# The Role of the Treasury Department in the Production of Public Architecture in the 1930s: A Case Study of the Federal Building, Chattanooga, Tennessee

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## Introduction

The design, construction, and decoration of the Federal Building in Chattanooga, Tennessee, and the subsequent appropriation of the building's image as a symbol, reflects the tempestuous, but largely unstudied, politics and policy changes at the United States Treasury Department in the late 1920s and early 1930s (fig. 1). The structure, planned in 1931, built in 1932, and embellished with a courtroom mural and freestanding sculpture between 1934 and 1938, traces and illuminates a significant phase in the development of American public architecture. The building's design team was one of the many joint ventures between public and private architects prompted by the Depression and assembled during the 1940s to produce federal architecture. The R. H. Hunt Company of Chattanooga, an important regional practice, and Shreve, Lamb & Harmon of New York City, a firm with an established national reputation, collaborated on the project produced for and under the direction of the Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department. The structure's appearance in publications and an exhibition in the 1930s indicates the didactic value that contemporaries ascribed to the finished object. Taste makers promoted the building as a worthy representative of an emerging national style. On a more subtle level, the Chattanooga Federal Building was adopted by both private and federal architects as an emblem of their individual contributions to the massive federal building program. Seen from the vantage point of time, the building's independent endorsement by these two opposing factions symbolizes the resolution of the acrimonious debate over the conjunction of public and private architects in the production of federal architecture.

A restrained, stripped classical style became synonymous with the public architecture in the 1920s and 1930s. While selected portions of the history of federal architecture of the decade of the Great Depression have been compiled, the definitive study has not yet been written. Emily Harris's 1982 study "History of Federal Policy Concerning Post Office Construction, 1900-1940" and Lois Craig's 1978 *The Federal Presence* are notable contributions. Harris's history reconstructs the basic framework of issues that shaped federal architecture in the early twentieth century. However, since her sources are primarily government documents and records, issues such as style, omitted in the official reports, are not covered in her analysis.[1] Further, by relying almost exclusively on one category of information, she focuses tightly on the point of view of the Treasury Department as it presented itself in official reports, polished for public consumption. This perspective ignores the controversy brewing around the Treasury Department over the employment of private architects. By comparison, the time frame of Craig's study is broad and ambitious: the history of American public building as a reflection of the "pervasive, if often unconscious, influence of the way Americans feel about their government."[2] Of necessity an overview, it provides excellent background information and focused study of selected topics.

Later authors searching for the origins of the developing style, called, among other things, "the WPA style" and "modernized classicism," trace sources to the work of Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue and Paul Cret.[3] These works focus

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[1]Harris herself points out this omission. Emily Harris, "History of Federal Policy Concerning Post Office Construction, 1900-1940," draft report for National Park Service, 1982, 20.

[2]Lois Craig, *The Federal Presence: Architecture, Politics, and Symbols in United States Government Buildings* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1978) i.

[3]Richard Guy Wilson, "Modernized Classicism and Washington, D.C.," *American Public Architecture: European Roots and Native Expressions,* eds., Craig Zabel and Susan Scott

on major buildings, the prototypes, but do not address their local analogs or the Office of the Supervising Architect, the agent for the dissemination of the style. Emblems of the developing national style, in the form of post offices and federal buildings, were filtered through the Office of the Supervising Architect. The distribution of these buildings to locations throughout the country is largely unstudied. The literature also does not address the individual architects who produced the buildings. The members of the design team for the Chattanooga Federal Building, all significant and published in their day, have received little scholarly attention: local architect Reuben Harrison Hunt, nationally known consultant Arthur Loomis Harmon, and prominent federal architect Louis A. Simon are virtually ignored by later historians.

Numerous bureaucratic reorganizations during the 1930s and documentation of the work of Depression relief agencies have contributed inadvertently to the muddled picture of 1930s federal architecture.[4] The implementation of New Deal policies did not coincide with the onset of the Depression; there was a time lag. In addition, the public architecture produced prior to the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt is formally very similar to that produced under his administration. The Depression and the New Deal did not generate a new architectural idiom. The " WPA style" is a misnomer. The application of the stripped classical style to a project such as Chattanooga's

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Munshower (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1989) 273; Lois Craig calls the style "starved classicism" (Craig 277-337).

[4]For example, the projects promoted in C. W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown, *Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration 1933-39* (1939; New York: Da Capo Press, 1986) were funded by the Public Works Administration, one of the New Deal alphabet agencies. Bureaucratically the PWA was outside of the Treasury Department but administered the funding for the general building program. The report, from which the book was compiled, was at the time of its writing a collaborative effort by the Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works and the Procurement Division of the Treasury. In 1939, the PWA and the Public Buildings Branch of the Procurement Division became part of the Federal Works Agency. Short and Stanley-Brown, preface.

Federal Building actually predated the establishment of the agencies and funding of the New Deal.

While studies of the federal architecture produced in the 1930s are scarce, the embellishment in these buildings has received a great deal of attention.[5] Several factors contribute to the disparity of treatment. The tight temporal bounds of the art programs, beginning at the implementation of the New Deal and ending at the onset of World War II, form a neat, tidy, manageable package. By contrast, the architecture has roots in work that predates both the Depression and the New Deal. The Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture was created *ex novo*, while the Office of the Supervising Architect had a long and more complex history. Further, the meticulous record keeping of the New Deal art programs, intentionally preparing the road for later analysis, provides a wealth of documentation for the historian. Henry La Farge, an administrator in one of the Treasury art programs, indicates that clearing a path for future historians consciously motivated the fastidious documentation of the process behind the production of federally sponsored art. In requesting development drawings of Harold Weston's murals for the Procurement Building in Washington, D.C., La Farge notes that, "We believe that such a collection of preliminary sketches and studies will be of great interest and significance in connection with our work in time to come."[6] Recent studies of New Deal art

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[5]Sue Bridwell Beckham, *Depression Post Office Murals and Southern Culture: A Gentle Reconstruction* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1989); Belisario R. Contreras, *Tradition and Innovation in New Deal Art* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 1983); Karal Ann Marling, *Wall-to-Wall America: A Cultural History of Post-Office Murals in the Great Depression* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982); Richard D. McKinzie, *The New Deal for Artists* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1973); Marlene Park and Gerald E. Markowitz, *Democratic Vistas: Post Offices and Public Art in the New Deal* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984), as well as numerous journal articles.

[6]Henry La Farge, letter to Harold Weston, 13 July 1937, "WPA, CT - Fine Arts Commission, D. C.," Central Office Correspondence with Field Offices, State Supervisors and Others 1935-39, Records Concerning Federal Art Activities, Textual Records of the Treasury

programs examine the relationship between art and culture. These works trace the dissemination of realism as the style of choice and investigate the local and national controversies stemming from the government's unprecedented patronage of the arts. However, they effectively isolate art from architecture, examining the decorative package while ignoring the envelope.

The Depression dominated the cultural landscape of the 1930s. During the decade, government patronage embraced both architecture and the arts. The Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department designed or oversaw the production of hundreds of post offices distributed across the country. A federal art program, also under the jurisdiction of the Treasury architectural arm, directed the addition of murals and sculpture to these buildings. This study will focus on the construction of the Federal Building in Chattanooga as a representative product of the Treasury Department architecture and art programs and on the subsequent adoption of the building, by both private and federal architects, as a symbol validating their contributions to the development of public architecture. The role of Louis Simon, the Supervising Architect, as the agent behind the dissemination of a federal style will be a topic of particular emphasis.

Chapter one uses the work of Emily Harris and Lois Craig as the points of departure for an analysis of the political climate that surrounded the construction of federal architecture in the second and third decades of the twentieth century. A survey of articles from contemporary periodicals is the vehicle for identifying a series of debates within the architectural profession in the 1920s and 1930s on the topic of public architecture. The American tendency to associate classicism with federal power and to wrap the modern interiors of its public buildings in a classical veneer has a history that extends

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Relief Art Project, Records of the Public Buildings Service, RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

back in time to the work of Thomas Jefferson and Robert Mills. Therefore, in the 1930s, the role that modernism would play in American architecture, particularly in public architecture, and the dialog about the importance of standardization in the design of federal buildings were both significant areas of controversy. However, the most volatile issue was the debate over who would be employed to design federal architecture. Massive unemployment, as a result of the Depression, coupled with multi-million dollar allocations for federal construction projects by Congress, intended to stimulate the economy, provided more design work than the Office of the Supervising Architect could accommodate. This body of potential design projects was the target of a desperate campaign by architects suddenly interested in providing design services for the federal government. Chattanooga's Federal Building became one in the series of projects designed by private architects.

Chapter two explores the relationship between the representatives of the three entities responsible for the design of the Federal Building. The R. H. Hunt Company was the architect of record. Neither the building cornerstone nor publication of the structure in contemporary journals sheds light on the part played by Hunt's consultants or by the Office of the Supervising Architect.[7] The surviving correspondence files are the means for exploring the contribution of Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, the creation of the joint venture, the interaction between the firms, and the role of Louis A. Simon, the Supervising Architect, in the design.

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[7]The building cornerstone lists only the R. H. Hunt Company as the architect. Ferry K. Heath, letter to R. H. Hunt, 1 Sept. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," General Correspondence and Related Records, 1910-1939, Records of the Public Building Service, RG 121, Box 3147, Jan. 1930 - Dec. 1933, National Archives, Washington, D.C.; However, publications such as *Architectural Record* and *Pencil Points* identify a role for Shreve, Lamb & Harmon as consultants but fail to describe the New York firm's role. Talbot F. Hamlin, "A Contemporary American Style," *Pencil Points* Feb. 1938: 103; "U. S. Post Office and Courthouse, Chattanooga, Tenn," *Architectural Record* Dec. 1934: 431; Ernest Born, "Post Office and Court House at Chattanooga, Tennessee," *Architectural Record* May 1932: 295.

Chapter three looks at the changing structure and configuration of the Treasury architectural arm in the decade of the Depression. The alignment of forces that brought a concentration of authority to the Office of the Supervising Architect was only temporary. Projects such as the Federal Building were produced at the moment of the bureau's maximum influence. The creation of the art projects responsible for the decoration of the Federal Building, while in many ways an offshoot and continuation of the building program, also marked the beginning of the erosion of the Supervising Architect's authority. An analysis of the relationships between the architecture and art programs is critical to understanding the ascendance and later demise of the Office.

Chapter four looks at the impact of the Federal Building. At the most basic level, the building's inclusion in publications, an exhibition, and discussions of style indicates that contemporaries regarded it as a worthy representative of its type, suitable for emulation. Moreover, the structure, one product of a massive federal construction campaign, became, in the end, a symbol of the program that had created it. Supervising Architect Simon appropriated the image of the Chattanooga Post Office as an emblem of the federal building program and of his own life's work. His selection of the building as a component of the mural which compiled and documented the bureau's official history, underscores the structure's value not only as an object but also as a symbol.

# Chapter 1. Background: Policy and Politics In and Around the Treasury Department

The Federal Building, designed in 1931 under the direction of the Office of the Supervising Architect, by the R. H. Hunt Company, with Shreve, Lamb & Harmon as consulting architects, was the product of internal politics at the Treasury Department and the external struggle between private and federal architects over the design of public buildings. The decision to employ an outside architectural firm for the design of the building was far from unique in the 1930s. The revised policy was the culmination of a series of changes that occurred within the agency charged with "the construction and maintenance of public buildings under the jurisdiction of the Treasury Department."[8] A history of the Office of the Supervising Architect is beyond the scope of the present study. Nonetheless, a brief review of pertinent legislation, policy, and politics will highlight the set of conditions that was the center of the storm of controversy brewing around the Treasury Department in the 1930s that, in turn, brought forth the building.[9]

Although the Office of the Supervising Architect later sought to aggrandize its history by tracing its lineage to include Robert Mills, the Treasury

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[8]Darrell Hevenor Smith, *The Office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1923) 1.

[9]In the summary of postal history presented here, issues related to internal policy are based on Emily Harris's "History of Federal Policy Concerning Post Office Construction," while Lois Craig's *The Federal Presence: Architecture, Politics, and Symbols in the United States Government* provides a general overview of the politics of public architecture. John S. Sorenson of the Postal Service provided valuable information. The analysis of contemporary periodicals is the work of the author. The definitive study of the Office of the Supervising Architect has yet to be published. Antoinette Lee's unpublished manuscript is the most comprehensive work to date. Antoinette J. Lee, *Architects to the Nation: History of the Office of the Supervising Architect of the U. S. Treasury Department*, forthcoming.

Department did not actually form the position until about 1852.[10] The creation of the title did not fully define the duties of the office or the scope of services to be performed. The evolving responsibilities of the office were shaped by the series of individuals who held the post, the funding appropriated by Congress, and the issues associated with contemporary practice.

By 1929, the Treasury architectural bureau had addressed or resolved three key issues affecting production. The first was standardization, a permutation of the perennial American interest in expediency in architecture. The increasing emphasis on standardization paralleled the rapid growth of the nation at the turn of the century and the corresponding need to distribute services equitably and efficiently. Like the passage in 1902 of the first omnibus public building legislation, the drive to standardize was rooted in a reaction to the no longer sustainable nineteenth century practice of authorizing, funding, and hand-crafting each post office individually. The zeal for standardization was also tied to the goal of cultivating nationalism. Post offices, over time, increasingly a standardized product distributed throughout the country, were one vehicle for the assertion of the federal presence in a country with immense boundaries.

By the early twentieth century, the Office of the Supervising Architect was under increasing pressure from Congress to reduce the cost of its output.

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[10]The problems associated with the lack of a definitive history of the Office of the Supervising Architect are illustrated by the fact that the literature is unclear on something as basic as the identity of the first Supervising Architect. Craig notes that Mills, who described his position as "architect of the public building", held his unofficial post from the time of the design of the Treasury Building, around 1833, to 1851 when Thomas U. Walter was appointed architect for the addition to the Capital. Craig 56; Craig, at another point, claims that Mills's title was "Federal Architect" from 1856 to 1842. She also notes that Ammi B. Young served as an architectural advisor for the federal government from 1842 to 1852 and then from 1852 to 1862 was the first Supervising Architect. Craig 195; Daniel Bluestone also identifies Young as the original Supervising Architect. Daniel Bluestone, "Civic and Aesthetic Reserve: Ammi Burnham Young's 1850s Federal Courthouse Designs," *Winterthur Portfolio* 25.2/3 (1990): 131; Smith passes over Mills, but instead lists Captain Bowman as the original holder of the office. He served from 1853 to 1860. Smith 44.

During the early twentieth century, in keeping with the renewed, pervasive influence of classicism traceable to the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, Supervising Architects James Knox Taylor and Oscar Wenderoth produced a chain of classically inspired public buildings. In addition, a parallel, growing, profession-wide interest in America's own past took the form of Colonial Revival post offices.[11] Despite Taylor's and Wenderoth's resistance to the notion of standardization, Treasury Secretary William McAdoo ordered policy changes. Armed with the recommendations toward economy of the 1914 report of the Public Building Commission, he developed and pushed the implementation of a set of criteria that pre-determined building form and finishes. This hierarchical classification, to which future public buildings would conform, tied materials and decoration to postal revenues. The efforts of subsequent supervising architects to comply with the Secretary's order included minimizing costly classical detail and producing standardized, reusable plans.[12] These twin goals became embedded in the Office of the Supervising Architect's subsequent design methodology.

The process of selecting communities to receive post offices and federal buildings also changed. Unlike typical nineteenth century legislation which allocated funds for each new building individually, the 1902 omnibus public buildings law, first in a series of similar legislation planned to save Congressional time, authorized instead a large package of 150 projects. Later accusations that Congressmen used the omnibus legislation, which funded federal construction projects in blocks, to distribute "federal presents" was partial motivation for the Public Buildings Act of 1926.[13] In addition to providing

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[11]Harris 4-5; Taylor was Supervising Architect from 1897 to 1912, Wenderoth from 1913 to 1914. Craig 195.

[12]Harris 3-7.

over $165,000,000 for buildings, the so-called Keyes-Elliott Act entrusted the Congressional authority to designate cities to receive new post offices to the Secretary of the Treasury and Postmaster General.[14] Need was to be the basis for site selection. The resulting 1927 report to the House Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds used the criterion of postal revenues to identify the locations for future construction.[15] The Keyes-Elliott Act was significant for placing the authority for site selection, in part, in the hands of the Treasury Department. More importantly, the 1927 report it prompted became the blueprint that guided the distribution of new post offices throughout the 1930s.

The employment of private architects was the third controversial issue. The Tarsney Act, in effect from 1893 to 1912, allowed the Office of the Supervising Architect the option of employing private architects to design federal buildings, but required a competition to select the designer. Misunderstandings over the administration of competitions and the division of responsibility between private and federal architects led to the repeal of the act in 1913.[16] It was not until the 1926 enactment of the Keyes-Elliot Act that the Office of the Supervising Architect was once again authorized to employ the services of private architects, but then only in a limited capacity. The outside firm could prepare only the design or "guide." The Supervising Architect's office was required to produce working drawings.

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[13]Harris 3-4.

[14]Ferry K. Heath, "The Federal Building Program," *Architectural Forum* 55.3 (Sept. 1931): 349; Harris 12.

[15]Harris 12-14.

[16]The repeal of the Tarsney Act, controversial even at the time, resurfaced in the 1930s as the focal point of accusations and counter accusations, when private architects protested that their pathway to government work was blocked. Ernest Eberhard, "Fifty Years of Agitation for Better Design of Government Buildings and Government Employment of Private Architects," *American Architect* June 1931: 82-86; Smith 30-31.

Thus, by the time of the crash in 1929, the building boom of the 1920s was over, eliminated by the onset of the Depression, and a series of policies were already in place that would continue to direct construction of federal architecture into the 1930s. The Supervising Architect's office had a long-standing commitment to standardization, efficiency, and minimizing costs. The Keyes-Elliott Act of 1926 allocated funding for building and placed the authority for site selection, at least in part, in the hands of the Treasury Department. The Secretary of the Treasury's 1927 report to the House Committee on Public Building and Grounds identified the cities and towns that would receive future construction. The Keyes-Elliott Act also opened the path to at least a limited role for private architects in this long term construction plan. It is critical to note that the Depression did not precipitate any of these actions.[17] It did, however, prompt additional funding in an effort to use construction to stimulate the economy.[18] In other words, the Depression changed time frame and schedule for the federal building program, not policy.[19]

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[17]Marlene Park and Gerald Markowitz typify the confusion caused by lumping pre- and post-New Deal architecture into the same category. They claim, "The New Deal sought to make the national government's presence felt in even the smallest, most remote communities . . . the post office became the emblem of the new policy." Park and Markowitz 8. While their argument that the New Deal used construction to distribute emblems of the federal government across the landscape is valid, the policies and legislation prompting post office construction during the Depression had roots that pre-dated the Depression.

Similarly, Daniel Prosser, writing about Depression-era architecture in Ohio, notes that when the stock market crash of 1929 brought an end to the construction boom of the 1920s, private architects sought employment with the federal government. He argues that this influx of private architects introduced into the design of public building "forms that had previously been reserved for commercial skyscrapers." The Nebraska State Capital, "ziggurat profile . . , use of metal, ceramic, and glass . . , and the employment of Art Deco motifs" were among the far-ranging sources of a new style. His argument is valid but not all-inclusive. In reality, as has been shown above, the 1930s federal style also had roots in the internal objectives of the Treasury Department to standardize and economize. Daniel Prosser, "Government Architecture During the New Deal," *Timeline* 9.1 (Feb./Mar. 1992): 44-45.

[18]The term "the federal building program" is used in this paper to refer to projects constructed under the Public Building Act of May 25, 1926, also known as the Keyes-Elliott Act. The scope and funding of the program, which had been initiated before the Depression, expanded in response to the economic crisis. As the economic picture worsened, the federal building program became the first in a series of attempts to stimulate the recovery through construction funded by Congressional legislation. The federal building program referenced in

Post-crash legislation relating to building had two objectives: to increase funding to get building projects into design and to provide the manpower to complete the design work. Through legislation approved by 1931, Congress increased building appropriations to nearly $700,000,000.[20] The increasing size of the Office of the Supervising Architect reflected the attempt to accommodate an enormous volume of work.[21] Legislation supplied a momentous additional resource that could be utilized: a May 31, 1930, amendment to the Public Buildings Act lifted the restrictions on the employment of private architects.[22]

By 1931, the action and reaction to the government's attempt to use architecture to stimulate the economy was consolidating. The Treasury Department was responsible for administering an enormous building budget, had partial authority to choose the location of the projects, and had an in-house

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this study is called the "Original public building program" in the 1937 *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury.* Other, separate projects are identified in that report as the "Combined building program" and the "Building program in the District of Columbia." *Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1937* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1938) 183.

[19]The Depression funding not only compressed in time a pre-existing Treasury building program, it also brought into existence an administrator for the funds, the Public Works Administration. The agency's projects are described by C. W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown in *Public Buildings: Architecture Under the Public Works Administration 1933-39.*

[20]Heath 349-350.

[21]Harris notes that 267 employees were added to the Office of the Supervising Architect in 1931 bringing the total to approximately 800. Harris 15; Craig states that the Office grew from "a force of 432 to nearly 750 in 1932." Craig 327.

[22]The increasing numbers of private architects employed for the federal building program accelerated during the early 1930s, with private architects assuming a steadily increasing part of the design work.

Number of Projects in the Drawing Stage

| | federal architects | private architects |
|---|---|---|
| July 1, 1930-June 30, 1931 | 114 | 69 |
| July 1, 1931-June 30, 1932 | 44 | 62 |
| July 1, 1932-June 30, 1933 | 62 | 107 |

Comparable figures not available after 1933.

*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1931, 1932, 1933* (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office) 1932, p. 281; 1933, p. 203; 1934, p. 141.

department with the tradition of doing the Treasury's design work. Despite staff increases, however, the Office of the Supervising Architect still could not meet the overwhelming demand and the legislative path had been cleared for employing private architects. The question that remained was the role that the outside firms would play. An acrimonious debate developed between the private architects and their government counterparts.[23]

The battle over Treasury employment policy was not restricted to an interdepartmental dialog. Because of the massive funding available and lack of private architectural work, Treasury policy became a focal point for the architectural profession, providing a national stage for the formerly internal debate. Periodicals played a significant role in the 1930s, furnishing a vehicle for the dialog. *The Federal Architect* supplied the counterpoint to the stance presented in professional journals such as *The American Architect* and *Architectural Forum.* The fortunes of *The Federal Architect,* published between 1930 and 1946, closely followed those of the Association of Federal Architects, active from 1927 to 1946.[24] The organization and the journal are significant for several reasons. They are evidence of increasing fragmentation within the architectural profession and the widening gulf between federal and private architects. The organization and promotion of a special interest group indicates a solidifying position which had its ultimate roots in a volatile, personal economic issue: employment.[25] *The Federal Architect* provided a public

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[23]Eberhard traces the history of the American Institute of Architects' lobby efforts, presented from the point of view of the private architects, to produce legislation providing outside architects the opportunity to obtain government design work. Eberhard 24-25, 80-88; Also, see Lee, ch. 8, 16-17 for the AIA-driven pressure on Congress to provide a role for private architects.

[24]Craig 298.

[25]The highly select audience of *The Federal Architect* reflects the growing friction not only with private architects but also with other government architects. The journal's targeted interest group is indicated by the prominence given to the work of cabinet department design agencies and the lack of attention paid to the work of the "alphabet" agencies. Craig 298-300.

mouthpiece to answer the increasingly persistent pressure, first to employ private architects and, after 1930, to employ them in large numbers.

Edited by Edwin Bateman Morris of the Office of the Supervising Architect, *The Federal Architect* presented the government architects' official position on the employment of their private counterparts. The standard argument, presented in an array of articles, posited that government work was highly specialized and that federal architects were trained in the subtleties of federal design. The authors offered the increasing refinement of the Office of the Supervising Architect's designs, resulting from the commitment to standardizations and the necessity of economy rather than duplication of effort, as justification for their position.[26]

The major architectural periodicals responded with a host of counter charges. Benjamin Betts, editor of *The American Architect,* was particularly active in the campaign to employ private architects for government work.[27] Charging the "Supervising Architect's office . . . is actually a 'Designing' architect's office," Betts argued that the government was unfairly competing with private business. He countered *The Federal Architect* 's rationalization for the exclusion of private architects from government work with an attack on the

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The publication was intended to promote pride and boost morale. By contrast, C. W. Short and R. Stanley-Brown's *Public Buildings* served a similar function for the alphabet agencies. It is in an *apologia* for and legitimization of the work of the PWA.

[26]The position of the federal architects was presented in John F. Harbeson's letter to the editor, *Federal Architect* April 1932: 11; "Specialization in Architecture: Design of Federal Building Introduce Exacting Problems," *Federal Architect* July 1931: 5; W. E. Reynolds, "The Government and the Architect in Private Practice," *Federal Architect* July 1934: 7-10. However, it should be noted that *The Federal Architect* was more than a periodical focusing on a single issue. For instance, as with the major professional journals, the role and definition of "modernism" was an important topic. *The Federal Architect* endorsed a conservative position, such as that illustrated in the work of Paul Cret, the teacher of many federal architects, including Morris, and a particular *Federal Architect* favorite. Cret's work provided one answer to the perpetual American quest to harmonize classicism and modernism. For an analysis of the conservative side of modern architecture in the 1930s see chapter 5 "Conservative Modernism, 1933 - 1958," Richard Guy Wilson, *The AIA Gold Medal* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1984) 61-83.

[27]Eberhard 24-25, 80-88; Betts 20-21, 100-108.

design abilities of the outside architects' federal counterparts: "At the salaries paid how can the Supervising Architect attract to his office the best talent?"[28]

The resolution of the American Institute of Architects' San Antonio Convention, reprinted in *The American Architect* in June 1931, documents the escalating antagonism between public and private architects: "We affirm that our Federal buildings in all parts of the country should proclaim the highest standards of enduring architecture." Defending their own design abilities and jabbing at the opposition, the authors of the proclamation continued, "Such standards of excellence can be achieved only by enlisting the best ability in the architectural profession. Men capable of these results are not to be found in subordinate capacities in government bureaus, . . ."[29] This offensive move demanded an answer.

The consolidation of the government position is evident in three responses. The author of "Specialization in Architecture" employed the corporate vehicle, *The Federal Architect*, to respond in July 1931. His tone was conciliatory in discussing a government-private partnership. While defending specialization, he outlined, perhaps with some condescension, a role for private architects who "can do a certain amount of the work. The Government architectural office must set the boundaries of the problem, lay down the rules and so on." The design work of the outside architects should be guided and managed by their government counterparts who were "part architect and part client," and fully versed in federal design and production procedures.[30]

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[28]Betts 20 and 108.

[29]Eberhard 88; Perhaps the striking contrast between the number of studies of Depression era art, as compared to architecture, is partly explained by this smear of federal architecture by the private architects in the major architectural journals. The omission of Depression era public architecture studies from the history is one legacy of the campaign that was ultimately driven by economic, not aesthetic, issues.

[30]"Specialization" 5.

In September 1931, Ferry K. Heath, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of Public Buildings, attempted an offensive maneuver of his own with "The Federal Building Program," published not in *The Federal Architect* but in *Architectural Forum.* Heath's public response, intended to "dispel confusion" made three important points. By retracing the history of the employment of private architects under the Tarsney Act and the Keyes-Elliot Act, he emphasized that the role of private architects was limited by congressional legislation, not Treasury Department policy. Detailing the amount of money allocated since the inception of the public buildings program in 1913, $700,000,000, that "the Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to contract for projects," perhaps was a power play or perhaps was an attempt to use the magnitude of the funds and the possibility of work to quell the criticism. He answered the charge of incompetence with photographs of recent work designed by the Office of the Supervising Architect.[31]

Finally, W. E. Reynolds, Assistant Director of Procurement, Treasury Department, took the debate directly to the opposition in an address delivered at the AIA Convention in Washington, D.C., and reprinted in *The Federal Architect* in July 1934. He traced familiar arguments by defending standardization, specialization, and supervision, as well as by reviewing legislation limiting the employment of private architects. He offered the numbers of contracts signed as evidence of the attempts by the Treasury Department to employ private architects and concluded by praising the cordial relationship between public and private architects.[32]

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[31]Heath 349-356.

[32]Reynolds 7-10.

If the internal policy of the Treasury Department differed from these carefully crafted public statements, the evidence of it is nearly concealed. The 1937 Report of the Supervising Architect stated that:

> In accordance with the policy established by the Secretary of the Treasury three years ago, all buildings in the program have been designed in the Office of the Supervising Architect and the drawings and specifications for projects designed under the previous policy have been largely completed.[33]

Harris points out that there is no other mention of this policy shift elsewhere.[34] Beth Boland also dates the decision to discontinue the employment of outside architects to 1934. In answer to Harris, Boland notes that the employment of private architects "was ended with an order of June 29, 1934, that all remaining Federal buildings be designed by the Office of the Supervising Architect."[35] After 1934, only Washington-based "consulting architects" were employed for overflow Treasury design work, and then only for large projects. "Economy" was the justification for the decision to exclude private architects.[36]

As previously noted, beginning in 1930, the Supervising Architect contracted design work out to private architects but only in cases where the work could not be accommodated in-house. With the change in policy, the number of outside architects employed fell after 1934. By 1937 there were only twenty-nine outstanding projects under the "Original public building program." Of these only four were assigned to private architects.[37] The motivation behind the policy shift is not clear. The office had a long tradition of supplying design

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[33]*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury 1937* 182.

[34]Harris 19.

[35]Beth M. Boland, *National Register Bulletin 13: How to Apply the National Register Criteria to Post Offices* (Washington, D.C.: Dept. of the Interior, National Park Service, Interagency Resources Division, 1984, revised ed. 1994) 4.

[36]Lee, ch. 8, 22.

[37]*Annual Report of the Secretary of the Treasury 1937* 182; Compare to footnote 22.

work itself, not of supervising other architects. Although bureaucratic inertia and work style preferences may have been factors motivating the policy, the stated reason for the reluctance to employ private architects was efficiency. If design control or turf protecting were additional motivations, the evidence of them has not survived.

Although the Office of the Supervising Architect designed as many projects in-house as possible, the funding made available as a result of the Depression and the overwhelming amount of work taxed the bureau's design system and forced production changes. A series of documents produced by the Treasury Department attempted to bridge the public-private gap. The guide, "Instructions to Private Architects Engaged on Public Building Work Under the Jurisdiction of the Treasury Department," was intended to simplify and expedite the work of the outside architect. The Treasury architects also provided typical layouts and equipment as well as standardized details of items such as countertops and lock boxes to the private firms to streamline the design process and insure consistency.[38] A set of "Cabinet Sketches," described by Harris as "standard floor plans," was a product of the long-standing internal policy toward efficiency in design.[39] All of these documents were both an interdepartmental resource and a vehicle for transmitting department standards to the outside architect.

Despite Reynolds's public statements about cordial relations between the two factions and the accumulated set of documents to aid the initiation and introduction of private architects to Treasury procedures, by 1937 the

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[38]The "Instructions to Private Architects Engaged on Public Building Work Under the Jurisdiction of the Treasury Department" is described in more detail in the September 1933 issue of *Architectural Forum.* The same article also identifies the existence of the "Miscellaneous Details." "Post Offices," *Architectural Forum* Sept. 1933: 223.

[39]Harris 16.

experiment was over. The reasons behind the policy change were complex. Perhaps the antagonism of the AIA and professional journals made the decision to no longer employ private architects an easy one. The policy change was supported by the numbers: the demand could once again be supplied within the Office of the Supervising Architect. Other changes were also afoot. Bureaucratic reconfigurations transformed the office. In 1933, as part of a Treasury Department reorganization, the Office of the Supervising Architect lost its autonomous status and became part of the "Public Buildings Branch" in the "Procurement Division." In 1939, a New Deal reorganization removed the unit from the Treasury Department and merged it with the Buildings Management Division of the National Park Service, at which point the Treasury title "Supervising Architect" disappeared.[40]

What is clear is that between May 31, 1930, and June 30, 1937, there existed a small window of time in which the design of selected Treasury buildings was produced by private architects under the direction of the Office of the Supervising Architect.[41] The Chattanooga Federal Building, contracted to the R. H. Hunt Company on April 7, 1931, not only was one of them but also was an early one.[42]

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[40]Craig 327.

[41]In fact, the majority of these contracts with outside architects were assigned prior to June 30, 1934. See table in footnote 22 and information referenced in footnote 37.

[42]Ferry K. Heath, letter to R. H. Hunt, 10 Apr. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," General Correspondence and Related Records, 1910-1939, Records of the Public Building Service, RG 121, Box 3139 ,Feb. 1927 - March 1932, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

## Chapter 2. The Architects: Local, National, and Federal

Unlike the majority of public buildings designed prior to May 31, 1930, which were produced in-house at the Treasury Department, the Chattanooga Federal Building brought together three previously unassociated offices: local architects, the R. H. Hunt Company, a prominent nationally known firm, Shreve, Lamb & Harmon of New York City, and the Office of the Supervising Architect. The Depression created a new way of doing business. The cross-regional collaboration, forged under the pressure to produce a large volume of work in a short time, is evidence that the government changed, perhaps unintentionally, the process of generating architecture. The history of the Chattanooga project also illuminates the Office of the Supervising Architect in a new, evolving, and somewhat ill-fitting role. No longer simply the design and production arm of the Treasury, the Office became the broker of architectural projects and the manager of designs prepared outside the bureaucracy. In effect, a patron who commissioned architecture and oversaw its design, the Supervising Architect became not just the executor of Treasury projects but for federal architecture, the maker and arbiter of taste.

Documentation on the Federal Building fails to detail the relative roles of the three offices involved in the design process and does not provide background information on their principals. Local publications typically credit the R. H. Hunt Company alone with the design work.[43] Periodicals and project

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[43]Martha Carver, "Thematic Nomination: Buildings in Hamilton County, Tennessee Designed by Reuben Harrison Hunt," National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form, Feb. 1979, item 7, 2; "Crowds Watch Masonic Order Lay New Stone, Post Office Cornerstone Rites Draw 1,500," *Chattanooga Times* 11 Jan. 1933: 5; "R. H. Hunt, 75, Dies at Home; Widely Known," *Chattanooga Free Press* 29 May 1937, are typical.

drawings identify, in addition to the Hunt firm, Shreve, Lamb & Harmon as consultants.[44] None mention the role of the Office of the Supervising Architect.

Despite a large number of completed projects, the R. H. Hunt Company is today largely unknown outside Chattanooga, Tennessee. Reuben Harrison Hunt was the principal-in-charge of one of the South's most prominent regional architectural practices in the period from the 1880s through the 1930s (fig. 2). Born in 1862, his career reflected in microcosm the changes in architectural practice during this period. While Hunt apparently was not inclined toward the development of architectural theory, he was, however, extremely alert to new ideas and fashion and prompt to exploit their practical values to the fullest. From an early career as a builder, Hunt, educated through periodicals and on-the-job experience, built a large regional practice using both personal travel on the South's increasingly improved transportation system and publications as vehicles for peddling his firm's architectural services. The Hunt practice specialized in churches, public buildings, and the new American innovation, skyscrapers, designing a large number of these three building types from Virginia to Texas.[45]

The company's organizational structure contrasts with that of many firms of the period, which were headed by a combined designer-manager-principal. Hunt's successful regional practice hinged on the salesmanship of the principal himself. A typical 1937 Hunt obituary referred to his "youthful zest, . . . natural optimism, . . . mature wisdom, adroitness . . . and fine humor" and described

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[44]"U. S. Post Office" 431; Born 295; "Post Offices," *Architectural Forum* Oct. 1936: 384; Copies of the drawing title blocks were enclosed in a letter from Robert Franklin. Robert A. Franklin, Franklin Associates Architects, Inc., Chattanooga, letter to author, 10 March 1995.

[45]"Noted Builder, R. H. Hunt Dies," *Chattanooga Times* 29 May 1937; "R. H. Hunt, 75, Dies at Home; Widely Known," *Chattanooga Free-Press* 29 May 1937; John Shearer, "Architect of Quality Work," *Chattanooga News-Free Press* 29 Jan. 1989: D2.

Hunt as a "super-salesman."[46] To maintain a large network of clients and projects, Hunt traveled widely.[47] As a result, his participation in the day-to-day design process in his firm must have been minimal. Hunt's own role in his firm's practice was an early precursor to that which Louis Skidmore and Nathaniel Owings would develop in the 1930s and 1940s at Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill. SOM was "organized . . . on the model of a large business enterprise" with administrative rather than design partners at the top of the office hierarchy.[48] Similarly, Hunt was the salesman, not the designer, at the top of his office's reporting structure. Even the firm name reflects his corporate approach to the production of architecture; the description "Architects" is only a subscript in the letterhead of the R. H. Hunt Company.[49]

By contrast, Hunt's consultants, Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, were a high-profile firm. Their early Art Deco designs became, with time, increasingly more functionalist works in stone and stainless steel or aluminum for corporate, commercial, and institutional clients. Unlike Hunt, all three were college graduates who had studied architecture.[50] Richmond Harold Shreve and

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[46]"Noted Builder, R. H. Hunt Dies," *Chattanooga Times* 29 May 1937.

[47]John Shearer, staff writer for the *Chattanooga News-Free Press,* interviewed Hunt's ninety-three year old daughter, Louise Hunt Street, in 1989. Mrs. Street recalled her travels throughout the South with her father as he visited the firm's projects during construction. John Shearer, "Architect of Quality Work," *Chattanooga News-Free Press* 29 Jan. 1989: D2.

[48]Adolph K. Placzek, ed., *Macmillan Encyclopedia of Architects* vol. 4 (New York: Free Press, 1982) 78.

[49]The Hunt legacy is dispersed. Hunt wrote little. The correspondence and records have not survived. The drawing archives, purchased after his death by Franklin Associates Architects, remain in Chattanooga. Robert A. Franklin, Franklin Associates Architects, Inc., Chattanooga, letter to author, 10 March 1995.

[50]Shreve graduated from the College of Architecture of Cornell University in 1902. "Richmond Shreve, Architect, 69, Dies," *New York Times* 11 Sept. 1946; Lamb graduated from Williams College in 1904, did graduate work at the Columbia University School of Architecture, and studied at the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. "William F. Lamb, 68, Architect Is Dead," *New York Times* 9 Sept. 1952; Harmon was a 1901 graduate of the Columbia University School of Architecture. "Arthur Harmon," *New York Times* 18 Oct. 1958.

William Frederick Lamb worked in the office of Carrère and Hastings, forming a partnership with their employers in 1920, and after 1924 deleting the Carrère and Hastings names.[51] Arthur Loomis Harmon, a former McKim, Mead, and White designer, joined the practice in 1929 (fig. 3).[52] Within that firm, Shreve was typically responsible for production, with Lamb and Harmon usually associated with design.[53] Lamb was the project architect for the New York firm's best known work, the Empire State Building, planned and built on a tight schedule between November 1929 and May 1931.[54] Harmon handled the nearly concurrent Federal Building, designed in 1931 and constructed between 1932 and 1933.

The design of the Federal Building came out of an office that contributed to changes in both design and practice in the 1930s. The Empire State Building, a monument to the notions of speed and efficiency to inspire design in the 1930s, is emblematic of efforts to generate non-traditional forms that represented the era. Both the structure's sleek metal detailing as well as its often noted streamlined construction process, which was as carefully crafted by Lamb as the building fabric itself, embraced the image of efficiency. The Federal Building's detailing grew out of the same aesthetic climate that produced the Empire State Building.[55]

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[51]Placzek 54.

[52]"Arthur Harmon," *New York Times* 18 Oct. 1958.

[53]Placzek 54.

[54]Shreve, Lamb & Harmon's reputation stems largely from this single project. While the Empire State Building has been published extensively, their is no monograph devoted to the firm's general work. Archival attrition is part of the problem. Although Shreve, Lamb & Harmon is still in business, there are no surviving documents relating to the Federal Building. William A. Plyler, AIA, principal at Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, New York, letter to author, 29 March 1995.

[55]The similarity of the interior decoration of the Federal Building and the Empire State Building is discussed in Chapter 3. Also see figures 17, 19, and 20.

The rapidly changing manner of practicing architecture is reflected in the offices that produced the Federal Building. Like Hunt, Lamb was aware of the new and different demands on the architect and eager to modify his practice accordingly. Writing in January 1931 about the architect of his day, he said,

> The day that he could sit before his drawing board and make pretty sketches of decidedly uneconomic monuments to himself has gone. His scorn of things "practical" has been replaced by an intense earnestness to make practical necessities the armature upon which he moulds the form of his idea. Instead of being the intolerant aesthete he is one of a group of experts upon whom he depends for the success of his work.[56]

Thus, like the Chattanooga architect, the New York consultants' approach to the practice of architecture was down-to-earth, business-like, and team-oriented.

The hidden component of the design team of the Federal Building was Louis A. Simon and the Office of the Supervising Architect (fig. 4). Simon, a Massachusetts Institute of Technology graduate, joined the Office in 1896 after a tour of Europe and two years in private practice. He was superintendent of the architectural office under James Wetmore, who served as Acting Supervising Architect from 1915 to 1933. Following Wetmore's 1933 retirement, Simon held the Supervising Architect position until 1939. Thus, he controlled the office for twenty-four years and "determined the office's architectural direction throughout the period of starved classicism."[57] Simon left his mark on the output of the Office of the Supervising Architect. Aymar Embury II described the typical perception of the Treasury architects and Simon's changes. He observed that,

> Most architects think of the Office of the Supervising Architect as a kind of combination assembly line and slot machine, into one end of which Congress pours money to be transmitted by internal and invisible processes into designs for buildings, which come out at the other end neatly wrapped in cellophane and untouched by human hands.

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[56]Sam Webb, "The Empire State Building's 50th Birthday," *RIBA Journal* June 1981: n. pag.

[57]Craig 328. Wetmore was a lawyer, not an architect. The title *Acting* Supervising Architect reflects that his background within the Office was administration rather than design.

He continued by noting that when Simon "became the sole responsible official, the character of the work changed very materially, became freer, bolder, with a sort of wisely conservative experimental quality."[58]

Simon's tenure in the government shaped his design aesthetics. Since he was superintendent of the architectural section from 1905-1933, McAdoo's 1915 Classification System for Federal Buildings and orders to economize and standardize came during Simon's tenure. These bureaucratic objectives must be understood as having provided part of the substructure for Simon's design objectives. His design work earned him the praise and approbation of both federal and private architects. Active in the Association of Federal Architects, Simon was also a member and fellow of the American Institute of Architects. Contemporaries noted that his work was "characterized by an effort toward simplicity and restraint and the attainment of pleasing results, by a studied consideration of mass and proportion, rather than by excess of elaboration or non-functional expression . . ."[59] A conservative designer, Simon was a driving force behind the construction of the Federal Triangle in Washington, D.C.[60] While the work in Washington is typically considered the most significant part of his legacy, Simon's role in the design of the Federal Building in Chattanooga suggests that the impact of his design ideas was not restricted geographically to the center at Washington but was widely disseminated.

The July 15, 1930, advertisement that solicited a site for the proposed Chattanooga Post Office and the relaxed legislation about the employment of outside architects brought not only a host of proposed sites but also a

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[58]Aymar Embury II, "Louis A. Simon, A Great Public Servant," *Federal Architect* Jan. 1939: 19.

[59]Louis A. Simon AIA Fellowship Application, quoted in Lee, ch. 8, 26.

[60]"The Simon Era in the Supervising Architect's Office," *Federal Architect* Jan.-Mar. 1942: 8-13, Apr.-June 1942: 8-9.

Depression-driven string of firms who hoped to design the project.[61] The applications included a remarkably prescient July 11, 1930, letter from R. H. Hunt offering his services for the design of federal buildings in the South.[62] Since the amount of work already in the Office of the Supervising Architect was the criterion that determined whether to use private architects on any individual project, the initial, boilerplate response to all inquiries about the design work for Chattanooga's new post office explained the department's "intent to use private architects for only a limited number of the larger federal building projects."[63] Once the decision to use a private architect for the Chattanooga Post Office was made, Hunt's prominence in his home town and the Treasury's pattern of selecting a local architect for projects awarded to outside firms, assured his selection.

While correspondence documents Hunt's pursuit of the job, by contrast, the addition of Shreve, Lamb & Harmon to the team occurred through other channels. The inquiries offering design services for the Federal Building were primarily from Chattanooga firms.[64] Significantly, there was no correspondence from Shreve, Lamb & Harmon soliciting work. A March 26, 1931, contract,

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[61]The decision to build a new post office in Chattanooga was not automatic. United States Senator and Chattanooga resident, William E. Brock, was actively involved in gaining the selection for that city. His letters to Ferry K. Heath of November 5 and 11, 1929, are typical and trace his campaign to secure a new public building for his home town. Brock's participation indicates that, despite the illusion that Congress was no longer involved in distributing "federal presents," the Congressional political maneuvering was, in fact, only better concealed. William E. Brock, letters to Ferry K. Heath, 5 Nov. and 11 Nov. 1929, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[62]Typical correspondence relating to architects seeking work on the building include: S. Lowman, letter to R. H. Hunt, 19 July 1930, Ferry K. Heath, letter to Ernest L. Jahncke, 28 Aug. 1930, James A. Wetmore, letter to W. H. Sears, 16 Jan. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[63]Lowman to Hunt, 19 July 1930, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[64]Jones and Furbringer was a Memphis architectural firm. Heath to Jahncke, 28 Aug. 1930, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

written on Shreve, Lamb & Harmon letterhead and signed by R. H. Hunt and A. L. Harmon, described the New York firm as consultants, listed general advisory services to be performed, and established a maximum fee of $10,000 to be paid by Hunt.[65] Hunt traveled to New York to meet his consultants for the first time and then hand delivered a copy of his contract with Shreve, Lamb & Harmon to Washington prior to the award of his own contract on April 7, 1931.[66] A letter from Shreve to Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Department Ferry Heath, thanking him for his "action in selecting us for this work" describes a telephone call that preceded the signing of the contract.[67] The addition of Shreve, Lamb & Harmon to the design team, which was arranged by the federal architects and accepted but not initiated by R. H. Hunt, suggests an internal, undocumented policy concerning the employment of outside architects: the Treasury Department typically sought out a local architect and often required a consultant chosen by the Supervising Architect, but paid by the architect of record, to complete the team.[68]

The utilization of consultants was another source of confusion and irritation to private architects in the 1930s. Ernest Eberhard charged that "the Supervising Architect has suggested the use of consulting architects, though it refuses to make public who these men are or on what projects they are employed." Eberhard also argued that "because the Office of the Supervising

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[65]A. L. Harmon, letter to R. H. Hunt Company, 26 Mar. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[66]Hunt's March 21, 1931, cover letter for the hand-delivered contract addressed to Heath shows a Washington address for the author. R. H. Hunt, letter to Ferry K. Heath, 27 Mar. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA; The contract date is given in a letter to Hunt dated April 10, 1931. Heath to Hunt 10 Apr. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New" RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[67]R. H. Shreve, letter to Ferry K. Heath, 3 Apr. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New" RG 121, Box 3139, " NA.

[68]In a similar manner, Paul Cret was a consultant to local architects Baumann and Baumann on the design of the Knoxville Post Office in 1931. Theo B. White, *Paul Philippe Cret: Architect and Teacher* (Philadelphia: Art Alliance Press, 1973) 44.

Architect is not properly organized to contract with private architects, those architects commissioned to do Government work must, out of their own pockets, pay for services which the Government itself should logically provide."[69] His charges added fuel to the growing tension between federal and private architects.

In contrast to Eberhard's charge of "graft" and his implication that consultants were in reality a vehicle for diverting funds, the Shreve, Lamb & Harmon - Hunt joint venture was a legitimate business arrangement that yielded a clear division of duties.[70] The contract between Hunt and Harmon outlined a scope of services so vague as to be meaningless, but in the end, the New York firm's responsibility was design, both interior and exterior. Hunt acknowledged his consultants' role in correspondence, and questions about design issues were consistently referred to the New York office.[71] Hunt's firm, despite the title of architect of record, prepared the contract documents.[72]

The collaboration between the R. H. Hunt Company and Shreve, Lamb, and Harmon reflects the changing nature of architectural practice in the 1930s. Two issues are significant. The first is the altered method of production within an architectural office: the increasing specialization in architectural practice mirrored a more generalized tendency toward specialization in twentieth century business. In his essay on Holabird and Root's practice, Russell F.

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[69]Eberhard 86.

[70]Eberhard 87.

[71]Hunt's cover letter for the transmittal of drawing originals to the Office states, "The design of the building was largely influenced by Messrs. Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, Consultants of New York, which firm has given us very fine cooperation, . . ." R. H. Hunt, letter to Ferry K Heath, 13 Jan. 1932, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3147, NA; Further, Hunt forwarded Simon's critique of the design to the consultants for action. R. H. Hunt, letter to Louis A. Simons [sic], 25 June 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[72]Hunt to Simon, 13 Jan. 1932, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

Whitehead notes that, "There is no doubt in the development of large architectural organizations there has been an increasing dependence of architects on their assistants."[73] In the early twentieth century, architectural practices, reflecting the change in manufacturing methods pioneered at the Ford Motor Company, increasingly incorporated assembly-line-like methods into their in-house production system. Draftsmen produced detailed drawings outlined by designers, streamlining the drawing production process and yielding an output that, like the automobile, was less hand-made. Like the car manufacturer who strove for uniformity of output, the architectural office sought a drawing package exhibiting a style which downplayed, as much as possible, the sign of the individual hand.

The title blocks of the drawings of the Federal Building indicate that the R. H. Hunt Company used a production method that combined the work of several employees to develop each drawing (fig. 5). The drawing title blocks trace the lineage of the individual sheet by providing spaces for initials of the person responsible for each phase of design. Spaces labeled "Drawn," "Traced," and "Checked" indicate the production trail. The drawings, dated January 9, 1932, are signed by R. H. Hunt in a space labeled "Arch't" and Robert S. Fiske, in a space labeled "Eng'r." In a manner similar to the product of Hunt's consultants at the Empire State Building, streamlining becomes not only a decorative motif but also a production goal, in this case, the architectural production of the design of the building.

The second issue illustrating the change in architectural practice in the 1930s is the nature of the collaboration between the two outside firms. Through projects such as the Federal Building, the government massaged, subtly

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[73]Russell F. Whitehead, "Holabird and Root: Masters of Design," *Pencil Points* Feb. 1938: 68.

changed, and established new channels for the production of architecture. Lamb's 1931 comments noted above revise the picture of the architect: no longer the heroic individual, solely responsible for design, but, instead, the integrated member of a team.[74] Beginning in the 1930s, federal intervention, in the form of employment of private architects for Treasury building projects, exacerbated the predisposition toward subdividing and compartmentalizing the design process. In providing the impetus for forming extra-regional joint ventures, the government, in effect, encouraged the establishment of procedures and protocols to support the communication and negotiation between firms that were widely separated geographically. The enhanced communication, stimulated by the federal client, extended fragmentation beyond the walls of an individual firm, distributing components of the design of a single project among multiple firms. The Federal Building was the product of the cross-fertilization between the three previously unrelated architectural organizations.

By 1931, the Office of the Supervising Architect had a well-developed system for overseeing the work of outside architects. The federal architects took an active part in both the design and production phases. While this role is nearly invisible in the literature, surviving correspondence on projects such as the Federal Building clearly delineates the Office's interaction with the building designers. Project design decisions emanated from the Shreve, Lamb & Harmon office. Other than the initial letter of appreciation for the job written by Shreve, all correspondence was from Harmon, indicating that he designed the building or managed the project. The design of the Chattanooga structure, although prepared by Harmon, was substantially modified by Simon. While the

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[74]Webb n. pag.

Supervising Architect was actively involved with the project only during the design phase, his impact was highly significant.

On June 25, 1931, Hunt wrote Simon that he was passing on to the New York office the memorandum critiquing the design.[75] Although the memorandum does not survive, Harmon's response documented several of Simon's comments. The New York consultant noted that "We are in sympathy with the thought that the motives of all ornament should have a distinctly traditional basis and do not propose to modernize this ornament beyond what might be safely applied to a Federal building." Harmon continued, "We believe that we are on the right track, . . . the masses should be large and simple without any projecting bands or architraves, and that the ornament should appear to be incised below the wall faces."[76] "Modernized classical" detailing was not without precedent in federal construction by that time.[77] Although Simon urged restraint, both in the reinterpretation of classical elements and in the extent to which they were modernized, he nonetheless approved the tone of the design.

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[75]Harmon's response, also addressed to "Simons" answered the criticism. Hunt's mistake may be a typographic error. The June 17, 1931 "Progress Report of Architects" filed by the R. H. Company states "Mr. R. H. Hunt now in New York conferring with Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, Consulting Architects, relative to design and expects to be in Washington latter part of this week for submission of exterior designs." On June 25, 1931, Hunt wrote "Simons" that he was forwarding the plans, presumably marked up in the Washington meeting, and later transcribed in Chattanooga, back to the Office of the Supervising Architect. Hunt also noted that he was passing on Simon's memorandum of design suggestions to Shreve, Lamb & Harmon. It is likely, therefore, that Hunt had met Simon. However, Harmon's June 30, 1931, parroting of Hunt's error in spelling Simon's name implies that he had not yet met Simon. The fact that Harmon did not know Simon suggests that the New York consultants were not old friends or business acquaintances hand-picked by the Supervising Architect to complete the team. The decision to employ Shreve, Lamb & Harmon came from someone else within the Office. R. H. Hunt Company, Progress Report of Architects to the Office of the Supervising Architect, 17 June 1931, Hunt to Simons [sic], 25 June 1931, A. L. Harmon, letter to Simons [sic], 30 June 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[76]Harmon to Simons [sic], 30 June 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[77]The frequency with which stripped classical detailing appeared in federal architecture is illustrated by a collection of drawings of "Government Building Projects" published in *Architectural Forum* in 1931. The group includes the Portland, Oregon, Federal Building and the Chicago Post Office. "Government Building Projects," *Architectural Forum* 55.3(Sept. 1931): 261-64.

In fact, Harmon's design image, large, simple masses and restrained ornament, dovetails so neatly with Simon's own design aesthetics that it suggests a connection. The New York consultants produced the design, but Simon was instrumental in determining its direction.

Simon played the role of client and patron in selecting the final elevation design. Based on Simon's critique, Harmon revised the elevations and submitted two alternates to Simon. In a July 13, 1931, transmittal letter, Harmon expressed his own preference for Scheme A.[78] Although the drawings of the alternates do not survive, the direction, very different from the executed building that the New York designers proposed, can be interpolated from an earlier description (fig. 12). In a June 30, 1931, letter to Simon, Harmon noted: "An essential feature of the design is the projection of the first floor beyond the main wall in the form of a bay." He added that the one-story projection "helps to bind the low corner masses into the higher masses on the front and rear, and so relates the front and rear pavilions."[79] Despite further discussion by telephone, Simon was not persuaded. He selected Scheme B.[80]

Simon's role in the dissemination of a modernized classical federal style is largely unstudied. As previously noted, he was in charge of the Office's architectural section from 1905 to 1933 and was instrumental in the adoption of modernized classicism as a style of choice for federal architecture in the 1930s. He had the means, motive, and opportunity to change the Office's architectural direction. In his article, which was published almost at the time of Simon's involvement with the Federal Building, Eberhard criticized the job done by the

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[78]A. L. Harmon, letter to Louis A. Simon, 13 July 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[79]Harmon to Simons [sic], 30 June 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[80]James Wetmore, letter to Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, 17 July 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

Office. He charged that "Louis A. Simon and George O. Von Nerta, the two men who seem to be the only ones with authority to give decisions are . . . so busy they apparently cannot find the time to keep in touch with the operations entrusted to private architects and now in progress."[81] However, the correspondence on the Chattanooga Post Office clearly indicates that Simon was not too busy. Instead, the Supervising Architect personally took an active part in directing the designs entrusted to his office and was crucially instrumental in the dissemination of a style, which mediated between modernism and classicism, to locations throughout the country.

The Office of the Supervising Architect not only oversaw the design of the Federal Building but also similarly guided the Hunt firm in the production process. To facilitate its new management role and to insure that the buildings designed met the long-standing commitment to standardization, the Office prepared and issued to private architects a series of documents to be used either as guides or as a part of the final drawing and specification package. References to these documents appear in both contemporary and later literature. The Hunt firm received most of them.

The federal architects provided plans of earlier projects as guides for the subsequent work produced by private architects. The Hunt Company received, at different times, copies of two projects designed in-house by the Office of the Supervising Architect. The Dallas, Texas, Federal Building, opened in 1930, and the Trenton, New Jersey Post Office, served as "guide[s] in the preparation of the . . . drawings."[82] The rusticated base, string course, heavy cornice, and

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[81]Eberhard 86.

[82]James Wetmore, letter to R. H. Hunt concerning Dallas, P.O., 27 Apr. 1931, James Wetmore, letter to R. H. Hunt concerning Trenton P.O., 28 Aug. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA, is similar.

restrained use of ornament tie the Dallas Federal Building to Italian Renaissance *palazzo* tradition, which was the source (fig. 6). The Trenton Post Office is less historicizing in its use of column-like elements treated abstractly and in the planar treatment of the walls at the corners (fig. 7). However, the rusticated base and projecting cornice are details that still reference the past. Beyond the transmittal of the drawings, there is no further mention of either structure in the Federal Building correspondence files, nor is there a suggestion that the client expected Hunt and Harmon's output to resemble these models. Except for the overall tone of restraint, the Chattanooga structure's more severe, planar treatment is different from both, suggesting the earlier projects were intended to illustrate the type of drawing product expected rather than the design product.

The manual containing general operating guidelines, "Instructions to Private Architects Engaged on Public Work Under the Jurisdiction of the Treasury Department," was also part of the Hunt package.[83] Since the Chattanooga building was a relatively early project awarded to outside architects, the Hunt Company's receipt of the document indicates that the Office of the Supervising Architect moved quickly to provide instructions on department procedures. The Tennessee firm also received "Standard Specifications" and a set of "Miscellaneous Details," additional models intended to assure a uniformity of output.[84]

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[83]B. F. Hunt, letter to Office of the Supervising Architect, 15 Dec. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA; The document is also described in detail in "Post Offices," Sept. 1933, 223; Harris notes that no known copy survives. Harris 18.

[84]Geo. O. Von Nerta, letters to R. H. Hunt, 3 Apr. 1931 and 7 Apr. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA; The document known as "Miscellaneous Details" is also described in "Post Offices," Sept. 1933,223.

Drawings called "Cabinet Sketches" were, according to Harris, "standard floor plans" provided by the Treasury Department.[85] The Hunt correspondence includes numerous references indicating that "Cabinet Sketches" were being produced in the Chattanooga office.[86] The Hunt cabinet sketches acted as the completed set approved prior to proceeding with the working drawings. Thus, the cabinet sketches were a communication tool and an intermediate design plateau to be attained. They provided a document to be critiqued by a distant client who was managing the project by mail. The fact that Harris describes the Cabinet Sketches as "standard plans" suggests that the Chattanooga Post Office was developed as a prototype.[87]

The correspondence and drawings relating to the Federal Building also provide a view inside the organization of the three architectural offices. Harmon was the designer and contact person within the New York firm. Ernest Born, at the time employed by Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, produced a perspective study published in *Architectural Record* in 1932, indicating that Harmon did not work alone on the project (fig. 8).[88] The role of the R. H. Hunt Company was production. R. H. Hunt himself handled general project correspondence and managed project accounts. His brother Ben F. Hunt supervised the production

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[85]Harris 16.

[86]Typical references include: Hunt to Simons [sic], 25 June 1931, R. H. Hunt Company, Progress Report of Architects to Office of the Supervising Architect, 1 Aug. 1931, Ferry K. Heath, letters to R. H. Hunt Co., 3 Aug. and 8 Aug. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[87]Harris cites the Cabinet Sketches as documents "in the possession of Mr. Karel Yasko, GSA." Harris 27, note 23. The Yasko collection was partitioned after his death in 1985. A portion remains at the GSA library. The Cabinet Sketches have disappeared.

[88]Born 295. Born's (1898-1992) early background was in the graphic arts. His work with Shreve, Lamb & Harmon was a brief sojourn in a long career in art and architecture that centered primarily around San Francisco. He was a professor of architecture at the University of California at Berkeley from 1951 to 1958 and from 1962 to 1974. Born's murals in The San Francisco Building at the 1939 Golden Gate International Exposition celebrated San Francisco's industry and business. He renovated the Greek Theater at Berkeley in the 1950s and was the author, with Walter William Horn, of *The Plan of St. Gall: A Study of the Architecture and Economy and Life in a Paradigmatic Carolingian Monastery. Contemporary Authors: on CD* (Detroit: Gale Research Inc., 1995), DOS entry on Ernest Born; "Ernest Born," *San Francisco Chronicle,* 9 Sept. 1992: A16.

of the drawings. The title block initials, which trace the history of each drawing's stages of development, record the string of architects and draftsmen employed on the project (fig. 5).[89] Within the Office of the Supervising Architect, Simon's involvement in design decisions is noted above. Heath, a Treasury Department official, handled non-technical matters, while Von Nerta, an architect, more often handled the correspondence relating to architectural issues.

The Office of the Supervising Architect, despite its aversion to management of outside firms, was an able administrator. While the federal architects were not reluctant to criticize either design work or production schedules or to use pressure to assure that deadlines were met, the correspondence all around was courteous and timely.[90] A series of letters from Hunt to Treasury officials thanking them for the "efficient service and fine co-operation" in the production of the project supports Reynolds's claim that "the relations of the Treasury Department with the many architects with whom it has dealt during the progress of its great public-building program has been very satisfactory and agreeable."[91]

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[89]R. H. Hunt's role was primarily public relations. As noted previously, he traveled and participated in significant meetings. Transmittal letters from milestone stages in the production frequently were signed by R. H. Hunt. R. H. Hunt, letter to Ferry K. Heath, 17 Aug. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA; By contrast, B. F. Hunt's letters document the day-to-day progress of the project drawings. B. F. Hunt, letter to the Office of the Supervising Architect, 29 May 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA; Initials on the drawing's title blocks include several Chattanooga architects early in their careers. STF is Selmon T. Franklin. WWC is W. W. Cox. W. C. Caton signed his drawings. Robert A. Franklin, letter to author, 10 Mar. 1995.

[90]Simon's critique of the design is referenced in R. H. Hunt to "Simons" letter of 25 June 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA; Heath responded with urgency to a recent Hunt progress report which stated that Working Drawings were 5% complete. Heath pressed the Hunt firm to expedite the project, noting that "the emergency occasioned by the unemployment situation in this country at the present time is so serious that it is of vital importance that as many as possible of the buildings in the Public Building Program be placed under contract and construction begun at the earliest possible date." Ferry K. Heath, letter to R. H. Hunt, 6 Oct. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA.

[91]R. H. Hunt, letters to James A Wetmore, Ferry K Heath, and George O. Von Nerta, 17 Aug. 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA; Reynolds 10.

The Federal Building in Chattanooga was not the work of the R. H. Hunt Company alone, nor was it strictly the product of the joint venture with Shreve, Lamb & Harmon. The policies and aesthetic direction provided by the Office of the Supervising Architect greatly influenced its design. The federal architectural office, forced into its management role by the Depression, closely attended both the design work prepared by Shreve, Lamb & Harmon and the production work done in the office of the R. H. Hunt Company. The policies and methods assembled and enacted to accommodate the supervision of outside firms were highly influential. Procedures set up by the Treasury architects not only facilitated their interaction with outside architects but also provided the models for cross-regional joint ventures in the future. Changes in the Office's working systems reflected the pressing need to accommodate an overwhelming number of projects. Further, the temporary authority to commission architecture and dictate taste was the result of necessity, not inter-bureaucratic empire building. The Office found itself at the head of an immense design organization. The output took its general direction from Louis A. Simon. The program, however, was large, unwieldy, and hastily fabricated. A focused direction was impossible. Nevertheless, the Office's management of its difficult, imposed role became one model for the later, more willfully formulated, finely tuned, and consciously constructed agenda of the Treasury painting and sculpture programs.

## Chapter 3. The Building and the Evolution of Treasury Patronage

The design, construction, and decoration of the Federal Building in Chattanooga mirrored the evolution in the 1930s of Treasury patronage. The building, planned in 1931 and built in 1932, is significant as an early example of work done by private architects under the direction of the Office of the Supervising Architect. By 1933, the Treasury Department was also directly patronizing the arts. The Treasury art program funded the later addition of the painting and sculpture to the Chattanooga building. These federally sponsored art projects, viewed with hindsight, left a mixed legacy. The institution of the plan marked an unprecedented government commitment to the arts and stimulated production. Scholars continue to debate the impact of the government's then novel and ambitious patronage of the arts.[92] However, the counter-effect of the art programs on the Treasury architecture arm is largely unnoticed. The creation of the program, by political forces primarily outside of the Office of the Supervising Architect, peeled away a former responsibility of the building designer.[93] The establishment of the art program marked the beginning of the erosion of the authority of the Office of the Supervising Architect.

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[92]The relationship between culture and the New Deal funded art is addressed by Marling in *Wall-to-Wall America, Democratic Vistas* by Park and Markowitz, and *Depression Post Office Murals and Southern Culture* by Beckham. McKinzie's *The New Deal for Artists* is an analysis of the political context. Contreras's *Tradition and Innovation in New Deal Art* is a comparative study of New Deal art programs. Despite the differences, a common impulse motivates all of these studies: they reconsider the definition of modern art and question the exclusion of realism from the narratives of twentieth century histories.

[93]McKinzie 37; Contreras 51; Francis Biddle, an artist and former classmate of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Edward Bruce, an artist and Treasury official, were influential in convincing Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau and the President of the necessity to employ out-of-work artists and of the cultural benefits of a government sponsored art program. McKinzie 3-19.

Designed by Harmon, directed by Simon, and produced by Hunt, the Federal Building exemplifies the style known as "modernized" or "starved" classicism that became increasingly identified with public architecture in the 1930s.[94] The structure, rectangular in plan and centered on its rectangular site, possesses an additive composition of taut orthogonal masses with recessed fenestration (figs. 9-10). The memory of a classically designed, three-part composition of base, shaft, and capital, treated abstractly, underlies the elevations. Classical elements are detailed in a stripped, simplified, planar manner. The symmetrical facade plays off deeply recessed entrances at two end pavilions against fenestration arranged as an abstract columnar screen at the center (fig. 11). The facade indicates that there are four interior levels except at the five-story end pavilions. Spandrel panels mark floor locations at the first three levels. Punched rectangular openings at the attic mark the fourth floor. Despite the depth of the window and door jambs, masonry grilles at the sides of the entry pavilions are the clue that reveal the existence of the steel frame underlying the veneer of white Georgia marble (fig. 12). These grilles open to habitable spaces, indicating that the wall is not solid masonry. Sculpture relieves the severity of the planar wall surface. Abstracted triglyphs and metopes at the towers over the pavilions and speedlines at the pavilion attic cap the composition. Eagles form a decorative frieze at the parapet of the central mass. Fluted masonry panels embellish the jambs of the severely rectangular window openings; the fluted panels alternate with bands, delicately sculpted in vegetal patterns, at the door jambs (fig. 13). Low relief eagles, reminiscent of Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue's buffaloes at the 1920-1932

[94]Wilson, "Modernized Classicism" 272-301; Craig 277-337.

Nebraska State Capital and the eagles at his 1921 Kansas City War Memorial, flank the entry stairs (fig. 14).[95]

The organization of the fairly standard interior of the Federal Building is typical of the refinement achieved through the Office's ongoing commitment to standardization (fig. 15). It is zoned vertically with major public spaces, the lobby and post office at the first floor, offices at the second, and courtroom and additional offices at the third (fig. 16). Art Deco finishes in the first floor lobby include chevron-patterned terrazzo floors with abstract star-burst motifs denoting the entrances, linear and stylized, foliate motifs on the aluminum elevator doors, decorative brushed aluminum ceiling and light fixtures, ornamental aluminum grille work and stair hand rails with stylized foliate motifs, as well as delicate cast aluminum transaction counters (figs. 17-18). National emblems proclaim the building's public function. The masonry eagles of the exterior reappear in attenuated form on the interior at the aluminum frames flanking the transom grilles over the entry doors. Brass stars embellish the brushed aluminum lobby ceiling. Height distinguishes relative importance: less significant office and support spaces are stacked in two levels, flanking the one and one-half story volume of the courtroom. The size of the vertical dimension and the refinement of the interior finishes emphasize the prominence of the third floor courtroom. The courtroom, described as the "'jewel'" of the building" is the culmination of the path through the structure.[96] Sculpted wood eagles and a large mural embellish the wall behind the judge's bench. Elaborate, inlaid wood paneling and doors, decorative stenciled ceiling and aluminum grilles,

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[95]Richard Guy Wilson identifies Goodhue's Nebraska State Capital as one of the sources for the idiom he calls modernized classicism. Wilson, "Modernized Classicism" 272-301.

[96]Gavin Townsend, as quoted by Emily McDonald, "Architectural Art: School group views designs of R. H. Hunt," *Chattanooga Times* 26 July 1988: C1.

and cast aluminum light fixtures add a quiet dignity to the most important space in the building (figs. 21-22).

Interior decoration ties the Federal Building to the Empire State Building. The chevron pattern of the Chattanooga building's entrance floors echoes that in the lobby of the New York structure (fig. 20). The block lettering of the Federal Building elevator doors is reminiscent of that used in the Empire State Building lobby (fig. 17, 20). In the third floor lobby, inlaid scales of justice, whose abstract, stylized design is reminiscent of the stepped setbacks in the profile of the Empire State Building, mark the entrance (figs. 19-20). Shreve, Lamb & Harmon employed the ziggurat profile of the New York building as a decorative motif in its lobby and then reused that image in Chattanooga (figs. 19-20).

Shreve, Lamb & Harmon designed the architectural sculpture, including the entry-flanking, granite eagles, the abstract scales of justice brass inset at the courtroom lobby, and the wooden eagles behind the judge's bench (figs. 22-23). Hunt's consultants also oversaw the production of the sculpture, contracted to Anthony de Lorenzo of New York City.[97] De Lorenzo's workshop provided models of each item that were reviewed first by Harmon and then passed on the Office of the Supervising Architect for final approval.[98]

While the federal architects typically agreed with Harmon's decisions, their acceptance was not necessarily automatic. The office questioned whether the heads of the granite eagles at the cheeks of the doorways were in keeping with the "general feeling of the building" (fig. 23).[99] Harmon responded with his

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[97]B. F. Hunt, letter to Anthony de Lorenzo, 1 Oct. 1932,"Chatt, TN P.O. New," General Correspondence and Related Records, 1910-1939, Records of the Public Building Service, RG 121, Box 3141 ,Oct. 1932 - Feb. 1933, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[98]Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, letter to Office of the Supervising Architect, 5 Jan. 1933, is typical. "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3141, NA.

own list and critique of three possible alternate treatments, and the approval was granted.[100] The exchange illustrates the care taken, by both the private and federal architects in the detailing of the product, to insure that the decorative package reinforced the architectural theme of the building. The architects' role in supervising the fabrication of the building's detailing in 1932 and 1933 is also notable. With the inception of the series of the Treasury art programs in 1933, the commissioning and supervision of related artwork in federal buildings, often in the form of murals and freestanding sculpture for the interior, became the province of a separate administrative unit within the Treasury Department.

The construction and embellishment of the Chattanooga Federal Building mirrors the concurrent changes within the public building arm of the Treasury Department during the 1930s. A brief overview of the highly studied art programs augments the review of the changes within the Office of the Supervising Architect to provide the context. The impact of the Depression was a key ingredient. Beginning in 1933, Treasury patronage of the arts, through three programs, the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP) during the winter of 1933-1934, the Section of Painting and Sculpture, later named the Section of Fine Arts, program of 1934-1943, and the Treasury Relief Art Project (TRAP) of 1935-1939, supplemented the Supervising Architect's role since 1930 as the manager of architectural projects.

The New Deal-financed art projects were one component of a massive, complex, interwoven national program aimed at Depression relief and social reconstruction. The objective of both the Works Progress Administration,

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[99]James Wetmore, telegraph to Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, 20 Dec. 1932, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3141, NA.

[100]Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, letter to Office of the Supervising Architect, 28 Dec. 1932, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3141, NA.

Federal Art Project (WPA/FAP), and the Treasury art programs was the same: to create jobs for out-of-work artists and establish a "precedent for federal support for the arts."[101] The means used for accomplishing that end, however, were very different.

The more egalitarian WPA/FAP, under the direction of Holger Cahill, used federal funds to provide economic relief to unemployed artists; need was the criterion for artist qualification. Cahill's relief program provided artists the means to continue their own work and pursue their own vision rather than become instruments for the execution of government-planned projects. The WPA/FAP program encouraged creativity and experimentation.[102] For Cahill, the decision about the value of the work was to be left to posterity.[103] By contrast, the Treasury programs had a more focused agenda. Quality, not relief, was the criterion for Section employment.[104] By closely supervising the artist's work, a controlled, carefully crafted, but not standardized, product was the goal.[105]

Edward Bruce set the tone for the Treasury art programs. During his tenure as the head of the short-lived PWAP, and later the Section, Bruce's objectives were at the same time idealistic, subjective, and bureaucratically

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[101]Contreras 17-18.

[102]Contreras 18-51.

[103]McKinzie xi.

[104]Beckham 9.

[105]Beckham 13; McKinzie 53; Park and Markowitz 8, 178-181; Apparently conversely, Marling points to an "inherent fuzziness" in the administration and a "disinclination to impose a single definition of art or its meaning on the government, the artist, or the American people." Marling 13; The inherent contradictions in the Section program is a sub-theme of Marling's study. The inconsistencies were, in part, a result of a hastily constructed program which was not designed in advance to be internally consistent and then implemented, but, instead, in which policy was created as needed. Marling's point then is well taken and well illustrated by her non-linear, fractured, multi-focal method of presentation. However, the weight that she gives to the inconsistencies in the program reflect her own view of the history as much as it does the facts.

astute. Cultivation was a primary goal. Bruce proposed to "advance American art and improve national taste by putting before the public what he judged to be America's best - art acquired solely on the basis of quality."[106]

The trademark realism of the Section style, endorsed by Bruce and imposed on the artist's work, operated at several levels and simultaneously addressed a variety of needs and goals (fig. 24). In assertively endorsing realism, the Section attempted to define an alternative to the contemporary explorations of abstract art, illustrated by works such as Pablo Picasso's 1921 *Three Musicians* and Piet Modrian's 1930 *Composition with Red, Blue, and Yellow.* In depicting American historical themes, the style walked a tightrope and carved out a middle ground between the obscure references of academic art and the unrecognizable subject matter of modern, abstract art.[107] The style was consciously crafted both to not offend the American public, who might label as frivolous the patronage of art during a time of economic crisis, and to please the patron in order to assure future funding.[108] Heroic presentation of events from local history, funded by the federal patron, tied national history to regional history in order to foster nationalism and ameliorate the increasing government presence. Another typical theme was the celebration of the events of every-day life in the region. The addition of Section art to public buildings was, in some cases, controversial, prompting debates over who owned local history.[109] Contentious topics such as the "calamitous present" and communism were

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[106]McKinzie 35.

[107]Contreras 53; Beckham 13.

[108]McKinzie 21.

[109]For a detailed analysis of the competing needs and goals of "patron, painter, and public" see Marling, ch. 1, 28-80; Aiken, South Carolina, was the "setting for a nationally publicized battle over aesthetic preferences, federal art patronage, and the cultural aspirations of the New Deal." Marling 28.

considered inappropriate subjects and therefore discouraged. The typically optimistic themes created a usable history to calm apprehensions about the Depression-filled present and provide propaganda for the New Deal.[110]

Olin Dows, a Bruce protégé, headed the later TRAP program organized by Bruce, but funded by the WPA. Unlike the Section projects which provided artwork for Treasury buildings at the time of construction, TRAP funds provided murals and sculpture for structures previously constructed but without art work. The ongoing battle over employment eligibility and the refusal to compromise quality for relief brought about the early end of the TRAP experiment.[111]

While the creation of the Treasury arts programs was one indication of the diminishing control of the Office of the Supervising Architect, the relationship between the two groups was not openly antagonistic.[112] In contrast to governmental patronage in the comprehensive arts programs, conceived and managed by Bruce to reach a specific goal and dependent on political savvy for survival, the Office of the Supervising Architect had a long, fairly stable history woven into the bureaucratic fabric and, as previously noted, unlike the Section, approached its management role with reluctance. The artists' need for employment during the Depression and the previous exclusion of many from work on federal projects prompted the argument for the creation of the Section: since the building architect had the authority to select the artist who would decorate his federal building and "because a handful of architects was responsible for the familiar 'federal classic' style, the equally small group of

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[110]Marling 9; Park and Markowitz 29, 47.

[111]McKinzie 37-39; Contreras 19.

[112]The account of the relationship and interaction between the Section and the Office of the Supervising Architect is largely outside the literature. Histories of federally sponsored art in the 1930s typically ignore the architecture. McKinzie's study, which focuses on the intergovernmental politics associated with the creation of the Treasury art programs, contains only a few references. McKinzie 6-7.

artists known to the architects decorated almost all federal buildings."[113] The Section proposed "to distribute the work more widely."[114] Simon did not oppose the creation of the new division.[115]

Within the government reporting structure, the Section became part of the Office of the Supervising Architect in the Public Buildings Administration, after the latter's 1933 move to the Procurement Division. To encourage cooperation, the Section shared quarters with the Office. The later bureaucratic reorganization that moved the Public Buildings Administration to the new Federal Works Agency in 1939 also carried the Section with it. This move, in addition to eliminating the title Supervising Architect, merged the philosophically incompatible Section and the WPA/FAP. The merger contributed to the eventual demise of the federal art programs.

Section funding paid for the decoration of the Federal Building courtroom. Since the design of the Chattanooga courtroom mural was "one of the first projects under the new Section," the selection process established "an important precedent in future work."[116] The 1935 mural competition foreshadowed the 190 more that were run by the Section.[117] A local Chattanooga committee, including R. H. Hunt, selected the artist for the $1,500

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[113]McKinzie 6.

[114]The Section guidelines included the aim "to make every effort of afford an opportunity to all artists on the sole test of their qualifications as artists, . . ." *Bulletin* No. 1 (Washington, D.C.: Section of Painting and Sculpture, 1 Mar. 1935) 34.

[115]McKinzie 7.

[116]Olin Dows, letter to Mrs. George Patten of Chattanooga, soliciting her participation as chairperson for the mural competition, 27 Dec. 1934, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments of Federal Buildings, 1934-43," Records Concerning Federal Art Activities, Textual Records of the Treasury Relief Art Project, Records of the Public Building Service, RG 121, Box 100, Entry 133, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[117]The number of competitions is from Park and Markowitz 12.

mural.[118] The Section was not bound to commission the work selected by the local committee. In the case of the groundbreaking Chattanooga competition, concern about the quality of the submitted designs and ongoing commitment to excellence caused the federal patron to overturn the local selection and reject all of the sketches.[119] The 1936 recompetition awarded the commission to Hilton Leech for his "Allegory of Chattanooga" (fig. 22).[120] Olin Dows supervised the design of the mural prior to his departure to TRAP in 1935. The December 12, 1934, letter from Dows, soliciting a chair for the local committee and thanking her for her cooperation in helping the newly formed art program "realize the thrilling possibilities of the Government's present plan," reveals Dows's enthusiasm about the new program and indicates the zealous commitment that infused the Section organization.[121]

While many of the Section art projects prompted debate and local controversy over the ownership of and appropriate interpretation of local history, in the Chattanooga case, Section approval provided the only stumbling block.[122] Critiques by the local committee and the Section prodded

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[118]"Mural in Federal Courtroom Will Depict History of Valley: Designs of Florida Artist Approved by Committee," *Chattanooga Times* 18 June 1936: 7.

[119]R. H. Hunt, letter to Olin Dows, 12 July 1935, Olin Dows, letter to R. H. Hunt, 22 July 1935, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA.

[120]Edward B. Rowan, letter to Hilton Leech, 21 Jan. 1936, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA; The cartoons submitted were returned to the individual artists. The Section did not keep copies.

[121]Dows to Patten, 27 Dec. 1934, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA; Passion for the program was not limited to the Section bureaucrats. The public was equally ardent about the art produced and often deeply moved. A frequently quoted 1939 letter, cherished by Bruce from Basil V. Jones, post-master at Pleasant Hill, Missouri, indicates the stirring impact of a completed Post Office mural. "In behalf of many smaller cities, wholly without objects of art, as ours was, may I beseech you and the Treasury to give them some art, more of it, whenever you find it possible to do so. How can a finished citizen be made in an artless town?" Quoted in whole or in part by Contreras 36, McKinzie 72, Park and Markowitz 27-28.

[122]Park and Markowitz 11.

development of the Chattanooga courtroom painting design.[123] Similar to the Office of the Supervising Architect, the Section oversaw the design of the work commissioned by mail. Through photographs, Leech submitted the unfolding record of his progress. Like many other muralists in the 1930s, Leech, operating in an unfamiliar medium and attempting to conform to ill-defined and still evolving Section standards, redesigned and adjusted both the painting's proportions as well as its content (fig. 25).[124] Hunt suggested the inclusion of an architect, developed in an alternate study, in the final design.[125] In keeping with its policy of avoiding contentious issues, the Section objected to the striped prison garments and ball and chain tied to the African-American figure in the foreground charging that it was "a controversial matter, unnecessary to the scope of the design."[126] The Section and the Supervising Architect both approved the final design.[127]

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[123]The Section required progress photographs at three phases of the design process for approval before payment was released. An internal Section memo of September 17, 1936, includes comments on the "half stage" photo from Olin Dows and Henry La Farge. "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA; Photographs, the medium of supervision, become modern-day resources for tracing the mural evolution.

[124]Hilton Leech (1906-1969), primarily a watercolorist, was born in Bridgeport, Connecticut, and trained at The Art Students' League in New York. He moved to Sarasota, Florida, in 1931 to organize and teach at the Ringling School of Art. Influential in the active Sarasota arts community, he founded the Hilton Leech Studio in 1957 and the Friends of the Arts and Sciences in 1962. FAS, a product of the 1950s and 1960s interest in integrating the arts and science, offered its members weekly lectures on a variety of topics. Frank Astorino, "Hilton Leech, The Man, The Studio, The Legend," *Attitudes Magazine* Dec. 1994: n. pag.; The Chattanooga mural was not Leech's only Section mural. The artist also designed and executed the "Removal of the County seat from Daphne to Bay Minette" for the post office at Bay Minette, Alabama, in 1939. Park and Markowitz 201; Beckham 314; Marling 205-6.

[125]Leech took his sketches to Chattanooga where Hunt reviewed them with him. Hilton Leech, letter to Edward B. Rowan, 22 June 1936, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA.

[126]Edward Rowan, letter to Mrs. George Patten, 3 June 1936, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA.

[127] Edward Rowan, letter to Hilton Leech, 2 June 1936, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA.

The finished mural, installed in 1937, illustrated the developed Section style and ideal (fig. 22).[128] The innocuous figures and themes walked an aesthetic tightrope: the work was both non-academic and non-modern. Seen in the context of the complete set of Section murals, the figural grouping was a collection of stock images, personalized for the local context. At the same time, the dramatic compilation of heroic figures alluded to specific moments in the Chattanooga past, promoting local pride and tying the federal courtroom into local history. The mural creates a 1930s image of an ideal world, using stock Section art themes. The panorama celebrates the abundant landscape, improved through man's intervention in the form of agriculture, transportation, and the nearby hydro-electric dams. Cooperating groups promote the notion of the benefits gained through community efforts. The painting's figural presentation reinforces conventional and stereotypical ethnic and gender roles. African-Americans are stooped, performing manual labor. Native Americans defer to an early explorer. Women mourn, nurse the sick, and rear children. The growth of technology is assumed to be a virtue.[129] The conjunction of images representing hard work in the past and present-day technology reinforce the optimistic New Deal message that a bountiful future was still attainable. A jewel within a jewel, the mural is the focal point of the building's most important room, both architecturally and symbolically.

By contrast, the design of the Federal Building lobby sculpture demonstrated the pitfalls and potential for mediocrity inherent in the Section's design-by-committee approach. Based on the quality of work shown in an earlier design entered in the National Post Office Department Competition, the

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[128]"The Mural was successfully installed in the Chattanooga Court House." Hilton Leech, letter to Edward Rowan, 8 June 1937, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA.

[129]See Park and Markowitz 29-67 for a catalog of typical themes presented in Section art.

Section invited Leopold F. Scholz, a Chattanooga resident, to submit a proposal.[130] Scholz successively redesigned his work several times between 1936 and 1937 in search of an image. While the local committee approved the notion of the "symbolic head" originally suggested by Scholz, the Section, although receptive to the idea, rejected Scholz's execution of it (fig. 26).[131] The federal patron applauded the "inspired figure" of a powerful laborer intended to represent the postal system that was Scholz's redesign (fig. 27).[132] The local committee insisted that it be reworked and "clothed in the uniform of a conventional mail carrier" (fig. 28).[133] Although Scholz wanted the sculpture to be "executed in a modern style to match the architecture of the building", the final piece became, by default and despite efforts at compromise, the "hackneyed postman" that both Scholz and the Section wanted to avoid.[134] The controversy over the Chattanooga sculpture was one of numerous Section

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[130]"As a result of a competent sketch model submitted by Mr. Leopold F. Scholz in the National Post Office Department Competition, the Section of Painting and Sculpture wishes to invite this artist to submit designs for the sculpture decoration in the Chattanooga, Tennessee, Post Office." Section memo to Leopold Scholz, 23 Oct. 1936, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA; To award the prize to Scholz, the Section set aside the local request to commission Harold Cash for the project. Olin Dows, letter to Mrs. George Patten, 23 Feb. 1935, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA; Not all Section commissions were awarded by project-specific competitions. Artists whose work showed promise and who did not win a given competition were often awarded lesser commissions. McKinzie notes, "Of the 577 artists to receive jobs, . . . 184 won competitions, 382 received work on the merit of their designs, and 28 were appointed outright." McKinzie 54.

[131]Scholz describes his proposed "broader tribute" which was approved by the local committee in a letter. Leopold Scholz, letter to Inslee Hopper, 4 Dec. 1936, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA; In rejecting Scholz's proposal, the Section noted "The symbolic connection between the bust suggested and the building seems to us very forced." Inslee Hopper, letter to Leopold Scholz, 18 Mar. 1937, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA.

[132]Edward Rowan, letter to Leopold Scholz, 13 Dec. 1937, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA.

[133]Mrs. George Patten, letter to Edward Rowan, 9 July 1937, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA.

[134]Leopold Scholz, letter to Inslee Hopper, 26 Feb. 1937, and 29 Mar. 1937, "Case Files Concerning Embellishments," RG 121, Box 100, Entry 33, NA.

battles over the attempt to balance competing objectives. The debate centered on the Section's desire for quality in national art played off against the need to accommodate local taste.

The correspondence files regarding the Federal Building decoration demonstrate that the administrative structure of the Section program had much in common with the pre-existing Treasury architectural bureau, the Office of the Supervising Architect. Both programs created public-private partnerships to prepare government design work. Each was the result of private pressure to employ outside architects and artists. Both attempted to employ local design professionals whenever possible. The management of the two programs cast painters and architects in unaccustomed roles as bureaucrats supervising their professional peers from a distance. In each case, the federal employees, artists as well as architects, took on the role of patron or client who had ultimate veto power over design decisions. The motivating impulses for the architectural and artistic styles sprang from a common source. The parallel is significant. Essentially conservative, both the art and architecture sought to harmonize and form a compromise between modernism and classicism. Like the art, the architecture looked to the past but acknowledged the contemporary context.

Nonetheless, the Section was more than the docile offspring of the Office of the Supervising Architect. The newly formed art program was not burdened with the Office's cumbersome history and rapidly imposed demands to revamp an already finely tuned method of design and production. Sidestepping the Office's accumulated bureaucratic inertia, Edward Bruce put together in the Section a vital, comprehensive program that had a highly refined agenda and a style to match and support it. The erosion of the authority entrusted to the Supervising Architect began when the responsibility to commission art was handed over to the newly formed group of co-workers. However, the Section

did not destroy the Office of the Supervising Architect. Instead, the fortunes of both groups declined when they were moved from beneath the protective umbrella of the Treasury Department in 1939.

## Chapter 4. The Impact of the Building: Model and Symbol

The story of the impact of the Chattanooga Federal Building on the development and dissemination of American public architecture cuts across local, regional, and national histories. The building marked a milestone in the careers of the private architectural firms involved in its design and production. The building's prominence made it a model for other civic architecture in the region. Through publication and exhibition the structure became known to a national audience. For federal architects, the Chattanooga Post Office was a symbol of the project that had produced it, the ambitious federal building program.

The R. H. Hunt Company and Shreve, Lamb & Harmon did not repeat the long-distance collaboration, which had been assembled by their federal client. The New York firm's later work followed the restrained, functionalist lead established by the detailing of the Empire State Building and the composition of the Federal Building.[135] The large, simple massing of the 1940 Connecticut College Auditorium and of the 1944 Olin Hall at Cornell University takes off from the course established in the Federal Building (figs. 1, 29, 30). The stylistic direction of these two later projects suggests a thread of influence traceable to, among other sources, Simon. By contrast, the completion of the Federal Building dramatically altered the office of the R. H. Hunt Company. The project was the last gasp of the formerly prominent regional firm before it all but succumbed to the Depression. With the end of the production phase, Hunt dismissed the majority of the office: there was no other work. Only a skeletal

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[135]Harmon's previously noted letter regarding the design of the Chattanooga Post Office to "Simons" on June 30, 1931, stated "we believe that we are on the right track; . . . the masses should be large and simple without any projecting bands or architraves. . ." Harmon to Simons [sic], 30 June 1931, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3139, NA; The metal detailing of the Brill Building (1934) continues the work of the Empire State Building. Placzek 54.

staff including R. H. Hunt, Ben R. Hunt, and T. G. Street remained on the day after the completion of the drawings.[136] After serving on local committees to review the design of both Leech's mural and Scholz's sculpture, R. H. Hunt died in 1937 prior to both the installation of the finished mural and the completion of the sculpture.

Regionally, the Federal Building influenced not only the later work of the R. H. Hunt Company but also that of other Tennessee firms. The 1937 Polk County Courthouse in Benton, Tennessee, designed by the R. H. Hunt Company is a diminutive translation of the Chattanooga project into new materials (fig. 31). The brick structure on a stone base with a cruciform plan replaced the previous courthouse destroyed by fire in December 1935. The composition of simple orthogonal masses, fluted jambs at the entrance, crisply cut openings for fenestration, and use of metal casement windows and spandrel panels tie the Polk County Courthouse to its Chattanooga antecedent (fig. 32). Funded in part by a PWA grant, the Polk Count Courthouse indicates the lingering impact of the Chattanooga Federal Building on both regional architecture and on the design work of the R. H. Hunt Company.[137]

The Chattanooga Post Office, under construction in 1932, set a standard for later federal architecture in the area. *Architectural Record* published a rendering of the Chattanooga Post Office in May 1932. In June of that year, Marr & Holman, architects of the Nashville Post Office, wrote the R. H. Hunt Company asking for a set of plans to be used as a model for the post office then under design for the Tennessee capital city. Hunt forwarded the request to the

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[136]Selmon T. Franklin, Franklin Associates Architects, Inc., telephone interview by author, 1 July 1995.

[137]History and description of building materials of the Polk County Courthouse is from Karen L. Daniels, "Polk County Courthouse, Benton, Tennessee," National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, Mar. 1993.

Office of the Supervising Architect.[138] Wetmore responded that the request seemed unusual since Marr & Holman had already received guide plans from the federal architects.[139] The exchange indicates that other private architects, unprompted by the federal client, saw and sought out the Chattanooga project as a pattern for subsequent work.

The Federal Building received national attention beyond the immediate locale through publications and exhibitions.[140] In particular, Talbot Hamlin, in a February 1938 essay, argued that the American public architecture of the 1930s was developing a recognizable stylistic homogeneity. Hamlin selected the Federal Building as one of five projects to illustrate his analysis (fig. 1).[141] In addition to its publication in periodicals, the Federal Building gained additional exposure outside Chattanooga through a 1938 exhibit sponsored by the American Institute of Architects. The display featured more that 150 buildings "designed to show 'what is considered by architects as fine in design and representative of the best work in the United States.'" Included with the Federal Building was the most notable work of Hunt's consultants, the Empire State Building. Also part of the exhibit was the Chattanooga Post Office's stylistic ancestor, the Folger Shakespeare Library. The show also featured the paradigmatic emblem of the 1930s endorsement of the benefits that would be

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[138]R. H. Hunt, letters to Office of Supervising Architect, 8 June 1932, 16 June 1932, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," General Correspondence and Related Records, 1910-1939, Records of the Public Building Service, RG 121, Box 3140 ,April 1932 - Sept. 1932, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

[139]James Wetmore, letter to R. H. Hunt, 14 June 1932, "Chatt, TN P.O. New," RG 121, Box 3140, NA.

[140]National publication of the Federal Building included Ernest Born's rendering in May 1932 in *Architectural Record*, followed by photographs of the completed project in *Architectural Record in* December 1934 and in *Architectural Forum* in October 1936. Born 295; "U.S. Post Office" 431-34; "Post Offices" Oct. 384.

[141]Hamlin 99-106.

provided through engineering and of large scale regional planning through government intervention, the Hoover Dam.[142]

It is significant that the Federal Building constituted part of the AIA collection of notable contemporary work. Like the New Deal art projects, one goal of the AIA exhibit was education and cultivation. The Federal Building's inclusion indicates the didactic value which contemporaries assigned to the building and the degree to which they believed the structure embodied and reinforced the optimistic spirit of the age. Further, the timing of the exhibit in late 1938 and the publication of Hamlin's essay in February of the same year suggests some relationship between them. The preparations for the exhibit may have stimulated the production of Hamlin's article, providing his exposure to the Federal Building and prompting his selection of the structure as an example to illustrate his analysis. Conversely, Hamlin's article may have motivated the AIA exhibit. Regardless of the ties between them, taken together, the essay and exhibit are evidence of the Federal Building's impact.

Aside from the publication of the building itself, Leech's courtroom mural was included in *Art in Federal Buildings*, co-authored by Edward Bruce and another Section administrator, Forbes Watson. Ambitiously labeled "Volume I," the only book in the intended series was dedicated to the Section's, and by extension, the Office's patron Henry Morgenthau, Jr., Secretary of the Treasury. Like *Public Buildings* by Short and Stanley-Brown, *Art in Federal Buildings* was conceived as a piece of propaganda whose intent was to use publication to promote enthusiasm for and increase awareness of a federal program. The existence of the book silently testifies to the 1930s controversy over federal

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[142] Because of space constraints, the Chattanooga building was not part of the display in Washington. However, it was part of the touring exhibit shown at Baltimore in October 1938. "Photo Included by Architects for Fine Design," *Chattanooga Times* 4 Sept. 1938: 3; The Federal Building's inclusion in the exhibition is also noted in "Looking Backward," *Chattanooga Times* 2 Aug. 1958: 7.

support for the arts. Valuable for its documentation, Bruce and Watson's work, produced by Section administrators, provides an uncritical presentation of the Section output. The publication includes the courtroom plan, interior elevation, and one of Leech's early studies among the projects documented.[143] The patrons of these murals intended to use the completed projects to record their efforts and to stimulate support for future work.

Contemporaries saw the Federal Building as a representative example of an emerging national style. Publication and exhibition were the vehicles for disseminating its influence. However, the diminutive post office from a small Southern city was more than an exemplary model for future federal architecture. The building's inclusion in Harold Weston's 1938 lobby mural at the Procurement Building in Washington, D.C. indicates that the building also functioned as a symbol of the federal building program that had produced it.[144]

The 1933 Treasury Department reorganization that placed the Office of the Supervising Architect in the Public Buildings Branch of the Procurement Division also physically relocated the Supervising Architect's offices to the former Federal Warehouse, renamed the Procurement Building. The Weston mural, commissioned for the lobby, focused on the various contributions of the newly formed Procurement Division to the development of public architecture.

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[143]Edward Bruce and Forbes Watson, *Art in Federal Buildings: An Illustrated Record of the Treasury Department's New Program in Painting and Sculpture, Vol. I: Mural Designs, 1934-1936* (Washington D.C.: Art in Federal Buildings Incorporated, 1936) 115, 225.

[144]Harold Weston (1894-1972), a 1916 Harvard graduate, was primarily known as an easel painter. The project for the Procurement Building was the only mural commission he executed. In addition to his successful career as a painter and etcher, Weston was also active in promotion of the arts. He was instrumental in the creation of the National Foundation of the Arts and Humanities in 1965. *The Murals of Harold Weston* n. pag.; The Procurement Building is now known as the Regional Office Building of the General Services Administration. The Weston mural is extant.

The mural, designed, executed, and installed between January 1936 and June 1938, was funded by a TRAP allocation.[145]

Produced in Weston's Adirondack studio, the twenty-two panel mural is in three sections. One component embellishes each of the lobby side walls and one occupies the wall opposite the entrance. The subjects of the sections, "Architecture Under Government - Old and New," "Modern Construction," and "Supply Branch of Procurement," identified the agencies and memorialized the vast array of tasks coordinated under the umbrella of the Procurement Division.[146]

The mural was a piece of propaganda illustrating the internal organization of the new administrative unit and promoting the "far-flung and varied activities of the Treasury's Procurement Division."[147] The distribution of mural panels on the lobby walls echoed and endorsed the recently constructed bureaucratic hierarchy. The mural grouping depicting the activity of the Office of the Supervising Architect on the south wall balanced and, therefore, was equated with that devoted to the construction work of the Supply Branch on the north wall (figs. 33-35).

The subject matter of the mural also reflects the internal politics at the Treasury Department in the late 1930s. From the vantage point of time, the 1933 Treasury Department reorganization that stripped the Office of the Supervising Architect of its independent status and placed it in the Procurement

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[145]Weston provided these dates. The artist identifies the starting date as "Jan. '36" in a handwritten letter to Henry (presumably La Farge), 26 July 1937, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA; Weston's triumphant pleasure is evident in his May 13, 1938, letter: "Tonight I can write that the mural is finished. After almost two and a half years that deserves a whole paragraph." Harold Weston, letter to Cecil Jones, 13 May 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA.

[146]*The Murals of Harold Weston* n. pag.

[147]"Treasury Mural Caricatures Art for Post Office," *Washington Post* 1 June 1938: 16.

Division, and the move to quarters outside the Treasury Building were steps along the road to the end. Craig sees the architectural section of the mural as a defensive statement of an embattled office, calling the depiction "a last burst of beleaguered pride."[148] Through Weston, Simon, the last Supervising Architect, wrote his office's and his own history.

The architectural section of Weston's mural contains two dominant panels, surmounting seven small predellas. The predellas explained the daily workings of the Office; the upper panels displayed the output.[149] The two large panels, the focal point of the architectural section, are a pair of urban scenes which depicted old and new public buildings constructed by the Treasury Department. The mural constructed a history that tied the Office of the Supervising Architect to noted monuments of the past. The history presented in Weston's painting created an architectural lineage and then placed the recent federal construction in it in order to proclaim that the later work was both equal to and the continuation of the earlier construction. The twin cityscapes balanced physically and equated symbolically historic architecture such as Mills's Washington Monument and Treasury Building and Alfred B. Mullet's State, War, and Navy Building with more recent federal construction (fig. 36).[150] Although the grouping of older works included actual Treasury projects such as the post offices at Portland, Maine, and Patterson, New Jersey, there also is some irony in the selection of other historic buildings. As previously noted, Mills

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[148]Craig 329.

[149]Description of south end wall entitled "Procurement Lobby Mural," undated, "Harold Weston - Federal Warehouse," RG 121, Box 14, Entry 124, NA.

[150]The mural also promoted the Section art program. The winner of the Section competition for the sculpture in front of the Apex Building in Washington, D.C. was included in the rendering of the building in the mural as advertisement of the Section program. Cecil Jones, letter to Harold Weston, 26 Jan. 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA.

never held the title "Supervising Architect." Mullet personally designed the State, War, and Navy Building while he held the office, but the project was not technically a work of the Office of the Supervising Architect: the State, War, and Navy Building did not fall under the domain of the Treasury Department.[151] The "galaxies" of buildings, thus, were an amalgamation of both actual and appropriated Treasury projects from locations throughout the country, pulled together into two individual urban vistas.[152] The Chattanooga Federal Building was a prominent component in the set of recent projects (fig. 37). Prepared from photos, blueprints, and sketches, and redesigned several times, the "galaxies" were a particularly intricate, intractable problem for Weston.[153]

The correspondence files demonstrate that Simon heavily influenced the composition of the two panels illustrating the reconstructed Treasury architectural lineage.[154] Weston noted that Simon "took so much interest and

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[151] Interestingly, the 1930s were a high point in the backlash against the style of Mullet's building. Proposals to rework the facades to conform to Washington classicism had surfaced in both the 1910s and 1920s. Laurie Ossman kindly shared information on Mullet and the State, War, and Navy Building from her research for her forthcoming University of Virginia Ph.D. dissertation on Alfred B. Mullet; Perhaps Simon was offering his own position in the debate over the fate of Mullet's building.

[152] "Galaxies" is Weston's term for the two architectural groupings in the mural. Harold Weston, letter to Cecil Jones, 15 Jan. 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA.

[153] Weston commented often in his progress reports about the difficulty of composing the architectural groupings. The "Architectural end is certainly the hardest part of the whole mural . . . It is decidedly the sort of panel that if not done with a great deal of distinction would certainly be . . . a flop for the subject matter is deadly enough!!" Harold Weston, letter to Cecil Jones, 30 Jan. 1938. "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA; The project proved to be an ongoing challenge: "The architectural end is honestly about the hardest thing I have ever tackled." Harold Weston, letter to Cecil Jones, 23 Feb. 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA.

[154] Weston encountered "difficulties" with Simon over the design of the two panels. While the Supervising Architect was "enthusiastic" about the design of the six panels over the elevators dealing with construction, he "violently objected to" Weston's ideas for the end walls. No sketches survive. However, Weston's comments that "It seems the architects felt that buildings under construction glorifies the engineers!" and "architecture is only an art when it functions" indicate his modernist, although somewhat ill-defined, leanings. In the end, Simon's conservatism and needs for self-justification controlled the final output. Harold Weston, letter to Edward Bruce, 3 Apr. 1936, "Harold Weston - Federal Warehouse," RG 121, Box 14, Entry 124, NA.

took considerable time in assisting in the original arrangement."[155] At Simon's insistence, the subject became the "Ideal of Architecture," for which Simon himself confidently offered to design an "ideal" building.[156] The megalomaniac pile was, as executed, the Supervising Architect's vision of an ideal city, an urban vista containing only government buildings. The "galaxy of buildings for the building containing the Office of the Supervising Architect" promoted the work done under the current Supervising Architect as the equivalent of that done under both past and mythical holders of the position.[157] Through the mural, Simon rewrote history, claiming both recent and time-honored works as part of the lineage of buildings designed by the Office of the Supervising Architect.

Not only active in determining the composition of the architectural panels, Simon also selected the set of buildings that would represent his legacy (figs. 34, 35). The exchange between the artist and the Office of the Supervising Architect over the inclusion of the Greenville Post Office illustrates the point. Weston was not satisfied with the building within the composition but noted that he had "no better choice from the material available here." Indicating the ongoing direct involvement of the Office, Weston requested, "If Mr. Simon is willing to bother with such a minor detail or would ask Mr. Hartgrove to do so, I would appreciate the selection of one or two possible substitutes."[158]

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[155]Harold Weston, letter to Cecil Jones, 26 Jan. 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA.

[156]Weston to Bruce, 3 Apr. 1936, "Harold Weston - Federal Warehouse," RG 121, Box 14, Entry 124, NA.

[157]Weston's construction of a figure-ground study with words, referencing buildings within buildings, and buildings containing offices containing buildings, indicates that he was very conscious of the emblematic nature of his composition. Weston to Jones, 26 Jan. 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA.

[158]Weston to Jones, 26 Jan. 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA.

Apparently no alternate was offered: the Greenville building is part of the mural.[159] Similarly, Weston recorded that the inclusion of the Knoxville, Tennessee, Post Office was in deference to Simon. The artist noted that, "This is a building that Mr. Simon favored including originally and I have consequently used it in the revision."[160] Simon thus pre-selected a set of buildings from which Weston chose the structures ultimately included in the mural.

Simon and Weston used different standards of measurement to compile their selections. Simon's criteria were symbolic. The inclusion of the Chattanooga Federal Building indicates that the Supervising Architect considered it as representative of the work done under his tenure. Weston's criteria were aesthetic. The artist took care that the buildings included displayed variety in form, detail, and style.[161] There is only one reference to the Federal Building in the correspondence. As part of the redesign, the building moved further to the left. Weston approvingly noted the new location gave "more the feeling of the facade."[162] Like the other projects included in the mural, the Federal Building, identified originally by Simon as representative of his work and selected by Weston to meet his compositional requirements, occupies a prominent position in the "galaxy." The building and its placement

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[159]Description of south end wall entitled "Procurement Lobby Mural," undated, "Harold Weston - Federal Warehouse," RG 121, Box 14, Entry 124, NA.

[160]Weston to Jones, 26 Jan. 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA; In a separate letter, Weston reiterates that Simon motivated the inclusion of the Knoxville Post Office. Harold Weston, letter to Edward Rowan, 4 Mar. 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA.

[161]Weston to Jones, 26 Jan. 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA.

[162]Weston to Jones, 26 Jan. 1938, "WPA, CT Fine Arts Commission, D.C.," RG 121, Box 7, Entry 119, NA.

were, in the end, approved by the patron Simon as contributing to the fabrication of his own history. Simon saw the Chattanooga Post Office as a career accomplishment and representative symbol of his federal building program.[163]

In the end, meanings fold back on themselves and public and private interests become intertwined. For Chattanoogans, the construction of the Federal Building both provided jobs and was a symbol of hope and government concern during the Depression.[164] The design was the product of a collaboration of federal architects and their private counterparts. The federal art program embellished the structure. The AIA endorsed the building, on one level, as an exemplary piece of architecture and, more subtly, as evidence of the private architects' contribution to the federal building program. In displaying the Chattanooga Post Office in its own lobby, the Office of the Supervising Architect embraced the building as a symbol of its investment in the federal building program. In doing so, ironically, the Office enlisted the aid of its offspring and sometimes antagonist, the Treasury Art program, to tell its history.

The Chattanooga Federal Building is significant as both an object and a symbol. Local history claimed it as the work of Chattanooga's most prominent architect. While the R. H. Hunt Company was involved in both the production of the building and the decorative package, the Federal Building was the last major project before the Depression-induced collapse of the firm. The structure provided a model for other public architecture in the region. Further, contemporaries also saw the building and its decoration as a representative

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[163]Simon was not the only person immortalized through the Procurement Building mural. Weston humorously included a self portrait: the artist captured in the act of painting (fig. 38).

[164]The comments of the Chattanooga Postmaster are representative, "The new building is different. It denotes the strength, stability and good-will of our government." "Farley's Envoy Tells of First Postal Service - Post Office Dedication Attended by Hundreds," *Chattanooga Times* 17 Dec. 1933: 3.

example of a developing national style, including it in publications and exhibitions which helped to disseminate the idiom. By contrast, for Louis Simon, the building's overriding value was symbolic. The last Supervising Architect selected the building as an emblem of a significant portion of his life's work, the federal building program.

## Conclusion

This project began as a study of the Chattanooga Federal Building presumed to be the work of a little known Southern architectural firm, the R. H. Hunt Company. It grew to include the role of the Chattanooga firm's prominent consultants, Shreve, Lamb & Harmon. The scope expanded further to encompass the part played by the "invisible" member of the design team, the Office of the Supervising Architect, and the art program that was its complement.

The surviving correspondence files were the means for exploring the interaction between the participants in the design process. Recently recognized by art historians as a resource for studying 1930s federal art, the files remain largely unmined by architectural historians. Methodologically, this thesis points to the value of this wealth of primary documentation and tests the validity of using induction to arrive at conclusions about the whole: the case study of the Federal Building formed the springboard and touchstone for an examination of the Treasury art and architecture programs in the 1930s.

While buildings such as the Chattanooga Post Office are often formally categorized as "WPA style," the Chattanooga structure both was and was not a product of the Depression. Legislation authorizing an enormous federal building program and the allocation of funding to support it did pre-date the 1929 crash. The Depression, however, accelerated the time frame of its implementation and brought increasing pressure from unemployed private architects for an ever bigger part in the design process. Follow-up legislation enabled the Treasury building division, the Office of the Supervising Architect, to employ outside architects. The ability to contract individual projects to private firms precipitated slow, creaking, cumbersome changes in the design and

production system of the Treasury architectural office, previously streamlined to produce design work in-house.

The federal architects' project load and work flow was the basis for the final decision about which buildings to assign to private architects. The Chattanooga Post Office was one of those selected. The building's production brought together three previously unacquainted offices. The Federal Building was designed by Harmon, produced by the R. H. Hunt Company, and critiqued and approved by Simon. In guiding the design of projects such as the Federal Building, Simon was a significant agent in the dissemination of "modernized classicism" to locations throughout the country.

The history of the Office of the Supervising Architect is interwoven with that of the Treasury Section of Painting and Sculpture. The project administered by the federal architects became one model for the later art program. Closely affiliated with and housed within the Office of the Supervising Architect, the Section art program embellished the buildings designed or commissioned by their co-workers. The reorganization that transferred the responsibility for the selection of the artwork from the architects to the Section was the first crack in the federal architect's ascendancy.

The Depression had brought tremendous power to the Office of the Supervising Architect. Congress allocated an enormous budget and ordered an extensive building program to be executed quickly and then handed the controls to the formerly inconspicuous bureau. During the 1930s, the Office of the Supervising Architect administered the hastily mobilized program of state sponsored architecture. The individual architectural objects, distributed throughout the country, represented a vision, leading back, through a pyramid of command, to one man, Louis A. Simon. In an instant, the Office of the Supervising Architect became a patron, commissioning architecture and then

supervising its production and construction. To accommodate its new role, the Office quickly developed a series of procedures for implementing the program. However, the authority was only temporary.

As the Supervising Architect's control and the vast program began to crumble, buildings like the Federal Building were adopted as emblems of the contribution of Simon and his office to the design of public architecture. Weston's mural is evidence of the building's symbolic value. Further, the Federal Building, published in professional journals, and included in an AIA exhibit, was also a symbol for private architects of their successful campaign to gain access to government work and of their own contribution to the federal building program. Adopted by both factions, the Federal Building represents a resolution of the conflict between public and private architects over the right to design federal architecture. The path, then, of this study led from the Federal Building, an isolated building in a small Southern city, to the massive, integrated federal building program responsible for its construction, and back to the Federal Building as an emblem of the program.

In the final analysis, the study raises another question: the role of a state sponsored architectural arm in a democracy. The Office of the Supervising Architect was never conceived as the analog of the highly developed French Beaux Arts system for training and employing government architects. During the time in which the United States government presence grew slowly, the Office of the Supervising Architect grew accordingly. The 1930s concentration of power was only temporary, driven by need in a difficult time. The Office responded gallantly, if tentatively, to meet the demand and adjust its procedures. Nonetheless, the long term fate was inevitable: too much power and too much control concentrated in a small bureau - inappropriate for a democracy. Outside forces, checks and balances, stripped the authority and

then, ungratefully, eliminated the position. However, projects such as the Chattanooga Federal Building, today still serving its original purpose and an ongoing object of civic pride, as well as the images of it survive as quiet testimony to, and emblems of, the government's greatest building program.

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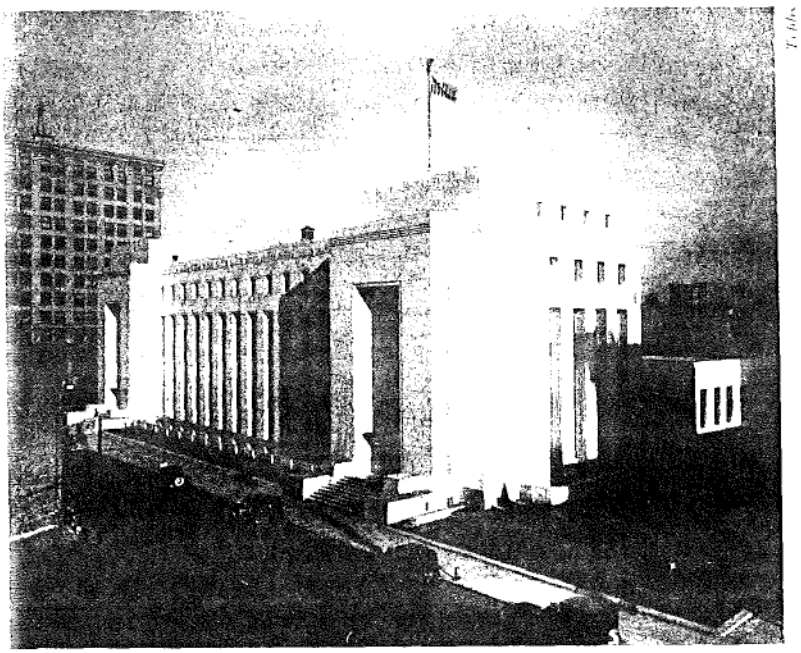
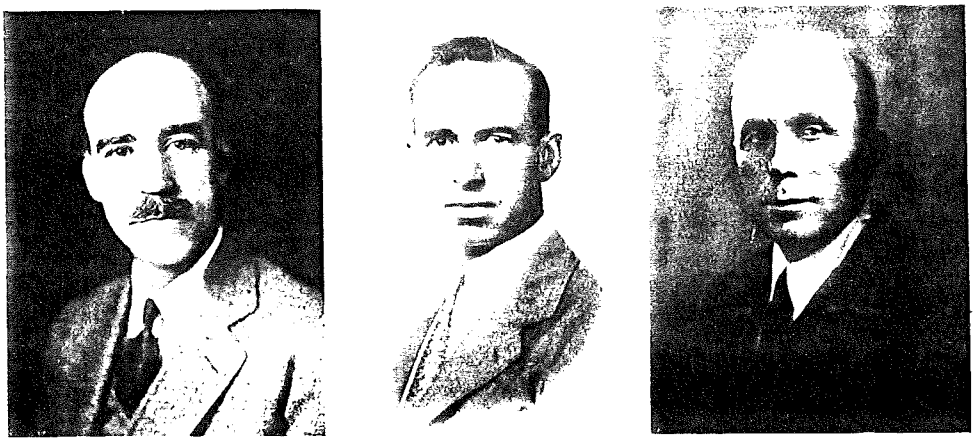


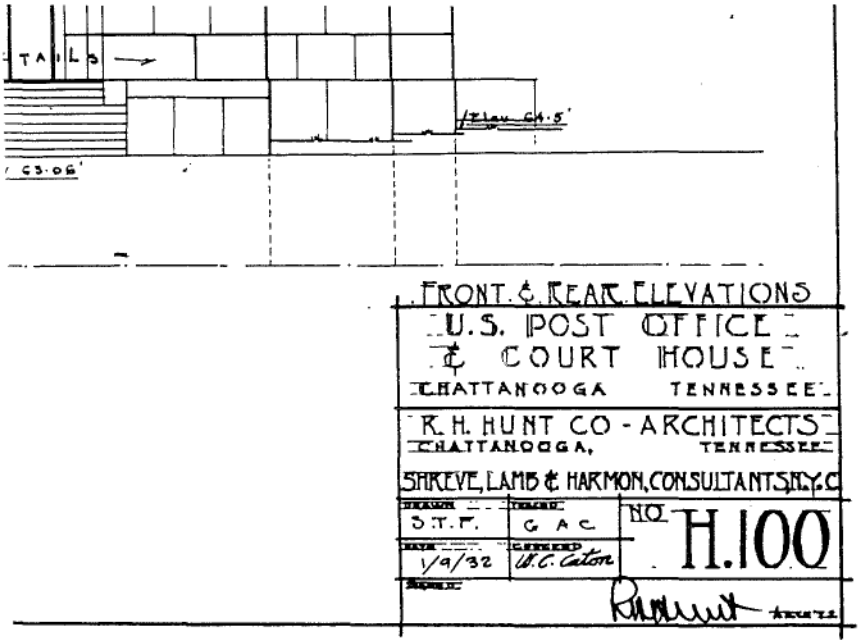
1. Federal Building, Chattanooga, Tennessee. View from the southwest. Talbot F. Hamlin. "A Contemporary American Style." *Pencil Points*, Feb. 1932. 102.

2. Reuben Harrison Hunt
Zella Armstrong, *The History of Hamilton County and Chattanooga,* Vol. I, 348.



3. Shreve, Lamb & Harmon. From left to right: William Frederick Lamb, Richmond Harold Shreve, Arthur Loomis Harmon. *Architectural Record,* Aug. 1933, 16.

4. Louis A. Simon
*Federal Architect*, Jan. 1939, 18.

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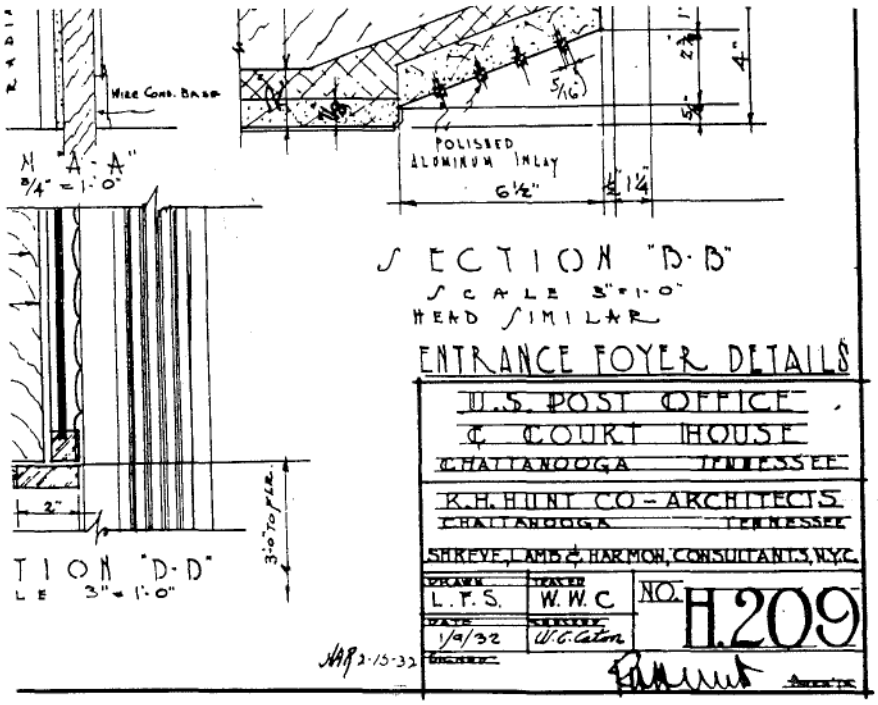


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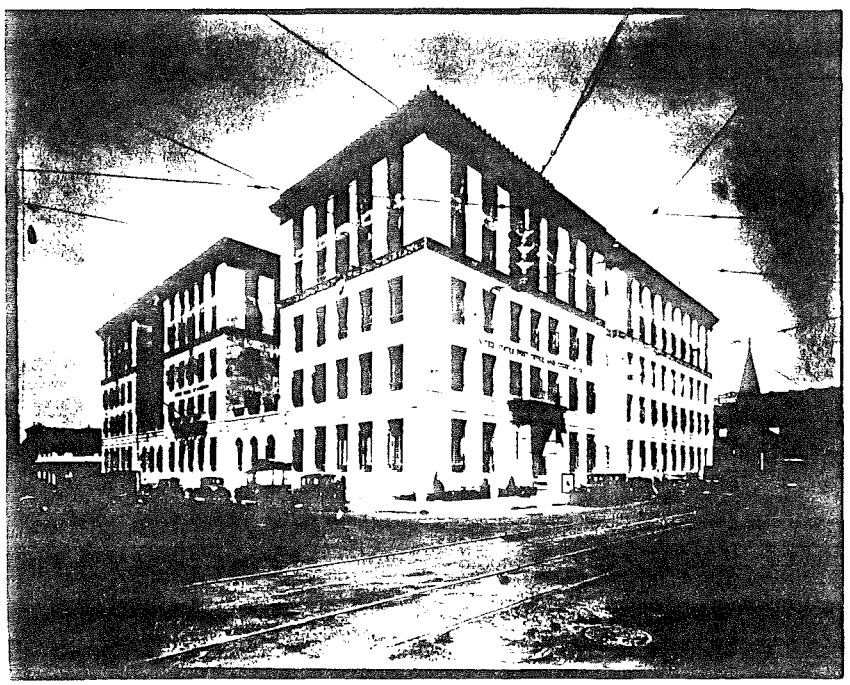
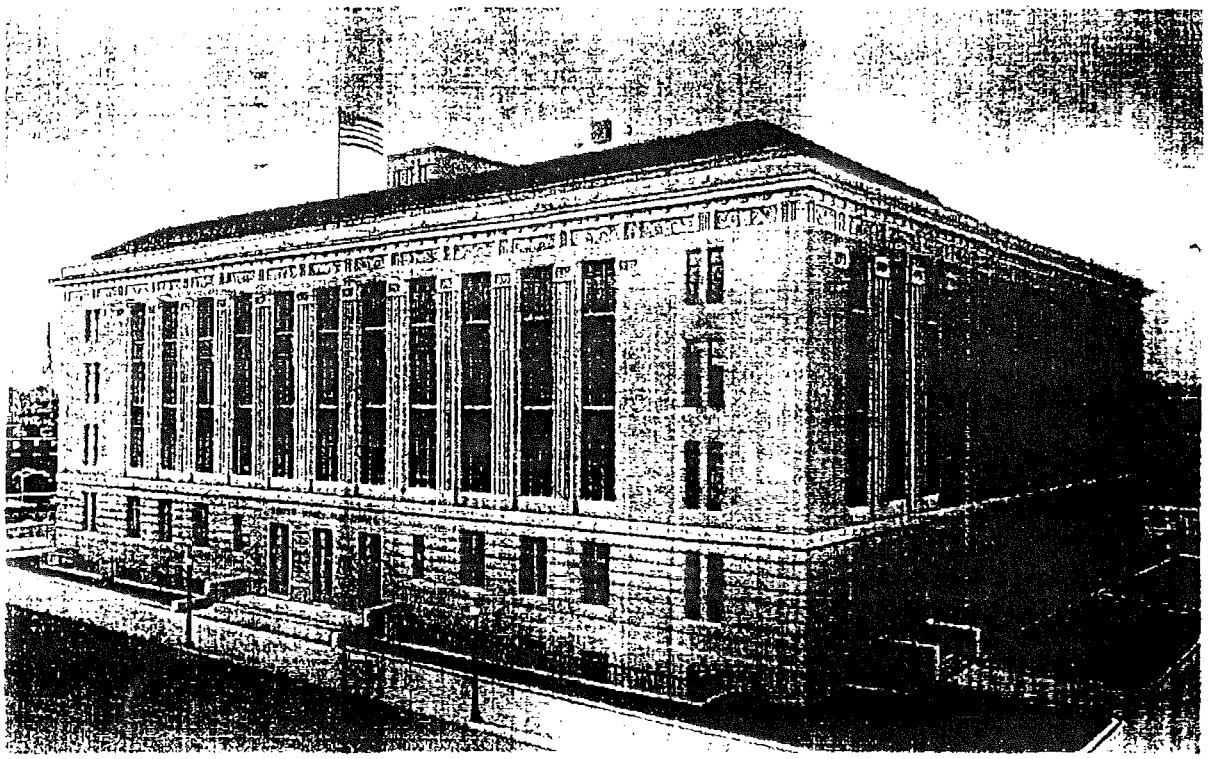
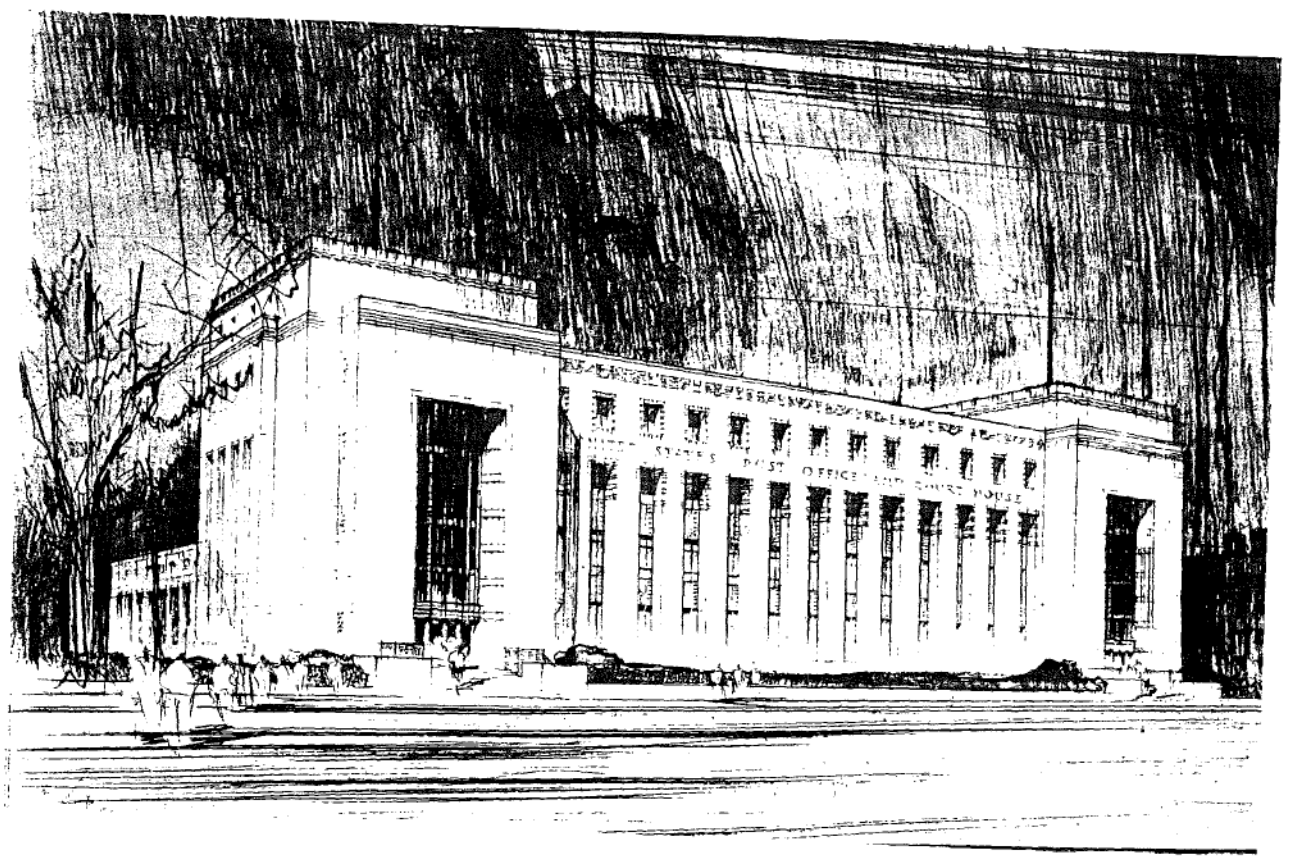
5. Federal Building, Chattanooga, Tennessee. Two title blocks from the architectural package produced in Hunt's office.
Robert A. Franklin, letter to author, 10 Mar. 1995.



6. Federal Building, Dallas, Texas.
Dallas Public Library Historic Photograph Collection.

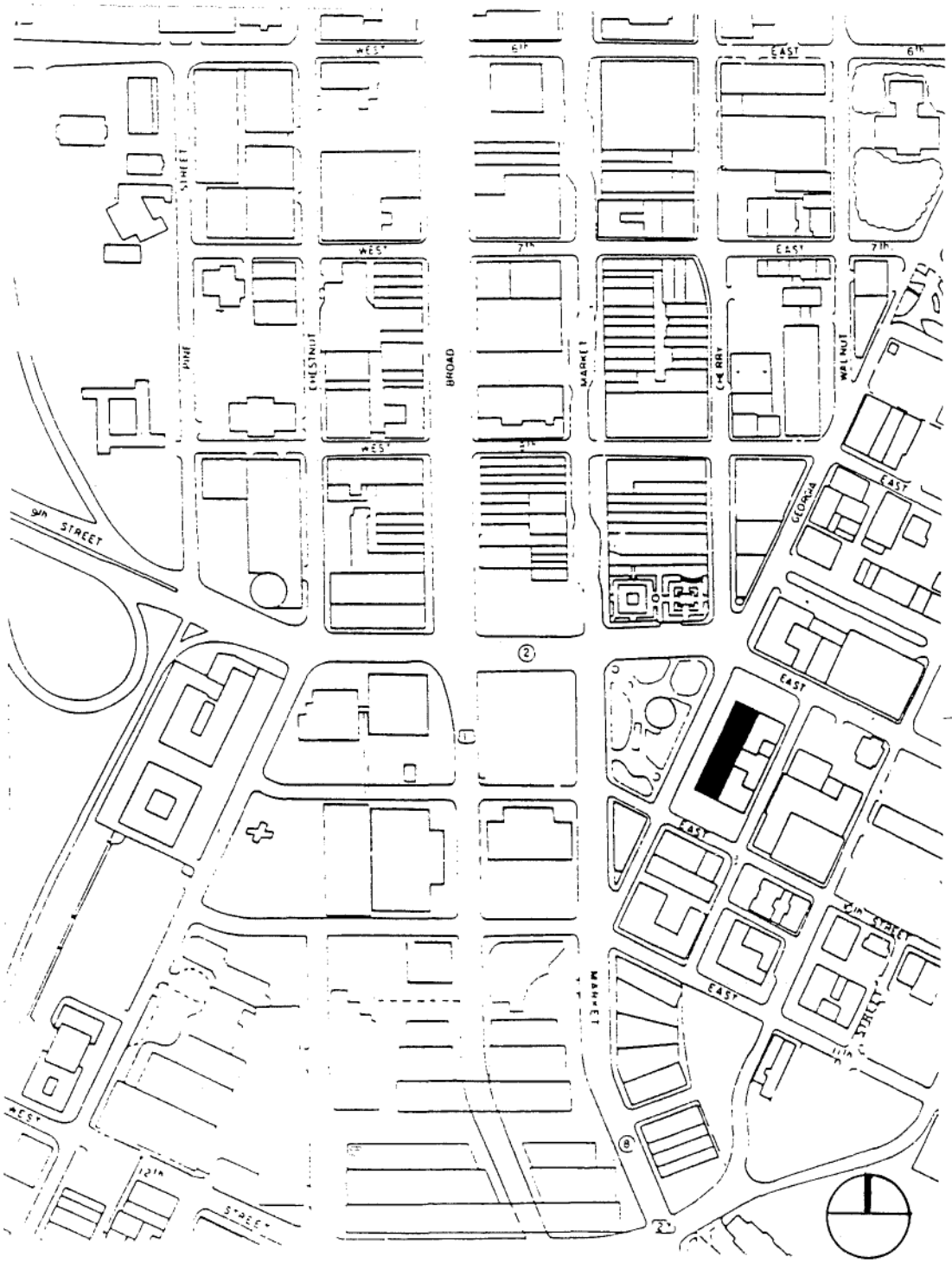


7. United States Post Office, Trenton, New Jersey.
Trenton Public Library, Trentoniana Collection.



8. Ernest Born's rendering of the Federal Building.
"Post Office and Court House at Chattanooga, Tennessee," *Architectural Record,* May 1932, 295.

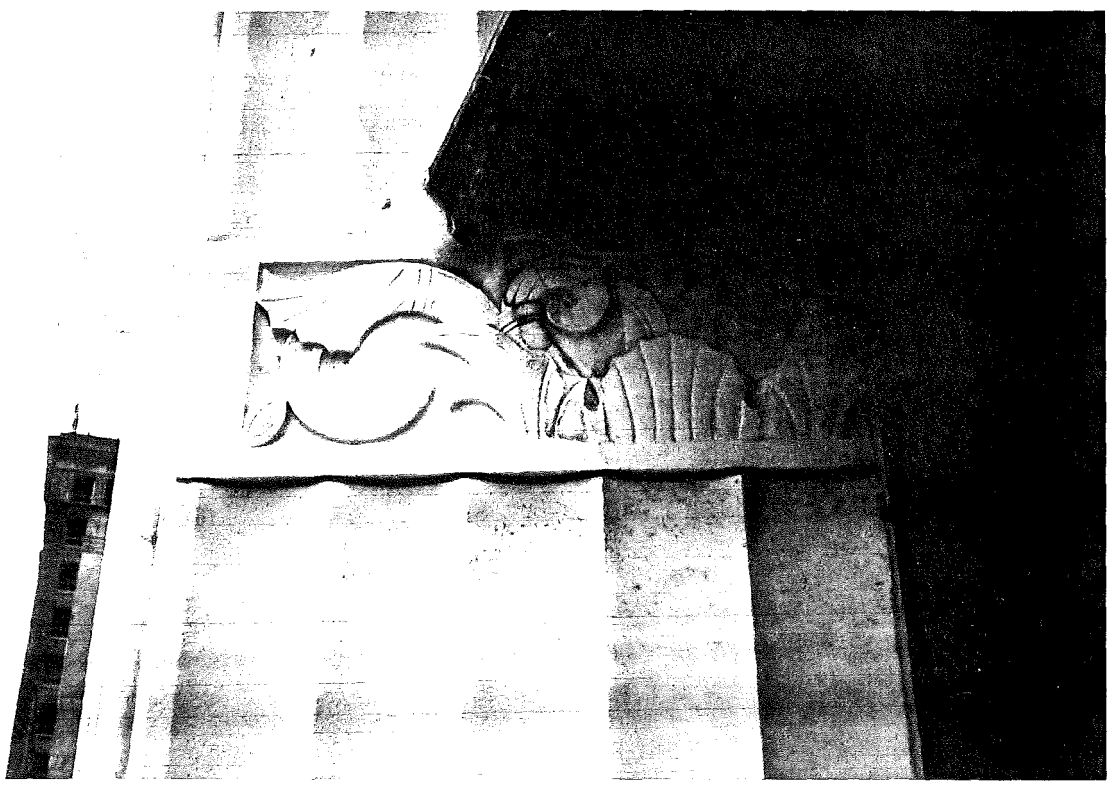
9. Federal Building, Chattanooga. View from the west. Photograph by author.



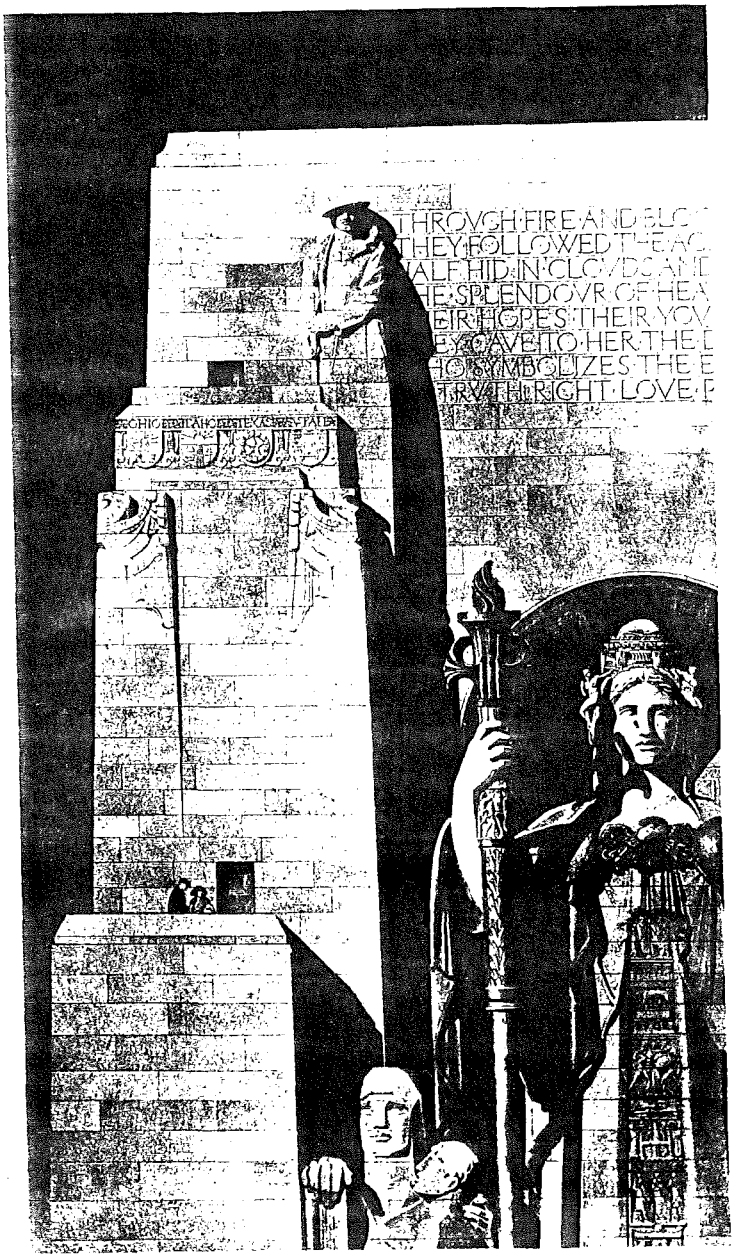

10. Contemporary plan of the Central Business District, Chattanooga, Tennessee. The Federal Building is indicated by poché. Chattanooga Historic Zoning Commission.

11. Federal Building, Chattanooga. South entry pavilion. Photograph by author.

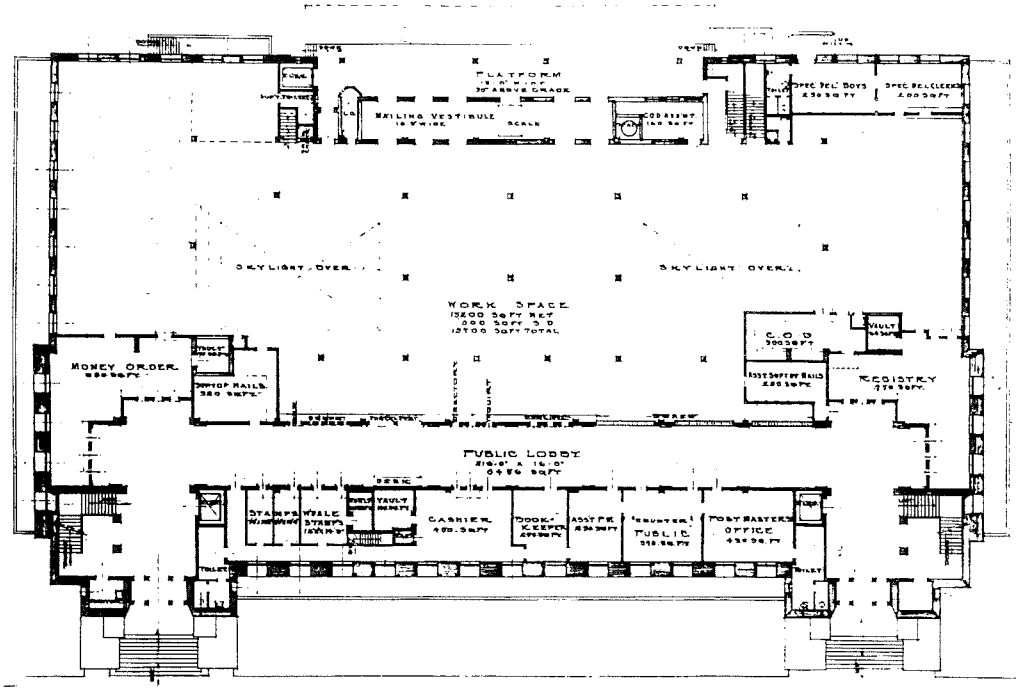
12. Federal Building, Chattanooga. View from the southwest. Photograph by author.



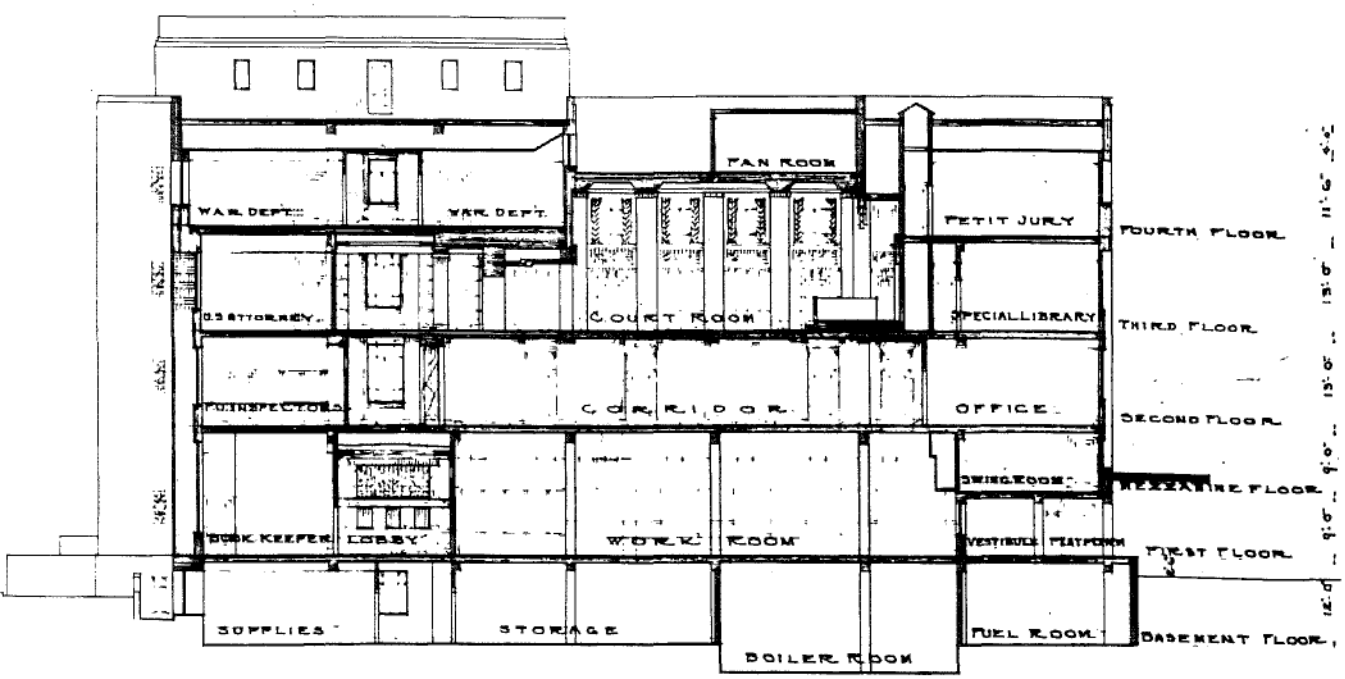
13. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Detail of south pavilion door jamb. Photograph by author.




14. Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue, Kansas City War Memorial competition. Charles Harris Whitaker, ed., *Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue - Architect and Master of Many Arts*, plate CCXXIX.

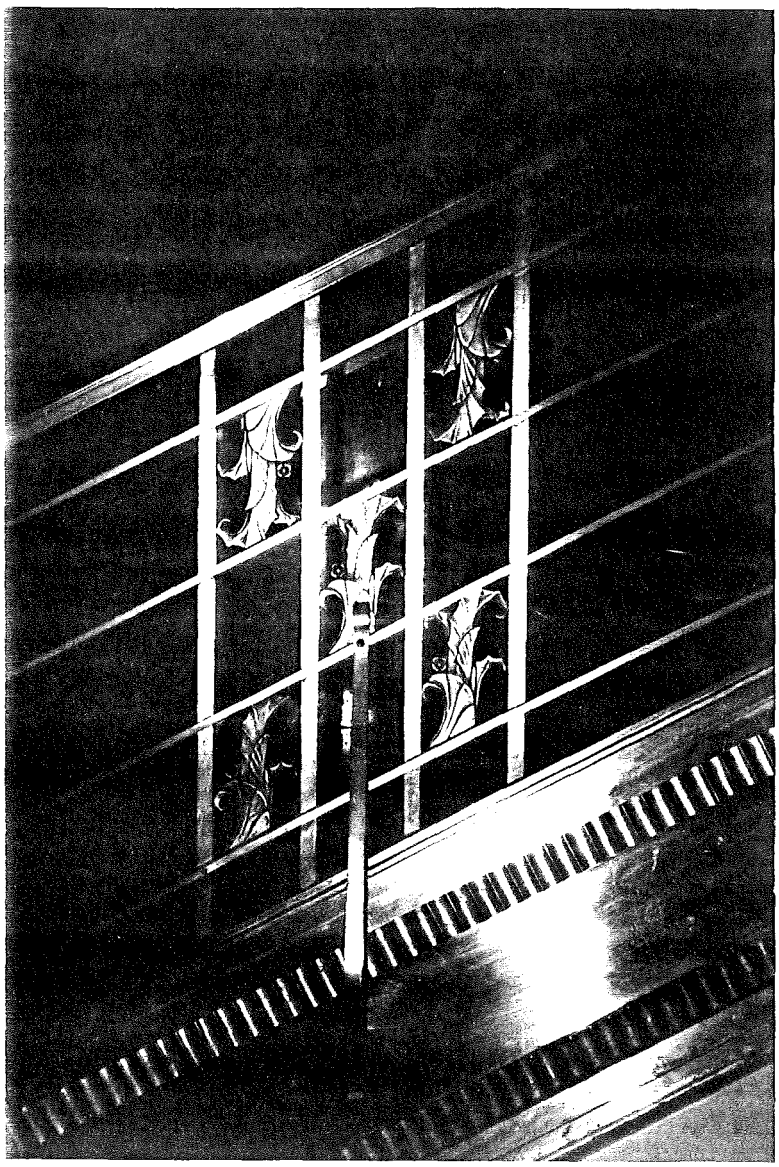



15. Federal Building, Chattanooga. First floor plan.
"U.S. Post Office and Courthouse, Chattanooga, Tenn.," *Architectural Record,* Dec. 1934, 433.

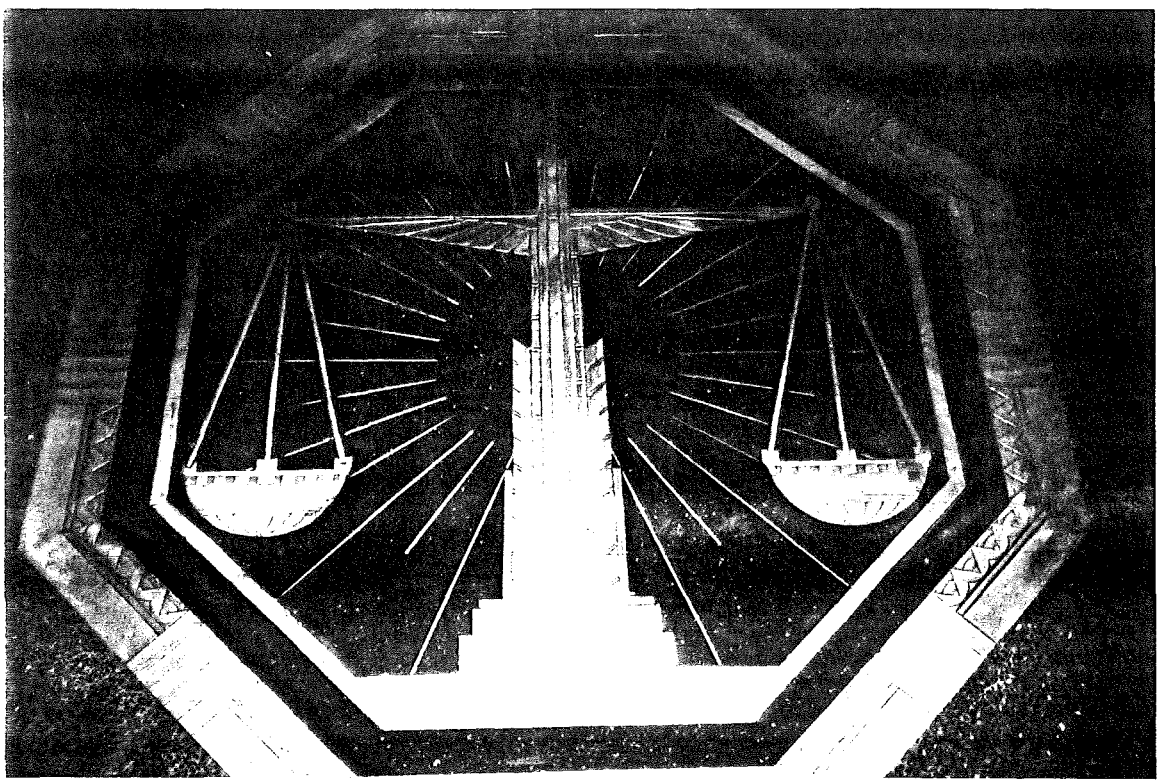



16. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Section.
"U.S. Post Office and Courthouse, Chattanooga, Tenn.," *Architectural Record,* Dec. 1934, 432.

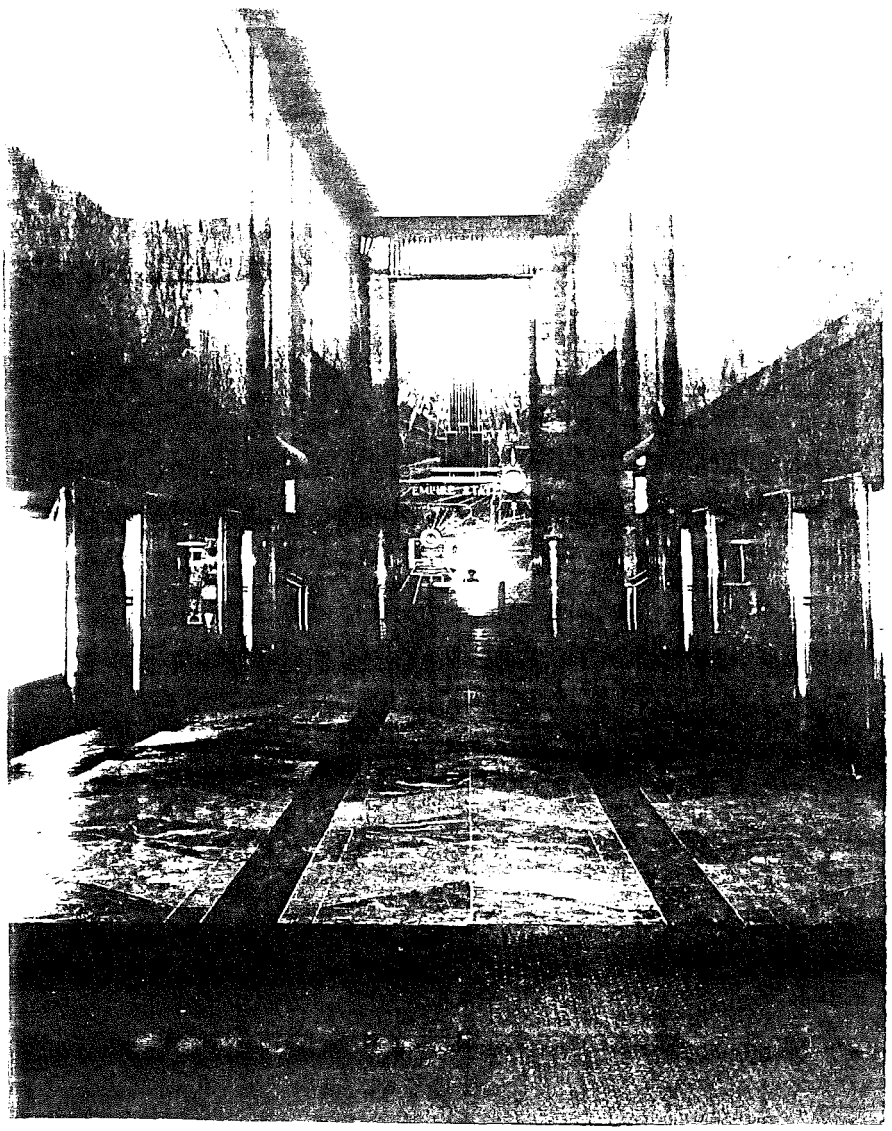

17. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Detail at elevator doors. Photograph by author.



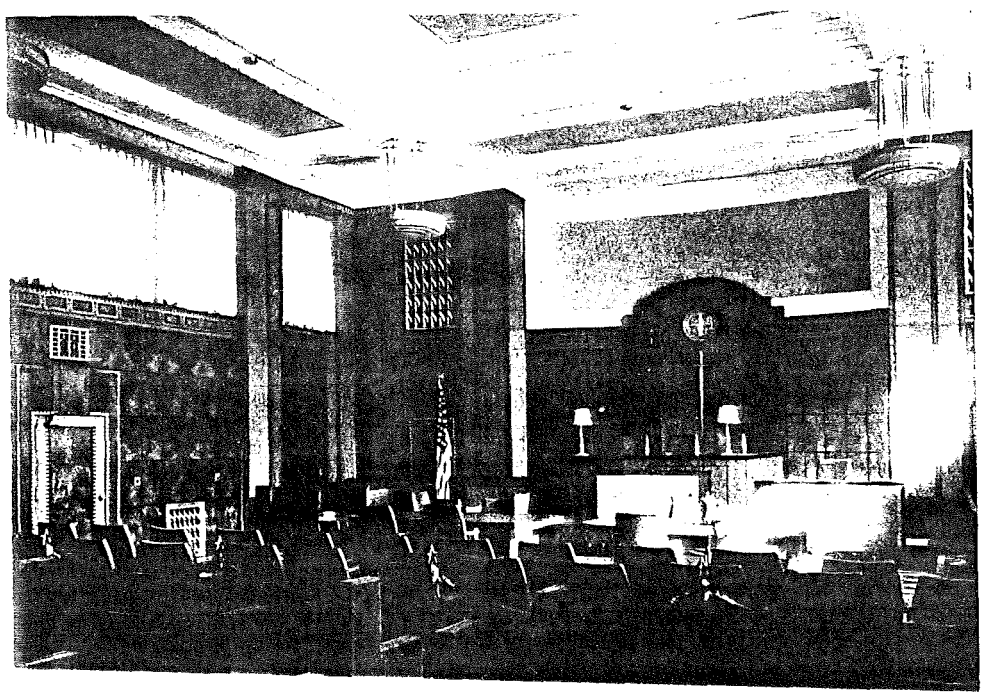
18. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Detail at south interior stair. Photograph by author.



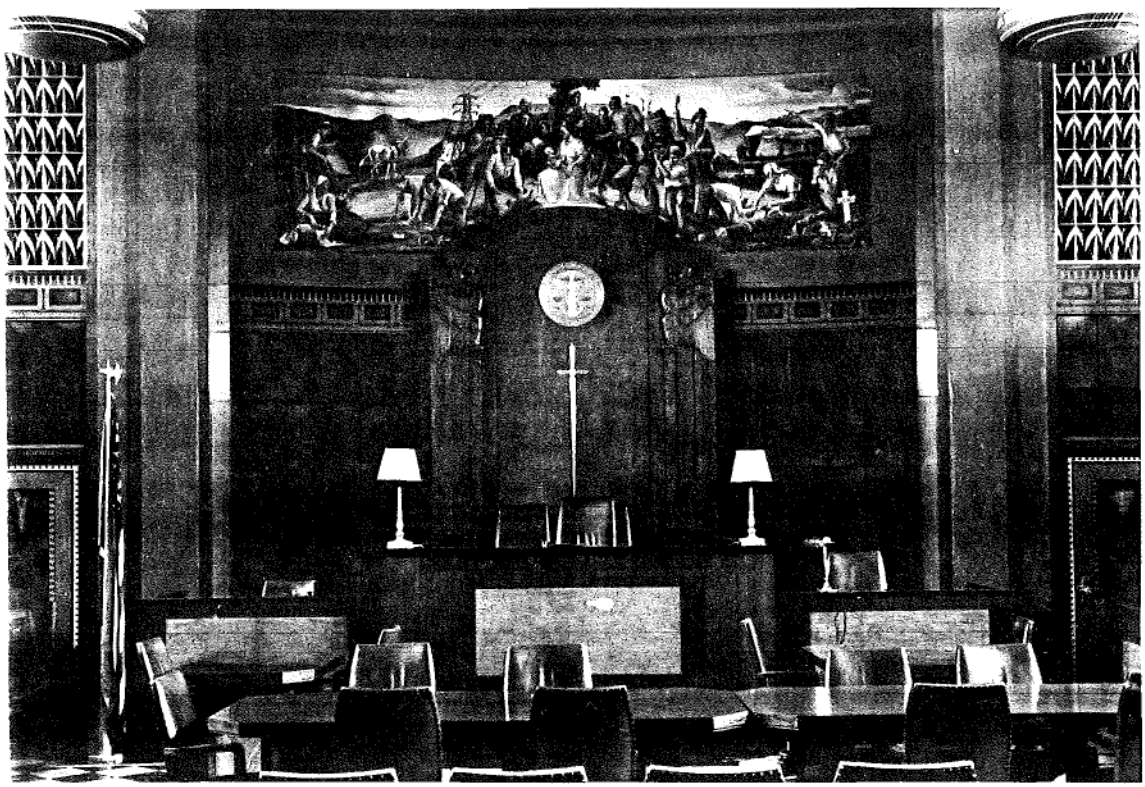
19. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Flooring at entry to third floor courtroom. Photograph by author.



20. The Empire State Building. First floor lobby. Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, architects.
Theodore James, Jr., *The Empire State Building*, 155.



21. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Courtroom at third floor. The photograph predates the installation of Hilton Leech's mural at the panel above and behind the judge's bench.
"U.S. Post Office and Courthouse, Chattanooga, Tenn.," *Architectural Record*. Dec. 1934. 434.

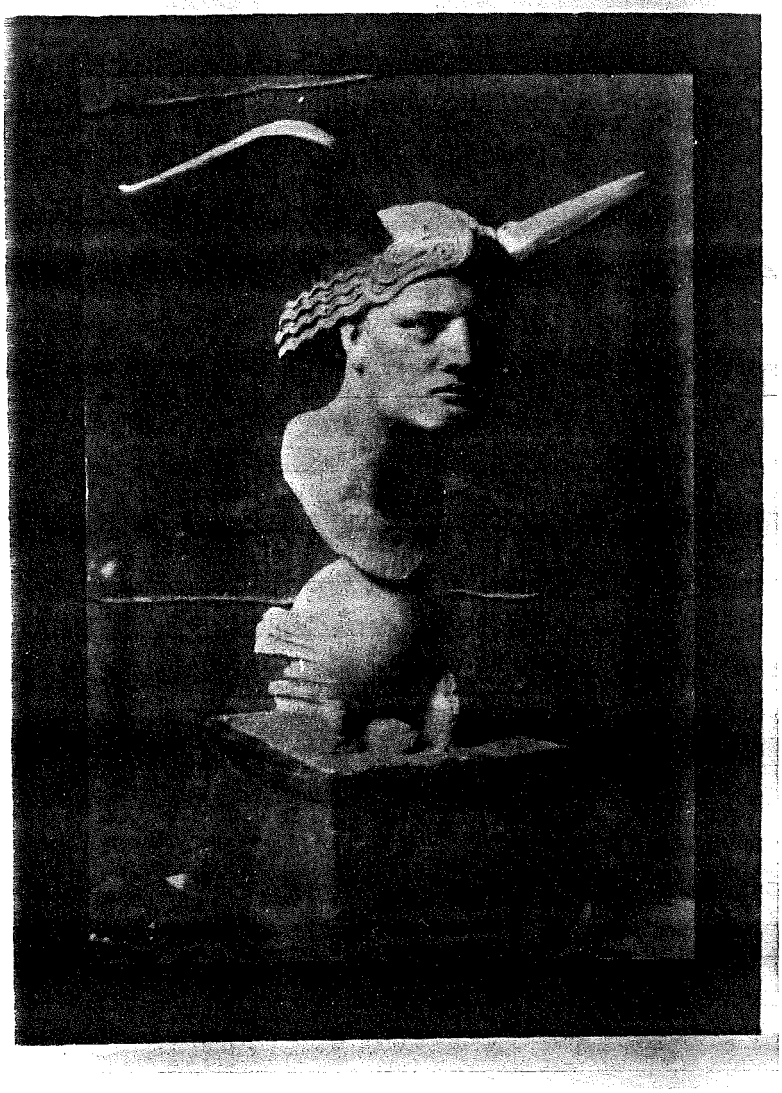


22. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Courtroom interior showing finishes, judge's bench and Leech's mural.
"Photographs of Paintings and Sculptures Commissioned by the Section of Fine Arts, 1934-43," RG 121-GA, Box 32, Still Pictures Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

23. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Detail at South entry. Photograph by author.


24. Lewis Rubenstein's "Cranberry Pickers" in the Wareham, Massachusetts, Post Office illustrates the Section style.
Marlene Park and Gerald E. Markowitz, *Democratic Vistas: Post Offices and Public Art in the New Deal,* 160.

25. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Two preliminary studies for Leech's courtroom mural.



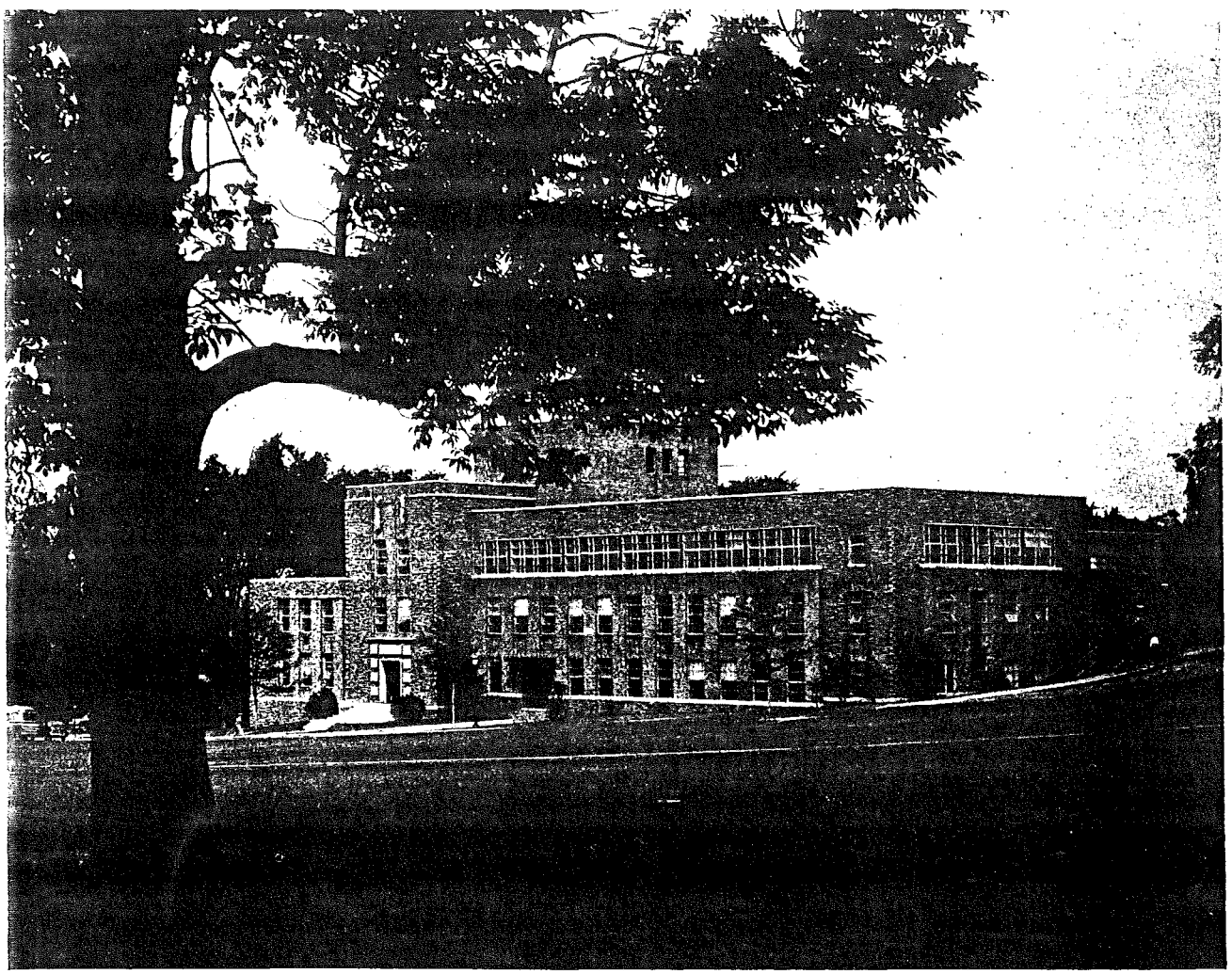
26. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Leopold Scholz's "symbolic head." "Photographs of Paintings and Sculptures Commissioned by the Section of Fine Arts, 1934-43," RG 121-GA, Box 47, Still Pictures Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

27. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Scholz's study for the proposed laborer. "Photographs of Paintings and Sculptures Commissioned by the Section of Fine Arts, 1934-43," RG 121-GA, Box 47, Still Pictures Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

28. Federal Building, Chattanooga. Scholz's mail carrier installed in the first floor lobby.
"Photographs of Paintings and Sculptures Commissioned by the Section of Fine Arts, 1934-43," RG 121-GA, Box 47, Still Pictures Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.


Photographs by Gottscho

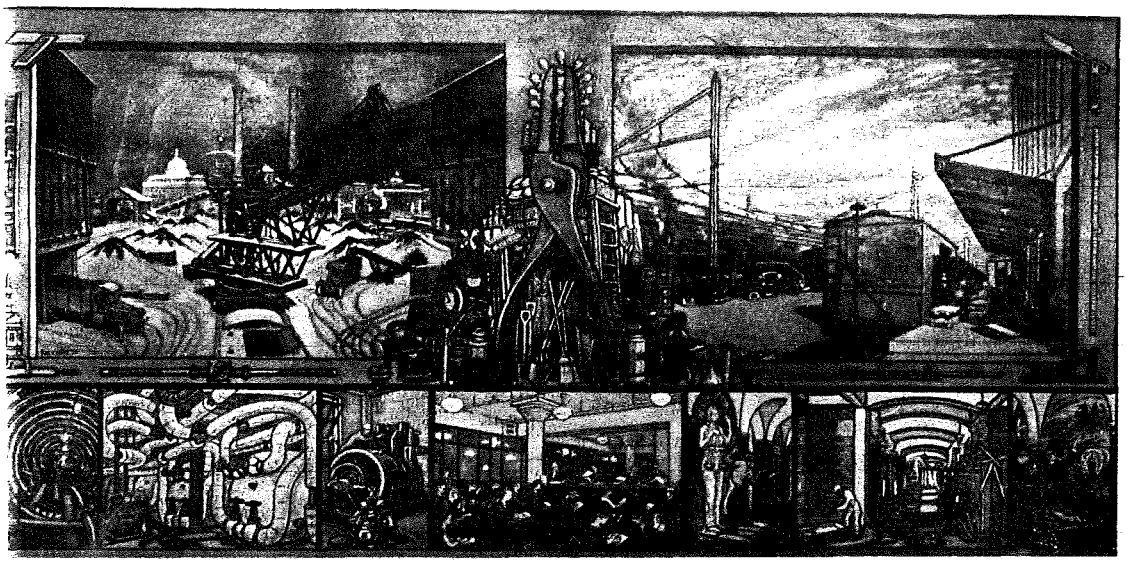
29. Connecticut College Auditorium, New London, Connecticut. Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, architects.
*Architectural Forum*, 72.3 (Mar. 1940): 157-160.



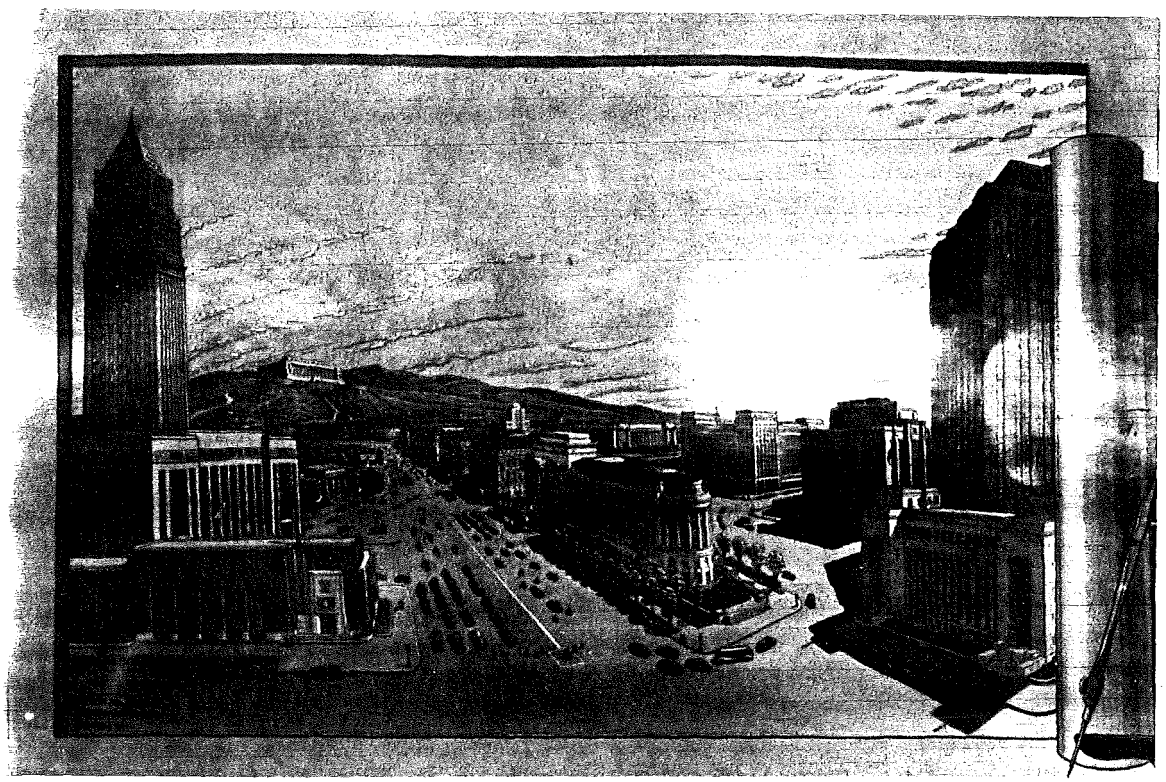
30. Olin Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York. Shreve, Lamb & Harmon, architects.
*Architectural Record* 96.2 (Aug. 1944): 66-73.

31. Polk County Courthouse, Benton, Tennessee. Facade from the southwest.
Photograph by author.

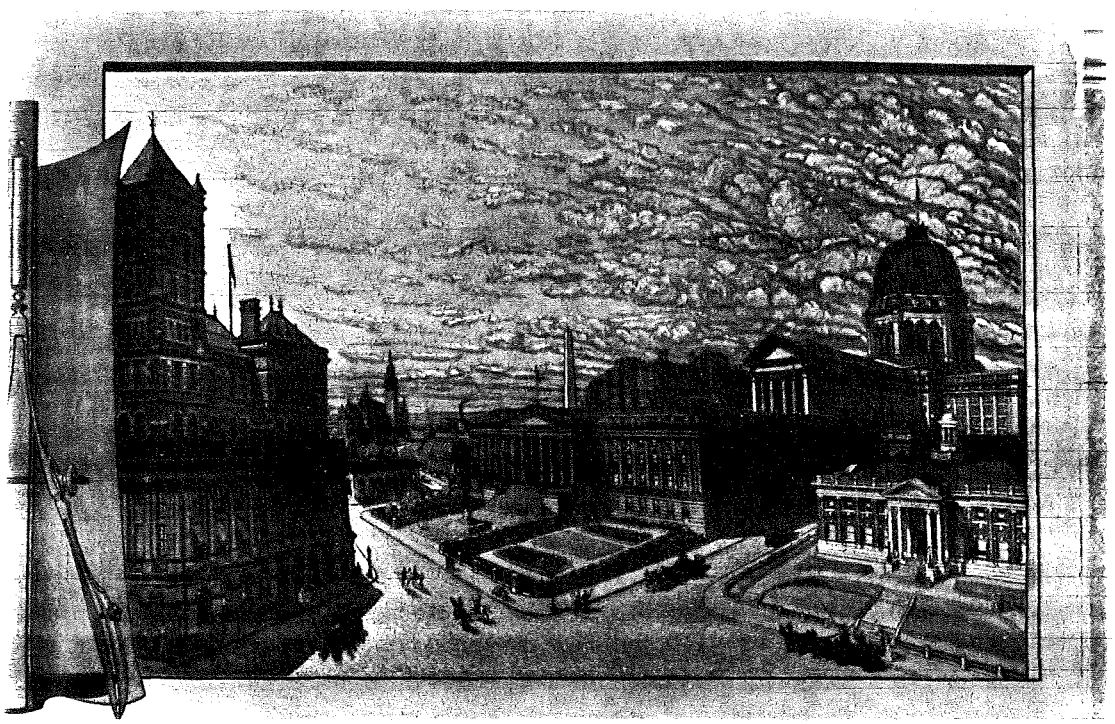
32. Polk County Courthouse, Benton, Tennessee. Detail at main entrance. Photograph by author.



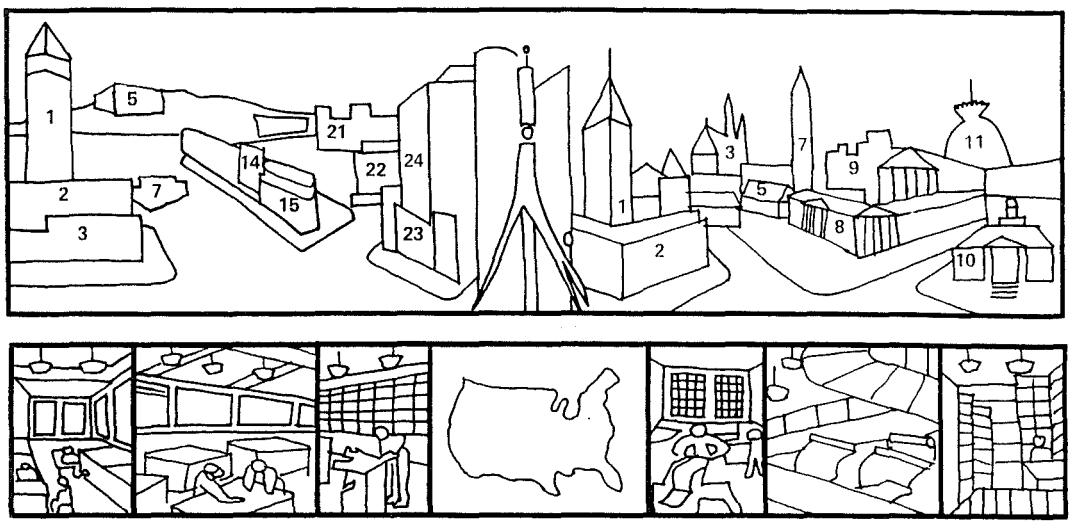
33. Procurement Building, Washington, D.C. Mural on the north wall of the lobby depicting the activities of the Supply Branch.
"Prints: Treasury Relief Act Project 1935-9," RG 121-TR, Box 7, Still Pictures Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.



34. Procurement Building, Washington, D.C. Left panel of the architectural section, located on the south wall of the lobby, illustrating recent Treasury projects.
"Prints: Treasury Relief Act Project 1935-9," RG 121-TR, Box 7, Still Pictures Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.



35. Procurement Building, Washington, D.C. Right panel of the architectural section, found on the south wall of the lobby, illustrating historic Treasury projects.
"Prints: Treasury Relief Act Project 1935-9." RG 121-TR, Box 7, Still Pictures Branch, National Archives, Washington, D.C.




**South Wall**

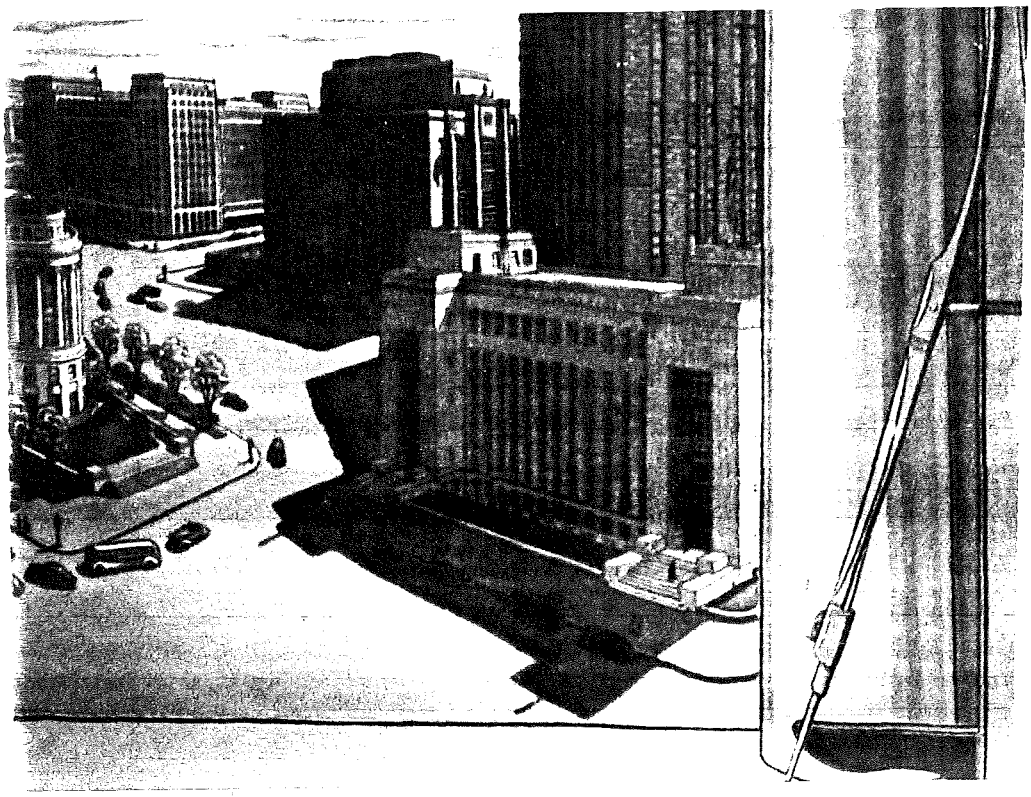
36. Diagram of Weston's mural for the Procurement Building south wall. Projects included in the recent construction are:

1. Court House (tower), New York, NY
2. Post Office, Court House and Custom House, Albany, NY
3. Roseland Substation Post Office, Chicago, IL
5. Mint, San Francisco, CA
7. Post Office, Dover, NJ
14. National Archives, Washington, D.C.
15. Federal Trade Commission, Washington, D.C.
21. Post Office, Chicago, IL
22. Central Heating Plant, Washington, D.C.
23. Post Office and Court House, Chattanooga, TN
24. Court House, Boston, MA

Older "Treasury" construction projects include:

1. Post Office and Court House, Williamsport, PA
2. Post Office, Portland, ME
3. Post Office, Patterson, NJ
5. First Post Office, New York, NY
7. Washington Monument, Washington, D.C.
8. Treasury Department, Washington, D.C.
9. Executive Office Building (Old State, War and Navy Building), Washington, D.C.
10. Post Office, Marietta, OH
11. Old Post Office and Court House, Chicago, IL

*The Murals of Harold Weston,* n. pag.



37. Procurement Building, Washington, D.C. Detail of mural at south wall of lobby showing the Federal Building, Chattanooga.
"Prints: Treasury Relief Act Project 1935-9." RG 121-TR. Box 7. Still Pictures Branch. National Archives. Washington. D.C.

38. Procurement Building, Washington. D.C. Detail of mural at north wall of lobby. Predella with Weston's self-portrait.
"Prints: Treasury Relief Act Project 1935-9." RG 121-TR, Box 7. Still Pictures Branch. National Archives, Washington. D.C.