around the 3rd floor labs and back down to 2nd floor. The corridors/offices have been completely renovated in recent years for a different division.

4th Floor - This floor used to house the General Index (records) which has been removed from the building. The floor has been renovated to become office space. The General Index had required special clearance for employees to access the cards through security gates. The gates and the escalators that extended to the floor above have since been removed.

5th Floor- Like the fourth floor, the fifth floor has been renovated to become office space for a new division/department (figure 79). There was a SCIF room along Pennsylvania Avenue which is no longer. The escalators have been removed.

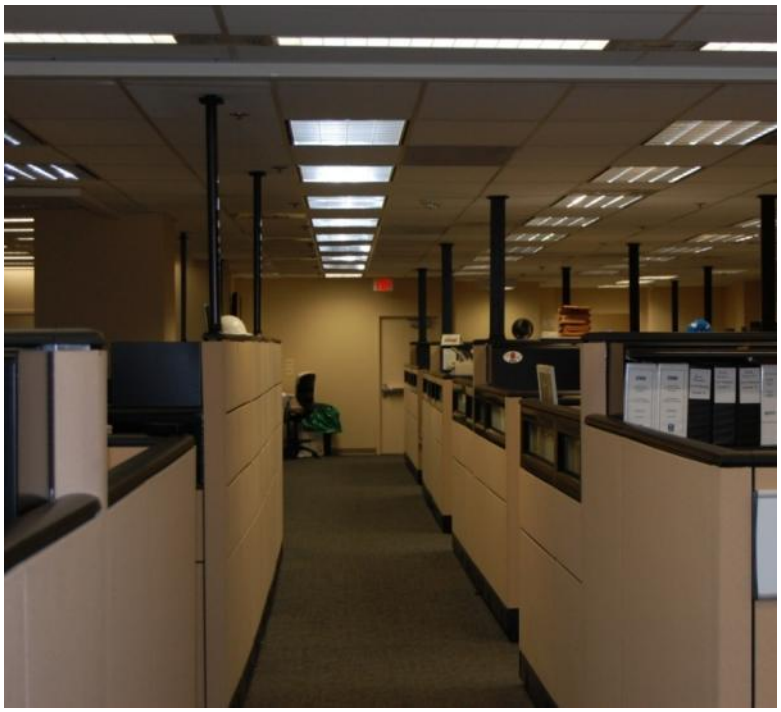

Figure 79 - Open office area (Source: QEA, 2013)

6th Floor- The Health Services spaces are in their original locations and have received only carpet and paint upgrades. The plaster ceilings are original with the original 1x4 light fixture openings. Throughout the building, the light fixtures have all been retrofitted or replaced. Corridor 3 (and part of 8) has the original finishes: white/cream VAT with tan flecks, dark brown resilient base, white walls, dark brown 9'-0" doors and frames, and brushed chrome finish (or other metal) door knobs. The main open office area on this floor now houses new divisions. The offices along Pennsylvania Avenue used to be part of the Administrative Division but now are part of another new division.

7th Floor - This floor used to house the Criminal Files and Fingerprint Division which moved out in 1993/1994 to West Virginia. [The 1967 plans say Civil Files.] The north half of the floor is now all office space for the lawyers (Office of the General Council OGC). Lawyers had been located in offices along Corridor 4, along 9th Street. The large Library facing courtyard is now much smaller. The Computer Center (near the 10th and E Street elevators) had been locker rooms and lounge but is currently being abated for hazardous materials and is about to renovated.

8th Floor - This floor still has the cafeteria with serving areas, kitchen, dishwashing, and dining areas however various parts have been relocated and the cafeteria has been renovated in the last two years. What were classrooms and dining areas around the perimeter of the floor have become offices. The dining area has been reduced to half of its original size. The west area of serving area was a dishwashing area and is now a multi-

purpose room (8533 Special Function Room). A corridor off of the serving area still has the original quarry tile and white glazed block walls. The credit union and brown bag area (with vending machines) are now located in the northwest corner which was once classrooms and dining areas.

The roof terrace (called "promenade" on the 1967 drawings) paving was redone in late 90s/early 2000s. Pavers are set on Styrofoam and there is currently a lot of vibration when walking on the pavers.

9th Floor - This floor used to house the Identification Division - Criminal Files. All criminal files are now gone from the building.

10th Floor - This floor used to house the Identification Division - Assembly Section. Fingerprints were on the north side of the floor. Assembly took of up the rest of the floor. All the files are now gone. It is all office space. The 1980s LAN computer hardware renovation was on the 10th and 11th floors but this equipment has all moved to the West Virginia facility.

11th Floor - This floor used to be the Card Index Section for Civil and Criminal Files with card index machines. First the card index moved to the 9th floor, then the 7th floor, and then to the West Virginia facility. This floor is houses a new division. The incinerator room was located in the northeast corner. It has since been removed. The front office for the card index was also in the northeast corner and is now no longer.

12th Floor - This floor is still used to house mechanical equipment.

Systems - The conveyor system used to be a track system running above the ceiling (in the 18" cavity) and running down telelifts within closets. The tracks have been removed. The lift shafts have been made into closets. The pneumatic system has been removed. The incinerator (to destroy files) has been removed. A sprinkler system was added in various phases throughout the building in the 1990s.

Figure 80 - Typical stair (Source: QEA, 2013)

Figure 81 - Roof deck off of the cafeteria (Source: QEA, 2013)

Figure 82 - Gymnasium (Source: QEA, 2013)

Statement of Integrity

The FBI Building retains some aspects of integrity related to the period of its construction and initial use. However, based on the analysis of essential physical features associated with the FBI as a significant Federal agency (National Register Criterion A), the FBI Building does not retain sufficient integrity to convey its historic identity under the exceptional significance requirement of Criterion Consideration G.

"Integrity is the ability of a property to convey its significance. To be listed in the National Register of Historic Places, a property must not only be shown to be significant under the National Register criteria, but it also must have integrity. The evaluation of integrity....must always be grounded in an understanding of a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance."[164] In order to assess the integrity of the FBI Building, the following steps must be taken: 1) Define the essential physical features that must be present for a property to represent its significance; 2) Determine whether the essential physical features are visible enough to convey their significance; 3) Determine whether the property needs to be compared with similar properties; and 4) Determine, based on the significance and essential physical features, which aspects of integrity are particularly vital to the property being nominated and if they are present.[165]

Essential Physical Features

"It is not necessary for a property to retain all its historic physical features or characteristics. The property must retain, however, the essential physical features that enable it to convey its historic identity. The essential physical features are those features that define both why a property is significant... and when it was significant... They are the features without which a property can no longer be identified as [a specific type of building from a specific era]."[166]

Remaining essential physical features include:

- Style - Brutalist
- Location - across from Department of Justice and along north side of Pennsylvania Avenue
- Setting - two city blocks combined, wide sidewalk, moat along northern half of site
- Massing - "doughnut" parti following the diagonal of Pennsylvania Avenue with a larger mass with a "hat" along E Street, service core splines at corners and cores supporting the "hat," double-height pilotis, open second floor observation terrace
- Fenestration patterns
- Circulation paths/routes - some of the separated circulation paths for public and private still exist though tours have stopped
- Exterior features and materials - exposed concrete walls, columns, stair, and ceilings, granite benches and planters
- Landscape - 76'-0" setback, three rows of trees
- Spatial organization - courtyard, layers of corridors, locations of entrances, exhibit areas, auditorium, gym, cafeteria, conference rooms
- Interior features and materials - metal doors and frames, wood paneling, terrazzo flooring, elevators

Aspects of Integrity

[164] Section VIII "How to evaluate the integrity of a property," Bulletin 15 "How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, National Register of Historic Places, p. 44.
[165] ibid, p. 45.
[166] Ibid, p. 46.

The National Register criteria recognizes seven aspects or qualities that define integrity. These aspects are location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. "To retain historic integrity a property will always possess several, and usually most, of the aspects."[167]

1. Location: the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.

"The relationship between the property and its location is often important to understanding why the property was created."[168] The FBI Building is located along Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, DC. Its placement, directly across the street from the Department of Justice, was the decision of the Bureau's powerful director, J. Edgar Hoover, who wanted a central location despite the constraints imposed by the limited site, although a larger campus like that at Quantico would have provided more space for the Bureau to expand. The Federal office building's location fit within the goals of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue to reclaim and unify Pennsylvania Avenue, the "grand axis of the Nation," particularly along the north side of the avenue. The FBI Building was the first Federal building to be built on the north side of Pennsylvania Avenue in accordance with some of the PAAC's recommendations such as the parade-viewing observation terrace at the second floor, three rows of trees, additional 50'-0" setback, and building mass following the diagonal of Pennsylvania Avenue. The location of the FBI Building is important to understanding its context. The building has not been moved from its original location.

Therefore, the FBI Building retains integrity of location.

2. Design: the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.

The aspect of design "results from the conscious decisions made during the original conception and planning of a property and applies to activities as diverse as community planning, engineering, architecture, and landscape architecture. Design includes such elements as organization of space, proportion, scale, technology, ornamentation, and materials."[169] Design also considers the structural system, massing, arrangement of spaces, pattern of fenestration, textures and colors of surface materials, type, amount, and style of ornamental detailing, arrangement and type of plantings.

The design of the FBI Building is a direct result of the architects C.F. Murphy Associates, the programmatic needs of the FBI, some of the recommendations of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, and the opinions of the review boards, particularly the Commission of Fine Arts. The "doughnut" plan along the diagonal of Pennsylvania Avenue and the open second floor observation tower were a conscious decision on the part of the designers of the Pennsylvania Avenue plan. Though there was initial struggle with the "doughnut" plan along the diagonal of Pennsylvania Avenue, this parti has not changed. The open second level for public viewing of parades is still an open space however it was closed to the public immediately after opening in 1975 for security reasons. The massing of the building with its "hat" along E Street, arrangement of spaces, selection of structural system, fenestration patterns, surface materials, and interior materials were all decisions on the part the architects, C.F. Murphy, with some influence from the Commission of Fine Arts on the design. The solidity of the first floor along Pennsylvania Avenue was a direct decision by the FBI who did not want any commercial activity, which was a recommendation by the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue. Most of the physical features of the design on the exterior are still extant.

The concept for the public circulation routes from the outside to the inside and through the building has changed drastically since design and from initial occupancy. Entrances have been closed off and escalators removed. The access from street level into the building for the employees has also changed. No longer can they access off of 9th, 10th, and E Streets into the 2nd level. Within the building, the corridor layout and service core locations have not changed. However, many of the materials for the floors, walls, and ceilings, have been replaced over the years. Technologies such as the conveyor system, pneumatic system, and incinerator have all been removed. Specialized equipment and rooms for the laboratory have all been removed and renovated for other functions. The organization

[167] Ibid, p. 44.
[168] Ibid, p. 44.
[169] Ibid, p. 44.

of space and layout of the interior partitions is for the most part unchanged. The functions of those spaces, however, have changed considerably and alterations have been made to accommodate new functions.

Therefore, the FBI Building has adequate integrity of design.

3. Setting: the physical environment of a historic property.

Setting refers to the character of the place, how the property is situated and its relationship to surrounding features and open space. The FBI Building is a massive building that dominates two combined city blocks. It wraps the perimeter of the blocks bounded by the diagonal Pennsylvania Avenue, 9th, 10th, and E streets. These streets were laid out in the L'Enfant plan of 1791 for the federal city. From the beginning of the design phase, D Street was intended to be closed off and built upon. The site slopes down from E Street to Pennsylvania Avenue with a grade change of about a half story. The height of the Pennsylvania Avenue section matches the height of the Department of Justice and conforms to the height restrictions. A gravel-filled moat wraps the upper north half of the block and limits access to the building to three sets of grand stairs. Initially, those stairs were used by the public and the employees but they have since been closed off. The building is set back 76'-0" from Pennsylvania Avenue in accordance with recommendations from the PAAC's Pennsylvania Avenue Plan of 1964. This is the initial 26'-0" setback plus the additional 50'-0" as prescribed. The wide expanse of sidewalk still has the three rows of shade trees as recommended by the PAAC. The current main entrance is through Pennsylvania Avenue which was once an open breezeway to the courtyard but is now an enclosed space. The large courtyard in the middle of the building is still extant. Within the courtyard, the spatial organization, large rotund mass of the auditorium, circular stepped fountain, and grand stair up to the open second floor are elements of the Brutalist style.

The physical features that constitute the setting of the FBI Building are all still extant and retain~~s~~ integrity. However, the circulation route of the public and the employees from the street into the building has been altered, constituting diminished integrity.

Therefore, the FBI Building has sufficient integrity of setting.

4. Materials: the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

A property must retain the key materials dating from the period of its historic significance. The exterior of the FBI Building is made of buff-colored precast and cast-in-place concrete with an aggregate of crushed dolomite limestone. To create the facade texture, the contractors poured the concrete into reusable steel forms separated by metal ties. The ties remained in the concrete and when the molds were removed they left the "holes" throughout the exterior creating a dimpled effect. Canted precast window frames enclose windows with bronze-tinted glass. Large granite benches and planters are placed along the open second floor observation terrace. All of these key exterior materials are still extant however the concrete exhibits some deterioration. The only extant interior materials are the 9'-0" metal doors and frames throughout the corridors and wood paneling in the auditorium, conference room, and spectator seating area.

Therefore, the FBI Building retains integrity of materials.

5. Workmanship: the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.

Workmanship is the evidence of artisans' labor and skill in constructing a building or site. Essentially, the workmanship of the architects is still extant provided by the comparison of the drawings, renderings, and models to the existing building. The facade texture with dimpled surface, provided by reusable steel forms and ties, is evidence of the workmanship of the contractors.

Therefore, the FBI Building retains integrity of workmanship.

6. Feeling: a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.

Feeling results from the combination of physical features that convey the property's character. There is some evidence that the placement and massive appearance of the FBI Building were intended to reflect the building's tenant – or at least that observers found the appearance an appropriate reflection of the FBI as an agency. In the beginning of the design, the lead design architect, Stan Gladych, noted that he wanted the building to "express that feeling of ruggedness and efficiency which he feels are exemplified by the Director and the Operations of the Bureau." Contemporaries also noted that the "brutal modernism" of the building was appropriate to a "national police headquarters."

The design for the building includes many of the features associated with the Brutalist period of late modern architecture: large expanses of exposed concrete with evidence of formwork, deep window recesses, repetitive geometric forms, strong, powerful massing, monumentality, and a sculptural quality. The Brutalist design of the building modulated the massing to accommodate the need to incorporate a large amount of office and filing space and other functions while simultaneously attempting to respect the urban context along Pennsylvania Avenue. Combining asymmetrical elements and masses with repetitive and symmetrical bays, the design attempted to straddle the poles between monumentality and fitting into the neighborhood. Another characteristic of Brutalism was the expression of important interior spaces which is seen in the expression of the auditorium projection into the courtyard. These physical features are all extant.

Finally, one of the hallmarks of many Brutalist buildings was an element of public access and circulation. [170] At the FBI Building, all attempts to provide that public access, either through shops on the first floor or the second floor observation deck, were eliminated by the FBI, which valued security over public access. The PAAC preference for commercial activity at the first floor along Pennsylvania Avenue was never implemented during design or during construction. The public access to the open second floor for parade viewing was closed off first with temporary measures shortly after occupancy and then with permanent infill.

Therefore, the FBI Building has sufficient integrity of feeling to express the aesthetic and historic sense of a particular period of time.

7. Association: the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property

A property retains association if it is the place where the event or activity occurred and is sufficiently intact to convey that relationship to an observer.[171] The only significant person so far identified with the building is J. Edgar Hoover, the Bureau's longtime director from 1924 to 1972. However, Hoover died before the building was completed, meaning this building has no direct association with Hoover's productive life. Although Hoover did have ultimate supervision over the project to build a new FBI headquarters, there is little evidence that he had any substantial input into the design or the construction process, and what little evidence there is appears to be apocryphal, according to contemporary sources. The association with Hoover is not enough to establish a direct link to the building.

The design of the FBI Building is tied to the formation of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue and its resultant report "Pennsylvania Avenue," a master plan published in 1964 during the beginning of the design process. However, the recommendations by the PAAC for the FBI Building were only partially realized by the owner (GSA) and tenant (FBI) and its subsequent occupancy. The building does have the additional setback and the massing follows the diagonal of the avenue as recommended. The desire for commercial activity at the first floor on Pennsylvania Avenue was never implemented. The public access to the open second floor observation terrace for parade viewing was closed. The association with the formation and action of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue is linked to the FBI Building in a few of the physical features. However, the event or activity of the creation of the Pennsylvania Avenue Plan did not occur at the FBI Building.

[170] This is discussed in contemporary literature on the evolving Brutalist movement, for example in Reyner Banham's *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic* (New York: Reinhold Publishing, 1966) and is visible in noted Brutalist buildings such as the work of Alison and Peter Smithson, Boston City Hall and Rudolph's UMass-Dartmouth.
[171] Ibid, p 45.

In addition to housing the offices of the FBI's director and its chief administrative functions, the FBI Building was constructed to host many of the characteristic functions of the FBI. These included the laboratory and fingerprint divisions and the FBI's very popular tour. The building itself was designed around the FBI's need for extensive file storage, with files contained on the interior and offices and other functions on the perimeter. These functions have all been moved out or suspended. The laboratory, which processed forensic evidence for all of the FBI's field offices nationwide, moved to a new facility at the Quantico Complex in 2003. The fingerprint division moved out in 1995, and the records division has also been transferred to off-site facilities. The spaces associated with those functions have all been extensively remodeled, resulting in a loss of associative integrity. The tour facilities on the second floor, including some museum space, the spectator seating, and firing range, are still in place, but the tour itself was ended for the public after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.[172] As a result, the interior elements and functions that made this building unique to the FBI as an agency have been lost or suffered greatly diminished integrity; although the building remains as the headquarters of the FBI, including the director and administrative offices, little remains today that uniquely associates this building with the essential core functions of the FBI.

Therefore, the FBI Building does not have integrity of association.

Determination of Eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places

The following is an assessment of the FBI Building's eligibility for the National Register of Historic Places under the four established criteria for eligibility. The determinations here are based on extensive research into the history of the FBI Building and its context within the history of Washington, DC and the United States.

Because the FBI Building will not reach fifty years of age until 2025, the building must meet National Register Criterion Consideration G, demonstrating the exceptional importance of properties under fifty years of age.

Criterion A

Properties can be eligible if they are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.

A property must be *specifically* associated with significant historic trends or events. It must be associated either with a *specific event marking an important moment in American history* and/or a *pattern of events or a historic trend that made a significant contribution to the development of a community, a State, or the nation.*

Headquarters of the FBI

The FBI Building is not eligible under National Register Criterion A for its association with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, the federal government's primary criminal investigative and counterintelligence agency, because it does not meet the requirements under Criteria Consideration G.

National Register Bulletin 22: Guidelines for Evaluating and Nominating Properties that Have Achieved Significance Within the Past Fifty Years states that properties less than fifty years old are only eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places if they are of "exceptional importance" or are integral parts of districts that are eligible for listing in the National Register. It further notes that "the [National Register Criteria for Evaluation] and National Register program require that nominations for such properties demonstrate that sufficient historical perspective and scholarly, comparative analysis exist to justify the claim of exceptional importance."

While the FBI Building, as the first purpose-built national headquarters for the agency, does house the FBI Director and many of the administrative functions of the Bureau, the agency's significant activities have historically been associated with its investigative and law enforcement actions, which chiefly take place in the field offices. The achievements of the FBI's "golden age," during which the Bureau established its purpose and standing as a major

[172] The tour facilities on the mezzanine level have been altered to house the FBI Police as well as exhibits.

federal agency, were associated with either the agency's field offices, or with the previous spaces within the Department of Justice in which the Bureau was headquartered. Similarly, the activities that brought the reputation of the FBI into question during the 1970s had mainly taken place before the completion of this building, particularly during director J. Edgar Hoover's final years at the agency in the mid to late 1960s.

The other major facility associated with the agency is the FBI Academy at Quantico, Virginia. Portions of the Academy campus have been occupied since 1935, but the academy moved to new facilities on the campus in 1972. This makes the Quantico facility, which houses the Bureau's training and research facilities, contemporaneous with the construction of the FBI Headquarters building, further diminishing the case for exceptional importance of the Headquarters building in relation to agency functions and history. Other major FBI facilities include the Criminal Justice Information Services facility in Clarksburg, West Virginia, which was constructed in 1991 and the various field offices, most notably the Washington DC Field Office (constructed 1997).

We conclude that sufficient time has not passed to establish the significance of the FBI Building in relation to the agency's historical context after 1975 and that the existing historical evidence is not sufficient to justify a claim of exceptional importance.

In addition, the interior elements and functions that made this building unique to the FBI as an agency have been lost or suffered greatly diminished integrity. These included the laboratory and fingerprint divisions and the FBI's very popular tour, at one time the second most popular tourist attraction in Washington DC. The building itself was designed around the FBI's need for extensive file storage, with files contained on the interior and offices and other functions on the perimeter. These functions have all been moved out or suspended. The laboratory, which processed forensic evidence for the FBI's field offices, moved to a new facility at the Quantico Complex in 2003. The fingerprint division moved in 1995, and the records division has also been transferred to off-site facilities. The spaces associated with those functions have all been extensively remodeled, destroying their integrity. The tour facilities on the second floor, including some museum space, the spectator seating, and firing range, are still in place, but the public tour itself was ended after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.[173]

Redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue

The FBI Building is not exceptionally significant under Criterion A at the local level or nationally for its association with the plans to redevelop Pennsylvania Avenue during the 1960s.

One of the concepts in NCPC's Policies Plan for the Year 2000, issued in 1961, was "…structured growth in corridors along major transportation radials that emanate from the central city."[174] Endorsed by President Kennedy, the regional Year 2000 Plan would influence redevelopment "special project" planning along Pennsylvania Avenue.[175] The Pennsylvania Avenue redevelopment plans, which were conceived in 1961 after President Kennedy reportedly noticed the dilapidated state of buildings on the north side of the Avenue, were the result of years of ad hoc committees, design reports, and the input of architects from all over the country. The FBI Building, already approved for its new site by 1961, was widely viewed at the time as the first and most visible project in the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue. Design of the building was interrupted until 1964 to allow the PAAC to issue its plan so that the FBI Building's design could comply. Scrutiny of the building's design was intense throughout the multiple review processes in place in Washington DC, particularly at CFA and at NCPC. Proponents of certain elements of the plan, such as providing retail shops at the street level, fought hard to incorporate them into the design, against stiff opposition from the FBI and Commission of Fine Arts. Construction of the building was frequently delayed and costs rose exponentially in part due to the multiple design reviews and numerous changes required to the design. Ultimately, the FBI Building, including its faults, is a direct result of being seen and treated as the linchpin to the success of the Pennsylvania Avenue redevelopment plan.

The 1964 (green book) and 1967 (blue book) PAAC plans are important as events and episodes in the evolution of planning and urban design in Washington. However, the FBI Building is not exceptionally significant for its association with these plans, which were never fully adopted and were not implemented in a way that is exceptionally significant.[176] As noted in *Worthy of a Nation*, "Many of the major precepts in these plans and reports

[173] The tour facilities on the mezzanine level have been altered to house the FBI Police as well as exhibits.
[174] Worthy of a Nation, 289.
[175] Worthy of a Nation, 291.
[176] Worthy of a Nation, 323.

formed the foundation for planning activities for the remainder of the century."[177] The PAAC plans are related to later planning efforts in the 1970s, but the early planning efforts to redevelop Pennsylvania were not embraced wholesale by planners to the point where one can reasonably argue that the early plans were highly influential. For this reason, the PAAC plans, and by extension, the FBI Building's association with those plans, should not be considered exceptionally significant.

The FBI Building is an artifact associated with the PAAC plans rather than an embodiment of the plan. The FBI Building does not exemplify the principles of the PAAC plans and can be considered an anomaly. Although the zoning requirements and setbacks and heights followed the plans, the final design for the FBI Building only partially met the principles of the PAAC plans.[178] The FBI Building, a federal building, was constructed on a site where the 1964 PAAC plan called for a private building. One of the most notable deviations from the plan was the building's failure to provide an open, ground level arcade to shelter the public along Pennsylvania Avenue and provide amenities to the avenue and downtown. The FBI never wanted retail in its building, and ultimately the solid base desired by the FBI and its designers prevailed with the support of NCPC and CFA, which approved the project over the objections of Nathaniel Owings and the PAAC. The solid concrete wall formed the base of the building, an element of the design that would be criticized soon after the building was constructed and is widely considered one of the building's biggest failures. A viewing platform for parades was incorporated, but this feature never functioned as intended due to the FBI's security requirements. The depressed E Street called for in the PAAC plans also never came to pass. Nor did the large moves to create a new National Square or "superblocks" that would have created courtyards between interconnected buildings. Rather, the legacy of these early plans was the planting of seeds that would not germinate until the 1970s with the creation, adoption, and execution of the PADC Plan in 1974. Planners were hopeful that the FBI Building would be the start of their aspirations for a revitalized Pennsylvania Avenue, but ultimately the FBI was the wrong tenant for the new federal building on the site. The lengthy design review process was more than the project could bear.

Although the FBI building remains today as the federal building most directly associated with the PAAC plans, this fact alone does not make the building exceptionally significant for its association with the PAAC plans or evolution of planning in Washington, DC. It is difficult to argue that one building can represent an urban redevelopment plan, which is intended to order a larger area. An ensemble such as the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site, comprised of two centuries of development along the avenue that includes multiple buildings, landscapes, and objects, is significant in part due to the plans associated with the development of an area.[179] Later buildings along the north side of the avenue conformed to the PADC plan, which was a more fully realized assemblage of new buildings and urban design components that collectively today represent the unification of Pennsylvania Avenue. If the period of significance of the Pennsylvania Avenue NHS were to be extended to include the PADC time period, the FBI building would be assessed to see if it would be a contributing resource as part of the evolution of Pennsylvania Avenue. But as an individual property, the FBI Building is not exceptionally significant for its association with the evolution of planning in Washington, DC.

The FBI Building was also not influential with respect to later planning efforts under the PADC. In fact, planners associated with the PADC made efforts to avoid the mistake made by not creating a pedestrian-friendly street presence. When the Canadian Chancery was designed, for example, PADC urged Arthur Erickson, the architect, to design a building that attracted pedestrians, a direct reaction to the way the FBI Building "shunned passersby."[180] Part of the openness of the building's original design has also been lost due to the enclosure of the main Pennsylvania Avenue entrance to the courtyard.

The PAAC plans influenced the PADC plans, which were more fully realized and resulted in the unification of Pennsylvania Avenue. Pennsylvania Avenue as we know it today is more the result of the implementation of the PADC plan. The PADC plan incorporated the broader objectives of the PAAC plans, but adopted an urban design and public/private redevelopment strategy that was more achievable, less grand in scope, and included retention and enhancement of existing buildings. Reflecting the success of the PADC plan implementation, in 1994 the Urban Land Institute (ULI) gave the PADC an award for the PADC plan. ULI praised PADC for its work transforming the northern side of Pennsylvania Avenue, stating that "the PADC has helped build the kind of Main Street that the

[177] Worthy of a Nation, 297.
[178] See Paul Gapp, "FBI Building: Mediocrity Frames a Macho Image," *Chicago Tribune*, 8 June 1978, page E2.
[179] The period of significance for the Pennsylvania Avenue Historic Site is 1791-1962.
[180] Isabelle Gournay and Jane C. Loeffler, "Washington and Ottawa: A Tale of Two Embassies," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 61, No. 4 9 (December 2002): 493.

taxpayers can be proud of."[181] Having successfully accomplished the PADC plan objectives, Congress dissolved the PADC in 1996.

Criterion B

A property can be significant for its association with the life of a person or persons significant in our past. The person must be individually significant within a historic context, and the property should be associated with the person's productive life, reflecting the time period in which he or she achieved significance.

J. Edgar Hoover

The FBI Building is not significant under Criterion B. The only significant person so far identified with the building is J. Edgar Hoover, the Bureau's longtime director from 1924 to 1972. However, Hoover died before the building was completed, meaning this building has no direct association with Hoover's productive life. Although Hoover did have ultimate supervision over the project to build a new FBI headquarters, there is little evidence that he had any significant input into the design or the construction process, and what little evidence there is appears to be apocryphal, according to contemporary sources.

Criterion C

In order to be significant under Criterion C, a property must meet at least one of the following requirements:

- Embody distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction
- Represent the work of a master
- Possess high artistic value
- Represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction (i.e. a historic district. This does not apply to the FBI Building).

Brutalist Architecture

The FBI Building is not exceptionally significant as an example of Brutalist architecture at the local or national level. Although it does exhibit many of the distinctive characteristics of Brutalist architecture, and was the subject of much discussion prior to and during its construction, it does not meet the requirement for exceptional significance under Criteria Consideration G. There is no evidence that the building's design was ground-breaking or influential; indeed, by the time it was completed, Brutalist architecture had generally fallen into disfavor, which may have affected the general opinion of it. No evidence has been found that it won any local or national design awards, and there was little coverage (and of that it was generally negative) in the contemporary architectural literature. Reviews of the building at the time of its completion were overwhelmingly negative, and in some cases vitriolic; opinions of the building have changed little since that time.

Compared to other representatives of Brutalist architecture both locally and nationwide, the FBI Building is not distinctive or exceptional. Boston City Hall and Paul Rudolph's Yale School of Art and Architecture are both better recognized and considered by critics and academicians as more successful than the FBI Building, and it also suffers in comparison to locally significant examples such as Bunshaft's Hirshhorn Museum or Breuer's HUD Building, which both have more successful courtyards and circulation components. Finally, one of the hallmarks of many Brutalist buildings was an element of public access; the Boston City Hall, for example, served as a circulation point at the first floor into other areas of the city, while Paul Rudolph's group of buildings and the University of Massachusetts-Dartmouth all connected on the second floor level to allow for interior circulation between buildings. At the FBI Building, the agency's security concerns overrode all attempts to provide that public access, either through shops on the first floor or the second floor observation deck. Essentially, the FBI was the wrong client to accomplish the goals set out for this site.

[181] Quoted in Worthy of a Nation, 328.

Pennsylvania Avenue Redevelopment Plan

The FBI Building is not exceptionally significant under Criteria A for its association with the history of the Pennsylvania Avenue redevelopment plan (as noted above), nor is it exceptionally significant as a design element in that plan under Criteria C.

Although not the first building to be constructed under the 1964 President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue's Pennsylvania Avenue plan, the FBI Building was the first Federal building to be designed under the plan, and indeed the design process was interrupted in order to incorporate the recommendations of that plan. It did comply with some of the requirements of the plan: building massing, for example, with the shorter sections of the building along Pennsylvania Avenue to reduce its impact, or its compliance with the diagonal orientation of the Avenue, which was to be the capital's main parade route. However, it did not comply with one of the most critical portions of the plan – the recommendation to provide retail shops at the first floor in order to encourage economic redevelopment and pedestrian traffic along the avenue and also through the site. This was a major contention point throughout the design review process, but the FBI and Gordon Bunshaft of the CFA stood firm, and retail never became a portion of the plan. As a design element, the FBI Building, with its massive footprint and forbidding wall and moat at the first floor, failed to provide a pedestrian friendly, human-scale experience along Pennsylvania Avenue.

C. F. Murphy/Stan Gladych

The FBI Building is not exceptionally significant under Criterion C as the work of a master architect. Although C. F. Murphy Associates was a well-known firm in Chicago and produced some significant works of architecture, the FBI Building is not the most representative or an exceptional example of their overall body of work. Based on available information, The FBI Building was not a work of great artistic value by C. F. Murphy or Gladych, chiefly because the arduous process of design review made this a compromised design.

The building's chief designer, Stan Gladych, although well-respected as an architect in his time, is not a figure of generally recognized greatness in the field of Modern architecture, like Mies van der Rohe, Paul Rudolph, Victor Lundy, or Marcel Breuer. Research confirms that Gladych was clearly among the talented architects associated with the so called "Second Chicago School," which refers to the production of work associated with Mies and his followers from 1940s through the 1960s. The historiography gives Gladych scant attention, when, by all accounts, he was the designer of many notable and well-received buildings, including O'Hare, the First National Bank, and the Chicago Filtration Plant. This is likely explained, in part, by the fact that Gladych appears to have only practiced architecture for a year after leaving C.F.Murphy Associates. Gladych essentially dropped out of the field at the age of 50 and lived only ten more years to age 60. This decade during which Gladych was not a practicing architect coincided with the period of time when the legacy of the Second Chicago School was first being established by curators and scholars such as Carl Condit. Gladych was also, according to Carter Manny, an extremely principled man, and it does not appear that he sought the limelight or took steps to promote his legacy. Without a strong ego, other architects, including Gene Summers, garnered more attention.

Gladych was skilled designing glass and steel buildings in the tradition of Mies. For the FBI Building project, he was forced to work in a vocabulary that was new to him. It was a change for Gladych from his all of his work until that time. Speaking about the brutalist concrete style used for the FBI, Carter Manny recalled: "It was a switch for Gladych. It was not what he was most comfortable with, but he was adapting to Washington and to [Nathaniel] Owings."[182] Not all of Gladych's later buildings would be strictly Miesian or brutalist, but his best known, well-received and regarded projects were Miesian.

Criterion D

A property can be significant for its potential to yield information important in history or prehistory. This most commonly applies to archeological sites.

A property might also qualify for Criterion D for its potential to yield information on unusual or innovative construction methods or cultural methods of craftsmanship.

[182] Oral History of Carter Manny, The Art Institute of Chicago, 241.

The FBI Building is not exceptionally significant under Criterion D. The extensive excavations for the foundations of the building make it unlikely that this site could potentially yield exceptionally significant archeological information. Similarly, there is no evidence in contemporary or subsequent documentation that any innovative or unusual construction methods were used in this building.

Conclusion

After research and review of the history and context of the FBI Building, Quinn Evans Architects has determined that the building is NOT ELIGIBLE for listing in the National Register of Historic Places because it does not meet the Criteria Consideration G requirements for exceptional importance in any category of significance.

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PREPARER'S DETERMINATION

Eligibility Recommended ☐ Eligibility Not Recommended ☒

Applicable National Register Criteria: A☐ B☐ C☐ D☐

Applicable Considerations: A☐ B☐ C☐ D ☐ E ☐ F ☐ G ☐

Prepared By: Thomas C. Jester, AIA; Ruth E. Mills, MA, MS; and Kathryn S. Irwin, AIA
Quinn Evans Architects
2121 Ward Place, NW
Fourth Floor
Washington, DC
202.298-6700

Date: May 30, 2014

Submitted By: Nancy Witherell, Regional Historic Preservation Officer
Public Buildings Service, National Capital Region
U.S. General Services Administration

SHPO REVEIW COMMENTS FOLLOW ON NEXT PAGE

DC SHPO REVIEW AND COMMENTS

Concurs with Recommendation ☒ Does Not Concur with Recommendation ☐

Although the FBI Building is the first purpose-built headquarters for the FBI, the DOE recommends that the property is not eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. To summarize in the broadest, most general terms, the DOE recommends that the FBI Building is:

* Not eligible under Criterion A because the relative majority of significant events associated with the FBI occurred prior to construction of the FBI Building;

* Not eligible under Criterion B based upon association with J. Edgar Hoover because the building was not completed until after his death;

* Not eligible under Criterion C because the building is "not distinctive" as an example of Brutalism or a notable example of the work of C.F. Murphy and Stanislaw Z. Gladych, Architects;

* Not eligible under Criterion D due to being unlikely to yield archaeological information associated with history or prehistory; and

* Not eligible under Criterion Consideration G because there is no basis to establish that the thirty-nine year old building is of "exceptional importance."

In addition to supporting the findings listed above, the DOE analyzes other relevant points that are critical factors in evaluating the potential significance of the FBI Building including its contribution to the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue; its relationship to the goals of the Pennsylvania Avenue Advisory Committee (PAAC); alterations that have affected the integrity of the property; the building's very extended design review process; critical reception; comparable examples of Brutalism; and other pertinent topics. In each of these instances, the conclusions bolster the claim that the FBI Building does not meet National Register Criteria. Also of note, the DOE clarifies that the FBI Building does not fall within the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site's Period of Significance (1791-1962) and, therefore, is not a contributing element of the surrounding historic district.

We very much appreciate the thoroughness of the research and analysis that clearly went into preparing the very extensive DOE Form and its supporting illustrations. After careful consideration of the information provided and a first-hand inspection of the existing building conditions during a site visit conducted on January 17, 2014, we concur with GSA's determination that the J. Edgar Hoover Federal Bureau of Investigation Building is not eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places. As a result, no further consultation with our office regarding the eligibility of the FBI Building will be necessary.

(b) (6) [redacted]

Reviewed By: David Maloney, Andrew Lewis & Kim Williams Date: March 6, 2014

DC Government Project/Permit Project Log Number (if applicable):