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CONTEMPORARY JUSTICE AND MAN



GOVERNMENT IN
art

VOLUME TWO
NUMBER FOUR

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ARTS IN SOCIETY is dedicated to the augmenting of the arts in society and to the advancement of education in the arts, particularly in the field of adult education. These publications are to be of interest, therefore, both to professionals and the lay public. ARTS IN SOCIETY exists to discuss, interpret, and illustrate the various functions of the arts in contemporary society. Its purpose is to present the insights of experience, research and theory in support of the educational and organizational efforts made to enrich and invigorate the arts in America. In general, four areas are dealt with: the teaching and learning of the arts; aesthetics and philosophy; social analysis; and significant examples of creative expression in media which may be served by the printing process.

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ARTS IN SOCIETY

GOVERNMENT IN ART

Common Sense about Citizen Support for

Arts and Culture	Charles Mark	4
Subsidization of the Arts	Arthur Gelber	12
Symposium: Relationship of Government to the Arts		24

Comments by:

Paul Goodman	
Ralph Bellamy	
Lloyd Goodrich	
Terry Sanford	
Howard Lindsay	
Rusell Lynes	
Leo Perlis	
Herman Kenin	
Jacob Javits	
J. Fenton McKenna	
Horace W. Kallen	
Jacques Jaujard	

Role of the Arts in the Department of State Cultural

Relations Program	James Donovan Jr.	40
The Paradox of American Culture	Frank Thompson, Jr.	46
New Deal's Treasury Art Programs—A Memoir	Olin Dows	50
New York State Council on the Arts—The First Three Years	John H. McFayden	89
The Arts and the National Government: Report to the President Submitted by August Heckscher, Special Consultant on the Arts		94
Comment on the Heckscher Report	Herbert Blau	114
Censorship in the Arts	Gerald MacCallum	116
Seeing for Ourselves	Martin S. Dworkin	138

BOOK REVIEW

Notes on the Decline of Culture in America	Warren Bower	145
--	--------------	-----

Against the American Grain, by Dwight Macdonald

The Image, or What Happened to the American Dream,

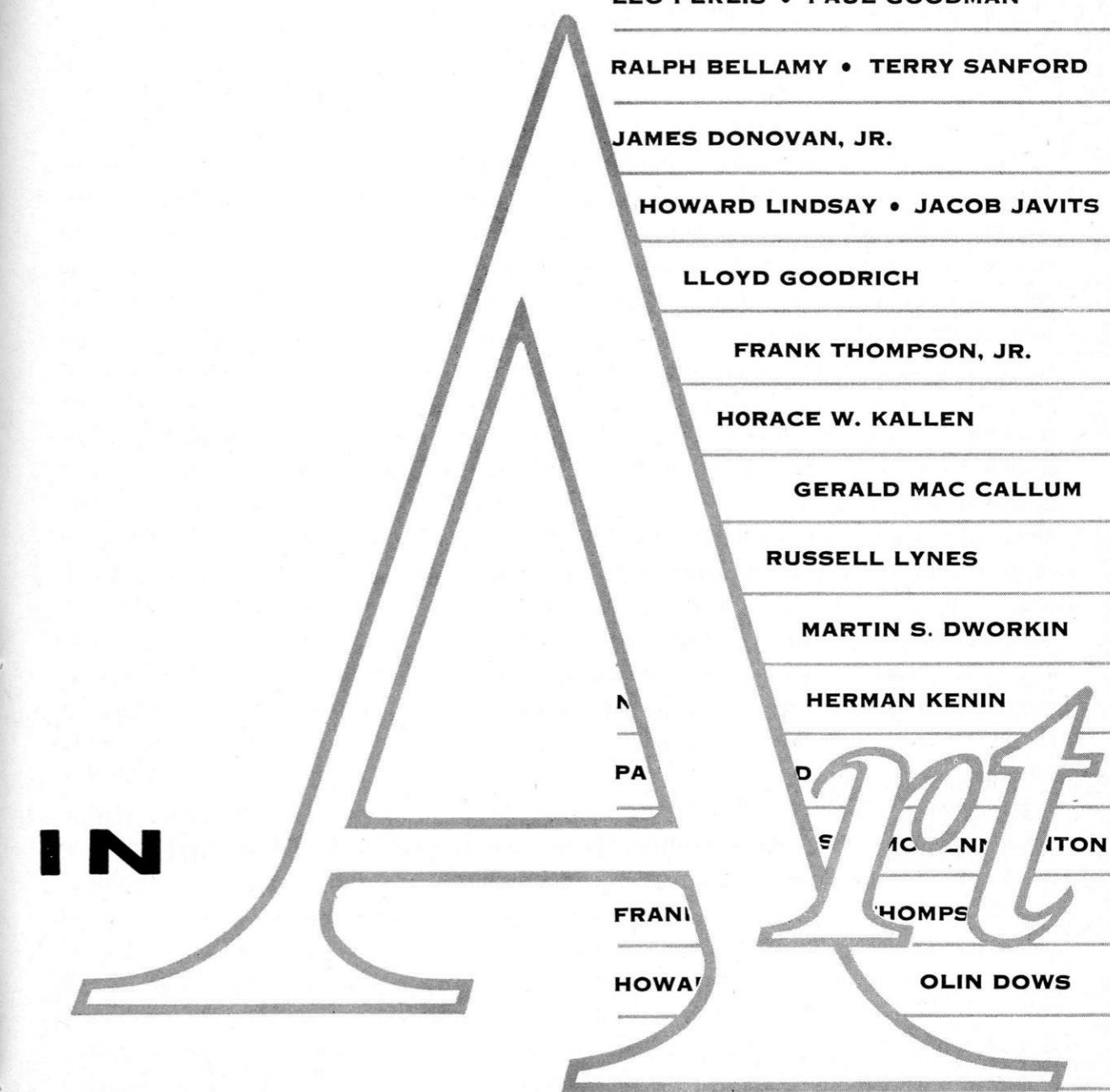
by Daniel J. Boorstin

The Public Happiness, by August Heckscher

NOTES AND DISCUSSION

Pattern and Innovation	Freida Goldman	153
The Arts and Education in a Free Society	J. Martin Klotsche	154
Report on Emmett Sarig's "Subsidization of Music in Eight European Countries"		160
Report on Inventory of Artistic Institutions in the State of Florida		163
Bibliography	Irving Kreutz	165
The Contributors		166
Future Issues		172
		175

GOVERNMENT IN



ARTHUR GELBER • CHARLES MARK

J. FENTON MC KENNA

LEO PERLIS • PAUL GOODMAN

RALPH BELLAMY • TERRY SANFORD

JAMES DONOVAN, JR.

HOWARD LINDSAY • JACOB JAVITS

LLOYD GOODRICH

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OLIN DOWS

JACQUES JAUJARD

JOHN H. MAC FADYEN

HERBERT BLAU • WARREN BOWER

J. MARTIN KLOTSCHE

FREDA GOLDMAN

This issue of *Arts in Society* explores a social problem that concerns all people who aspire to the conditions of a good life, including the benefits of free and vigorous artistic expression, and who at the same time are dedicated to a form of government whose sovereignty depends upon the will of the governed. In practice, where ideals tend to be compromised in favor of political expediency, the pursuit of the commonweal must take place within an arena where common problems are usually solved by the clash of power wielded by various pressure groups. In the face of the pressures exerted by groups united by an economic, political, or religious purpose, the artistic forces of our society have often dissipated into hopeless inefficacy. Thus frustrated in their attempt to embody aesthetic purposes in the structures of social custom, the proponents of art for the sake of the good life in American society have increasingly appealed directly to government for a fairer distribution of public monies to be dispensed in the achievement of common aesthetic goals. Can the government perform this role, without denying the freedom and individuality of artistic expression? And if so, how should this role be defined, when at present it is largely being fulfilled, however inadequately, by other social agencies: the philanthropic foundations, private corporations, and educational institutions? In an effort to give an answer to these perplexing questions, we present a series of articles outlining the manner in which government has functioned in the past, and to some extent—a mixture of futility and small scale successes—of what the federal and state governments are doing in the present.

Olin Dows, himself an administrator of some of the New Deal's art programs, gives a memoir, personal, warm and informative, of one administration's attempt to keep art alive in the midst of general economic collapse. The experiments of the thirties may yet constitute a precedent; they stemmed from the government's natural concern with public buildings and national relief, and show how government can promote public aesthetic ends. Today's picture on the national scene is projected by James Donovan, Jr., speaking for the State Department's role in the same cause. The international aspect of our cultural relations program is normally that Department's province, and many citizens have experienced some concern for the nature of the "culture" being purveyed in its cultural program. Likewise, the late President attempted

to establish a White House consultant's function to assess the progress art has made in American society. August Heckscher, the first Special Consultant on the Arts, gave his report in 1963; we publish it here, with a comment by Herbert Blau, Co-director of the San Francisco Actors Workshop.

On the state level, where the successes are still small, but tangible, and the sense of futility somewhat removed by functioning statewide programs, the picture becomes a little brighter. John H. MacFadyen, Executive Director of the New York State Council on the Arts, reports on his state's program, which already has shown signs of becoming a prototype of the states' involvement in the arts.

Two opposing views on the best way of financing the arts in the general society were brought into focus at the Wingspread National Conference on the Arts.* Both are realistic evaluations of the present situation—in Canada and the United States. Arthur Gelber, President of the Canada Council, and Charles Mark, Director of the Spirit of St. Louis Fund, argue for government subsidy and for private citizen support respectively. In order to amplify this meeting of minds, in which the perceptive reader will see the work of liberalism and conservatism in matters of public finance, we have asked a distinguished panel of leaders in American art and art education to comment on the issue in question: *What should be the role of the government in the arts?*

To illustrate the point, finally, that the government has always influenced the institutions of art, judicially if not executively or administratively, wherever censorship prevails, we present the thoughtful analysis of the basic questions surrounding the mechanics of censorship by Professor Gerald MacCallum, a philosophical specialist in constitutional law.

In sum, it appears to us that virtually all governments of the past have had some influence on the arts and most governments of the present are committed to the principle of subsidy of the arts as the most obvious method of making them a part of the life of the people. It behooves us, therefore, to find the most imaginative way to support artistic and aesthetic ends as a part of our national purpose. The stakes are much too important to allow either ignorance or inertia to forestall the united and energetic pursuit of this aim.

* See *Arts in Society, Vol. 2, Number 2.*

common sense about citizen support for arts and culture*

The immediate state of the arts in this country is such that their future is much debated and prophesied. Never before in our history have the arts occupied so large a share of public attention. During the last Congress, over one billion dollars in legislation was introduced to aid and develop failing arts enterprises. Column inches printed in the past few years on the support of the arts have exceeded the output of the previous one hundred years. Many ideas are expressed, many solutions proposed, but no general agreement is ever reached because the facts presented are incomplete and prejudiced. No one actively working for the support of all the arts as a daily occupation has publicly

BY CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MARK

"BACK HOME" MURAL

IN PLEASANT HILL, MISSOURI

POST OFFICE BY TOM LEA

* This essay was prepared as a working paper for the Wingspread National Conference on the Arts, sponsored by the University of Wisconsin and the Johnson Foundation, June 8-10, 1962. Most of the other papers and talks of the Wingspread Conference were printed in the Fall-Winter 1962 issue of ARTS IN SOCIETY.



COMMON SENSE ABOUT CITIZEN SUPPORT FOR ARTS AND CULTURE

examined the situation; no one immediately concerned with securing support has committed himself to a solution.

Perhaps the beginning to such an examination must start with a general agreement concerning the immediate problems facing the arts in America. Everyone can agree that the arts are in a state of financial crisis. There has been a fading of affluent patrons who are capable of underwriting huge deficits without requiring others to share the responsibility. Income taxes, inheritance taxes, and other philanthropic demands have decreased the size of annual patron gifts to the point where five thousand dollars represents the largest of the large. Corporations, which have stepped into other areas of philanthropy when the private gift has disappeared, have not been educated until fairly recently to the benefits of cultural giving. Agreement can also be accepted on the fact that rising costs of production have appeared to compound the problem of support. However, since support and costs are the main theme of this discussion, we will return later for elaboration. What other areas of agreement can be found?

Everyone can agree that the arts are attempting to meet a growing demand for services. We are constantly faced with statistics about concerts outdrawing baseball annually, classical record sales totalling over forty million dollars per year, more and more people painting, playing instruments, and buying books. Perhaps it is sufficient to quote the conclusions of a recent Ford Foundation study:

"It is obvious that although the problems of financial support for the arts are troublesome, the magnitude of public interest in many of the arts is striking. Perhaps the most frustrating experience of many administrators and directors today is their inability to find money with which to satisfy a growing popular interest in their institutions."

Whether we agree on all the reasons why the arts are popular now or not, is not germane, but it is important that some of them be mentioned. The state of world affairs has been credited as responsible; people are interested in activities which transcend politics and governments. The new educated classes have increased audiences, say others; education leads to arts interest. Interest in the arts today is a natural development of our society which actually started in the Twenties, but was put aside during the Thirties and the war and has now continued, say still others. Or another thought is that new found leisure time has led to this interest and it will increase as automation increases. And finally, the loss of parochialism through international contact and population mobility has created interest.

There are other reasons, other causes for the booming business of arts and culture, but the important aspect is not what has caused the excitement so much as what is being done about it, and the depth of it. In all of the thoughts on the subjects, no one has suggested it is a temporary phenomena. Every student has seen the present condition as the beginning of a trend which will multiply itself off the top of all existing charts.

However comforting thoughts of the future might be to the artists in their struggle, they are of little comfort to the administration struggling with today's receipts and deficits. To continue with findings of the Ford Foundation: "The most threatening element of the problem of financial support for the arts may be the time lag between the growth of such popular interest and the willingness of people to bear the cost of what they are coming to like." This is a true statement in every sense, but even recognition of this situation has not prompted most arts organizations to take any precise action. For the most part, arts enterprises have remained under the governing hands of the affluent who no longer provide all the necessary funds. These people represent a sort of nouveau poor class which is struggling to retain control of an activity they are no longer entitled to. They roughly parallel their grandfathers who struggled to keep control of health and welfare agencies forty years ago. In many places they are fighting a delaying battle of inactivity; they are waiting for the miracle which cannot happen. Where the boards of directors have recognized their impotency, they have not usually been effective in new approaches to the financial questions because they lack proper understanding of social forces. In many cases, the present boards are incapable of the kind of work necessary to reconstitute their favorite cultural philanthropy and secure wider support.

Outside the boxes of the diamond horseshoe sit the cultural nouveau riche. The middle-income educated families have learned to enjoy the benefits of the arts and have budgeted tickets and babysitters to allow for the enjoyment of them. This is the group that is swelling the audience, and upon which the arts will depend increasingly in the future. As an example of the interest in art among this group, consider the following. Recently, a major industry issued transfers to one thousand of its employees in an effort to concentrate research and administration in the metropolitan city of its home plant. Out of these one thousand families, two hundred took the time to write the director of the art museum in the home plant city and inquire about the cultural opportunities there. Whether or not acceptance of the transfer depended upon the museum director's answer, only the inquirers can answer, but the value placed on culture by young executives, scientists, and other technical personnel is a new and important consideration. However, this new group of arts patrons have not seen beyond the ticket and babysitter costs; they are unwilling to accept the fact that what they enjoy requires more than ticket sales if it is to remain vigorous.

And quite aside from the inabilities of the tradition-bound to face reality and the newly-interested to accept responsibility for the deficits, the arts have a number of problems which they have created for themselves and continue to compound. The arts have been wasteful. The bountiful tradition of single patronage and the American peculiarity of idolatry of the talented has allowed budgets to become mere statements of losses. Organizations which are in dire straits have continued to carry unnecessary personnel, continued frills and luxuries, and ignored the gaping hole of bankruptcy toward which they were marching. Since no one is responsible, no one conscientiously reviews the budget. This is a carryover from the days when a single call upon an affluent patron erased all trace of deficit for the year. Today, the artistic directors are loath to face the fact that boom has faded and a depression is upon them.

The arts are also guilty of exclusiveness and competitiveness. Natural areas of cooperation between performing groups are ignored. Though these organizations are competing for essentially the same audience, they often refuse to exchange mailing lists, give employment to artists under contract through exchange of services, or even schedule performances to avoid conflict. This is sheer perverseness and dull stupidity.

Many of these ills are traceable to lack of leadership among the professional administrators. There are some excellent administrators in the arts, men of dedication who have tenaciously learned their profession, and quietly worked to keep pace with the changing times. However, these people are in the minority. The state of mind of the typical administrator today is one of confusion and frustration; he wants better use of his program in the community and more secure financial support, but he has no idea how to attack the problem. However, ultimate responsibility for the situation must rest with the boards of directors. They have not seen the manager's role as one of leadership, and until the last two years have not provided salaries large enough to attract qualified people. The rising salary scale seems to indicate that governing boards now consider the manager's position more vital to their progress, but in many organizations this is a case of calling on a psychiatrist after the fortune teller has failed and the psychosis is imminent.

Perhaps the last aspect bearing on the state of the arts today which requires mentioning here is the harm done by their dearest friends. It is difficult to believe that anyone has a natural animosity toward the arts. On the contrary, we are constantly reminded that all children have a natural affinity for creative expression. The question is how such creatures of expression grow up to hold towering prejudices. They don't learn it in school, or from their playmates. This pride of prejudice they learn later in life, or earlier and continuously from their parents. But wherever they learn it, it is constantly reinforced by the prissy-lipped snobbishness of so-called art lovers. They often delight in their superiority, discourage questions, and imply by their actions that theirs is a secret cult of sensitivity. This sort of phoniness serves no one's good aims and makes the job of selling truth more difficult for managers and directors. It is simply true that art is *in* everyone and *for* everyone, and no one who understands the arts would imply they have special anointment.

To summarize, it has been asserted that there is a growing interest in the arts which is only beginning, but that the control of art remains in the hands of the fading affluent, while the newly cultured middle-income families have not accepted the responsibility for support. Further, the arts have been guilty of exclusiveness, competitiveness, snobbishness, and arts management has not been a strong force in changing the tide or times. Now if a general agreement exists that the state of the arts is more or less accurately described here, to a greater or lesser degree, then it is in order to proceed to possible solutions.

Accepting these premises, and looking toward a solution, one is inevitably faced with two choices: broader and deeper private support, or government subsidy or encouragement. By government subsidy here is meant state, or federal support, and not city or county. Local government support has many of the same problems of state and federal; however, there persists in this country a belief that local government is controllable, reversible, and to some extent in the fabric of the society so that it is more and less than government at the same time.

As for federal support, let us define what is meant by this. The legislation introduced, and all the vague plans proposed thus far, stress that federal aid would not replace private support but merely augment what is now being done.

Assuming that the foregoing problems embracing the arts are in some degree actual, the following questions require an answer: Would federal aid help reconstitute the boards of directors of arts organizations which have allowed the present difficulties to arise, or would it reinforce the static situation? Would federal aid encourage the newly cultured to find room in their philanthropic budgets for gifts to arts enterprises? Would it break down or reinforce snobbishness? Would it encourage academic programs for better trained executives and managers for the arts? And lastly, how is federal aid to be administered? What criteria are to be used? The answers are too obvious to require discussion.

In turning to the other alternative, that of broader and deeper private support, it must first be determined how broad and deep present support is. Recently, a study was conducted in a metropolitan city of over 2,000,000 population at the request of interested civic and business leaders. The study was confined to the five major cultural campaigns conducted each year, and particular emphasis was placed on corporation participation. The findings were as follows: 1. Of the 100 largest corporations, not one contributed to all five major campaigns; 2. Seventeen of these corporations contributed to no cultural campaign; 3. Only sixteen supported four of the five; 4. In total, less than 6,000 firms and individuals were responsible for all cultural giving in the community, the sum total of which was more than \$5,000,000 per year. This is not broad or deep support, but the significant fact is that very few firms and individuals had ever been asked to give. When the study was reported to the sponsoring group, a general furore resulted. They were incensed that the cultural enterprises of the city were not uniformly the responsibility of all the corporations. The final result was the adoption of a plan for the formation of a federated organization to campaign annually for all the arts, and a new enlightened interest in culture among the general leadership of the community was born.

This experience is typical of what has happened in forty or fifty other cities over the last ten years. Whenever the chronic depression of financial support of the arts has reached an acute stage, and when someone has managed to illustrate to the general community leadership the economic, social, and civic benefits of cultural programs, the result has been new interest and a plan for federation in some form. The problem is that there have been too few people capable of pointing out the value of the arts. This brings us to the real heart of the controversy between federal support and private support. The position taken here is not unalterably opposed to federal aid for the arts. The position here is that this is not the time for such aid. The arts are suffering from a transitional depression, due to the loss of an affluent oligarchy. If it were not for the growing mass interest in culture, the solution might very well be federal support. However, since the arts face not only fading oligarchical patronage, but also numerous and large demands for service, the introduction of federal aid, or any external source of income, would only freeze the transition and allow the sins of waste, inefficiency, snobbishness, and competitiveness to become the status quo. In other words, the arts today are like a family which has gradually lost all its money. If at the point when their mendicancy becomes acute, an external source supplies a reasonable amount of funds on the proviso they earn an additional portion, is the family likely to know what to do? They have become accustomed to luxurious ways, they have lived almost entirely for themselves, how can they change?

It would be almost immoral for the federal government to help the arts when the arts have done so little to help themselves. And this is true not only in a monetary sense, but more importantly, in a program sense. Many of our leading cultural institutions have not bestirred themselves to bring the arts to the people; they have contented themselves with serving their patrician masters. How can federal aid help democratize the arts short

of elaborate and stringent bureaucratic methods? How would it cause communities to reinstate the arts in their rightful place in the social fabric?

The alternate method of broader private support goes deeper than increasing the number of annual contributors. Wherever the federation of the arts has taken place an evolutionary change has followed. The scrutiny of an objective citizen budget committee is difficult to weather where there is inefficiency. Sooner or later the relationship between service and dollars, and the interdependency of enterprises begins to create pressures upon the agencies to serve more people at less cost. The agencies become accountable to the entire community, and the community begins to make demands for new services. In federated cities this exchange of programs for dollars has led to the establishment of in-school concerts by symphony orchestras, educational tours in museums, and new programs of children's theatre. In some cases, these programs have been instituted by the men who care little for culture but who realize its civic value and the necessity for broad programs if the campaign is to be successful. In other cases, new programs were begun after years of dreaming because the central fund raising and planning body supplies impetus in the form of funds and community pressures.

What form of private planning, coordination, and fund raising is this? The generic term, recognized by over sixty cities, is arts council. An arts council is a federation of community effort for the betterment of the arts. In some communities the arts council takes the form of a social action group, working for better services. In others, its function is primarily coordinative, providing a clearinghouse for dates, publicity, and artistic programs. In still other cities, housing, clerical services, and festivals occupy the main effort. And in a growing number of communities, the arts council helps plan, provides services, raises funds through a federated campaign, gives management counsel, and in general, serves as a Chamber of Commerce, Community Chest, and Welfare Council for all the arts.

Certainly arts councils are not a perfect solution. They are subject to inherent dangers as much as any method of attempting to bring order to a human enterprise. Their detractors will say that arts councils tend to dictate to the arts agencies, steal away their sovereignty, that they control through the budget committee. To some extent this must be true or there would be no purpose in the budgeting process. However, without exception, but with only nine cities as test cases, the arts organizations have had more money at their disposal under federation than ever before in their history. Yes, say the detractors, they perhaps have more money, but arts councils can interfere with artistic programs. True, they can. However, an arts council is seldom, if ever, concerned about a particular work of art; rather it is concerned about artistic programs in general. But interference is possible in the same way that governments can become corrupt, or police departments dishonest; it is a responsibility to see that they do not. Checks and balances can be built into the organizational structure of a council as they are in government.

Perhaps the most valid objection to the arts council method is the possibility that individuals will lose interest in their particular organization through a lack of required personal sacrifice. This problem has been in evidence in the community chest movement to some extent as well as arts councils. The only answer is that people enjoy personal sacrifice only when there is some satisfaction of accomplishment. Sacrifice of time and effort is not removed from organizations joining in a federation; only the arduous tasks of fund raising, clerical, and managerial services are lightened. Anyone devoted to these kinds of self-sacrifice needs only to make their wishes known and they will be put to work.

But the detractors and advocates of the arts council method will argue the details of it probably for as long as others have argued about federated government, and this is hardly the issue. The important point is that the arts council method offers an obvious solution to all problems facing the arts today, while federal aid offers only sudden money. Arts councils provide the machinery for organization which is sadly lacking, and an opportunity to develop programs through this democratic machine. It allows for the concentration of community power and pressure upon a community issue. It brings about a conservation of time, effort, and money to accomplish more than under the separate banners of autonomy. It provides for an annual community-wide vote of confidence or lack of confidence through a single campaign. It instills in the arts agencies a sense of public responsibility and it creates a public interest in the problems of the arts. In a sense, an arts council is doorman to the ivory tower, the forum where civic responsibility meets artistic integrity.

And when all cities and regions have bestirred themselves to create these effective but complex democratic councils, and when the councils have dealt with all the current indolence, waste, and apathy in the arts organizations, and when these councils have exhausted every possible avenue of support for broad and popular programs, and they are faced with an inexorable financial and program ceiling, then federal aid is a reasonable possibility. Until that day, let us all begin to work.

subsidization of the arts*

BY ARTHUR GELBER

May I begin by stating one or two propositions of a fundamental nature, which I believe to be true, for without our agreement on these our arguments will be profitless. The first is that some experiences are more valuable than others. Poetry *is* better than pushpin, and the rapport established by a fine performing artist and his audience in a concert hall far transcends the experience of watching that same performance on film or television or hearing it on radio; that however excellent, technically, present-day methods of colour reproduction may be, they are no substitute for firsthand contact with the living work of art itself.

Secondly, I believe that art *is* necessary to any civilized society. Thomas Hobbes put this in negative terms in the *Leviathan* when he described man "in a state of nature," wherein with. . . . 'No arts, no letters, no society, and, which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death, and the life of many solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short.'

Your former Secretary of Labour, Mr. Arthur J. Goldberg, put this in positive terms, writing in the *New York Times Magazine* of March 11th, 1962, in the following words: "I believe a flourishing cultural life is an essential, not an ornament, to the health and strength of a free society."

He went on to state a clearly expressed and cogently argued case for the subsidization of the arts and so, I hope, will I. My case will be based on our Canadian experience and it will, because of our partially parallel histories, have some special relevance to our discussions today. This brings me to my third fundamental proposition: subsidy need not be a dirty word. That, at any rate, has been our experience in Canada.

Both our countries are relatively young (not, of course, compared to Israel or Ghana, but young compared to the civilizations which produced the plays of Shakespeare, the

*This essay was prepared by Mr. Gelber as a working paper for the Wingspread National Conference on the Arts. It was developed with the cooperation of Mr. Alan Jarvis, National Director of the Canadian Conference of the Arts.

sculpture of Michelangelo and the music of Bach) and it is only in comparatively recent times that to take an interest in the arts is no longer "sissy." We have, in other words, out-grown the mentality of the frontier society. This has, however, happened recently—in Canada as in the U.S.A.—and we are undoubtedly in a transitional state—as well, perhaps, as a transitional mood—when we set our minds to the problems of fostering the arts in a free society.

Essentially, the problem presents itself in this form: "Is it possible to subsidize the arts without limiting, influencing, or in any way affecting the creative freedom of the artists themselves?" And, of course, the not-always-so-ghostly spectre which haunts this question, however variously it may be framed, is the politician and the bureaucracy. I have mentioned Mr. Goldberg's article in the *New York Times*; I have also read Mr. Russell Lynes' equally cogently argued case *against* the subsidization of the arts which contained such dire warnings, supported by horrifying case histories!

Nevertheless, I wish to present, not so much a defense of the notion of subsidy as a rather extensive case history of what has happened in Canada. I am encouraged in so doing by Max Isenbergh² who, speaking at a seminar on Canadian-American relations at Assumption University, Windsor, said: "... the Federal Government of the United States will inevitably be enlarging its role in the field of the arts, and however it does so, the lessons drawn from Canadian experience will be of the utmost value." The first part in his statement may be controversial; I hope the second is not!

The Canadian Background

To understand my case history you must also understand our Canadian background. First of all, we are a bilingual and bicultural country, with both the English and the French traditions having deep roots in their respective European inheritances. Our two cultures have tended to reflect a religious difference, the French being predominantly Roman Catholic, the English predominantly Protestant. Our constitution, like yours, sets out a very careful balancing of federal and provincial rights. (Education, for example, is strictly a provincial matter, and it is impossible to envisage a federal Ministry of Education or indeed of Cultural Affairs.) We have grown up, therefore, as a nation which

²Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs.

is acutely conscious of minorities, trained in effective compromise and the seeking of noncontroversial solutions to explosive problems. Of course, like all human beings, we Canadians frequently solve our problems by shutting our eyes and stoutly declaring the problem nonexistent, but, by and large, we seem to have developed a fairly strong sense of responsibility in our public life.

One thing I must mention: As a nation with but one tenth of the population of our great neighbor to the south, we Canadians have tended to join together in the preservation of our cultural traditions and our cultural identity out of a fear of domination by the U.S.A. In fact, about the only common answer you get to the question, what *is* a Canadian, is "We are *not* Americans!" Therefore, unquestionably, one of the reasons why the arts in Canada have tended to be such a matter of public concern—and therefore to receive a comparatively generous measure of public support—is that we see in them (or hope to see in them) one of the most powerful reflections of a truly Canadian "identity."

The foregoing remarks are by way of preface to the next section of this paper wherein I wish to outline, as briefly as the situation allows the status of a few of our national "cultural" agencies which, we feel, have served two important functions. First of all, they have helped us to maintain, however tenuously, our Canadian identity and secondly, they have established a pattern of federal government subsidization (for that is what it is, even if our Parliament would not admit it) of the arts which has been remarkably free from influence from either the politician or the bureaucrat—or, for that matter, the press.

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation

All Canadians would agree that our most important publicly supported cultural agency is our nationwide broadcasting system, the CBC, which has recently celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary as a corporation.

Just as our country was welded into one nation by the great transcontinental railway systems (and, of course, more recently with the airlines as well) so Canada has been tremendously helped in maintaining its political and cultural unity by this publicly owned communications system. The CBC has an independent board of Directors (appointed by Parliament) which administers the approximately sixty million dollars (voted by Parliament), and it is answerable, each year, to Parliament—and lately to a newly established Board of Broadcast Governors which concerns itself with the recently established private TV network as well as CBC policy. To be sure, there have been controversies and arguments in and out of Parliament over the CBC, but so sacrosanct has it become in the mind of the Canadian public that any serious threat to freedom from a political interference immediately causes a public uproar (one such event took place just several years ago) and the scorched fingers of the critics (especially of the politicians) are quickly withdrawn.

The CBC plays a far more complex role than that of merely providing unbiased news reporting (in two languages) and a forum for free political debate. It is the largest patron of creative writing and music in the nation and it is the largest single employer of performing art talent. It is fair to suggest, for example, that the high level of acting sustained by the Stratford Shakesperian Theatre would be impossible without the winter-time employment given to these gifted artists by CBC television. The CBC is also a kind of university of the air, broadcasting for many hours a week "public affairs" programs on everything from the art of the Renaissance to popularizations of

atomic physics, programming of a remarkably distinguished artistic quality. And, of course, I must not fail to mention, with some pride, that the CBC Symphony is one of the finest orchestras on the continent.

I have stressed the CBC because it has established in Canada the precedent that large sums of public money can be spent on what is essentially a "cultural" enterprise without political interference of any kind. There are frequent outbursts of criticism in Parliament, in the press, and among the members of the public, but this criticism is for the most part healthy and serves to keep the Corporation on its toes. Of course, the fact that so many Canadian cities can also tune in on American radio and TV also keeps it on its toes! Russell Lynes, by the way, tells the story of the Toronto taxi driver who, when Lynes asked him about the CBC, replied, "They keep hitting us with culture and they won't lay off!" I have no doubt there are a good few Canadian citizens who feel the same, but to almost all creative Canadians the CBC has been, or will be, their kindest friend.

The National Film Board

Another large-scale, publicly financed agency is our National Film Board. This was set up during the war with the avowed purpose of making propaganda films. It survived after the war as a federal film-making company whose function it was to make informational documentary films for the various government departments and to provide a means of "projecting" Canada abroad. In recent years it has become one of the chief suppliers of program material to the CBC as well.

The National Film Board is administered by a Board of Citizens whose role is parallel to that of CBC directors; it has a permanent Film Commissioner as chief executive officer, a staff of approximately 700 and an annual budget this year of approximately five million dollars.

For our purposes, the most interesting thing about the National Film Board is that, although it is an "official" government agency wholly financed out of public funds, it has been for years one of the most creative and experimental film studios in the world. I need only mention the staggering list of world prizes won by such artists as Norman McLaren, Colin Low and Wolf Kroiter—to name only a few—to justify my remarks.

The National Gallery Of Canada

I would like to mention one other unique federal institution before going on to discussion of the agency now most concerned with the subsidization of the arts (The Canada Council) and that is our National Gallery. This institution was founded in 1882 by the then Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne (who also founded the Royal Canadian Academy—the Marchioness was a gifted amateur painter and perhaps the first of our "culturettes"³), but it really began its active life under its first permanent Director, the late Eric Brown in the early 1920's.

The National Gallery is interesting in that, since Brown's day, it has combined the functions of your National Gallery—as the federal repository of a fine collection of works of art from all periods of the past—with that of the Museum of Modern Art—as the sponsor, promoter, buyer and propagandist for the most *avant-garde* art. It is our National Gallery which owns and operates the Canadian Pavilion at the Venice Biennial and this

³*This invaluable addition to our language was coined by Russell Lynes at the Conference of the Arts held in Toronto in May, 1961.*

year the only artist to be shown will be Jean-Paul Riopelle. I have no doubt that there will be "questions in the House"—before, after, or during the Biennial as to why Canada should be represented by such a "modern" painter, but I am equally sure that the show will go on.

Over the years the Gallery has come in for its share of criticism and controversy, but equally over the years its Trustees have held the fort, and we have a dynamic centre for visual arts in Ottawa and one which also embraces the functions of the Smithsonian by circulating something like 50 exhibitions each year to some 120 art centres across the country. It has as well, in recent years, become the fountainhead of a movement to reform the aesthetic quality of all official printing; this meeting with extraordinary success.

Russell Lynes mentions the terrible beating which American visual arts have taken at the hands of the Senators. I am prompted by him to tell one short story: One of our French senators told the press that he thought the National Gallery—and obviously he was thinking of the "modern" section—was a chamber of horrors. The then Director replied to the press, "If Senator Blank thinks the National Gallery is a Chamber of Horrors, what in Heaven's name does he think when he looks around the Senate?" A potential explosion evaporated in clouds of glorious laughter. (For Russell Lynes' information, this particular incident occurred *apropos* the kind of "modern" art the National Gallery was sending to the Brussels Worlds Fair in 1958.)

Subsidization Without Tears

I have sketched in the outlines of the way in which some of our more important cultural institutions operate simply in order to make clear that we, in Canada, have slowly been establishing certain patterns of official subsidy which, so far, seem to work. I must not minimize the controversy both inside and outside the House of Commons, to which each agency is finally responsible, and, indeed, I should emphasize that our daily cultural life is constantly being enriched by these discussions for the very simple reason that all of this controversy has brought the role of the arts in society constantly to the forefront of the public conscience and, so far, the public conscience has been on the side of the angels, at least to the degree of giving a tacit assent to this kind of expenditure of public funds. When I was making my notes for this paper I jotted down the heading "Subsidy without Controversy" but then I added, in brackets (Or, at any rate, not much!).

Controversy there has been, but is this not a very healthy thing? What free, democratic society could thrive without it? Is not this part of the very fabric of the democratic system? As for the artists—the old Hollywood wisecrack about publicity—"What does it matter as long as they spell your name right!"—is, surely, more than just a press agent's cynicism. I believe that the more the arts become the subject of argument in the wider market places of democratic discussion, the less the danger of those democracies becoming "mass" democracies: that the yeast of the "wayout," the *avant-garde* and, indeed, of the beatniks, may be the very leaven of the lump. Be that as it may, I want, now, to bring our Canadian case history up-to-date with the story of the Canada Council, for I suspect that is what you really want to hear about.

The Second World War And After

In Canada, as in every other country engaged in the Second World War, the defeated as well as the undefeated, the imminence of the war's end stimulated a good deal of soul

searching. Perhaps it could be put into the phrase, "For what did we fight?" At high government level we had committees on Post-War Reconstruction, and so did you. At a less grand, but perhaps more practical level our artists called a conference—a conference representative of all of the arts—at Kingston, Ontario, in 1945. The upshot of this was, perhaps, no more specific than "*Something should be done. . .*" But, given the context that a very small country had suddenly become one of the world's greatest industrial producers, a lot of people felt that something should be done by the *government*.

In practical terms, the Kingston meeting resulted in the formation of the Canadian Arts Council (in French, *Le Conseil des Arts du Canada*), a federation of most of the organized and influential associations of professional artists whose frank mission was to act as a pressure group or lobby for the formation of some form of support for the arts analogous to that of the Arts Council of Great Britain (and I shall quote the late Lord Keynes on this subject in a moment or two).

So, continuing their pressure that "Something should be done," the artists succeeded in persuading the federal government to set up a *Royal Commission on the Arts, Letters and Social Sciences in Canada*. (Perhaps I may be allowed to add the footnote that Royal Commissions, in Canada, as in the United Kingdom, are a wonderfully gentlemanly way of investigating social, economic and cultural problems, because their terms of reference are to enquire rather than to intimidate.)

By incalculable good fortune, the Chairman of this Royal Commission was the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey, subsequently to become Canada's first Canadian-born Governor General, the scion of a family whose name, in Canada, bears similar weight to that of Rockefeller, Ford and Kennedy, and whose personal contribution to the arts—as collector of painting, as sponsor of the theatre arts and of architecture—had long since established him as a "renaissance man." It is not surprising, then, that the Royal Commission's report came to be known as the *Massey Report*.

The recommendations of this Royal Commission are far too multifarious and far too detailed for me to go into on this occasion. (The Report itself, quite apart from the specialized evidence submitted as briefs, runs to more than 500 pages.) For example, it made a minute study of our various museums, scientific, historical and artistic; it made detailed recommendations with regard to undergraduate, graduate and postgraduate scholarships in the then neglected fields of the social studies sciences. Almost all of the Commission's recommendations have been implemented in one way or another. One of the Massey Commission's most important recommendation was for the establishment of a *Canada Council*.

The Canada Council

In the words of the *Massey Report* itself (after noting the existence of a government-supported National Research Council which has for many years fostered scientific research and development) the recommendation was "that a body be created to be known as the Canada Council for the Encouragement of the Arts, Letters, Humanities and Social Sciences to stimulate and to help voluntary organizations within these fields, to foster Canada's cultural relations abroad, to perform the functions of a national commission for UNESCO, and to devise a system of scholarships. . . ." Since its establishment in April, 1956, the Canada Council has done pretty well, precisely just that.

Although the various cultural and learned societies and organizations had generated a considerable head of steam, it must be fair to say that a pressure of public opinion sufficient to bring about the formation of the Council had not formed, and that it was largely the windfall of vast sums of money in succession duties from the estates of two

Canadian multimillionaire tycoons, which gave the then government the courage to announce an outright capital grant of one hundred million dollars for the establishment of the Council.

The Council itself is composed of twenty-one members, all interested citizens drawn from every part of the country and from all walks of life. Almost none of the members are themselves creative artists, for it was felt—and I think rightly—that the job of the Council would be to act as a "jury," acting with what T. S. Eliot has called "a passionate disinterest" in adjudicating the many claims for aid put forward by the various individuals, organizations and societies of professionals. On the whole this has proved to be a wise decision, especially since the permanent staff of the Council have at their disposal the advice (tendered in confidence) of an extremely widely based set of panels of experts in every field of its interests.⁴

The Council meets four times a year, as a statutory minimum, presents an annual report to Parliament through the office of the Prime Minister, and is refreshed by means of annual automatic retirement of one-third of its members (although reappointment is, of course, possible). The Chairman is appointed for a five-year period.

The untimely death of the first Chairman (the Hon. Brooke Claxton, a former federal cabinet minister) occurred during the Council's formative years but, fortunately, the brilliant young President of the University of Toronto accepted the responsibility of filling the office until the end of the first five-year period, and has done so with great reclame.

In setting up the Council, Mr. Claxton and his assistants in the Privy Council office were helped by advice from all of the great American Foundations and, naturally, they were strongly influenced by the precedent of the experience of the British. Indeed, the *Massey Report* quoted the wise words of the late Lord Keynes (who was the chief moving spirit behind the Arts Council of Great Britain) as a kind of keynote:

".... everyone, I fancy, recognizes that the work of the artist in all its aspects is, of its nature, individual and free, undisciplined, unregimented, uncontrolled. The artist walks where the breath of the spirit blows him. He cannot be told his direction; he does not know it himself. But he leads the rest of us into fresh pastures and teaches us to love and to enjoy what we often begin by rejecting, enlarging our sensibility and purifying our instincts. The task of an official body is not to teach or to censor, but to give courage, confidence and opportunity."

As in the case with the Arts Council of Great Britain, the Canada Council is a fostering rather than an initiating body. That is to say, it surveys the various fields of the arts in order to assess the needs, in some cases calling expert advice from outside. For example, Sir Bernard Heinze, the distinguished Australian conductor, was asked to survey and report on Canadian symphony orchestras; more recently, Richard Buckle from England and Lincoln Kirstein, entrepreneur of your great New York City Ballet, have been asked to report on the situation with regard to the ballet in Canada. But, in most instances, it waits for the performing arts company, or the professional associations concerned, to approach it for help. The council members, in their role of "jury," then decide on the allocation of funds.

The most difficult job which the Council has had is one of fundamental principle:

⁴Since the funds available to the Canada Council derive from interest on the money given to it outright as a capital fund, the Council has complete freedom, as to the disposition of this money, from outside interference of any kind including from government and the politicians.

whether to spread its money thin, thereby perhaps satisfying a larger number of people, or to concentrate its grants—in more generous terms—on what it believes to be the most viable artistic manifestations. For example, it has had to face the problem of giving a great many orchestras small grants in order to keep them alive, or giving a few orchestras large grants in order to raise their standards to really first-class levels. Or, currently, it is facing the decision between making a large number of small grants to a variety of "little" magazines or giving a more whole-hearted support to those few which seem most promising.

In addition to this fundamental problem, the Council faces yet another one. It has helped so much to increase the great upsurge in interest in the arts generally in Canada which has been manifesting itself in the past decade. That result, of course—Council has inevitably created greatly increased demands on its own resources. The Canada Council report for 1960-61 (its fourth) puts this dilemma in the following rather urbane terms:

"Three thousand years or more ago, according to the myth, Paris stood on the pleasant slopes of many-fountained Ida holding a golden apple inscribed to the Fairest. Three goddesses appeared radiant and naked before him—bright-eyed Athene, laughter-loving Aphrodite, and Hera of the Golden Throne. Because she offered him the love of Helen, Paris awarded the prize to Aphrodite in a judgment which poets and painters have since remembered.

The problem of Paris was a delicate but a limited one. The number of the immortal goddesses did not increase during the contest. As far as we know their appetite for apple remained steady, and the golden apple itself could not be divided. We therefore think that our dilemma is worse. For in a sense the Council does have a golden apple. The contestants representing the arts (for we are concerned with the Muses rather than goddesses) are perhaps less radiant and certainly less immodest; but their number enlarges while we deliberate and their appetites increase alarmingly. Our golden apple is divisible but it cannot be endlessly divided if it is to provide any sustenance worth having. For organizations concerned with the arts, the apple assays at approximately \$1,000,000 a year.

The report goes on to list its various activities and ends with a note which I, for one, think is most important. After listing the many activities which concern youth and, above all, professional training, it says: "When the golden apple is divided it is perhaps the part put in young hands that will be in the safest keeping."

Now I must say a brief word about that golden apple. The Canada Council was established with a capital grant of one hundred million dollars. Fifty million of that sum was put aside to be spent in the form of capital grants to universities for such purposes as the extension of libraries or the increase in accomodation and it has by now been largely used up. The other fifty million has been invested and the income from this is being spent annually for the fostering of the arts, letters and social sciences. I believe I am right in saying that expenditures work out about evenly between the arts—as we understand that term at this conference—and the social sciences. The grants vary very widely, from as much as a hundred thousand dollars to a ballet company to as little as a couple of hundred dollars to enable an artist or a scholar to attend a conference. Subsidy has been given to the performing arts, particularly in order that they may travel (a vital matter in Canada); to art galleries so that they may commission works of sculpture for their permanent collections; to our two art magazines—*Canadian Art* and *Vie des Arts*—so they might use more colour plates; to book publishers so they may publish works of limited sale but important cultural interest; to other publishers so they may bring out works in translations from French into English or *vice versa*, so that our bicultural nation may become more so. In another important field it has helped "project"

Canada abroad by sending artists (such as Glen Gould and Maureen Forrester) into the world arena, or by buying distinguished Canadian literary works for free distribution in other countries.

One of the most important of the Council's activities has been the awarding of travel grants to artists, writers, musicians, broadcasters, and scholars so that they might enlarge their horizons by travel abroad. More than this, it has often been felt that what an individual creative person has most needed has been freedom from the burdens of teaching or commercial work, so that they might practice their own special discipline in their own backyards and many have done so to great effect.

It would be dishonest to paint this picture in entirely rosy hues. Of course, in its formative years, the Canada Council has made errors of judgment, and perhaps in its initial enthusiasm it has been overgenerous in helping organizations (and individuals) which a more cynical patron—a Medici, for example—might ruthlessly have left to wither on the vine. In sum, however, I think it has made a remarkably effective contribution to fostering the cultural life of our country.

Whenever the question of governmental subsidy for the arts is mentioned the question is usually raised, "But won't this lead to a drying-up of help from individuals and corporations?" Our experience is that this *has not* been the case. Subsidy (and I prefer to use the word encouragement) from the Canada Council has, in most instances, meant a stimulus to bigger and better fund raising on the part of either the voluntary organization or the community effort concerned. The "blessing" of the Council on many ventures had, indeed, been a quite specific help in gathering other financial support. Although it does not always operate on a matching-grant basis, the Council has always examined the effort which the individual, the professional group, or the voluntary organization is willing to put into the project before it decides what is "viable."

I have stressed the work of the Canada Council, but I must, in fairness however, mention that there is, and has been, subsidy of the arts, in many other forms, in Canada. Saskatchewan, for example, has had an Arts Board for some years which carries on a most worthy programme, especially in the rural areas. Many municipalities have given grants, over the years, to the local symphony or choir or art gallery. Recently, the Province of Quebec has formed a Ministry of Cultural Affairs and has even enacted legislation whereby some fraction of the total cost must be spent on the embellishment of publicly financed buildings by the use of murals, sculptures and so on. Five of our cities have, with aid of private enterprise, built performing arts centres of considerable architectural as well as functional distinction. Working from west to east, rather than in terms of date of completion, I may cite Vancouver, Edmonton, Calgary, Windsor, Toronto and Montreal. The latter is still building and it is to be a *Place des Arts*, comparable in scope, if not in scale, with the Lincoln Center. The wide picture is, in Canada, as in the U.S.A., one of a burgeoning interest in the arts in an affluent society with leisure increasing at an almost dismaying rate!

I have not presented this paper with any sense whatsoever that we Canadians can teach you Americans how to suck eggs. On the contrary. Certainly the Canada Council, of which I have spoken at considerable length, would never have flexed its muscles at all without the wise coaching of the Ford, Carnegie, Rockefeller, and others of your great foundations. After all, you have been used to the "use of riches" somewhat longer than we have!

Nevertheless, I believe that what one of our finest writers, Hugh MacLennan, has called the "Canadian experience" is worth bringing to you: Our experience of being an

incongruously small, yet incongruously rich, nation; a nation born like yours out of war and matured, like yours, out of the challenge of a frontier (yours was western, ours was, and is, northern); a nation with European roots which we both cherish yet sometimes wish to disown; finally a nation seeking an identity (as perhaps you, too, still are) and finding that identity most truly reflected in our arts.

I was greatly cheered to read the words of Mr. August Heckscher, uttered shortly after his appointment as Special Advisor to the White House. He said, "Though the government can't create culture, it *can* have a role in sustaining it and creating the frame in which it can develop. . . ." The motto of the Canada Council says just that. Government cannot, and *should not*, plant the seeds, but the least it can do is provide a gentle rain (even from a bureaucratic heaven) of subsidy which might help them grow!

where the minds met and diverged:

ON GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIZATION

THE FOLLOWING IS EXCERPTED FROM A TRANSCRIPT OF A GROUP DISCUSSION BASED ON THE TWO PAPERS PUBLISHED ABOVE. THE CHAIRMAN WAS MARVIN HALVERSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, DEPARTMENT OF WORSHIP AND THE ARTS, NATIONAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES.

Charles Mark: I am not opposing subsidization on the basis of a supposed government control of the arts, because I think if the government took control of the arts they wouldn't know what to do with them. The Russians have control of the arts, and they don't know what to do with them—only what should not be done. That's part of their problem, they have a sterile, narrow art which no one is happy with. In this country we don't have a Marx to base our policies on. We don't have anything to base our art or our government on. There's simply no ideology to peddle. So I'm not against it on the basis of control.

I'm not against it on the basis of government bureaucracy, either. The arts, if we are to organize them at all are going to have a bureaucracy. Moreover, private enterprise is just as bureaucratic as any government bureau; this is not my reason.

I'm not against federal subsidy on the basis of lack of sufficient funds available or the tenuousness of any grants. If we started any program in the arts it would become as much woven into the fabric of our society as our damn subsidies for agriculture; there's nothing much we can do about it.

I'm not talking about city or county levels of governmental support, because at those levels we in America have the conviction that this is government that

is controllable, and reversible—somehow more and less of government at the same time. The individual citizen feels very close to the smaller units of government. But I am against government support at the state and federal levels on the simple basis that this is not the right time for the government to step in.

We've heard a good deal about this in the last two days: somebody wants others to step in and do something for him when he has already decided to do nothing for himself. The arts have been delinquent in managing their own affairs, in being a truly democratic institution within our general society. They have trotted hat-in-hand to the Carnegies, to the Cabots and the Lodges, once a year and said, "We need X-number of dollars." And they got them with no questions asked. Result: they've become like so many spoiled children. And now that the former patrons can no longer do this they ask, "What'll we do?" They've decided to go to the government for the money, still hoping that no questions will be asked. If they get the money, it would be one of the worst things possible that could happen to the arts in this country. It would only compound the ignorance of responsibility; it would only endorse the negligence and waste we have experienced thus far.

Examining the budgets of the major and well-financed institutions, I find a great many things I think are questionable, and government subsidization would just add to the injury. What we need, on the contrary, is to organize the arts. Let's organize because we are getting more complex, not less complex; but let's do it on the local level and begin to do for ourselves what we have been reluctant to do in the past. The answer I propose is to use the committee system, and begin to support the arts through planning, coordinating, and promoting. Let's have an arts council as an artistic counterpart to the welfare council, where standards will evolve and not be set, where support will be forthcoming from the bottom, and therefore not controlled by anyone or imposed from the top.

The ultimate proposal of government subsidy, I think, is to create a bureau, but we don't have an historical precedent for the development of a federal program in any area where there weren't first some corresponding institutions at the state and local level. There were agricultural agents, state agricultural commissions, and problems with people working on them in this area long before the government ever started subsidizing agriculture. The same thing is true of education today; and we likewise had highway departments in counties and states long before we had the federal highway program.

When we have local arts councils that are operated by the community as school boards are operated by the community, and when we have state arts councils as we have state highway commissions, and when these organizations have failed to raise all the money that's necessary, and when they do all the planning that needs to be done and have exhausted every means of taking care of themselves, then perhaps it is time for the federal government to set up a federal bureau to feed back down through the state and local organizations some of the resources needed.

Arthur Gelber: Mr. Chairman, as a result of the experience I have had here at Wingspread since Friday, it has been my feeling that those arguing for federal subsidy in support of the arts have relinquished their rightful position. They have relinquished it to the politicians, and I fear that if they continue in

this pattern you in this country will eventually get some kind of government act; but the chances are that you will get an act which you may or may not feel fulfills the kind of opinion, the kind of feeling, the kind of job you want the American government to do for you and for the artists. When I say, "for you," I mean, "for the nation," including the artists in this country. Whatever is to be done will be done for the nation; the arts are only a part of the matter.

What needs to be done is the creation of a groundswell to be developed by people who are really interested in the arts. They must tell the Congressmen what they want; let the Congress or the government of the United States know what the people of this country need by way of developing art institutions; explain what is lacking in this country. I don't think Washington knows; Ottawa, in Canada, didn't know.

But Ottawa found out; and it found out because, in 1946 or '47 there was a conference called in Kingston, Ontario, of representatives from national and local arts organizations to talk about what should be done about the arts. It was decided at that time to form an organization which would really be a lobby before the government, and as a result the Canadian Arts Council was formed. That organization has been in existence for some fifteen years; it is now called the "Canadian Conference on the Arts," and I have the honor to be its president at this particular time. But at the beginning government was lobbied to such an extent that they established a commission—what we call in Canada, as in Britain, "The Royal Commission."

This commission, known as "The Massey Commission," after the Honorable Vincent Massey, who was chairman, traveled the length and breadth of the Dominion. They didn't stay in Ottawa and have a few people come and talk to them. They traveled the whole country over and publicly invited persons and organizations to present briefs and opinions about their feelings as to what was required in terms of government support of the arts, social sciences, and humanities. This report was finally printed for all to see.

The result of that report was a continuing enactment by government over a period of years of the recommendations appearing therein, and by 1957 or '58 the report had been implemented by government. In that time there was created an atmosphere of subsidization which has not in any way sterilized the position of private individual support of the arts, or of provincial support. If anything, *The Canada Council has been an adjunct to them. Moreover, it has created an additional opportunity for expansion in many areas of the performing arts; it has made possible a variety of opportunities for individual people in the fields of the arts, social sciences and the humanities to expand their own particular interests without questions being asked, and without strings being attached to the grants.

So, I would like to suggest that those of you who favor government support of the arts in one form or another create that groundswell outside of Washington, and that an attempt be made to set up such a commission to travel the country, not only to hear what people and the organizations of the arts have to say, but to see for themselves what actually exists on the grounds. I truly doubt whether Washington knows what exists. It is far better to suggest to the government what should be done than to allow the government to decide what politicians would like to have.

symposium

on the relationship of government to the arts

ARTS IN SOCIETY HAS ASKED A

CROSS SECTION OF ARTISTS, CRITICS,

EDUCATORS, POLITICAL LEADERS AND

ART ADMINISTRATORS TO COMMENT ON

THE FOLLOWING QUESTION:

Assuming that art is one of the great resources of a democratic society, are subsidy and support from governmental agencies to artists and art institutions justified? If they are, what form or forms should such subsidy and support take?



Comment by Paul Goodman, Writer

★ New art work might be, is likely to be, offensive, subversive, incomprehensible, seemingly irrelevant. We cannot know beforehand the limits of the created new. Government agencies, particularly in our kind of centralized democracy-by-consent, are power-hungry, demagogic, and therefore as cowardly and phony as any commercial sponsor, although duller. At best they are reasonably conventional and prudent about using public money for the unknowable and what goes against the popular grain. The advisors that presidents and governors will choose are necessarily pompous and ignorant of what is alive (They do not move in the right circles). Those who might better advise, if there are such, would usually be odd or truculent men, quite impossible to choose.

The government should entirely keep its clumsy, dirty, and respectable hands off any direct contact with new art or live artists. In this area, the best that we can desire is that government will modestly protect civil liberties and get rid of censorship.

The poorest possible arrangement is the combination of government money and big commercial enterprise in such rackets as

Lincoln Center or the proposed Arts Center in Washington. They give the public the notion that this official new art is the important live art. The bad money tends to drive out the good.

But government and the educational system in general can give useful *background* support for new art. Government should generously underwrite repertory opera and theater, for the classical and modern-classical repertory; put out dirt-cheap uniform editions of the standard literature; support museums and traveling exhibitions of old and modern (not contemporary) art; and run a high standard broadcasting service like BBC third-program. Many of these enterprises, restricted always to the accepted and high quality, would probably best be managed through learned academies as semi-public corporations.

(Incidentally, the proliferation of serious little theaters would be an invaluable field for the education of youth who are intelligent and sensitive but not academically bookish. A similar valuable cultural youth activity is work in town-beautification and scientifically-inspired conservation.)

Let me say something, finally, on the support of new artists struggling to win their way in the modern commercial world that alternately rejects them or seeks to buy them out and pervert them. In my opinion, their situation should be regarded not as a problem of the arts but as part of the universal social calamity that we suffer from, that it is hard under modern conditions to be decently poor, to contract out of the usual economic procedures without falling out of social and cultural life altogether. Like other persons who are doing something worthwhile, or just trying to live sensibly, creative artists are really too busy to make money, to seek out those who have money, to agree to the conditions of an inflationary economy.

From this point of view, government could best help new art by, for instance, a housing policy to allow the existence of very cheap space—on the level of the old cold-water loft-space; by a policy to encourage subsistence-farming; by increasing a sector of the economy out of the inflationary

nexus, in which part-time worthwhile work for small pay is possible; by multiplying educational activities of different kinds, apart from the licensed scholastic system, in which serious adults who know something can make a useful small living; by measures to keep the subsistence standard of living uninflated. Our present policy of an increasingly tightly organized expanding economy must necessarily regiment everybody, including the artists. For the sake of freedom and spontaneous art and science, it is better to manage the increasing surplus productivity in the direction of somewhat loosening the economy and increasing the possibility of leisure on a lower standard of living for those who choose it.

★ Every country, except the United States of America, has long ago officially recognized its culture to the extent of giving status, financial support and encouragement to those who continue to develop and advance it.

The present administration is the first to be aware of our oversight of this fact, and to do something about it. The recently established office of Cultural Advisor to the President, under the supervision of August Heckscher, is happy and welcome evidence of this new and long over-due attitude.

We of the theatre see great advantages here. Encouraged by this recognition, Actors' Equity Association has added its efforts to the ever-increasing state movements to establish Arts Councils. There are now several in flourishing existence, and more presently before state legislatures. And Senator Hubert Humphrey is preparing a Federal Arts Council bill which will contain a matching grant provision.

This whole procedure answers the two questions posed: Is government subsidy to artists and art institutions justified? And, if so, what form should it take?

The justification has been recognized. And the form disallows, to the greatest possible extent, government dictatorship, patronage or control, except of course when our security might be endangered.

Comment by

Ralph Bellamy, President of Actor's Equity



Here it is. We have it as we want it if we will support this enthusiastic trend and take advantage of its possible advancements in all areas and phases of our culture, while a sympathetic administration, Congress and public desire are in this most receptive mood. It's really up to us now.



Comment by Lloyd Goodrich, Director, Whitney Museum of American Art

★ In the United States, activities in all the arts have always been largely privately supported. I use the word "private" to include institutions, foundations and corporations based on private capital, past or current; and, of course, the paying public. Whatever governmental support exists is more on the state and local levels than the federal level. Realistically speaking, I do not foresee any fundamental change in these basic patterns of support in the near future. Under our social and economic system, I think it is completely unrealistic to expect large-scale federal support of artists or art institutions.

Rather than support, I prefer to think in terms of the *use* of art by the government. There are many art functions which the federal government is best qualified to perform. Take the field of the visual arts—architecture, painting, sculpture, graphic art, and crafts. The government must have buildings in which to carry on its work, and these buildings have to be designed by architects. Many of them call for decoration by painters, sculptors and craftsmen. The federal government is responsible for the

architectural development of the city of Washington. It commissions and owns monuments, portraits, historical pictures, and prints. It maintains or helps to maintain three national museums in Washington. And it uses art and artists in its cultural exchanges with other nations.

To me the important question is whether the government is performing these functions well. In my opinion, it is not. Federal architecture, compared to private architecture, is out of touch with current developments. Governmental mural painting and architectural and monumental sculpture—what there is of them, which is infinitesimal—is reactionary and devitalized. The one governmental museum that is entirely dependent on Congressional appropriations, the National Collection of Fine Arts in Washington, is less adequately financed and housed than any museum of its class in the country. In international cultural exchanges the State Department and the United States Information Agency, in spite of insufficient appropriations, are carrying on excellent programs in music, ballet and the theater; but the visual arts have played a very minor role. As a result, the world is being given a misleading image of American culture.

I believe that this situation calls for some basic thinking in official circles. Specifically, for advisory bodies representing the best professional knowledge and experience, to help the government carry on its art activities in ways worthy of our position as a major nation, and of the vitality of our contemporary art and architecture.

As to the support of museums, I believe that this is the prime responsibility of states, counties and municipalities, of private donors, and of the visiting public. (Not that any museum would object to federal help!) But the federal government is of vital assistance to museums through its taxation system: by exempting them from income taxes, and by making contributions to them tax-deductible. In no other major nation do these tax provisions play so important a part in the support of cultural activity. I hope that Congress will follow the President's recommendation to place museums in the thirty per cent deductible category, on a par with other educational institutions.

Comment in behalf of

The Honorable Terry Sanford,

Governor of North Carolina

★ Governor Sanford and the vast majority of the members of the General Assembly of North Carolina feel that art is a great resource in any democratic society.

Attempting to speak for the General Assembly, a thing that we practically never do, we can do in this instance with assurance. The General Assembly of North Carolina traditionally has supported the great outdoor dramas of this State—"The Lost Colony" at Manteo, which is the story of the first English settlement in the New World; "Horn In the West" at Boone, which is the story of Daniel Boone's trail blazing expedition; and "Unto These Hills" at Cherokee, which is the story of the trail of tears left when the Eastern Band of Cherokees were driven from this part of the nation to Oklahoma.

North Carolina is the first state to give state support to a symphonic orchestra, the North Carolina Symphony. This Symphony tours North Carolina each year, from the Atlantic shore to the Blue Ridge and Smoky Mountains, playing daily performances for school children and adults. North Carolina also is happy to support the North Carolina Museum of Art, which is becoming one of the great centers of art in this section of our nation.

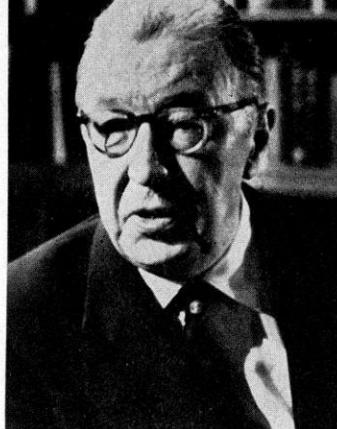
Under the sponsorship of Governor Terry Sanford, the General Assembly is now considering a bill to establish a Conservatory for the Performing Arts. The site of the Conservatory has not been chosen and it still is in the embryo stage. But under Governor Sanford's sponsorship, the General Assembly now has a bill under consideration for a half a million dollar center, approximately half of which will come from a private foundation.

In addition to the support for the outdoor dramas, the North Carolina Symphony, the North Carolina Museum of Art, and the proposed Conservatory for the Performing Arts, the state government of North Carolina has recognized and supported in every way possible the music center at Brevard, North Carolina, where the National School Orchestra Association will hold its annual meeting this summer.

North Carolinians support the fine arts in many other ways. For example, the State has long supported, through legislative appropriations, the William Hayes Acklend Memorial Art Center at the University of North Carolina, at Eastern Carolina College, at the Woman's College and at other state supported colleges.

The State, of course, also supports the arts through making instruction available at its University and colleges in such fields as creative writing, music, art, dramatic art, and a number of other areas. Naturally, there also is support from private sources. For example, in the Capital City of Raleigh an annual campaign is held by the "Friends of the College," who sponsor a musical and dramatic performance each year. The citizens of Charlotte support, among other endeavors, the Oratorio Singers.

This gives you a comprehensive picture of the support for the arts in North Carolina.



Comment by Howard Lindsay, Playwright, Actor, Producer, and President of Dramatists Play Service, Inc.

★ I personally feel that any subsidy of the arts should have as its aim the opportunity of our citizens to come into contact with all art forms. I prefer to think in terms of subsidizing the audience rather than the artist. I also prefer that the subsidies be as local as possible.

There is a growing movement in the United States for localities to make a theatre available to acting companies. Minneapolis has made a splendid start in this direction. This morning, however, I was shocked to read that the city of Minneapolis was considering a real estate tax on its new theatre. The amount of this tax might put that institution out of business. Any tax-free theatre is being given a government subsidy, but it is a local subsidy. That is exactly the kind of help I feel is the best solution.

The New York State Arts Council is doing a splendid job giving the citizens of our state a chance to be better acquainted with drama, music, dancing and the graphic arts. It is supported by money which the State Legislature appropriates. I prefer it done this way rather than have New York State share a subsidy from the Federal Government.

★ There are many friends of the arts in America who believe that it is culturally backward of us not to support our arts from the highest levels of government. West Germany, they point out, has literally scores of theatres and opera houses which benefit from central government support and our talented young singers go there because there is no work for them here. France has its *Comédie Française*, its Opera and its many museums and national monuments supported by the Government. England has its Arts Council which helps to keep alive, among other things, the Old Vic, the Covent Garden Opera and the Royal Ballet. And there are comparable kinds of support for the performing arts in Belgium, Sweden and Italy, for example, and, of course, in the Soviet Union and its satellites. If Europe considers that government support of its arts is vital to its cultural welfare, they ask, why should we uniquely laggard?

There are others who say that, in the battle for the minds of men which characterizes the cold war, we cannot expect to hold up our heads when our Government does nothing (or almost nothing) to show its interest in the arts. There are, these critics acknowledge, some troupes of musicians, dancers, and actors who are sent abroad under the aegis of our State Department but, in general, the quality of our cultural exports does not do us credit and there are too few of them. Why, for example, does not our Government guarantee our being represented at the great *Biennale* exhibition of painting and sculpture at Venice? Why must private funds be raised through such organizations as art federations and museums for this purpose?

And then there are the bread and butter questions. Why should our professional musicians, except perhaps for those in a handful of cities boasting major symphony

Comment* by Russell Lynes

orchestras (New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Detroit, Cleveland, San Francisco), be unable to make a living without doing odd jobs, such as teaching or playing in jazz combos? Why should our small communities be unable to support professional repertory theatres? Why should our many talented young artists lack the opportunities to make a living doing what they are good at and passionately wish to pursue?

These are valid questions that deserve serious answers. It is, however, a curious contradiction that the enthusiasm for the arts in America today is so great that if one suggests that the arts should not be directly subsidized by the Government, one runs the risk of being branded a Philistine.

If one points out, for example, that the arts have never been so well supported in America as they are now—that there has never been so much tax money spent on them, such large and enthusiastic audiences, so many people crowding our museums, traveling hundreds of miles to music festivals, organizing community theatres and planning exhibitions of local artists—one does nothing but whet the appetites of those who want the Government to get into the act.

If one suggests that the patronage of the arts in America is unique in the world, that it has grown out of the needs and desires of the community and not out of an aristocratic tradition and that there is strength in this, one is answered with, "Look at how many people go to the opera in Italy."

If one suggests that we are not Italy, that our performing artists enjoy a far higher standard of living than artists anywhere else in the world, one is reminded that it is "undignified to have to pass the hat to support our operas and symphonies." (It is not, however considered undignified to pass the hat, to furnish support for our colleges, hospitals, community services, orphanages, or camps for underprivileged children.)

If one mentions the fact that our tax-free foundations contribute more to the support of the arts than the Arts Council in England does to the British arts, the answer is a look of incredulity.

If one says he is against direct government subsidies for the arts but is all for hiring artists, just as one hires technicians, to perform services for our Government overseas, the answer is, "What's the difference?" Ask the artist. He will tell you that there is a difference between payment for services rendered and subsidies for culture. He would rather be considered a professional than an ornament.

But there is another difficulty. There is no way for the arts to get Federal subsidies without accountability to the people for how the money is spent.

This means, of course, that those who administer the subsidies first must decide what is art and what is not art, and they will have to draw the line between the "popular" arts and the "serious" arts, a distinction that is increasingly difficult to define. Is "West Side Story" popular and "The Threepenny Opera" serious? Such a decision can be made only on the basis of quality, not on the basis of intent.

Is the Government going to subsidize Hollywood as well as repertory theatre in Minneapolis? (One could argue that nobody, but nobody, needs to be subsidized more than Hollywood does. Look at how



Managing Editor of Harper's Magazine

its artistic standards have collapsed because, as its apologists say, "it can no longer make money out of good and serious pictures.")

Having decided what is serious, it will follow that those who dispense the funds will also decide what is safe—able to be defended with reasonable equanimity before a Congressional committee.

One of the ways that a Congressional committee can be made respectful is by market values. It is far easier to defend the considerable expense of a symphony orchestra, for example, than a recital of the works of John Cage and his prepared piano which has interest for only a small audience. It is easy to defend Shakespearean repertory, but how would one defend performances of the nihilist theatre of Brecht and Beckett before a Congressional committee?

I am aware that no Council on the Fine Arts will involve itself in details like these; their subsidies will, in all probability, be granted to the states which will then grant them to cultural institutions such as orchestras, theatres, ballet companies and operas. But over this money there will be a pall of take-it-easy. The result, almost inevitably, will be to perpetuate the standard orchestral repertory, the respectable artists, and the tried-and-true drama from Shakespeare through Shaw, with a few "experimental" plays thrown in for spice.

A Council of the Fine Arts will be expected to give status to the arts. It will. But to which arts? I commend such a council to the conservative and to those who want to keep art what is called "safe." I do not commend it to those who believe that the function of art is to push back the horizons of truth and experience and discovery.

The picture that keeps coming to my mind as I think about the involvement of the Government with art is of the Laocoön group with its three anguished figures, a huge man and two boys, entangled in serpents and fighting for their lives. It might be worth putting it on the council's letter-head, when and if—for it is thoroughly respectable art.

Francis Henry Taylor, the late director of the Metropolitan Museum said: "Economics are economics, and esthetics are esthetics, but for the love of God, let's not continue mixing them up."

I would like to amend this to read: "Politics are politics and art is art, and for the love of Art, let them be free of each other."



Comment by Leo Perlis, Director, Community Service Activities, AFL-CIO

★ There can be no full life without art. Therefore, art should not be considered a luxury but a necessity, like laughter or light. Still it is the paradox of our democratic society, where the full life is so often confused with the full dinner pail, that much of the best belongs to the few and that mediocrity is considered the mark of the many. Too many all to often worship at the shrine of the trick and not the talent, the gimmick and not the genius.

Of course, it is only the artist in his lonely splendor who produces art, but it blossoms and blooms and wilts and dies only in the eyes and ears and heart and mind of the beholder. The true artist and the true beholder—both are essential to a full life, a complete community, an enriched society, and both need attention, care and cultivation.

The care and cultivation of art, like so many other fields of human endeavor, re-

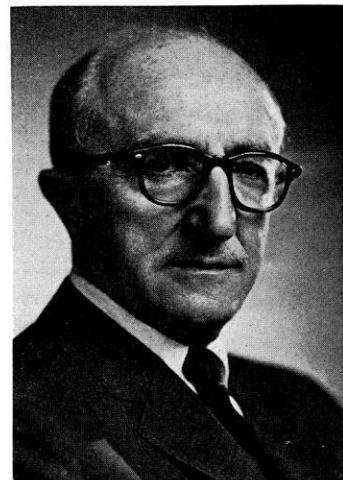
quires money, money for opportunities and facilities, money for tools and trips, and money even for food and shelter and clothing. The cultivation of the artist's talent and the cultivation of the beholder's taste, which must become our parallel pursuits if we are to succeed, are often quite expensive even by Bohemian standards. Somebody has to pay, and somebody has to lead and somebody has to guide, in addition to what the artist and the beholder do for themselves and for each other.

It is obvious that we need more scholarships and fellowships, more and better museums and exhibits and lectures, more and better opera houses and opera companies, more and better symphony orchestras and symphony halls, more and better ballet and theater, and so forth and so on.

This job apparently is too big and unprofitable an undertaking for those of our commercial tastemakers whose overall view of the public taste is somewhat Olympian. And our rich patrons of the arts are always too few, often too remote, and sometimes too stiflingly conformist. What is required, therefore, is a more direct concern by the American people for their cultural welfare. In context of the American tradition this concern can best be expressed through both broad voluntary action and governmental responsibility.

We certainly don't want cultural commissars or artists in uniform. The artist can truly work and create only in freedom, but that includes freedom from hunger. And the beholder can truly see or sense only according to his own personal lights and not according to somebody's official line.

There can be in the arts, as in education and health research, governmental assistance without governmental dictation. The recent establishment, by executive order, of the President's Advisory Council on the Arts is a sound step in the right direction. Other steps, of course, must follow, including governmental financing, on a matching basis, of cultural centers; governmental fellowships for artists; direct governmental sponsorship of cultural events among the armed forces overseas, of cultural education for veterans here, of support for preservation of the cultural heritage of the American Indians; governmental financing of international exchange programs; and governmental initiative in promulgating a national attitude of appreciation for the significance of art in our lives.



Comment by Herman Kenin, President, The American Federation of Musicians, AFL-CIO

★ It is my conviction that not only music and musicians but the whole range of performing arts is an integral and essential part of the American way of life. It is the heritage of every American, just as education is his inalienable right. Attendance records being established these days at cultural performances prove that many millions of our people wish to avail themselves of those rights.

Yet, in the face of today's upsurge of cultural activity, the arts still enjoy no material blessing from the Federal government. Why does our own nation, the wealthiest in the world, spend less than any other state to further music, drama, concerts, opera and ballet?

Our musicians, actors, dancers—in fact all but the top earning performing artists—have been and still are subsidizing the arts by contributing time and talents in exchange for too few dollars.

We of the Musicians' Union recognize that an entertainment union such as ours is suspect in the role of subsidy advocate. We do not feel that it is helpful to propose our formula for governmental support, for we would hope to be direct beneficiaries.

We do, however, heartily endorse the proposal advanced by Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg, when, as Labor Secretary, he arbitrated the Metropolitan Opera dispute. His ingenuous formula suggests a six-way partnership support of the arts based on an acceptance of community as well as government responsibility. In addition to the public, the other members of the partnership include, private patrons and benefactors; business corporations; labor organizations; state and local governments; and the Federal government.

A few voices still cry out that Federal subsidy may lead to political pressures on the arts, insisting quite properly, that there could be no true art, no true creativity, in a climate of state policing. This might be a valid fear if the state assumed total financial responsibility. But the Goldberg formula specifically does *not* rely on federal subsidies alone. As this astute proposer envisioned it, the Federal government would be a somewhat minor partner in a six-way support program. With the public and the artistic community, acting as vigilantes, the Federal government could not, nor would it conceivably wish to gain political control of the arts. Rather, it could, in fact, through subsidy, advance the cause of freedom in the artistic world by providing a solid economic base for the development of creative expression.

The proposed Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, advocated by former Secretary Goldberg and President Kennedy, which has thus far failed to gain Congressional approval, could be a coordinating body for this six-way partnership. It would be a permanent group able to study needs, screen proposals and offer recommendations. Now proposed as an adjunct of the White House, it still could operate as a high-level moderator of the arts.

If Congress were to amend the copyright laws so as to vest in the Federal government the copyright ownership of music now in the public domain, and use the royalties for support of the arts, there would be some six million available for subsidy each year.

Governments the world over have historically recognized the responsibility to foster and stimulate the arts through subsidization, believing in the long-range importance of preserving gifted human resources. We in America have been afraid of the word "subsidy." It is time we lost our fear, else we shall lose a precious heritage.



Comment by Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York

★ I have long maintained that government support of the arts is essential. As far back as 1949, I introduced in the House of Representatives a resolution calling for the establishment of an American national institution for theater, opera and ballet. The U.S. arts foundation legislation which I have proposed would encourage through matching grants and subventionaries to non-profit groups, the distribution of live performances and exhibits in cities and towns which could not otherwise receive and support them. It would help stimulate a revival of the arts in entire regions through the work of non-profit groups, municipalities and State agencies able to provide cultural services because of the subvention available from the Foundation to cover the difference between production and operating costs and admissions. Within the framework of free enterprise and with no Federal control, the Foundation would help in the development and training of new talent in the fields of the visual and performing arts, and also make it possible for many more people in

many more places to see and hear the best in American culture.

The Foundation would require in its first year an appropriation from the Federal government of five million for the entire country and ten million in succeeding years, half of which would be available for grants to the States. This would serve essentially as "seed money" with the largest amount of its expenditures anticipated to come from funds contributed by private foundations and other benefactors interested in the advancement of the arts. I expect that this modest Federal appropriation could stimulate the expenditure of as much as fifty million a year in non-government support for the arts. New talent as well as going programs in all the arts could be assisted.

This legislation is not the first in which the Federal government concerns itself with assistance to the arts. In 1891, the National Conservatory of Music was incorporated by an act of Congress and men like Chauncey DePew, Fitz Hugh Lee, John Hay, and Enoch Pratt served as trustees. ANTA, the American National Theatre and Academy operates under a Congressional charter granted in 1935. And not too many people recall that in July 1956, the Senate did adopt

a bill (S.3419) providing for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts although the House of Representatives took no action on it.

This proposal has the support of a great many artists of international fame as well as Actors' Equity and many organizations in the academic and cultural world. It would supplement and enhance other Federal government activities, such as our international cultural exchange program; and expand the areas served by theater, opera, ballet, music—in fact all the arts—and other cultural resources so that no populated place in the U.S.A. would have to be culturally starved.

Last year the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare on which I serve reported favorably the bill for a national arts foundation which I had been advocating for a number of years which also included the program of assistance to the states sponsored by Senator Joseph Clark. I introduced this bill early this year with Senators Clark, Pell and Humphrey as co-sponsors. Whether there will be action in the Senate at this session depends to a large extent on recommendations to be made by the President's new Advisory Council.

Comment by J. Fenton McKenna, Chairman of the Division of Creative Arts, San Francisco State College



★ The full maturity of a nation is reflected in those factors of man's life which become a central concern. As John Adams wrote to his wife from Paris in the infancy of our national life, "It is not indeed the fine arts which our country requires; the useful, the mechanic arts are those which we have an occasion for in a young country . . . I must study politics and war that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy. My sons ought to study mathematics, philosophy, geography, natural history, naval architecture, navigation, commerce and agriculture in order to give *their* chil-

dren the right to study painting, poetry, music, architecture, statuary, tapestry, and porcelain." In summary, the arts in all their manifestations. To study is to practice. We have done reasonably well in this country in subsidizing the study of the various arts. But we are long overdue in the matter of supporting the practice of the arts.

There can, it seems to me, be little doubt that subsidy is necessary, desirable, and over-due. This in spite of the paradox of the artist who opposes it strongly and thus couples his position with that of those who are self-styled "guardians of the tax dollar." I am sure there are artists who honestly fear interference. But there may be many who are rationalizing to the degree that they are going to be above what they feel isn't going to happen anyhow. Perhaps they are like Robinson's Miniver Cheevy who,

".... Scorned the gold he sought

But sore annoyed was he without it . . ."

In any case it is difficult for me to understand either of these positions. I am not overly naive and, therefore, prone to look on the federal, or any sub-division of government, as some omniscient power which has a magic method of producing money and support for everything and for everybody and thus relieves the individual citizen of responsibility. I am fully aware that when I speak of government support I am speaking of myself, of all who may read this, of all artists, of the composite of individuals who constitute our tax revenue resource. But I am also, as a taxpayer, aware that this type of support is no different from that which we already are committed to in the areas of health, agriculture, industry, social security, or whatever.

Why, in a great nation, should we give over to panic and retreat into a vast spending program in the material factors concerned with survival, and fail in a relatively less dollar-demanding program. Survival, no one can gainsay, is an important consideration. But it is also important for the great nation to ask, "Survival for what?" We should manifest the strength of the philosophy of democracy by supporting in full measure those aspects of life which allow man to develop to the fullest potential all aspects of his essence as a being. His significance as a being compared with the other animals is that he can think, feel, and communicate. He is not just a creature whose greater capacities involve the development and use of his spiritual makeup. Governmental concern with just physical

health, physical strength, and those things which are common to all animals, is not enough. The philosophy of a democracy must be the welfare of the population through an awareness of the total welfare of the individual and the composite citizenry. This, of course, demands a high degree of sensitivity to the aesthetic, cultural, and spiritual well being. It also demands action in response to this sensitive perception.

The moral support of the arts in principle stems from, and has been a part of, our heritage from the very early days of our national development. Action in the form of subsidy which stimulates the arts remains yet to be realized. Many object, however, saying, "Why the federal government?" or, "Why any government? The support should come from elsewhere."

As a result we have a condition which can best be described through another American institution—baseball. The pop fly over second base. The center fielder thinks the shortstop has it, the second baseman thinks the center fielder or shortstop will cover it, and the ball falls unfielded. We will have, in fact have had, a similar confusion. In the support of the arts by extensive market development or individual patronage, no subsidy would be needed. Our economy has not allowed this thus far, however, and we have to face the realistic facts.

To do this through government is clearly justified by what we do in other areas of need. We are moved by the picture of mal-nutrition, whether here or in other countries, and are impelled to furnish money for these who are so in need. We should; but we should also concern ourselves with another form of starvation—starvation of the spirit. We are continually, and with increased concern, giving support to programs to forestall the development in our culture of various forms of human degeneracy. There certainly are more than just these apparent forms—there is, likewise, a degeneracy of the spirit which needs serious consideration. We need to concern ourselves in the matter of man's life with the physical potential in improving "the prison." But our goal should

not be to just "improve the prison but, rather, to transcend it." We can transcend it only through the strength, vitality and support of the spiritual factors including the arts.

There is ample justification in terms of our internal policies for support of the arts and, certainly, in terms of a view with respect to our external policies, government support of the arts would be extremely meaningful. The late Dr. Whitney Griswold has said it very well, "I do not in the least minimize our need to strengthen the sciences by every means we can, yet I am convinced that science alone, unaided by the arts, cannot save us either as a nation or as a civilization. In both respects our salvation depends not only upon our military prowess but also upon our ability to win the confidence of the free nations and arouse the hopes of the people of the unfree. What those people think of us will be as important to our security as our scientific weapons, perhaps more important, as it could obviate the necessity of employing those weapons in a mutually destructive nuclear war. In making up their minds what they think about us these people will judge us by our culture and in the representation of that culture our arts will speak with authority."

In terms of justification it seems to me there can be no question, in process and method we have worked out very well the logistics of grants through the foundations for the sciences, education, and the arts. We have, in some degree, done the same through the existing agencies dispersing federal grants. It is not a new concept nor would it involve new concepts in procedure. The establishment of a commission which could receive requests for projects worthy of support from well established groups or groups giving sufficient promise of significant contribution in the performing arts and which would screen the applications and make the grants on either current contribution or great potential. In the non-performing arts, commissions for works of art, for exploration in art media, and for composition, certainly could be carefully screened for the selection of sufficiently well-established or promising artists. In California, in the past few months, a law introduced by Jesse M. Unruh, Speaker of the Assembly for the State of California, and a number of the leading legislators, created a Fine Arts Commission. The newly-developing regional art commissions in various parts of the country could be used for screening applicants. There

are sufficient criteria and official sanction groups which exist, or could be created, to be sure that the subsidies, whether for matching monies raised by groups, or outright grants to groups or individuals, were given to solid workers in the field and were not dissipated by supporting dilettantes. It certainly would, and should, be recognized that not every artist or every unit of artists in existence would be supported by subsidy. The financial support would go to those individuals or groups whose work would bring results that would raise the quality and the impulse coming from art work in the various regions of our nation.

**Comment by
Horace M.
Kallen,
Philosopher**



★ I favor the support of artists and art institutions by all governments—federal, state and municipal.

Such support is now being belatedly extended to scientists and scientific institutions. It began to be extended to students in the natural and social sciences only after the First World War, but had long been practiced toward private enterprise by means of subsidies to businesses such as land, sea and air transportation, run for profit. By means of exemption from taxation it was, and is being, extended to churches, private colleges

and universities, libraries, foundations, and among the arts, symphony orchestras.

No one doubts that the current support of scientists and scientific institutions was much stimulated by the mounting rivalries of the cold war. Nor does any one doubt that the support of business enterprises owed much to lobbies, and to other influences exerted by special interests on legislators and various administrative agencies. These influences are part of our political mores, however much they may be regarded as morally unprincipled and legally forbidden practices of our insisted-upon "free enterprise," our libertarian, *laissez-faire* economy.

Now it can readily be shown that, on the whole and in the long run, only the arts and the sciences—the arts far more than the sciences—are authentic practitioners of free enterprise. Their existence, survival and growth are functions of the free exercise of minds pursuing the knowledge and mastering the know-how without which neither art nor science can be productive.

Authoritarian political and economic oligarchies do not need to be shown. They know. The communist powers of Russia, of China and of their satellites exploit this freedom of the mind to the limit. So did the Fascists of Italy and the Nazis of Germany before their overthrow. As a dairy farmer provides his cows with whatever he believes they need in order to produce for him the most and richest milk that he might sell at a profit, so authoritarian governments subsidize the freedom of their scientists and artists not that they should inquire, discover and create as they choose, but that they shall use their knowledge and skill to satisfy the authorities' demands, and only that. In so far as their artists and scientists are free, they are free within the limits set by the requirements of their masters.

Free governments may not employ subsidies thus. To do so would be to betray the liberties which they are instituted to secure, to nourish and to enlarge. Those are the *fons et origo* of the arts and the sciences, which more than any other human endeavor depend for their achievements on choosings by their practitioners between old ways and on their creating new ones. As Albert Einstein said at a dinner in honor of Max Planck, "This daily striving is dictated by no principle or program, but arises from immediate personal need. The emotional condition which renders possible such achievements is like that of the religious devotee or lover ... like a demoniac pos-

session." Inherent and unalienable in all men, this striving is especially notable in men of art. It is the quality that a democratic government would above all be subsidizing and would need to subsidize unconditionally, if it were to contribute to the support of artists and art institutions.

And it is precisely this quality of artists that political, religious, economic and cultural powers fear more than any other, including that which signalizes the scientist. For scientists are, first and last, discoverers and inventors. They explore and manipulate nature, which is always and everywhere the same to be explored and worked over. If free to search and seek, the scientist will find, or other ones will. Lost sciences can be recovered; inventions can be repeated and improved upon.

Not so with works of art. Artists, whatever their medium, are neither finders nor repeaters. They are makers. Each is a unique cause of unique effects. His products can be only if he has been. Leonardo da Vinci's scientific ideas have been repeated, developed and applied by others who came after him; his paintings are his alone, and singular to his singularity. And this is the case with every art, in every medium. Artists create innovations of thought and of form which power-holders fear will redirect and transvalue manners and morals and topple their power-structures; artists project images, ideas and ideals in prose and poetry, in pictures and sculptures, in music, song and dance, which turn men on new ways of life and thought and soon or later reshape their faiths and works. Willy nilly, men of art are springs of disorder. Their creations so challenge established power and privilege that tycoons, clerics, politicians and other elite strive to harness up the creators to vehicles of their own interests; or failing this, to suppress and silence them by means of both overt and covert policing.

Consequently, a major function of government support of the arts in a democracy is to secure the freedom of the artist from such containments. Years ago, Franklin Roosevelt observed at the opening of New York's Museum of Modern Art, "The arts cannot thrive except when men are free to be themselves and to be in charge of the discipline of their own energies and ardors.

The conditions for democracy and for art are one and the same. What we call liberty in politics results in freedom in the arts." And economic support redirects this freedom from the compulsions of earning the daily bread to the urgencies of creating the works of art which are the bread of the spirit.

Since, for democracy, freedom is an unalienable right, and since the artistic enterprise is the most nearly and the most purely libertarian that our "free enterprise system" presently sustains, it is the given task of government to protect this right, even more than the rights to life and the pursuit of happiness. Americans strive, under the Constitution, to "secure those rights" for everybody, whatever the body's sex, race, ethnic derivation or occupation. Their security constitutes "the general welfare." And a prime factor in the general welfare is the phrase, "welfare state." And a prime factor in the general welfare is the freedom of the artist to imagine, to express, and to communicate even the strangest and most deviant of his imaginings, and to make himself master of the knowledge and skill which are the instruments of successful communication.

How many governments—federal, state and municipal—assure this freedom of the

artist? Much in the same way as now the freedom of the scientist is being assured. There are precedents which can be developed and improved upon, in the methods of the Section of Fine Arts of the Federal Works Agency of the Great Depression. Already, I believe in 1943, the eminent painter George Biddle proposed a reorganization of this Section and of other Federal Art projects for after World War II, a reorganization which should aim at liberating and perfecting the powers of Americans with artistic talent—I should myself add, in *all* media, not alone those of the graphic and plastic arts—by providing appropriate opportunity to learn the skills which the pursuit of excellence and the manifestation of originality require; also by setting up an "information bureau and clearing-house to integrate art and industry;" and by the President's appointing, after consultation with representatives of the nation's art groups—especially those with professional competency—a chairman to be responsible for the entire undertaking. At this writing, it seems to me that Mr. Biddle's proposal, as I recall it, with due safeguards against bureaucratic control and all that this implies, would make an apt base for discussion and development.

Comment by Jacques Jaujard, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, France*

★ You ask me our view of the relations between the government and the arts. Whether it be a matter of stimulating the dissemination of culture or of the creation of works of art or mind—both tasks assigned to our Department—our basic rule is to make of the action of the State, not an instrument of pressure, but a new form of public service, animated by a spirit of the utmost liberalism—which alone is compatible with the very lofty concept of culture that presided over the creation of our Ministry.

More specifically, as regards subsidies to artists, the only criteria which are taken

into account are—quite apart from any consideration of schools or trends—the esthetic and human value of their works, or of the project which they are to be encouraged to carry out. They are given perfect freedom in the realization of their projects. There can be no question either in the field of creation or that of artistic education, of our Ministry imposing any directive whatsoever and the intervention of the State is strictly limited to the budgetary level.

Translated by Edouard Morot-Sir
Cultural Counselor
Representative in the United States
of French Universities

*The next issue of Arts in Society will publish the table of organization of the French Ministry of Cultural Affairs and also its 1963 budget, which describes subsidies granted by the French government to the performing arts, museums, and artists.

role of the arts in the department of state cultural relations program*

BY JAMES A. DONOVAN, JR.

I want to say first that I come totally uninstructed from the Department of State as to what to say, and I think this is good for this kind of a conference. Some of what I will say represents really my own opinion. I'm not sure all of my colleagues in the Department or the United States Information Agency, which, as you know, runs the cultural program overseas for the Department of State, would agree. I rather suspect further, that all of you should be telling me what the role of the arts should be in the Department's cultural relations and educational exchange programs.

In any case, it is clear from what was said this afternoon that some of you know that there is something afoot in Washington as regards culture, flowing out of the White House and elsewhere. With all the controversy we sometimes forget that willy-nilly the government is already deep in the arts. I personally do think, though, that you have to watch out for the over-organization that Dr. Harold Taylor was talking about this afternoon. And whenever anyone makes strictures about over-organization, as he did, I'm reminded of a story. I thought of it this morning when I was coming along Lake Michigan on the train because it is told of T. V. Smith who used to teach philosophy at the University of Chicago. He said that as he was once walking along Lake Michigan on a beautiful day, a great big piece of truth came fluttering down out of the sky. It landed in his hands, and while he was examining this piece of truth, which after all one doesn't get one's hands on very often, he felt someone looking over his shoulder. It was the devil himself, and he was saying "Let's organize it!"

So, artists, like all good American citizens, should keep a close eye on what the government is up to because art, not unlike religion and politics, is a subject which is largely immeasurable and indefinable.

The Department of State's relationships with the arts are in many ways easier than

those of other government agencies because, to be frank, we simply make use of artists, in the broadest sense. I'll come back to this later.

I think that there is a lot of fuzzy thinking about the relationship of art and the government. It is reflected in something which I told the man who sat next to me at supper, who happens to be Superintendent of Schools here in Racine, Wisconsin. I told him that I'd been appointed last year as a member of the city school board in northern Virginia where I live. One of the first things I was given to read was a pamphlet about the schools which said among other things that music is taught in the schools because children learn to get along with other people if they play in an orchestra. To do this teaches the children to cooperate. It struck me that this is a very peculiar justification for the teaching of music; but that is what the pamphlet said. And this is the kind of reasoning that one sometimes encounters; a government agency justifying its support of the arts for the wrong reasons.

The Department's Educational Exchange and Cultural Relations Program which began in 1938, when the first Division of Cultural Relations was organized within the Department, has always been characterized by three principles which I think are very good. The first of these is reciprocity, meaning that the other countries with which we're dealing must permit a free flow of information to take place between us and them, and to let their citizens in and out and ours in and out.

The other principle, the second one, is objectivity. We have never tried to conceal the faults of the United States from any of the exchange students or visitors who come here. On the other hand, we have also not been hesitant to point out our virtues.

But the third principle, the one which concerns us more this evening, is that of maximum cooperation with private organizations and groups, institutions, universities and individuals. Here we come to our relationship, in many ways, with the world of the arts. The Department gets advice from all kinds of private citizens. We seek this advice. We contract with agencies such as the Institute of International Education to screen and place and supervise the American and foreign students in all fields, including the arts. They have set up panels in music and art and sculpture and drama and so forth. The Department of State does not itself pretend to be expert in all these fields, although I think some of us are reasonably well cultured and know something about some of these things, but we do not ourselves make the judgments on who ought to get a grant in the field of art or music or whatever. We rely on these so-called contract agencies, the Institute for Students, the Conference Board of Associated Research Councils for the professors and research scholars, and their advisory groups in turn, to make these judgments for us as to who ought to go overseas, or come here on Department grants.

Now, since we have been doing this for a good many years, you may be interested to know that over the last ten years the Department has exchanged 4,000 persons in the field of the arts. About two thirds of these have been outgoing Americans. This is because of the Fulbright Program, of course, a large program for sending American professors, teachers, research scholars and students overseas. About one third of the 4,000 were incoming foreign leaders, professors, lecturers, specialists, students of art history, and creative artists who attend schools of architecture or fine arts and the like. I could give you all the figures, but let me just say that 217 Americans have gone out in the last ten years in the field of theatre arts and 186 foreigners have come to us. In the field of music, 772 Americans have gone overseas and 258 persons from abroad have come to our shores, some of them to engage in observation of the American music world, some of them to study or do research.

Now let me tell you about some of the persons, the outstanding individuals, who have gone out on what we call the American Specialist Program, the short-termers who go out more specifically to lecture for the Government, although none of them is instructed by the Government as to what to say.

Let me add at the outset in discussing these, that while we do get outside advice about such persons and do use private professional organizations for such guidance, yet with this type of grantee, the choice is made by the Department. Those working in the Department on the American Specialist program have much to say about the choice.

One of the first I intend to name here is one of your afternoon speakers, Mr. Karl Shapiro. He has been out on a State Department grant to lecture about poetry, and I venture to guess that he would back me up when I say that no one in the Department of State told him what he was supposed to say about it. He went out partly because some of us in the Department happen to be readers of poetry ourselves. I, for one, admire his poetry, and I thought he would be a good one to send out.

The other poets we have sent out more recently are Richard Wilbur and Peter Viereck from Wesleyan University and Mount Holyoke College respectively. We have also sent Allen Tate and Robert Penn Warren.

In the field of music many names come to mind, Aaron Copland was a lecturer. So, too, was Agustin Anievas. This is a young pianist who went to South America last year with his wife. When he returned to New York, he won the Mitropoulis Award of \$5,000 as a pianist. The reason I mention his wife is that some of these grants have added features. She had a grant too; she happens to be a specialist in the teaching of retarded and blind children; and they made a very useful and interesting team to send abroad.

Seymour Bernstein, Joel Rosen and Malcolm Frager are other persons in the field of music who have been abroad on Department grants and, of course, Howard Mitchell, the conductor of the National Symphony.

In the field of the theater we have sent Rosamond Gilder, Margaret Webster, among many others. We have sent many persons connected with university theater departments, some of whom have worked in Tehran in Iran, setting up a complete school, really organizing a school of the drama there. More famous writers are Thornton Wilder, William Faulkner, Carl Sandburg, Mary McCarthy and Saul Bellow. All of these have received department grants.

And for examples of more composers, we have sent out Roy Harris, and Virgil Thomson. Another writer we sent out, was Katherine Anne Porter; in painting, William Arthur Smith and Jimmy Ernst have been to the Soviet Union. Franklin Watson, a well known artist and instructor of painting in the Philadelphia Academy of Arts also went there; and so on and on. I think that you can see that we're getting a lot of very good representatives of the arts, indeed.

In the performing arts we have perhaps our most spectacular program. Here we have the program which began in 1954 as the President's Emergency Fund Program. It is now called the Cultural Presentations Program. The details of this are handled for us by the American National Theater and Academy, following the principle I mentioned earlier, that the Department of State does not set itself up to be an arbiter in the arts. We use the American National Theater and Academy panels to give the Department their artistic judgment as to whether a particular individual, or group of persons, is qualified really to go out and represent the best of art in the United States. I venture to say some of the attractions that have gone out perhaps would not have been agreed on by all of you. On the other hand, the quality has been extremely high. I believe

Mr. Willard Swire, who is in the audience tonight, can tell you that. Again, the Department of State has never interfered with the artistic judgment of the ANTA music or dance or drama panels.

It's no secret to you that Benny Goodman is in the Soviet Union right now on this program. And earlier this year, last summer and fall the American Theater Guild Repertory Company with Helen Hayes as its star went to Europe and then to Latin America. The Golden Gate Quartet traveled all over Africa for us. The Eastman School of Music Philharmonia was a tremendous success everywhere it went in Europe including the Soviet Union.

One of the wonderful things about using such young people, such as the Howard University Choir or the University of Maine Theater group or the Eastman group or the University of Michigan symphonic band for example, is the way they get out and mix with the population of the country. Some of you may have read the article by Robert Bendiner in *Show* magazine a couple of months ago in which he commented on this point. He said that the old pros in the music business might retire to their hotel rooms to play poker after the concert is over, but that the young people actually get out and mingle with the crowds. They're terribly eager to ask questions about the country they are visiting, and this, naturally, makes a fine impression.

The cultural presentations program has been operating for the last several years, or since 1954 at about two and a quarter million dollars a year, which is really not a great deal of money. In fact, it's far too low for what we would like to do. The Department is asking Congress this year for about six million dollars. The Department has made its presentation to the House Appropriations Sub-Committee headed by Congressman John Rooney of Brooklyn. Mr. Rooney's committee has not yet reported out, as they say, meaning the Committee hasn't yet made up its mind how much it will give the Department for this program.

Whenever I talk about money, and requesting Congress for it, I'm reminded of a story I heard before the Brussels World's Fair in 1958. An American Foreign Service Officer was discussing with a Russian counterpart in the city of Brussels how much the Russians were going to pay for their share of the World's Fair. The Russian gave him a sort of a quizzical, puzzled look, not knowing exactly what the question meant, and said, "Well, we'll pay what it costs."

And yet, indeed, we find ourselves in the position of making a response to a challenge. The Russians are active in cultural relations. They are said to spend more on books, for instance, in one Latin American country alone than we spend in our whole book program for all of Latin America.

I think that it's interesting that the international responsibilities which the country has had thrust upon it are forcing us to take a close look at our own society. You know that the Russians on October 4th, as I remember, of 1957 got the first satellite, the Sputnik, up in the air. This gave us all the shakes, and we went back to take a look at our own science education. This is a fine thing and is presumably the challenge and response in our civilization which Mr. Arnold Toynbee talks about. By the same token, the President's Emergency Fund Program which began in 1954 was started because we were nervous. The Government was concerned about the inroads that Russians were making with the performing arts that they were sending out, which included everything from dancing bears and jugglers to the "high" cultural things like the Bolshoi Ballet.

So whether you like it or not, we are in this business of international educational exchange and cultural relations for reasons which, indeed, are sometimes called propaganda reasons. Those of us in Washington who deal with this are sensitive, extremely

sensitive, as to whether we are actually engaging in education or propaganda. When you send Helen Hayes and company to put on a show such as "The Skin of Our Teeth," when the Boston Symphony Orchestra plays to an enormous crowd in Tokyo, and the persons listening have a genuinely enriching experience, is this propaganda for the United States? I ask you, is it? Think about it.

I don't know all the answers to this and nobody else does either, but I do think that the more we sit at meetings like this and talk, and the more advice, genuine, good, solid advice that you give to the Department of State and the United States Information Agency on all these subjects, the better off we will all be. We certainly welcome and need your advice.

Now another thing that you can do touches a little bit on what Dr. Taylor said earlier about August Heckscher, that he thought that if the government was going to get into the business of stimulating the arts, it's a fine thing that we have a good sensitive person like August Heckscher as adviser to the White House. And what I'm underscoring is that you can all have something to say about the kinds of persons who are put in charge of any program, including the Department of State's cultural relations programs and including the cultural affairs officers overseas. When you get overseas and you have dealings with USIA personnel take a close look and make up your own minds as to whether or not these persons are indeed the cultured persons they should be. It's a mundane matter, this hiring of personnel, but nevertheless, it's entirely true that the kinds of artistic achievements of the United States, which are represented overseas, are going to be influenced by personnel in government from the White House on down to the Assistant Cultural Affairs Officer in, say, Nairobi. This is something which I think you can study as the occasion arises and can give advice and counsel to the State Department about it, to help assure that the persons hired in cultural positions are capable ones.

When the Government no longer receives guidance from the private citizens, we're dead as a nation. Believe me, we need more and more conferences like this to produce thought on which sound advice can be based. This brings me back, really, to the main point as to why we are so dependent upon you. We need you to develop the artist in the schools; to develop community and other regional centers to help produce good musicians, artists, sculptors because these are the products, if you will, that the Department of State wants to exhibit overseas.

But, in any case, I trust that what I have said gives you some notion of the difficulties involved in these Department programs. They are complex, dealing as they now are with over a hundred countries of the world, and many of them, only newly emerging; many of them extremely nationalistic and proud of their cultural heritage, perhaps one of the few things they have to export. As one last point, let me say that one of the best provisions of the Fulbright-Hays Act, signed by the President on the 21st of last September, is that it authorizes the Department of State to keep bringing to the United States cultural presentations, art exhibits, etc. from other countries. This is again a subject on which we will surely need the advice of private citizens. We are not going to have much, if any, money for it right away, and the problems involved in deciding whether to bring a performing group from Guatemala or one from the Ivory Coast will be extremely touchy matters. But we do have authorization under the new law to do so and this will make for the enrichment of culture in the United States.

QUESTION: You started your talk by indicating that you are at least reasonably afraid of what the government might do if it started dipping its fingers into our cultural life and

then went on to describe your own government organization as doing this with impunity, evidently.

DONOVAN: Well, I think this is because government has not itself got into the questions of quality and content. We turn to private groups for advice; such groups as . . .

QUESTION:—Why, this is my point. Can't this policy always be followed?

DONOVAN: I would think that it certainly could. You know if there is something set up like a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, I should think that it would not want to get itself engaged at all in the content of the art, but rather in some of the economic problems that the arts have. On the other hand, there are persons who want Government subsidies for individual artists and I personally do not see how we can do this. Yet the Scandinavian countries and our friends north of here, the Canadians, are doing some of this. I don't know quite how they have solved all the problems.

QUESTION: Would you say that the central policy of the State Department in culture at the present time is focused on fighting Russia or in developing and projecting our own culture?

DONOVAN: Well, that's a good question. And it worries me, because you find yourself doing things you have to and then wonder if you're doing them for the right reason. The Division of Cultural Relations in the Department of State was organized in 1938 as a response to the political challenge of Nazi Germany in South America. Everybody knows this. The Nazis were making great inroads with cultural and information centers, and libraries, and radio programs and our Government became concerned about it. So we as a people through our Government found ourselves in cultural foreign relations and this has had an enormous number of side effects. Senator Fulbright may have had direct political goals in mind when he sponsored his amendment of the War Surplus Property Act of 1944, which was the basis of the original Fulbright Act passed in 1946. Yet the countries where the war surplus property remained, were those, naturally, where our troops had been. If you look at them on the map you see they range all the way from Iceland through Western Europe, North Africa, the Middle East and right on to Japan and Korea. A close look at the whole map shows that these countries ring the Soviet Union. This is just a happenstance of where we fought the war and where the war surplus property was left over, etc. But there we are. The political effects of this must, willy-nilly, have been and must be, incalculable. What I am sure Senator Fulbright had mostly in mind was educating the American people to the responsibilities which were about to be thrust upon them. The Senator knew what a Rhodes scholarship had done for him.

So I don't think that I can answer your question in a clear cut way. Are we fighting Russia? Yes, in a way. We, the American people, have a forty-seven billion dollar defense budget. The Department of State is asking the Congress this year for approximately fifty-six million dollars for the total educational exchange and cultural relations program. Senator Symington, I believe, pointed out that our total annual budget costs about one hour of the Defense Department's budget. In the long run some believe ours will do more good. It is interesting to speculate as to what would happen if we spent even one billion a year on this program. It enriches the lives of people here and overseas and does all kinds of useful things as well, but the political realities are present also and you've always got these as a backdrop in Washington. I'm sorry this is true, but it is.

KARL SHAPIRO: This is not a question, Mr. Donovan, but I'd like to say a word in corroboration of what you said, since you did mention me going abroad for the State Department, and giving as I did lectures about Walt Whitman, in India where Walt Whitman is one of the Great White Hindus. This was a very good thing for me. And I think it was a good thing for them, although my experience there was political, because, as you know, all the Indians want to know what's going on in Arkansas and what would happen to them if they came to the United States. *Outside* of the United States I think this is a perfectly valid function of the State Department.

ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF
THE SUBSIDY BATTLE ...

the paradox of american culture*

BY THE HONORABLE FRANK THOMPSON, JR.,
MEMBER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

In November 1961 Leopold Stokowski, testifying before a House Education Subcommittee said: "The future of the fine arts in the United States is in great danger." During the course of the Subcommittee's hearings the substance of that danger was explained and elaborated upon by dozens of other witnesses. As the record grew, the underlying paradox became more evident and more perplexing: never before in the history of this country has there been such interest or activity in what may be broadly termed "the arts," yet the future of the arts is unquestionably in danger.

Secretary of Labor Arthur J. Goldberg, in his landmark award in the Metropolitan Opera arbitration, struck to the heart of the paradox when he said "The problem, of course, is money." Production costs have outpaced the income required to defray these costs. In our nonprofit artistic institutions, such as the Metropolitan Opera—those institutions that must go to the public to make up deficits—the answer can even further be refined: the great benefactors who once provided the support for these institutions are a disappearing breed. The President of the San Francisco Opera Association testified that whenever an opera patron whose income is in the 90 percent tax bracket dies, ten other patrons must be found to make up the difference.

It is dangerous, of course, to oversimplify the economic problems of the arts; they are extremely complex and broad-ranging problems, and each art field has its own peculiar troubles. While I have no training as an economist, there is a problem—undoubtedly a by-product of the economic difficulties in the arts—which I would like to discuss from my point of view as one who has an "extracurricular" interest in the arts and as one who has some responsibility for legislation in this area. What concerns me is—to put it in rather grandiose terms—the quality of our culture.

*This essay was originally prepared as a working paper for the Wingspread National Conference on the Arts.

Representative Thompson, Chairman of the Select Subcommittee on Education, of the House Committee on Education and Labor, conducted hearings in New York, San Francisco and Washington D.C., during 1961 and 1962 on the economic conditions of the performing arts. The published transcript of these hearings is available through the United States Government Printing Office.

It is undeniable that the lack of money in the arts can cause serious deficiencies in the technical quality of what is produced. That is what troubled Maestro Stokowski when he testified before my Subcommittee. Speaking of the results of the Metropolitan Opera difficulties of last year he said:

Everything is underrehearsed. The performances are not anywhere what they should be because they are not prepared. There is not enough money to make the necessary rehearsals. Every program is done at risks. Things go wrong during the performance because it is unprepared.

I work in the two opera houses of New York City, the Metropolitan and City Center. Both those houses are terribly behind the times in their equipment. They are from 40 to 50 years behind the times in equipment. That is one reason why the performances are not as good as they should be.

This basic problem can be projected into every corner of the artistic world: the work of the young painter suffers because he is unable to afford decent equipment; the work of the actor suffers because he is unable to pay for the additional training he requires to improve his art; the gifted young musician cannot afford as fine an instrument as his talent deserves; the repertory theatre company cannot hire top-flight performers.

A more serious problem is posed, however, by the inclination to compromise that is created by the lack of money. Artistic entrepreneurs are forced to seek lower common denominators in programming. In order to produce anything at all they are forced toward the accepted, the familiar, the popular. They cannot risk alienating audiences by leaning too heavily on the experimental or the unknown. Consider the Lewisohn Stadium Concerts in New York City, for example. The purpose of the Stadium Concerts is to bring fine music to the people of New York at the lowest possible admission price. The Stadium Orchestra is made up of members of the New York Philharmonic. Each year the Concerts run tremendous deficits, and ticket prices cannot be raised much more without abandoning the philosophy underlying the endeavor. In order to reduce the deficit the managers have attempted to make their programs more "popular." A "Rodgers and Hammerstein" evening has been introduced, for example.

I do not condemn this, and I think the Stadium Concerts have served an extremely valuable function. It saddens me, however, to think that a fine orchestra has to schedule music from musical comedy in order to provide some support for more enduring music.

If you think me guilty of arrant snobbery, I beg you to withhold judgment for a few moments.

It is paradoxical that the inclination toward popularity can result not only where there is a lack of money, but also where there is an abundance. The Broadway Theatre is a prime example. Of course, millions of dollars go down the drain, but when a Broadway show connects there are fabulous profits to be made. And which shows generally connect? Musicals and comedies. At the time of this writing the New York Times lists twenty-two shows on Broadway. Thirteen of these were musicals and six were comedies (including "Gideon" by Paddy Chayevsky). Only three could be classified as "serious drama." Admittedly this was not the height of the New York theatre season, but the composition is characteristic.

The really sensational popularity of popular musicals has caused some interesting developments in the complexion of theatre financing. Some of the biggest "angels" on Broadway today are record companies and ticket scalpers. Columbia backed "My Fair Lady", for instance, and their sales of the original-cast recording have already exceeded \$15 million. Similarly, by backing shows likely to be hits the scalpers have an inside track to the "ice"—the illegal premiums that can be charged on tickets in great demand. It is unlikely that such investors—either record companies or "iceman"—would put that much money into pure dramatic works. It just wouldn't pay.

If the Broadway picture seems discouraging one need only look to television for solace. Hour after hour of precious air time is trickled away on what is really unmitigated drivel. Television is a medium that has great potential as an art form. It combines the vitality and immediacy of the stage with the flexibility of the motion picture. But not only has there been no sustained attempt to develop and exploit these advantages in promoting the medium, there has been a rejection of the advantages. Evening television now consists almost entirely of filmed package shows, loosely joined together by canned laughter and unbearable advertising. And the only reason for this is that in the opinion of the advertising agencies, at least, drivel sells good, like entertainment should.

I am sure that the opinions I have expressed here will stir indignation in many—particularly in those who believe that the law of supply and demand should govern the arts just as it is supposed to govern any other industry. What standing do I have to condemn the "drivel" in television, or to scorn popularity in the serious arts? Should not the American public determine what it wants? Why is the judgment of some self-styled uplifter any better than that of the average citizen? It was in this vein, incidentally, that the television network executives responded to the Federal Communications Commission recently during an investigation of TV programming. They were, of course, attempting to justify their existing, highly lucrative programming—what former FCC Chairman Minow had referred to as a "vast wasteland"—and one cannot help feeling that they were being somewhat disingenuous.

I think questions can be answered without affecting an attitude of intellectual superiority and without scorning the public "taste"—even assuming that our current fare is a true reflection of public taste. Although the lines may sometimes be difficult to draw, there are clear distinctions in principle between art and entertainment, between inspired expressions of human insight and mere diversions. Great art is always good entertainment, but good entertainment is not always art. There is an important place in life for diversion and entertainment, but certainly our great cultural heritage is worth preserving. If so, it is equally certain that our era has a responsibility to add to the richness of this heritage by encouraging excellence in the present. It may be a fact of life that there is

more money in pure entertainment than there is in pure art, but it is wrong, in my opinion, to work on the assumption that because entertainment sells, art will not sell. It is wrong to assume that because a television show sells soap or toothpaste it is the kind of show the public demands. To a great extent the public has as little room for sensible choice among television shows as one does in selecting aspirin in a store. Rather than exploit the potential that exists in the medium for increasing public awareness and raising public taste the television networks have disclaimed any such responsibility. The philosophy seems to be that if it sells—and sells soap and toothpaste as well—why take chances. Are economic conditions in the serious arts leading to the same thing? If so, if a lack of money is creating a compulsion to compromise, some other source of relief must be found in order to maintain high standards; if a compulsion is being created by an abundance of advertising money, every effort must be made to keep an appropriate balance between the excellent and the frivolous.

The basic problem, after all, is one of education and exposure. What is needed is a broader base of interest in and financial support for the arts throughout the country.



the new deal's treasury art programs

A MEMOIR

BY OLIN DOWS

In discussing the Roosevelt Administration's Treasury Art Program, I should like to characterize each of the New Deal's individual art projects.

What I have to say may not be very lively: during the War I gave a talk to an art school in London about these United States Government programs when Sir Herbert Read was in the audience. I was told afterwards he complained that I did not talk like an artist at all. Indeed I did not. I talked like an administrator, a bureaucrat, and I shall be writing like one now. The pertinent points of this discussion are: How was the program handled? How was the work obtained? How much did it cost? What kind of work was done? Who did it? What were its fruits, human, artistic and social?

Although this article is not an artistic appraisal, I shall incidentally and inevitably make judgments. I do want to get the facts down as I remember them, relieved by some of the imponderables that suggest the way those of us who ran the programs felt, the reasons we acted as we did, how we solved our problems. This kind of material can only be obtained now, and very incompletely at that, by reading the documents, voluminous correspondence and releases on file in the National Archives in Washington. As our

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT BUILDING

INSTALLED MURAL—WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE NEW DEAL'S TREASURY ART PROGRAMS

government may again undertake some kind of art program, and as we are in the middle of what is called a cultural boom—which the government programs of the thirties did much to stimulate—it seems timely for me to add what I can to the record.

Human economic relief was the motive behind all the New Deal's art programs. That is why they were so easily accepted both by the public and the politicians. If it had not been for the great depression, it is unlikely that our government would have sponsored more art than it had in the past.

There were four programs:

1. The first was called the Public Works of Art Project (PWAP), a crash relief program administered without a strict relief test in the Treasury Department. It lasted six months from December, 1933, to June, 1934, employed about 3700 artists, and cost about \$1,312,000.

2. The Section of Painting and Sculpture, later called the Section of Fine Arts, was the second program, also administered by the Treasury Department. It obtained painting and sculpture to decorate new federal buildings, largely post offices and court houses, by anonymous competitions. Inaugurated in October, 1934, it faded away in 1943. It awarded about 1400 contracts and cost about \$2,571,000.

3. The Treasury Relief Art Project, financed in July, 1935, by an allocation of funds from the WPA to the Treasury for the decoration of federal buildings, was administered by the Section according to the same relief rules as was the WPA. It employed about 330 persons, 75% of whom were on relief. It cost about \$735,700 and was discontinued in 1939.

4. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) Federal Art Project, a large relief program that included, besides the plastic arts (which alone concern us here), drama, music, and writing. It started in August, 1935, was administered according to the relief rules of the WPA, lasted until June, 1942, and cost about \$69,578,000. Slightly over 5000 persons were employed at its peak.

I shall be writing about the first three of these, and will call them the Treasury Programs.* I make no distinction between relief and non-relief artists, as there should be none. Some of the best work was done on the relief program. What I have to say about the WPA project is given from an outsider's point of view.

Many people believe that government should not get mixed up in art patronage. Although they may be right, I believe it should. In the past it has ordered works of art,

**As it would take several hundred pictures even to suggest the quality, scope and variety of work done under the Treasury Programs, and as the number and available reproductions are limited, I have chosen to emphasize by illustrations the work of those artists who have developed greater reputations than they had in the thirties. I regret that consequently many jobs, both large important mural and sculptural schemes and ever so many small single panels, cannot be shown here.*

built public buildings and monuments, and decorated them with painting and sculpture, all paid for with tax money. I think it is suitable and socially and artistically beneficial that this historic policy be continued and amplified. I am convinced it will become necessary to have a national policy about art and a program to implement it.

As I also believe that the effective way to stimulate a living art is by purchase, commission, awarding prizes and scholarships, I want to see as much variety as possible in the sources of these stimuli. I believe that no matter how stuffy, limited, "chi-chi," or pedestrian the administration of Fine Arts Bureaus may be (and this goes for Museums and Foundations as well), it is better to have them than not to have them. The greater diversity there is in their points of view and administration, the better.

Museum, foundation, and official commissions, purchases and awards rarely go to the very great. For one reason, there are few men of genius at any given period of time; sometimes there are none. For another, those who decide, the other professionals, the hangers-on of art, museum directors, critics, collectors and amateurs, do not always recognize genius. What we do recognize, is ability, competence, and sometimes superlative professional performance in recent fashions of visions. Admittedly, the distinction between superlative professional performance and genius gets blurred with time.

There must be a broad base for a national art. The world is richer both for the work and the social contribution of the competent professional artist. Fundamentally it is he, egged on by outside forces, who sets the artistic climate or fashion. I have lived long enough to have seen several such fashions greatly influence our profession. To mention only three, Eugene Savage, Josef Albers, and now Jack Tworkov have succeeded each other as head of the Yale School of Fine Arts; they are examples of the talented and able professionals who at a certain time are bought by the museums, win the prizes, head the important schools. There are other artists, often rather obscure ones, whose expression is difficult, limited, or does not appeal to the current fashion; whose personalities are retiring and little disposed to influencing others. They too are important to a national art. For example, I recently visited the Smithsonian Museum to see the annual exhibition of the Washington Water Color Society. A small wash drawing called "The Married Couple" by Aaron Sopher of Baltimore was the picture I most enjoyed. I was glad to see that Sopher had grown, and continued to develop his own satiric, acid, yet compassionate vision. I had not seen his work since 1940, when Forbes Watson gave me his thin book on the artist, published by Theodore Taub of Baltimore. As can be seen from the two small reproduced drawings done for the Treasury Program, Sopher's work has great personal distinction, which, in my opinion, has still not had sufficient recognition, though he is represented in the Cone, Phillip's and Dumbarton Oaks collections and has been reproduced in the *New Yorker* and the *New Masses*.

The importance of the Treasury Program, as well as its salutary effect on our national art, is largely owing to the fact that it included such artists as Eugene Savage, Gifford Beale, and Sidney Waugh, and at the same time—in the nineteen thirties, remember—Aaron Sopher, Bradley Tomlin, and Saul Baizerman. Being something of an artistic "mugwump" I am skeptical of the final validity of all artistic fashions and believe in the widest representation possible of artists and styles.

The Public Works of Art Project

If the first crash art program had not been so carefully thought out and expertly organized, I doubt that other programs would have been undertaken. The man mainly responsible for this was Edward Bruce. He was absorbed by the idea, and in a certain sense killed himself making it materialize.

The idea itself was already being discussed. American artists traveling in Mexico had been impressed with that government's immensely successful mural program, employing its best artists in public buildings at workman's wages. George Biddle wrote his Groton schoolmate, President Roosevelt, proposing that he and a group of distinguished American painters, Thomas Benton, John Stuart Curry, Reginald Marsh, Henry Varnum Poor, Boardman Robinson, and Grant Wood decorate the new Department of Justice building in Washington for plumber's wages. The building itself was designed by his friend and fellow Philadelphian, Charles Borie.

This letter was passed on to Edward Bruce, who in 1932 had come to Washington to represent former clients in the solution of the practical issue of Philippine independence. He was also an advisor to the Treasury, and had been sent to the London Economic Conference as our delegation's silver expert.

Edward Bruce was uniquely equipped for implementing the idea of government participation in the arts. Former Columbia football star, honor graduate from the University's Law School, successful lawyer practicing in New York and then in the Philippines (where he owned the *Manila Times*), as promoter and president of the Pacific Development Company he lived in China for several years. When this experiment in oriental trade failed, he decided to take up painting as a profession; he had painted with J. Francis Murphy and Arthur Parton while at college. Consequently at the age of 44, having turned down a number of tempting offers in banking and the law, he and Mrs. Bruce went to Italy where he worked seriously with his friend Maurice Sterne in Anticoli. He destroyed his first year's work; had an exhibition of his second year's output in New York, and sold every picture. From then on he painted successfully for almost ten years. It was at the end of this period, when he was 53, that he came to Washington and became practically involved in the idea of an art program.

I first met the Bruces when we found ourselves visiting former Secretary of the Treasury Andrew Mellon's apartment to see his collection. We became friends. They asked me often to their Nineteenth Street house, where a stimulating company of politicians, administrators, experts, journalists and artists were invited. It was a wonderful house to go to. I remember with the greatest pleasure the good and informal talk and the really delicious food. They were a vital pair: Mrs. Bruce handsome, outspoken, strong, almost a pioneer type; Bruce heavy, humorous, loving to tease amiably, enjoying ideas, throwing them out by the dozens and drawing them from others; both of them warm, generous, and kind.

Bruce and his friends were deeply involved in politics and various projects of the New Deal. He was well informed about events and plans. In March President Roosevelt had asked the emergency session of the 73rd Congress to provide several essential relief measures: the C.C.C., to take the employable young men off the streets and into the national forests for needed reclamation and conservation work; the F.E.R.A., a straight relief program; and the P.W.A. The Public Works Administration, needing careful preparation and planning, inevitably got off to a slow start. In November Roosevelt created the C.W.A. (Civil Works Administration) with Harry Hopkins as administrator. It was a crash employment program intentionally temporary, to last during the winter months of 1933-34, to create short term employment on small public works projects, to take as many people off direct relief as possible and to pay them a minimum wage so that this infusion of purchasing power would help prime the pump of our stagnant economy.

As Bruce knew that both white collar and manual workers were being included in this new C.W.A. program, he believed it was also suitable to employ painters profes-

sionally. Knowing many artists well, he realized how hard a time even the most successful ones were having. So with a couple of young New Deal lawyers he outlined and set up, in the Treasury Department, the first government program for the arts, the Public Works of Art Project (P.W.A.P.). The funds for the program were allocated to the Treasury by the C.W.A. Being a lawyer, business man, and economist, and knowing most of the important politicians and administrators informally, Bruce would talk to them in their own language, and so inspired their confidence in what he was trying to do. This was undoubtedly one of the main factors in getting the first program off to a good start. We also tend to forget today how much political courage it took for President Roosevelt to authorize and Secretary Morganthau to assume the administration of this first program. The sympathetic interest of Harry Hopkins and the Secretary of Labor, Miss Perkins, and other highly placed individuals in the administration also helped this and later programs.

Bruce called the first organizational meeting in his house in mid-December, 1933. It consisted of museum directors and important people in the field of art from all over the United States, men and women whom he had chosen as being best fitted to direct this first experiment. It was an outstanding group, and I was much interested to meet Mrs. Force, Forbes Watson, and many others for the first time. Bruce outlined his plan and asked for suggestions. These men and women were all aware of their artist neighbors' difficult professional situations. They generally approved the plan and had constructive ideas about how to operate it. Mrs. Roosevelt sat at the table from which Bruce was directing the meeting, knitting steadily and every once in a while interjecting a pertinent remark or a question.

I find it difficult here, as elsewhere in this article, to convey the sense of hope, excitement and enthusiasm that the early New Deal days inspired. Edward Bruce personified it at its best. He was no starry eyed "do gooder," though he couldn't have been a finer man. He was practical, successful, able, with a first rate mind, a realistic man of affairs who threw himself into this project with his whole being. Some of his enthusiasm went with many members of the group when they left his house that afternoon to return to their various cities to get the project started. I still feel a kindling of the spirit when I think of this meeting, what it meant, and how it was instrumental in what followed.

To simplify its organization, the C.W.A. had divided the country into 16 regions instead of the usual 48 states. The P.W.A.P. used the same divisions. It had a professional Treasury paymaster in each region; also a volunteer committee of museum curators, painters and other persons interested in the arts who directed each regional program. Edward Bruce directed it from Washington, with Forbes Watson as advisor and Edward Rowan as assistant. Bruce asked me to go on the local regional committee which included Washington, Maryland and Virginia. As I was the youngest and the least important of its five members (Charles Bittinger, Powell Minnegrode, Duncan Phillips, and Law Watkins were the others) and as I owned a model T Ford, I did much of the leg work in the region, with the help of an intelligent, able, and charming Junior League girl, now Mrs. Alice Korff.

Most of the work produced in ours, as in the other regions, was placed in tax exempt buildings, schools, hospitals, public libraries, museums. Some was sent to Washington headquarters where it was used for decorating Congressional and Administration offices. You still see pictures done under this first program in Washington and throughout the country. The P.W.A.P. employed about 3,750 artists at low daily wages. They produced over 15,600 works of art. There was no question of or test for relief in this employment, and I think there were a number of distinguished painters who, being

enthusiastic about the idea, went on the project for a nominal period or who directly contributed one of their works to it. The total cost was approximately \$1,312,000, which makes the cost per artist about \$350.00. At the end of six months a large exhibition of painting and sculpture from all over the country was held at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington. It was a great success: even my Republican friends acknowledged the government had received its money's worth. Knowledgeable people were impressed both with the quality and its geographical spread. There were older painters living in distant communities whose work received national attention for the first time; and there were younger ones like Frank Mechan or Herman Maril who started their national reputations here. It was the broad base, the fact that there was much good painting and sculpture being produced throughout the country, that marked this exhibition. It was only a token of what the P.W.A.P. had produced everywhere. By a magnificent and practical gesture the government had strengthened our art and culture. It was a healthy influence. Under the pressure of events local artists were encouraged to leave their ivory towers, and they responded enthusiastically by carrying American art to a practical degree of social consciousness never achieved before.

Edward Bruce and Forbes Watson made a dynamic team. They believed in the importance of American art and the essential social fairness of opening its benefits to as many artists as possible and of making their product available to as many communities as possible. They were both articulate, disinterested, and men of deep convictions. Bruce was an extraordinarily talented administrator, generous in his delegation of authority and confident in the abilities of those who were working with him. He was interested in results, not in a method. He often used the old cliche, "there are many ways to skin a cat." If he found one way ineffective, he would try another, but always thoughtfully, carefully, and with great attention to detail. He ran his office here, and later in the Section of Fine Arts, with a jovial informality that instilled everyone working with him (from executive to file clerk) with real team spirit. He would often pack a critical wallop in a joke. He never spared himself, and he expected the best from everyone else. On the whole he got it, for our small staff accomplished much.

Forbes Watson had a critical yet enthusiastic mind. His lucidity in speech and writing, his intimate knowledge of the art situation throughout the country, the respect in which artists held him (even when they didn't like him or what he wrote), his rock bottom integrity, and his personal style added an essential strength and quality to this and subsequent programs.

The regional committees also had much to do with the P.W.A.P.'s success. There were men like William Millikan, busy director of the large, rich, and growing Cleveland Museum, who really knew his local artists and had already initiated important programs for their benefit; women like Miss Charlotte Partridge, head of the then small Layton art center in Milwaukee, who was able to accomplish so much through hard work, her good eye, and enthusiasm.

On the whole, our advisors on the Eastern seaboard were less interested in our program than their colleagues in the Middle and Far West. I felt the political attitude of rich museum trustees in the East carried unnecessary weight with their professional staffs. Some of these professionals also found it difficult to detach themselves from what they felt were "standards." A project as inclusive as this one did not appeal to them.

In the last analysis, however, the success of this program was due to those painters and sculptors who contributed to its various social purposes and produced some of their best work for it. The P.W.A.P. ended in June, 1934. Some of the strictly relief aspects of the program were, nevertheless, carried on by other relief organizations which were

finally merged and coordinated in August, 1935, when the W.P.A. Federal Art Project was organized by Holger Cahill.

The Section of Fine Arts

In the summer of 1934 I spent several months with the Bruces in Vermont. Besides an active day painting—in the studio in the morning, outdoors in the afternoon—Bruce would dictate a voluminous correspondence during his lunch hour; and in the evening we would discuss together or with visiting friends the possibilities of government patronage and what form it should take.

That autumn he set up the second program, the Section of Painting and Sculpture later called the Section of Fine Arts, again in the Treasury. Since the eighteenth century, the Secretary of the Treasury has been responsible for federal buildings, with the Supervising Architect as executive officer. Naturally then, the Section was placed under his direct jurisdiction. The Supervising Architect in the thirties was Louis Simon, an efficient and careful administrator. Under the Director of Procurement, Admiral Christian Joy Peobles, Simon was in charge of a huge emergency program for building post offices and court houses all over the United States. Secretary Morgenthau issued an administrative order authorizing the expenditure of one per cent of the total cost of each building for embellishment, if on completion, funds were still available. In practice this money materialized for only about one third of the new buildings. On the larger post offices and court houses the amount actually spent for painting and sculpture was usually less than one per cent of the building's cost. This nevertheless made a respectable sum. The work was obtained by anonymous competitions, usually open. The winning artists received contracts, as in any other government job. There was no question of relief. The Government was simply doing what it had always done, up to a point: decorating some of its public buildings. Now, however, it was doing so in a different way, and on a larger scale than ever before. Ironically enough, from 1934 to 1938 the Section of Fine Arts spent about \$537,000 on 375 contracts for painting and sculpture, which was a smaller sum than a few sculptors had received for the architectural sculpture on the Triangle Buildings in Washington under the previous Republican Administration.

In the past, what decoration was done in government buildings was awarded through architects of those buildings. The Section's policy was to acquire, on as broad a base and in as fair a manner as possible, the best available painting and sculpture for the new federal buildings. As we were part of the Supervising Architect's organization we were able to see the plans of new buildings in their early stages.

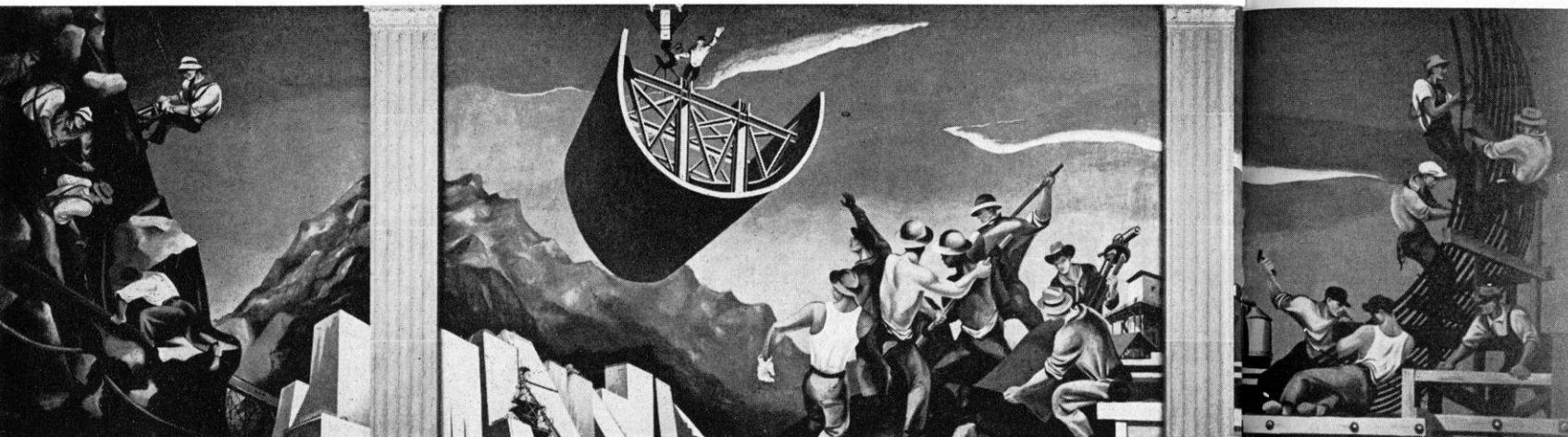
In addition to the regular force of civil servant architects and draughtsmen a group of twenty or more prominent architects from all over the United States had been engaged by the Procurement Division to help make plans for the new post offices. In many cases they brought their staffs with them, and were set up as small designing offices within the larger organization. We worked most of the time with these two groups in the necessary but sometimes reluctant collaboration that was the basis of our program. Some architects were new to governmental regulations, and often found red tape troublesome. Besides the routine of the Procurement Division, they had to consider the special demands of the Post Office Department, for whose essential service the buildings were to be erected. Moreover, since the overall building program was designed to increase employment generally, the architects also had to put up with the Section's importunate insistence on placing murals and sculpture in their buildings.

The Section, inaugurated in October, 1934, trailed off during the war, curtailed by President Roosevelt's budget message of January 3, 1941, eliminating all non-defense projects. It ended in July, 1943.

DEPT. OF INTERIOR MURAL

CONSERVATION—DAM CONSTRUCTION

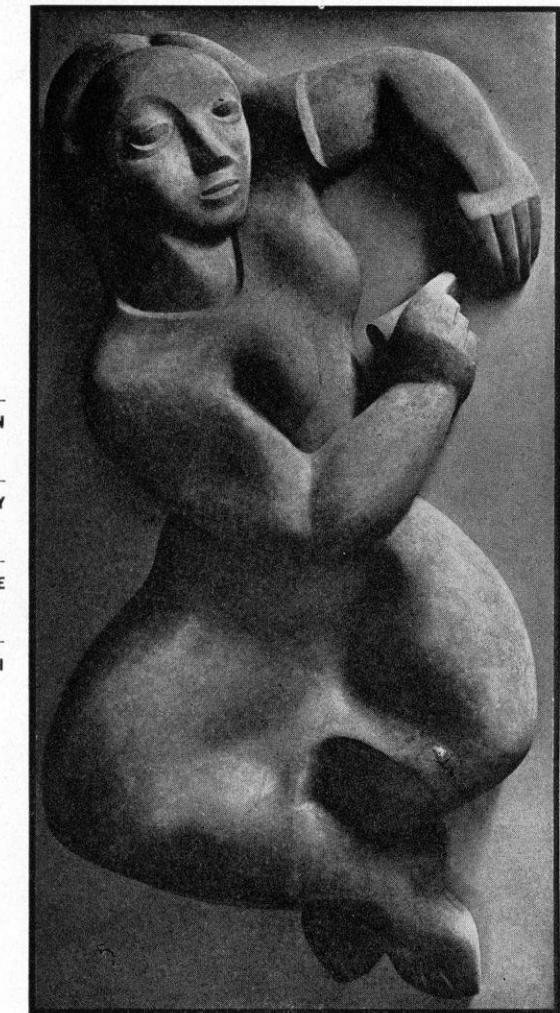
BY WILLIAM GROPPER



During those nine years of activity the Section awarded 1,124 mural contracts for which it paid \$1,472,199 and 289 contracts for sculpture costing \$563,529. One hundred ninety-three competitions were held, and 1,205 individual artists placed their work in federal buildings. The average price for the mural commissions was \$1,356, and for the sculpture \$1,936. Administrative costs were \$393,516.

Edward Bruce was again named Director of the Section, with Forbes Watson as advisor; Edward Rowan was in charge of the States west of the Mississippi, and I in charge of those to the east. Miss Maria Ealand and Inslee Hopper were the other members of our staff. Under Bruce's cohesive direction we worked as a group, discussed our mutual problems, and collaborated on important letters or decisions. Fundamentally we were agreed on what we were trying to do, and this unified our efforts. We had decided that competition was the fairest way to acquire work for the public. Although it is a wasteful method, and open competitions may not attract some successful artists, we believed it to be the best solution for our purposes. We kept our juries as varied as possible, and also awarded many contracts for recommended but non-winning designs. I still believe this is the fairest way to proceed in acquiring art with public funds.

Our first large and important competition was for the new Department of Justice and Post Office Department buildings in Washington. Both were finished, and funds remained available to the Section for their decoration. As mentioned above, most of the sculpture had already been completed under the previous administration. The architect



RELIEF IN

HADDON HEIGHTS, NEW JERSEY

POST OFFICE

BY GOAMU NOGUCHI

of the Justice Department, Charles Borie, was enthusiastic. He had in fact designed some superb mural spaces. William Delano, the architect of the Post Office Department, though not too pleased, I suspect, with the way we were going to obtain the work, collaborated graciously with his usual understanding, charm, and courtesy. We appointed a committee of nineteen museum directors, art experts, and painters (who would be "hors concours"), and asked them for lists of the twenty-two painters and fourteen sculptors (the number of spaces available) who in their opinion could best decorate the two important buildings. When the confidential lists were sent in, we tabulated the results and found that eleven painters and two sculptors had received three more votes than the others. To this group we gave contracts. They were painters Thomas Benton, George Biddle, John Stuart Curry, Rockwell Kent, Leon Kroll, Reginald Marsh, Henry Varnum Poor, Boardman Robinson, Eugene Savage, Maurice Sterne, and Grant Wood (who resigned on account of previous commitments) and sculptors Paul Manship and William Zorach.

"ST. THOMAS FRUIT"—

WATERCOLOR FOR TREASURY

PROGRAM

BY STEPHEN DOHANOS



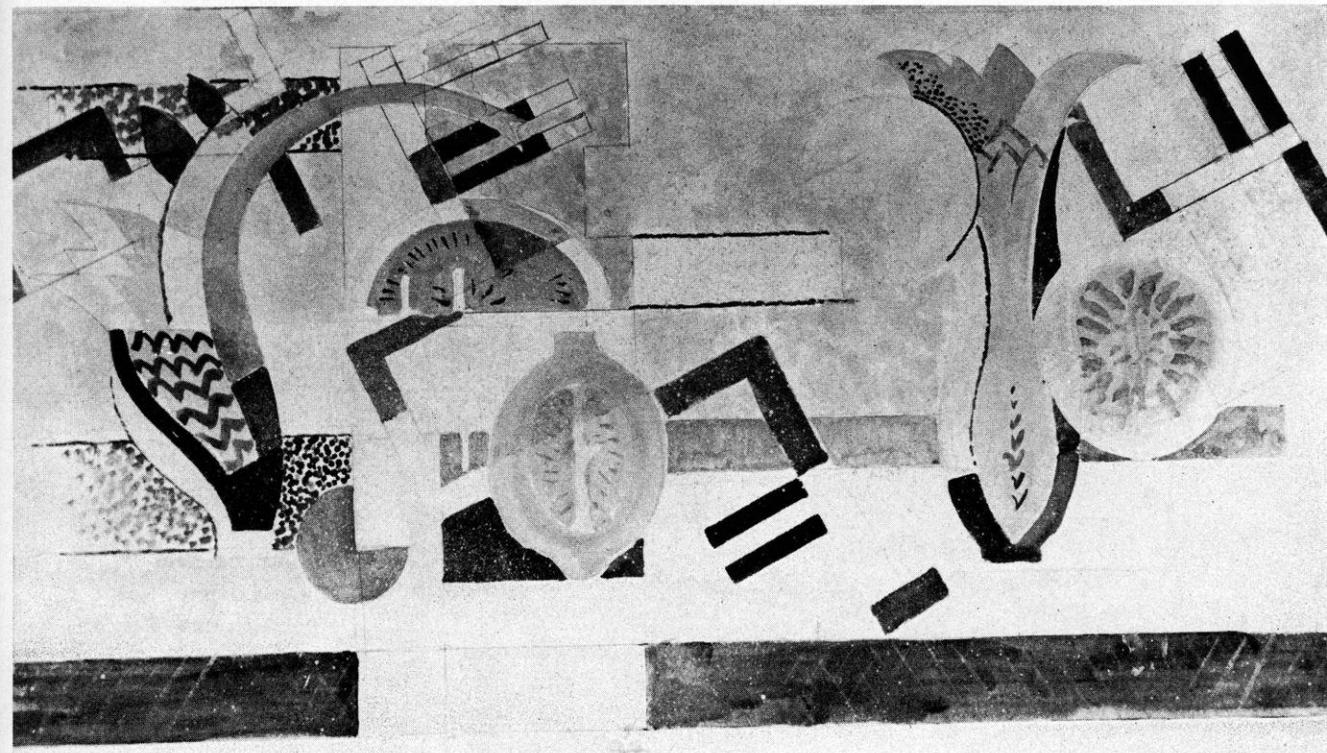
TWO DRAWINGS FOR TREASURY PROGRAM

BY AARON SOPHER



OIL PAINTING FOR TREASURY PROGRAM

BY BRADLEY TOMLIN





"INDEPENDENCE" 3" SCALE

MODEL FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

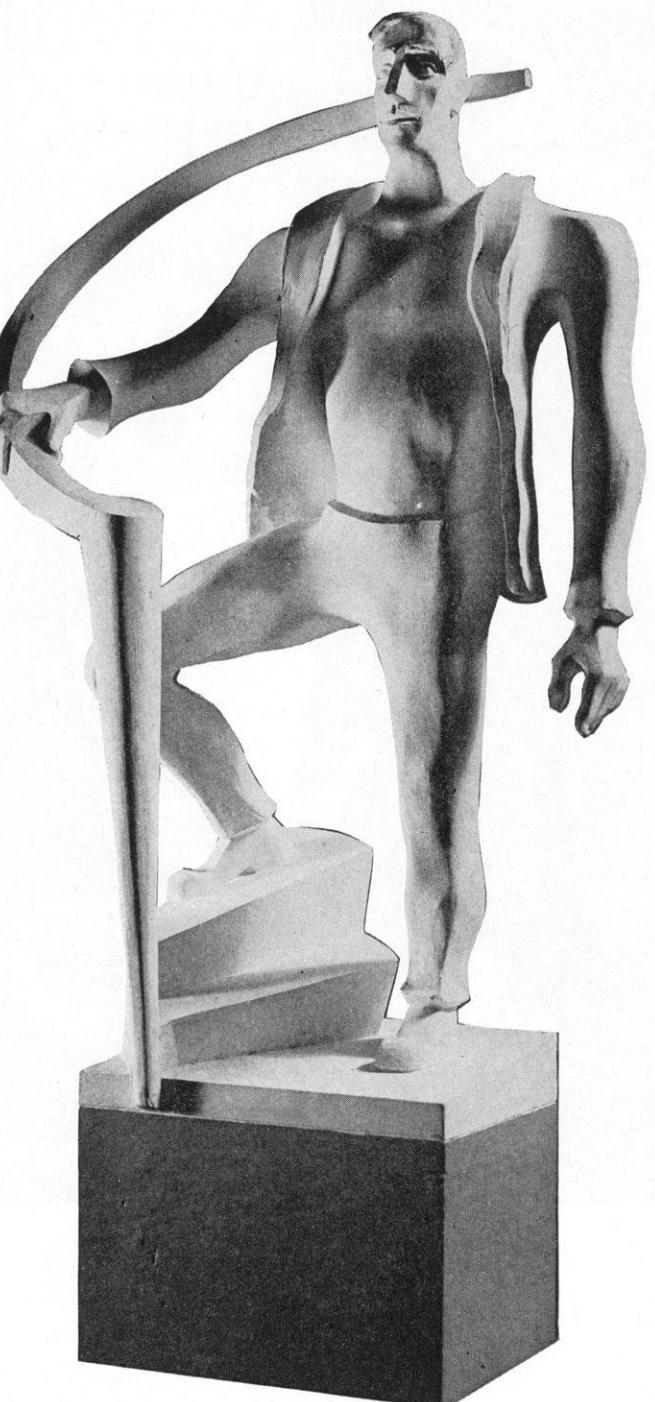
BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D. C.

BY ROBERT CRONBACK

MURALS FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

BUILDING WASHINGTON, D. C.

BY PHILIP GUSTIN





"BUILDING MISSION DOLORES"

ONE SKETCH FROM THE WINNING

SERIES OF PANELS

FOR RINCON POST OFFICE ANNEX,

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA

BY ANTON REFREGIER.

The remaining artists who had received votes were invited to a national competition for the remaining eleven mural and twelve sculpture commissions. The painters were divided into nearly equal groups, each group being assigned specific subject matter.

All of the 107 sculptors suggested by the advisory committee were asked for photographs of their work. This material was reviewed by a jury consisting of Paul Manship, Maurice Sterne, and William Zorach, who recommended forty-eight sculptors divided into groups of four, each group to make scale models of a mail carrier from a specified period in our history.

A jury of six painters, Leon Kroll, Bancel LaFarge, Jonas Lie, Ernest Peixotto, Henry Schnakenberg, and Eugene Speicher, and three sculptors, Alice Decker, Paul Manship, and William Zorach, as well as the architects of the buildings, William Delano and Charles Borie, spent three days examining 315 mural sketches and sixty-two sculpture models. The following artists were awarded contracts: painters Alfred Crimi, Karl Free, George Harding, Ward Lockwood, Frank Mechau, and William Palmer; two other artists were appointed, Doris Lee and Tom Lea, and both were asked to redesign. Sculptors chosen were: Stirling Calder, Gaetano Cecere, Chaim Gross, Arthur Lee, Carl Schmitz, Louis Slobodkin, Heinz Warnecke, and Sidney Waugh. In addition to these winners, eighty-two painters and sixteen sculptors were invited to design and were awarded contracts for other post offices.

All the judging of sketches was by number. The artist's name was pasted on the back of each sketch in a sealed envelope, which was opened only at the end of the three-day session when the jury's decisions had been made. The fact that we awarded additional commissions as a result of sketches submitted in this competition made it clear to artists that they were not wasting their efforts in a one-shot raffle. These awards helped to mitigate one of the greatest drawbacks to the competitive system.

From our point of view there was one great advantage in this system. Artistic and political pressure could be courteously satisfied by inviting the recommended artist to the next competition. A young Texan artist had been strongly recommended to us by an important Congressman or Senator from his state. We invited him to the national competition described above. As it turned out, one sketch intrigued the jury increasingly over the three day judging. It contained an unusual solution of the mural space and a certain nineteenth century *Harper's Magazine* look; it was beautifully executed. The jury gave it an award, but recommended redesigning. When the envelopes were opened, one of us thought the name was somehow familiar. We looked up the file and discovered that it was the young painter recommended by the Texas politician, his name Tom Lea!

I go into this competition in such detail because it set the pattern and established the Section as a responsible professional outfit. Architects like William Delano who, though they may not have approved of the method we were following, realized that what we were trying to do was neither superficial nor ill-advised, and that it did bring forward new and talented artists who had something personal to say in solving these problems. They discovered somewhat later that these painters and sculptors, though not specially trained for architectural work, could execute and install their jobs competently, professionally and on time. The care and integrity of the jury also had an influence on the artistic community. (These things get around).

We held a number of large national competitions like the ones described above. One such was for a new small post office in every state which we called the 48 State Competition. Others were held, open to artists living in the states west of the Mississippi, and again for those living to the east of that river.

The greatest number of our competitions, however, were what we called local, that is, for panels on which the appropriation would be from two to five thousand dollars. We would invite a museum director, head of an art association, or some technically equipped person who lived in the vicinity of the post office or court house we were to decorate. He acted as chairman and ran the competition, being paid a nominal fee for his expenses (between fifty and two hundred dollars). We asked him to appoint a jury, always including the architect of the building. We sent him a form announcement specifying the size and location of the panels to be decorated, the amount of money to be paid, the terms of the competition, the scale of the sketches, etc. He returned this form, filled out with the names of his jury and any suggestions he had to make on the competition and especially on local subject matter. This form was mimeographed in quantity and returned to the chairman with blue prints of the spaces in competition. He and his committee then notified the eligible artists (sometimes from one state, sometimes from several, depending on the artistic population). There would also be announcements in the local press.

The competitors submitted their sketches (anonymously, with names in sealed envelopes, as described above) usually after a designing period of three months. At the jury meeting the sketches were numbered and the local jury sent their recommendations and all the sketches to our office without opening the envelopes. If, after studying the designs, the Section staff had any doubts about the choice of the local committee, they were discussed by letter. In practice, however, we rarely questioned a local decision. If we disagreed, we awarded the next good job that came up in that region to the designer who had, in our opinion, been passed over. This was rare, too, for our jurors were knowledgeable. Moreover, these competitions often produced several good designs which the local jury would recommend. Only after the final decision was reached would the envelopes be opened and the name of the winning artist disclosed.

Technically we had few failures. Almost all commissioned artists on any of the programs gave competent professional performances. One fact materially helped the juries attain this record: it was that a three foot square full size detail was often asked for in addition to the two or three inch scale sketch. This decreased the possibility of a painter's winning a competition with a slicked up sketch he would afterwards be unable to execute adequately.

We urged the local committees to exhibit designs and models. This clarified the Section's activities, interested the communities in their artists, showed the latter how different designers had solved the same problem and, in so far as the jury's opinion was concerned, how the designs had been judged and the individual sketches had failed or succeeded. The price paid for murals was based on the rate of \$20.00 a square foot. The time allotted for the completion of a contract was about two years, but in practice this was flexible.

A variety of activities were undertaken by the Section during its eight year life. Besides the competitions just described, we held at least one I remember to which a limited number of artists were invited.

There was a \$6,000 appropriation available for decoration on a new building in the Carville, Louisiana, Leper Colony. Through his friend Frederick Keppel, Bruce obtained another \$3,000 from the Carnegie Corporation and held a water color competition for the purchase of 300 water colors at \$30 each. The water colors were to decorate rooms in the Leper Colony.

Other competitions were held by the Section for the interior decoration of the Maritime Commission's new ships. Among others, Bernard Perlin's winning design actually went to sea.

Edward Rowan had charge of a group of young painters who found themselves in C.C.C. camps throughout the United States, and who were encouraged by their officers to paint a record of camp life. These pictures were sent to the Section. Some of these men later made national reputations.

The Section also published a mimeographed Bulletin, edited by Forbes Watson, which was sent free to over 5,000 interested persons. It contained full information about the competitions, biographies of the winners, appointments, and articles of general interest. Its purpose being to report and inform, it was intentionally non-critical.

All contracts with artists contained a clause that a photograph and negative of the completed mural was to be supplied. These became the property of the Section. A practically complete pictorial record was made. It contained these photographs of completed murals, an incomplete photographic file of the P.W.A.P., the pictures taken at the Section's own photographic shop of competition sketches sent to Washington, and those taken of the T.R.A.P. work (to be discussed below). All this material is now on file in the National Archives.

As the country prepared for war, the Section did some work for the Red Cross, and also employed eight distinguished painters to make a record of war production. My attempt at this time to have the army take on a group of painters to make a record of the war is another story; I mention it only because here again the staff of the Section was involved in the proposed planning.*

**To someone who knows his work, an artist's name conveys a certain image. The following very incomplete list of painters and sculptors not already mentioned or illustrated will help to emphasize the fact that the Treasury Programs included artists who were already prominent in the thirties as well as those to become so later, and that the aesthetic and professional variety was reasonably inclusive, ranging from Phil Dike and Ogden Pleissner on one side to Victor Candell, and William de Kooning on the other. With over 1,400 contracts awarded, not to mention the work produced on the T.R.A.P., one can see that this list with the names mentioned in the article itself and the illustrations only suggest the programs' scope and variety.*

Victor Arnautoff

<i>Bernard Arnest</i>	<i>Nathaniel Dirk</i>	<i>John Heliker</i>	<i>Barse Miller</i>
<i>Milton Avery</i>	<i>Alexander Dobkin</i>	<i>Eugene Higgins</i>	<i>Bruce Mitchell</i>
<i>Rainey Bennett</i>	<i>Lamar Dodd</i>	<i>Stefan Hirsch</i>	<i>James Penney</i>
<i>Hyman Bloom</i>	<i>Stephen Etnier</i>	<i>Malvina Hoffman</i>	<i>Robert Philipp</i>
<i>Oscar Blumenschein</i>	<i>Philip Evergood</i>	<i>Peter Hurd</i>	<i>Hugo Robus</i>
<i>Louis Bosa</i>	<i>Jerry Farnsworth</i>	<i>Mitchell Jamieson</i>	<i>Umberto Romano</i>
<i>Cameron Booth</i>	<i>Dean Faucett</i>	<i>Joe Jones</i>	<i>Theodore Roszak</i>
<i>Fiske Boyd</i>	<i>Ernest Fiene</i>	<i>Ibram Lassaw</i>	<i>Lewis Rubenstein</i>
<i>Robert Brackman</i>	<i>John Folinsbee</i>	<i>Sidney Laufman</i>	<i>Paul Sample</i>
<i>Manuel Bromberg</i>	<i>Karl Fortess</i>	<i>Ernest Lawson</i>	<i>Helene Sardeau</i>
<i>Byron Browne</i>	<i>David Fredenthal</i>	<i>Pietro Lazzari</i>	<i>Zoltan Sepeshy</i>
<i>William Calfee</i>	<i>Robert Gates</i>	<i>Edmund Lewandowski</i>	<i>Niles Spencer</i>
<i>Vincent Canade</i>	<i>Harry Gottlieb</i>	<i>Julian Levi</i>	<i>James Turnbull</i>
<i>Nicolai Cikovsky</i>	<i>Morris Graves</i>	<i>Jean Liberte</i>	<i>Polygnotos Vagis</i>
<i>Howard Cook</i>	<i>Louis Gugliemi</i>	<i>Erle Loran</i>	<i>Franklin Watkins</i>
<i>Randall Davey</i>	<i>Minna Harkavy</i>	<i>Louis Lozowick</i>	<i>Max Weber</i>
<i>Adolf Debn</i>	<i>Walker Hancock</i>	<i>Peppino Mangravite</i>	<i>Harold Weston</i>
<i>Edwin Dickinson</i>	<i>Lily Harmon</i>	<i>Fletcher Martin</i>	<i>John Von Wicht</i>
<i>W. Hunt Diederich</i>	<i>Marsden Hartley</i>	<i>Henry Mattson</i>	<i>Milford Zornes</i>

Never a large program, the Section started promptly and produced its first competitions and commissions in the autumn of 1934. It was not set up to engage in widespread relief. The following winter and spring, the Roosevelt Administration studied various means of meeting the necessity for national relief. The W.P.A. (created May, 1935,) was the outcome of these deliberations. The Treasury was asked to administer a large relief art project that was to be part of this national effort. Neither Secretary Morgenthau nor Edward Bruce wanted to undertake a program on the proposed scale, especially as it was to include not only the plastic arts, but music, drama, and writing as well. So the W.P.A. went ahead with its own plans.

From one point of view the Section made a mistake in not directing this larger program: It would have given unity, which it never attained, to the Government's effort. On the other hand, a healthy rivalry developed between the W.P.A. and ourselves which stimulated each of us to outdo the other. This situation was like so many other administrative anomalies under the Roosevelt Administration, possessing its good and its bad sides. It is also ironic to think that we described the Treasury Program as "permanent." It turned out to be more so by only one year! We also suggested that the Treasury was after "quality," while the W.P.A. offered "relief," but the public has never made any distinction whatsoever. You still hear remarks about those W.P.A. murals in post offices; and as to quality, both programs produced fine jobs. In fact, the inclusive net of W.P.A. employment quite often achieved first rate results. It cost more, but then that money would presumably have been spent on relief anyhow. Who remembers the ditch diggers and leaf rakers? But Franz Kline and Jackson Pollock are and will remain memorable talents of our cultural heritage whether you like them or not.

As the Section was ready to handle additional funds immediately, in July, 1935, the W.P.A. administration made a \$530,784 grant to the Treasury for the decoration of federal buildings. We were to operate under the same employment rules as the W.P.A., i.e., 90 per cent of the personnel on relief, 10 per cent non-relief, (six months later changed to 75 per cent relief, 25 per cent non-relief), with a "going wage" which varied from \$69 to \$103 a month for 96 hours' work.

I was in charge, with Henry LaFarge as my assistant and Cecil Jones as business manager. We had three supervisors: Bernard Roufberg in California, Mrs. Elizabeth Lane in Boston, and Mrs. Alice Sharkey in New York. Like almost everyone who worked on any of the art projects, they did a devoted and enthusiastic job. Our New York program was numerically (as in the other plastic arts programs) about one-third of the whole country's. Mrs. Sharkey showed much tact and sympathy, and possessed a discerning and keen eye; she handled our New York office with great skill, produced distinguished work, and did so without perceptibly treading on toes. New York City's situation was a difficult one to handle, both administratively and artistically: the Artists Union was strong and vociferous and our project was partially dependent on the city relief administrators as well as on Mrs. Audrey McMahon, the dynamically able head of the W.P.A. Art project in New York. One artist told me that it was always a pleasure to go to Mrs. Sharkey's office, because she behaved as if she were about to hand you a cup of tea.

The T.R.A.P. held a rather special position in the country owing to the skill of administrators like Mrs. Sharkey and to the relations the Section had in one year established for itself with professional artists. Outside the jurisdiction of our three supervisors, artists dealt either directly with our office or sometimes through a volunteer friend, such as a neighboring museum curator. Ours was considered a privileged

program, and indeed it was. Being small, it could afford to be considerate and flexible. I do not know how many artists realized that much of our smooth operation was due to Cecil Jones, an enthusiastic Georgian, who knew many of Washington's administrators and, more important, their secretaries. It was rarely that even the most unusual or troublesome piece of procurement stumped him. He dashed around government's red tape with ease, and got things through channels in record time.

Most of our jobs, like those of the Section of Fine Arts, were for post offices. There were many buildings, old and new without appropriations for decoration but possessing fine spaces for painting and sculpture. We chose those buildings which were situated in the vicinity of an available artist or group of artists. We allowed two trips to the building, if it were a question of transportation. A master artist would be put in charge, sometimes as a result of winning a Section competition. After designing and having the sketch approved by the architect, local advisors, and our office, he organized one or more assistants to help him execute the mural. Materials were supplied; work space was rented, lent, or the work was done directly on the walls.

In this way seventy-one murals (by sixty-seven master painters and fifty-six assistants) and twenty-seven sculpture projects (by twenty-seven master sculptors and twenty-one assistants) were produced. Twenty-three of these appointments were made as a result of Section competitions. Although the pay was low, many painters preferred to do these overall mural schemes for a post office lobby rather than a single panel that was more highly paid. The problem involved is an almost irresistible temptation to a painter. I regret that the Treasury Programs could so rarely award more than a one-or two-panel commission. There were, however, a number of reception rooms in Marine Hospitals and post office lobbies, especially entrance lobbies in the larger post offices, which allowed for fine overall schemes. If there had been more, it would have enriched the whole program. I remember original and personal overall murals on both the T.R.A.P. and the Section by Ray Boynton, Kenneth Callahan, Howard Cook, Gerald Foster, Xavier Gonzales, David Granahan, Frank Long, Henrick Martin Mayer, George Picken, and Stephen Mopope, who with a group of Indian painters, decorated the Anadarko, Oklahoma, post office with murals which are in much the same style as the panel by Woodrow Crumbo used in the Interior Department, Washington, D.C.

There were 108 painters doing easel pictures and prints, and forty-nine receiving miscellaneous employment: some drafting, some working in the photograph and framing shops attached to our Washington office. Altogether about 320 persons were employed. The project produced 3,355 easel pictures and prints during the first years' activity, from July, 1935, to July, 1936. After the initial grant of \$530,784, \$105,000 was allocated in 1936 and \$100,000 in 1937, making a total expenditure of \$735,784.

After T.R.A.P. had been running for about a year, the W.P.A. decided it would no longer allocate funds to projects outside its jurisdiction and would withdraw such funds as had not been spent. We felt that our commitments were to individuals, and that it would be a mistake to change the work conditions in the midst of progress. So for the first and only time I asked to see President Roosevelt professionally. (I knew him as an old friend of my family). I called Mrs. Roosevelt and explained to her what was disturbing me. She asked me to lunch the next day and said she would try and let me see the President for a minute afterwards. When I went into his oval office, I showed him a dozen photographs of work that was under way, explained what we considered the personal commitment and the relatively small sums involved. Marvin McIntyre, his secretary, hovered nervously in the background, fearing, I expect, that I would waste the President's time or needlessly disrupt his tight schedule. F.D.R. obviously had other

things on his mind, but he looked through the photographs and listened to what I had to say. He asked a few questions, nodded his head and said, "I see." Scrawling an undecipherable hieroglyphic on a chit of paper about the size of a hat check, he told me to give it to the Director of the Budget. I departed, went straight to the Budget Director's office, was admitted and handed in my chit. The matter was settled, the jobs completed as planned; our program kept the unspent funds, and we even got two supplementary appropriations later without much difficulty.

Although our original appropriation had allowed us 500 jobs, as the W.P.A. art program had started its wholesale relief employment only a month after T.R.A.P. and had taken on many of the artists capable of doing murals, we considered our appropriation as essentially a sum with which to produce needed work of a certain kind. Hence we were selective. The New York City Artists Union had heard, however, that the project had been allowed a total employment of 500; so Stuart Davis sent us a sizzling manifesto, attacking our handling of the funds and the employment quota. Mrs. Sharkey, Mrs. McMahon and I had a stormy session with the Union's Committee in New York. It was grotesque and an anomaly to have artists unionized against a government which for the first time in its history was doing something about them professionally. However, as there was some justification in the Union's contention that the W.P.A. had not been able to take on all competent artists on relief, we did increase our personnel in New York. Among this group which we took on under pressure there was one young painter who had sent sketches to several Section competitions and had tried to join the New York T.R.A.P., both unsuccessfully. I remember that his work when he joined T.R.A.P. did not add greatly to our program; yet he has since achieved, quite justifiably, a considerable reputation. Such an occurrence in the inevitable exercising of judgment makes one diffident. But like jury decisions, individual judgments do have to be made.

In addition to the work already mentioned, there was considerable variety in other aspects of the T.R.A.P.'s program. A number of Federal Agencies needed different kinds of "art work" which we were in a position to supply. This was done on the workshop principle already discussed in relation to the post office murals, with a painter or sculptor in charge of a group. In this way T.R.A.P. produced important murals and sculpture for six of the P.W.A. housing projects. (Public Works Administration, Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes' outfit).

The largest of these was designed by Archibald Manning Brown, in Harlem, New York. Like most of the architects in charge of such housing, he was pleased to have our collaboration. There were no funds under the P.W.A. for extras, and these great congeries of low cost apartments urgently needed some kind of accent. Heintz Warnecke undertook this Harlem job for us and with Mrs. Sharkey discussed the work needed with the architect. Warnecke started his group working individually on sketches, so that each member should understand the problems involved. Handsome symbolical figures of a man and a woman were designed for the main gates; appropriately rounded animals, tumbling bears and penguins, which children could play on, were placed in the gardens. Richmond Barthe carved two sensitive low relief panels for an outside stairway. Inside Miss Elsie Driggs, Domenico Mortellito, and Algot Stenbury executed, respectively, murals of playful animals, low relief colored linoleum panels, and an abstracted city landscape in small play and reception rooms.

When this work was well underway, several members of the Harlem Committee, representing the future tenants, voiced deep resentment that the symbolic male figure was naked to the waist and held a cog wheel. These individuals believed it was undig-

nified and a slap at the colored race. They wanted a frock coat or business suit on their figure. We called a meeting in Warnecke's studio; present were Langdon Post, New York Housing Administrator; Walter White, the able and intelligent head of the N.A.A.C.P.; the architect; Mrs. Sharkey, of course; the Harlen Committee; all the painters and sculptors working on this project, and an invited group of important negro artists. The meeting was bitter and unpleasant, because of the conduct of only two members of the Harlem Committee. It did no good to point out that symbolic figures were usually partially or wholly nude; that Rockefeller Center was plastered with them; that no disrespect had been intended; that the sketches had been approved and were well underway. The two furious committee members were not convinced; but because they saw that the Negro artists backed up the suitability and quality of the figures so wholeheartedly, the matter was settled and work went ahead.

Work on the other housing units went smoothly enough. Only once did the Housing Administration actually question a completed design. But there were a number of administrators who were fearful of newspaper criticism and several times they expressed grave doubts about the advisability of our doing this kind of embellishment. I always felt this was our headache, not theirs. After all, we were spending the money. The particular decoration that was questioned was by Miss Edna Reindel for a small reception room in the Stamford, Connecticut housing project. It was an attractive, elegant, rather surrealist domestic mural which would have looked well in any fashionable house. The suitability of the design was questioned just because of these very qualities. Fortunately it was installed, and we heard later that the tenants were proud and pleased with it. Henry Kreis carved a dignified group for the garden of this same project.

Edgar Miller was in charge of important sculpture for Holabird and Root's Chicago housing; William McVey carved Paul Bunyan reliefs for an auditorium wall in the Cleveland project, with independent murals for children's rooms by Charles Campbell and Earle Neff. George Aarons and Aaron Douglas in Boston; Daniel Olney in Washington, D.C.; and the Misses Grace and Marion Greenwood and Aaron Ben Schmuel in Camden, did personal and characteristic work.

The most difficult and complicated mural space undertaken by the Treasury Program was the dome of Cass Gilbert's old New York Custom House on the Battery. Reginald Marsh organized eight or ten artists to help him with this large job. According to one of his helpers, Marsh who set the example by working long hours himself kept everyone's nose to the grindstone. There were few artists who put in only the stipulated ninety-six hours a month, and many assistants sent us easel pictures because they also wanted to be represented individually. Marsh painted the dome, from a fifty-foot movable scaffold in fresco secco. The murals consist of large New York harbor scenes in color, separated by grisaille figures of explorers, whose names were already carved on the dome. It is lively and vital, and when in downtown New York I often go in to look at it.

Both the Department of Commerce and the Post Office Department use series of posters in their relations with the public. Edward Buk Ulrick, with the help of a large group, produced many dozens of smart posters by silk screen printing. For the State Department we copied historic portraits and painted screens; some easel pictures and prints were sent to our missions abroad; others to various federal institutions in this country like Howard University, Washington D.C.; the Leper Colony in Carville, Louisiana; and the Narcotic Farm in Lexington, Kentucky. One of the most interesting and useful of all T.R.A.P. projects was in placing the young painter, Paul Wilhelm, in the industrial reformatory at Chillicothe, Ohio, where he taught some of the prisoners

art and organized some inmates to decorate their mess hall. Wilhelm did an understanding and an immensely useful, if difficult and taxing job; he likewise produced pleasant and appropriate decoration. The warden, Sanford Bates, showed me the prison during an inspection tour of our projects. I still remember that day as one of the most interesting and impressive I have ever spent.

The Imponderables

For several reasons the Section of Fine Arts was stronger than was warranted by its subordinate position in the Treasury Department's table of organization. Many officials knew that President and Mrs. Roosevelt and Secretary and Mrs. Morgenthau were interested. The latter especially kept in close touch with our activities. Her wise, sympathetic and intelligent advice was a great asset. Although she helped to solve a few difficult administrative matters, there was never any question of professional interference or pressure.

Edward Bruce carried weight with key members of both political parties, and many administrators. He was greatly respected and liked both personally and professionally. Those who knew him were aware of how much he was sacrificing to do this job. His unique combination of qualities gave a stability to the Section which it is impossible to overestimate. With the exception of Forbes Watson, the rest of us were relatively obscure, but that too was an asset: there was no jockeying for position and none of us were *prima donnas*. Nor did we wish to see the Section become more important politically. We felt it was most effective where it was. Our preoccupation was to do the best job possible under the circumstances. We all believed in the importance of American art (most of us owned work by living American artists). Moreover, our personal tastes varied considerably, and this too helped diversify the Section's collective judgment. We presented no official aesthetic dogma.

Edward Rowan joined the P.W.A.P. from the directorship of the Cedar Rapids, Iowa, museum, where he was engaged in a pilot project of the Carnegie Foundation. There he had done an outstanding job, promoting and interpreting American art and artists in a community that previously had had little contact with the subject. This experience, his knowledge, and his enthusiastic personality, were very valuable to the Section. Inslee Hopper had done some writing on art, had a variegated group of artist friends, and brought to the job a keen, critical point of view. Henry LaFarge was an old friend of mine, scholarly, quiet and careful, with excellent judgment and a remarkable capacity for getting essentials done without fuss. Miss Maria Ealand, our office manager and Edward Bruce's niece, developed real understanding and sympathy for art and artists. She was a tower of strength and a magnificent catalyst in keeping the office moving and everyone in it in good spirits.

To say that the art critic of a New York newspaper and editor of what I still consider the liveliest and most satisfactory art magazine ever published in the United States, is uncommitted, may sound a bit far-fetched. Paradoxically, Forbes Watson was, I believe, committed to not being so. If I understood him correctly, he felt that the field of painting and sculpture was wide, that there was much talent, much good work produced all over the country, and that the finest artists were not always those most prominent at the moment. His campaign in *The Arts* against the National Academy was not directed at artists so much as against the Academy's exaggerated power and vested interests in the American art world. He felt that power was out of proportion to its artistic achievements, just as John Canaday does today, I suspect, in his writing about the academy of the abstract expressionists. Watson's differences with the National

Academy, though leaving behind a residue of permanent hurt feelings, was an old story by the thirties.

With the exception of Ned Bruce we were all inexperienced in Government procedures, but we did our best to conform to them. Treasury officials seemed to respect our efforts and were amused by the Section, which struck a rather eccentric, casual, free and easy note in the administrative machinery of procurement. There was one occasion I remember with some embarrassment. The Secretary's office had telephoned to say that he was to see the President that afternoon, and would like an architect's name to fill a vacancy on the Commission of Fine Arts. We sent a note over immediately, suggesting whoever it was we considered the best person for the position. Next morning Admiral Peobles called me to his office. He told me gently but firmly how surprised he was to hear of the appointment to the Commission, although he had sent no such recommendation. I felt thoroughly ashamed for my blunder; it was a stupid and unnecessary breach of procedure; worse, it was bad manners to an able and excellent chief. This was the worst break I remember making.

Matters of this sort, relations with Congressmen or top administrators, appropriations and budgets were handled by Bruce; it was he who would advise how they could best be handled. During the period of his serious illness, or if he was away, when I was in doubt as to a course of action, I would ask to see Leo Martin, executive officer of procurement, a gifted administrator who really understood the huge organization. He always found time to explain clearly and simply any administrative matter which I did not understand. If I followed his advice, the matter would go through smoothly and quickly. This first-hand experience as part of a great government department has given me lasting respect for administrators like Martin who have the character, ability, and energy to go far in private business, yet prefer to work as civil servants.

The Section's work involved much paper: the drafting of proposals and reports, a large correspondence and many interviews (with those who wanted something from the Section, with those from whom we wanted something), and of course, endless business on the telephone. All this was but a means to an end. I found satisfaction in doing it adequately. What really made the job a pleasure was the relationship with the painters, sculptors, architects, and museum men, the give and take of the jury meetings, and the feeling that all this activity was actually producing results. Ideas, information, and programs from all over the country flowed into the Section, as they do to any agency which is placed in a strategic position in government. From that central position they were diffused and sent out again, a process that is stimulating, productive, and creative.

Three Controversies

I remember three major controversies during the three consecutive years I worked on the Treasury Programs. George Biddle's mural for one of the Justice Department staircases was the first sketch we sent to the Commission of Fine Arts for its approval. This commission, created by Theodore Roosevelt, passes on all schemes proposed for official Washington: buildings, monuments, painting, sculpture, and landscape gardening. It is the watchdog of L'Enfant's plan. Although it was set up to advise, in practice, its disapproval had always been accepted as a final veto, and it disapproved the Biddle sketch. The Section decided to buck the Commission and to authorize George Biddle to proceed. We were not entirely happy about having this particular mural as the basis of our first fight with the Commission and we were irked by an interview

which the painter had just given to the *New Yorker Magazine* about himself and about the controversy.

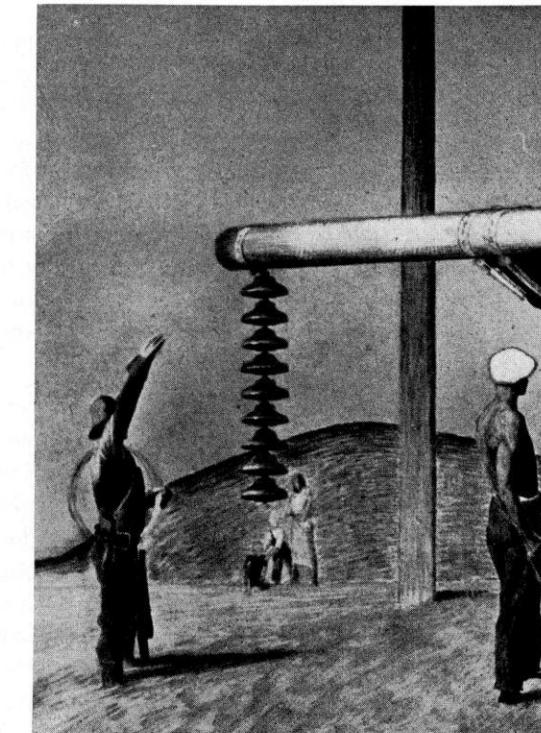
As it turned out, this was, I think, the first and only Section mural sketch categorically turned down by the Fine Arts Commission. After revisiting the Washington murals this winter I feel that both our own and the Commission's lack of enthusiasm in Biddle's case has not been justified by time. His mural stands up very well, indeed; it is personal, has character in its color and design, and is interesting in its subject. It looks better to me now than many jobs I preferred thirty years ago.

Our main objection to the *New Yorker* article was our belief that any controversy would hurt the Program. We did our best to keep out of the lime light and especially not to publicize an internal jurisdictional disagreement with another government agency. As you will see in the following case, we were quite wrong. It is better to be talked about, even unfavorably, than to be ignored.

Rockwell Kent was painting two panels for the Post Office Department; one showed the carrying of the mail in Puerto Rico, the other in Alaska. Directly in the center of the Puerto Rican mural, one person is giving another a small white piece of paper to read. When Kent installed the mural he tipped off a journalist friend that written on this letter was a message in Icelandic suggesting, I think, that the Puerto Ricans revolt or declare their independence, or some such sentiment. The story, published in a Washington newspaper, broke with enormous effect. Secretary Morgenthau's and Admiral Peoble's desks were deluged with letters in the many thousands. The *New York Times* ran the story on its front page for almost a week. We were angry and appalled, feeling

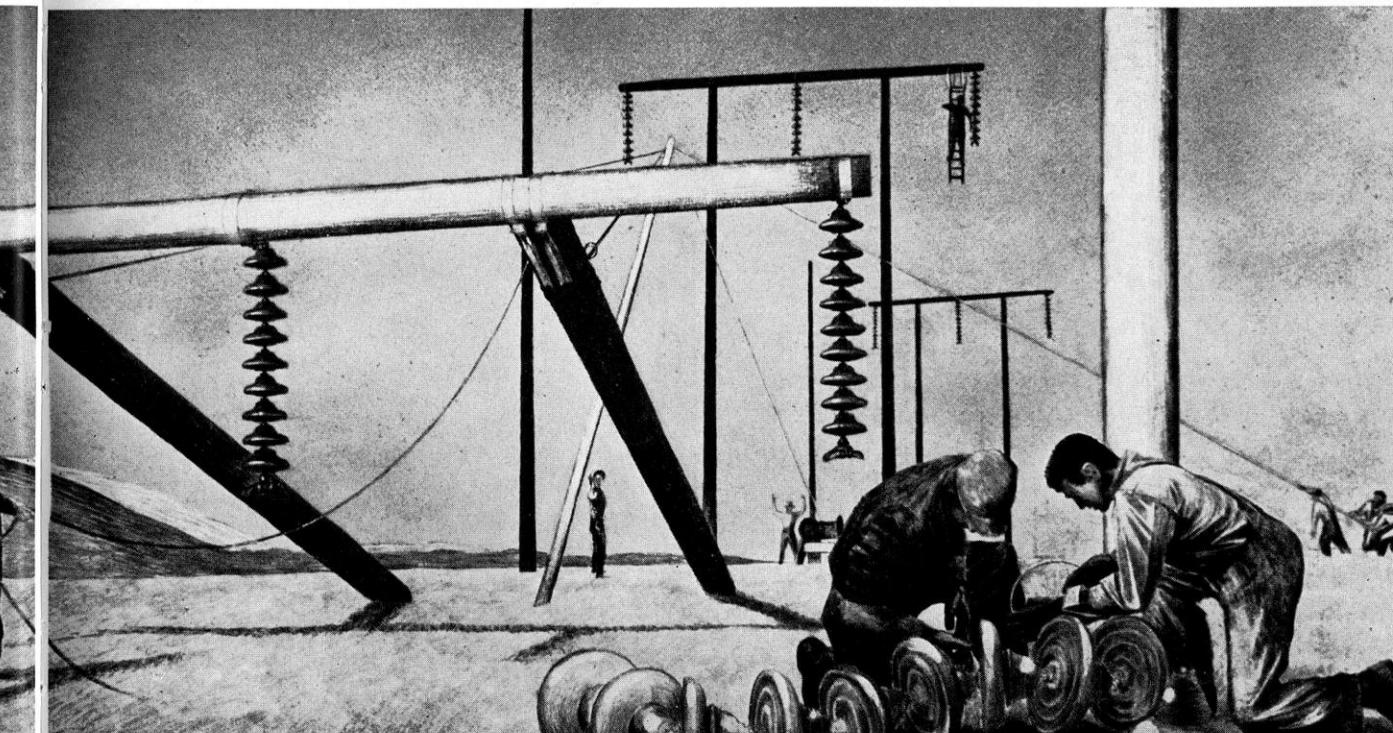
the whole program and the work of other less publicity-minded artists was endangered. As no one could read the Icelandic message, Ned Bruce sent it, slow mail, to a great Icelandic scholar in Denmark, to be translated. In the meantime the publicity died down, and the story was forgotten, when, months later, the message was returned, officially translated. Eventually the words on the white piece of paper were painted out. On seeing this mural recently I found it hard to believe it could have raised such a rumpus.

The written message, of course, had nothing to do with the mood of the mural. It was applied, a stunt. The last thing in the world we expected was to have such publicity help our program. But it did. The powers that be were impressed that an unimportant Section's activity could hold the *New York Times*' front page for a week and cause such torrential correspondence. Our official status rose perceptively. This fear of having the program hurt by publicity was the reason we avoided it, and asked artists not to give unauthorized interviews. Thomas Benton, in an otherwise excellent article in the *Sunday Times*, October 28, 1962, implied that we were "aesthetic egg heads," afraid of being disagreed with or even of having our judgment questioned, since we had worked so hard to achieve our opinions. Had this been the case I think we would not have urged the local committees to exhibit all the sketches in a competition, exhibited them ourselves whenever possible, distributed our Bulletin where all names and facts were published, or produced at our own expense *Art in Federal Buildings*—the latter financially ill-advised but well worth doing, as it contains the most complete outline of our procedure now available.



DESIGN FOR MURAL—TENNESSEE TVA POWER LINES

BY DAVID STONE MARTIN



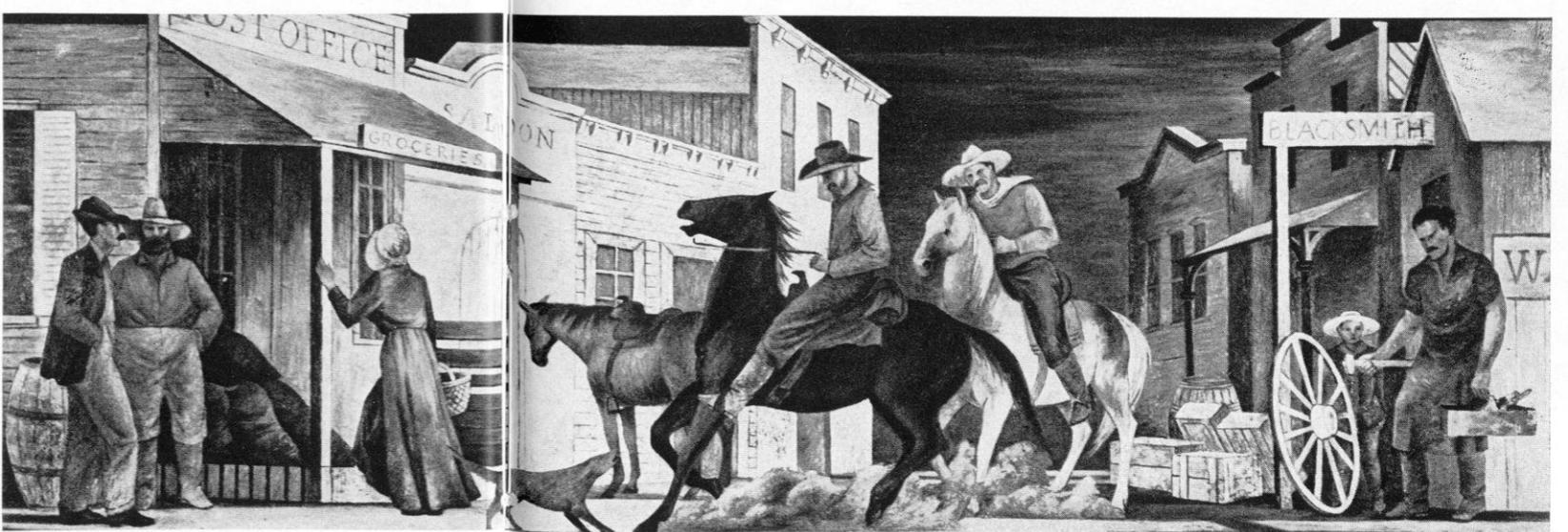


"BARNs" IN

CANNONSBURG, PENNSYLVANIA

POST OFFICE

BY PETER BLUME



MURAL IN HELPER, UTAH POST OFFICE

BY JEANIE MAGAFAN



For full mural see page 58

Time may prove us wrong for not valuing Benton's work as highly as he naturally does. If I remember correctly, Biddle and Borie's first plan for the decoration of the Justice Department proposed that Benton paint the ceremonial stairway, the finest mural space in the building. We asked Boardman Robinson to decorate it. Although it was late and Robinson was not at the height of his powers, I still believe it was the right decision. He painted a distinguished and intelligent mural. Benton painted expert and characteristic sketches for the two panels he was awarded in the Post Office Department, but he never executed them. He obviously found the Section irritating to deal with, and he had a larger and more interesting commission in the Missouri State Capitol.

The third controversy concerns one panel of Maurice Sterne's series of twenty on "The Law" for the Department of Justice's library. The panel in question symbolized "cruelty" by a rather abstract treatment of trial by fire. It showed a man carrying two red hot irons, collapsing at the altar where he is supposed to place them after having walked three paces. A group of medieval churchmen look on. A Roman Catholic priest campaigned against this mural as being offensive and untrue. He did his best to keep it from being installed, and succeeded in doing so for a long time. This affair also was taken up with relish by the press. It dragged on and on.

At the time, I went to see a great churchman, scholar and art lover, and an old friend, Father John LaFarge about it. My impression was that the controversy subsided shortly afterwards, but from the account Francis Biddle gives of the incident in *In*

LEFT: MURAL—ONE OF THREE

PANELS FOR INTERIOR

DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

BY WILLIAM GROPPER

RIGHT: INSTALLED MURAL

JUSTICE DEPT. BLDG.,

WASHINGTON, D. C.

BY HENRY VARNUM POOR



Brief Authority, it continued and the murals were finally installed very much later. Superb and fascinating as are the drawings, design, and intellectual scheme of these panels on "The Law," in revisiting the library I found the murals themselves cold, and subdued. Again I marvel that they could have caused so much heat and feeling in the thirties.

Subject Matter and the Problems of the Mural Painter

For its local competitions the Section suggested subject matter dealing with local history, past and present, local industry, pursuits, or landscape. We noted that the postal service was active communication and need not be symbolized by the obvious train coach or plane, but might take on considerable human and dramatic significance as a concrete link between every community of individuals and the federal government. This may not sound very inspiring, but it allows considerable latitude, and most painters were able to express themselves adequately, some very well indeed, within these limitations. Straight landscapes made fresh, original, and personal murals, like those of Aaron Bohrod for Vandalia, Illinois; Clarence Carter for Ravenna, Ohio; Mrs. Georgina Klitgaard and Charles Rosen for Poughkeepsie, New York, and Richard Zoellner for Portsmouth, Ohio. So did informal arrangements of working or playing figures against landscape backgrounds like "de Toqueville's Visit" for Wappingers Falls, New York, and "Winter Sports" for Lake Placid, New York, both by Henry Billings; Louis Bouché's auditorium backdrop screen for the Interior Department, Washington, D.C.; Guy DuBois' "Racing Scenes" for Saratoga, New York; Wendel Jones' "Settlers Cutting Down Roof Tree" for Granville, Ohio; "Whaling Scenes" for New London, Connecticut, by Thomas LaFarge; and David Stone Martin's "Power Line" for Lenoir City, Indiana. Some of these subjects were worked out with the collaboration of interested local citizens. This did not make them effective murals, but it did give them a certain local status not to be sniffed at.

The problem of subject and its effect on a painter is well and clearly expressed in a letter to Edward Bruce by Henry Varnum Poor. With the latter's permission I quote:

I think that the basis of any great mural, as of all great painting, is a sense of the pictorial necessity, a visual freshness and reality, which speaks more clearly than any other thing. So a complicated or highly intellectual idea is a great drawback—something to surmount rather than a real help.

Examine the purely intellectual content of any great mural and you'll find it almost nil. Or a truer way to put it would be to say that what the artist contributes to the original story is something which could not, ahead of time, be expressed in words or conceived in words. When it is accomplished, it may be the result of the finest wisdom, so endless words and ideas can play over it, but they could not help in its creation.

In Massaccio's "The Tribute" you will find the simplest possible illustration of the subject. The painter's contribution is just in the air and light which bathes the figures, in their grouping, in their types and in their gestures. These things hold the finest wisdom, but it is created out of visual sensibility, not out of ideas.

Da Vinci's "Last Supper," from the most intellectual of painters, does not contribute one idea—it only clothes the story in the most profound human understanding, expressed through types and groups and gestures again. This would hold true for Giotto, Della Francesca—almost all the great mural painters.

There are a few painters who live with a great deal of pain, in the heroic mold, and who have given concrete form to involved or abstract concepts. But this heroic or Michelangelesque tradition has given us a long series of the world's worst murals, from the hands of painters not of this real heroic mold.

My suggestion, then, is that the wisest thing to do is to find, if possible, a connected or related series of simple incidents, or places, or people, or conditions of

living which, in themselves, may not express the whole idea of social security, but might do so through the humanity and insight with which the artist shows them. This it seems to me is the most sound way of doing.

My conviction that this pictorial freshness is the first quality of a mural was formed while serving on the 48-States jury. That quality came through most directly. The problems of architectural and special composing are perhaps even more important and rarely understood, but they are not as basic and are of course nothing for laymen to become involved in.

The subject matter referred to by Poor was for the new Social Security building in Washington. William Gropper, Philip Guston, and Ben Shahn won contracts in the competitions for its decoration. The scheme proposed for its murals or any other suggested or defined subject has little to do with the quality of the painter's conception. It may stimulate his dramatic, decorative, or plastic imagination. It can do no more than that for him, although it makes the mural vastly more interesting to the general public. Here lies one of the mural painter's special problems, this matter of subject, of communication. Although there have been misunderstandings in the past between mural painters and their public, the general acceptance by both of certain beliefs, with their attendant symbols, made communication easier. Today the painter creates the visual symbol as well as interpreting the ideas that form the framework of his mural. Because the period in which we live is so chaotic in its beliefs or lack of them, in its forms of expression or lack of form, the painter's problem is compounded. Traditional symbols like halos, scales of justice, or swords are weak not only because few significant painters have chosen, or been commissioned, to use them, but also because our understanding of their meaning has changed. They are stale. The newer experimental symbols such as monumental clasped hands, the cock, streaming banners with quotations from revolutionary prophets and poets, though they often appear more lively, have not yet acquired the weight of general acceptance. They smack of the political cartoon. The social and spiritual beliefs of our democracy are hard enough to express in words. They are much harder to express in visual or plastic symbols. Perhaps that is why so many modern mural painters lean on explicit quotation. Personal freedom, justice, equality, good will, reason, decency, fair play, the desire to live and let live with its essential base in compromise, these classic and Christian ideals which give our society much of its spiritual strength are not often adequately expressed in painting. It is easier and more effective to paint scenes where these fine ideals have failed. The truth of the matter is that the failures, serious and disgraceful as they may be, are less important than those social and political achievements which are immense and impressive, yet so hard to express.

The current demand for painting is big and active. But today, the buying of a picture because one likes it, or because it looks well on one's wall is too frequently of less importance to the buyer than the consideration of its possible increase in value. The ownership of old masters has always had this financial motive as well as its value as a symbol of social status. This point of view has increasingly invaded the purchasing of contemporary painting. Whether or not treating pictures as speculative stocks has pushed painters to their present extravagant pursuit of originality, esoteric expression, and experiment is hard to say. But there is no doubt that the current fashion in these characteristics is excessive; for example, the large sums paid for much of what is called "pop" art, or the enthusiasm for Ad Reinhardt's series of six black panels, now being exhibited in New York's Museum of Modern Art. When feeling cynical I wonder if the only bona fide demand for the painter's craft today is not for portraits (the club, posthumous, and board of directors variety) and commercial art. There is

a certain malaise in the atmosphere that surrounds the profession today. We are selling too much snake medicine; we see too many suits on the Emperor.

Although the demand for murals is larger than it was in the nineteenth century, it is still special and sporadic, and is complicated by the unhealthy climate just suggested. The active demand for pictures during the last century helped support a successful group of professional painters of great quality and variety. During the same period there was only one painter of significance (and that a minor one), Puvis de Chavannes, who might conceivably be described as a professional mural painter in the same sense that Giotto's pupils, Ghirlandajo or Boucher, were. Professional decorators, these men produced superbly competent wall paintings. Similarly, in periods like the Byzantine or Romanesque, the work of great groups of decorators was in demand. I might add that in the long period from, say, the fourth or fifth century to the fourteenth there was a feeling for a wall which showed up even in small scale works of art. This is hard to define. I can only suggest it by noting that in the most "unmural" of countries, William Blake, who rarely did a picture larger than twelve square inches, has this mural quality. It is obvious if you throw a slide of one of his engravings for "The Book of Job" on a wall.

A traditionally wall-conscious society helps create a profession of mural painting and a sense of craft, which the somewhat artificial stimulus of the Mexican and of our own government programs, or the uncertain modern commercial demand has failed to create. What will always exist are painters who, when commissioned to paint a wall, have a special talent or feeling for it, like Delacroix, Oroszco, LaFarge, or under the Treasury Program, among others, Rico LeBrun, Henry Varnum Poor, and Anton Refregier. There are other painters of the greatest distinction (like Bonnard in his mural at Assi) whose way of painting and point of view does not seem to be at ease as an integral part of a wall. This discussion is so subjective that I can only suggest my point by these specific examples.

Another problem the mural painter must consider is that of working in a particular and relatively permanent space, often within an elaborate architectural setting which frames his work and which may create a mood and rhythm, friendly or inimical to it. The wall itself implies a certain craft in the handling of paint. Consequently, many painters feel an urge to use fresco or work directly on the dry plaster. As this is not the normal equipment of a painter's education today, even so interested and expert a technician as Reginald Marsh studied fresco with Olle Nordmark before undertaking his panels for the Post Office Department in Washington.

How much each individual working for the Treasury program was restrained by his own inner sense of fitness or tact in painting on a public wall; how uncertain he may have been technically; how disturbed or stimulated he was by the architectural setting, by what he thought the public expected of him, or what a particular jury, in the case of a competition, would accept—all this is impossible to ascertain. It would be especially interesting to know how painters like James Brooks, Philip Guston, or William de Kooning, whose styles have changed so radically since the early thirties, felt then. I do remember that, during my three consecutive years' association with the Treasury, very few abstract sketches were submitted in competition.

On the whole, the mural program was successful. Many painters produced murals that were consistent in quality with their total output. Some for various reasons did not. No one produced an incompetent job. There were a number of painters whose murals will look well beside those painted in any country, at any period of history.

The whole program was based on the Section's jury system. Final decision on the smaller competitions depended not only on the local jury, but on the Section's staff as well. This had not been true of the first local competitions. With these the chairman had been asked to send only his jury's three or four first choices to Washington, with its recommendation for the winner. In one of these early competitions, immediately after the jury had held its meeting and before their choice of sketches had reached our office, we heard through the grape vine that a number of reputable painters in the region questioned the jury's recommendations. When the three or four placed sketches arrived the local jury's award seemed quite reasonable to us. Acting on what we had heard, however, we asked the chairmen to send all sketches to Washington. When they in turn arrived, we found that several, which had not been sent to us, were considerably more interesting than those the jury had at first recommended. In other words, we felt the critical artists had been quite right. The Section awarded the contract to the local jury's first choice, but it promptly gave contracts to several other painters whose solutions of the problem had been overlooked. From that time on, all competition sketches were sent to Washington. I don't think we ever reversed a local jury's recommendation; but we did award other contracts, as in the case cited, and sometimes these awards were for a more interesting mural space carrying a larger payment than the original commission.

I am not implying that some local juries behaved improperly; there are always honest differences in point of view. Nevertheless, the result of this experience was important to the Section, for from then on all sketches were reviewed twice by different and unconnected groups of professionals. This insured a fairly wide variety of opinion, and, in the case of the Section's, one that was completely detached from local considerations.

With national competitions like those for the Post Office and the Justice Department buildings, the Section appointed juries with as much variety in point of view as possible. Although the architect of the building was always a member, the others were always professional painters or sculptors. This was not equally true of our local juries, for there each chairman appointed his own. Besides, local painters and sculptors who did not want to enter the competitions were not always easy to find. As the chairmen throughout the country had varying attitudes toward art, we were assured of considerable variety in the juries they appointed. As with the P.W.A.P. volunteer committees, those men and women who handled the local competitions for the Section did outstandingly disinterested jobs and contributed greatly to the success of the program.

From my experience on juries, which thirty years ago was considerable, I have found they do their utmost to make the fairest decisions possible from the work submitted to them. In most jury meetings, when there is a relatively high level of competence in work submitted, the half-dozen or more entries which remain for the final discussions really become a matter of personal taste with each juror. It is rare indeed that any juror's first choice is not kept for this final consideration. But at this point the joint decision on a winner may not be the first choice of any juror, or may be that of only two or more members of a five man jury.

In the case of the Section's anonymous mural sketches the situation was complicated by the fact that some juror might recognize a competitor's style and so be influenced by his estimate of that painter's other work or reputation. It was surprising, however, that although the authority of an accomplished painter usually carried over in a mural sketch, a strong personal style in other work often did not. A juror's first choice of a mural

sketch can be influenced by what he understands by scale, or by what he considers suitable treatment for a wall. No two painters on a jury may think alike on these questions. Such very personal and subjective factors can be decisive. In spite of the eternal complaints about compromising juries, I wonder if, in the long run, better decisions can be reached through any other method. On the whole, the painters and sculptors believed in the Section's jury system. They had sufficient confidence in it to make it work well and produce results.

The W.P.A. Federal Art Project

In the early summer of 1935, Mrs. Ruth Reeves brought a well thought out plan to the Section's office. Painters were to record our indigenous decorative arts by water colors and drawings of certain limited sizes. The pictures were to be attractive likenesses of folk art objects from private and public sources. The program was to be nation-wide. It was an excellent idea.

Being an aid to employment which would at the same time yield useful and enduring results, it was an invaluable idea. However, since we felt it was not properly within the administrative or financial scope of the Treasury's program, we referred Mrs. Reeves to Holger Cahill, who was just beginning to set up the W.P.A. art project. He was personally sympathetic to Mrs. Reeves' scheme because he really knew and loved Americana, and pioneered in its appreciation. As an administrator he took brilliant advantage of this idea in employing artists, and implemented immediately what became known as The Index of American Design. It had centers in thirty-two states and employed about 500 painters, who produced over 22,000 water colors and drawings. These are now in the National Gallery of Art in Washington, where you may usually find a few hanging in the corridor leading to the cafeteria. They make a unique and beautiful collection, and one which has made a permanent contribution to this country's cultural resources.

The figures on this one important item in the W.P.A.'s program clearly illustrate its extent, as do the following statistics from studies prepared for *Collier's Yearbook* by Mrs. Dorothy Miller:

(1) Over 2250 murals, including frescoes, mosaics, and photo murals, were prepared for tax exempt public buildings (for example, the four large panels in the main hall of the New York Public Library, painted by Edward Laning).

(2) Over 13,000 pieces of sculpture were produced, ranging from small ceramic figures for public schools and libraries to monuments for parks, housing developments and historic battlefields. Remember that the sponsoring agency, be it a village board, trustees of a public library, city council, or art society, paid a large part of the cost for materials on each project.

(3) Over 85,000 paintings, out of the over 100,000 easel pictures produced, were allocated on permanent loan to public institutions. Many art teachers in distant rural districts had rarely seen an original painting.

(4) A total of 239,727 prints from 12,581 original designs were completed. The New York project developed the silk screen process as a vital expressive medium for artists and in a mimeographed handbook on this subject made a pioneering effort of real importance. (I think the carborundum print was likewise developed on the New York project.)

(5) About 500,000 photographs were produced as well as two educational films, one on the painting of a fresco, the other on making a mosaic.

(6) One-hundred and three community art centers (mostly in the South and West)

were organized. I visited a number of these centers when I inspected some of our Treasury projects, and was always much impressed by their vitality and the public's interest in them. They were usually run by a painter, who organized lectures, demonstrations, adult and children's classes, and exhibitions. The space—sometimes an unused store, an apartment, or even a whole house that was lent by the municipality or a private source—would be in the business section of town, where the public could conveniently drop in.

An excellent handbook on how to set up a small art center and simple inexpensive exhibition gallery was mimeographed by the project. These centers have had an influence of lasting importance in this country's art appreciation and on our present "cultural boom."

The extent of local support from state and municipal governments, Chambers of Commerce, Rotary and women's clubs, art and educational societies can be gauged by the fact that about one million dollars was contributed to these centers by the communities from 1935 to 1941. During these six years more than eight million individuals participated in the activities of community centers, and the W.P.A. had an exhibition service which prepared 450 complete travelling exhibitions for them. A number of these centers were continued by their local communities after the W.P.A. had folded, and many were also taken over as recreational centers for the armed services during the war.

In 1941 the W.P.A.'s activities were generally used to produce work for the armed services and the Office of Civilian Defense. These included all kinds of experiments in the making of visual training aids for the War Department and Air Force, as well as posters, arm bands, and portable altars. The project likewise supplied instructors for recreational art classes in the camps, etc.

The following statistics, taken from Mrs. Erika Rubenstein's Ph.D. thesis on the government programs from August 1935 to June 1941, give some idea of the money involved: For the year 1941, the W.P.A. project (employing a little over 5,000 persons) had a budget of \$7,400,000 of which the W.P.A. paid \$6,160,800 and the various local sponsors \$1,180,000. The total federal expenditure on the W.P.A. plastic arts program was about \$69,578,000, with the sponsors' contributions about \$9,230,600.

These notes give the merest hint of the project's scope; the statistics suggest its scale. Our relations with the W.P.A. were essentially cooperative on both sides, with a dose of sharp rivalry mitigated by respect and friendship for the administrators with whom we dealt personally or through correspondence.

It would be hard to overemphasize the importance of the art centers, the *Index* or the print medium experiments. I viewed a certain number of excellent murals done in schools, and other public buildings. The program produced easel paintings as good as any painted in the country during those years.

Holger Cahill was an outstanding administrator, warm, enthusiastic, careful and understanding. He had a sensitive eye for quality and he fostered the best work possible under the circumstances. Much of it was very good indeed, and without doubt many painters felt happier and succeeded in expressing themselves more fully on the easel program of the W.P.A. than in murals for post offices: there was more freedom to experiment and develop new techniques. Almost all of today's prominent painters and sculptors worked on the W.P.A. program, and many of them worked on the Treasury programs as well.

The great mass of painting and sculpture produced during the nine years of the government programs described above inevitably increased the general public's familiarity with the plastic arts. Since local artists often did this work and they, not administrators, ran the art centers of the W.P.A., community interest was often generated in art projects. This tended to weaken the overwhelming influence of the large metropolitan centers, especially New York City, which I suspect has by now profited indirectly from the increased audience in the provinces. At any rate, this work done for the public, combined with a considerable amount of administrative activity, influenced the profession as a whole and the point of view of many individual artists. I became aware of this difference during the war in England, where, although the British government had instituted extensive programs, the attitude of the British painters and sculptors I met remained far less socially conscious, far more subjective, than that of American artists in general. Mural painting, for one thing, will never be the same in America as it was before the programs. The murals painted for public buildings on the W.P.A. and those done through competitions of the Treasury Department's Section brought new attitudes, significant experiments and some original talents, as well as far more commissions than ever before.

The relief aspect of the program is not likely to recur. When these programs were a necessity, they kept an important if small number of the country's unemployed professionally active in work which, to say the least, was socially beneficial. All political parties and our social system cannot afford, ever again, to have fifteen million unemployed. But since unemployment as a result of automation and other causes has neither been solved nor produced a joint policy between government and industry, it is not impossible that some large scale professional service employment program might be undertaken again. In such an event the art programs of the thirties will have value as precedent.

Except for a relatively few successful individuals, the artists' profession is marginal. Since the government art programs ended, there has been some political pressure for their revival; but in number of votes, this pressure has been ineffective. The most powerfully articulate and richest segment of the artistic community—the museums, foundations, and collectors—would, in my opinion, be opposed to any such general employment of artists. Yet the government has always had some need for the plastic arts in its public buildings. It has also become conscious of all the arts' importance in international public relations, as they give the world an image of our life, culture and civilization. Our artists make significant personal contacts abroad. Too many of our neighbors, some with cultures older than ours, tend to look down their noses when talking about mass produced art. Though they will probably continue to do so, it is useful to show this international public what we actually produce. Once shown, it can see and judge for itself. This use of a national art has become a not unimportant aspect of foreign relations.

In consequence, the government needs both a program and a policy in this matter. How much this should be used to stimulate a living national art, and, if so, in what proportions the government and private or semi-public associations should participate—or whether the government should participate at all—are questions that can be discussed endlessly. Both the Republican and Democratic administrations have willy-nilly taken certain actions that in themselves tentatively create a program. The government also has had to take a policy position about traveling exhibitions and artists, international scholarships, and performances of music, drama, and ballet. The administration and President and Mrs. Kennedy have personally made important gestures in general patron-

TRANSPARENCY — DEPARTMENT

OF INTERIOR MURAL —

EDGAR BRITTON "CONSERVATION"



age, awarding ceremonial honors to art and artists. For Pablo Casals to play, and for Edward Hopper to be hung in the White House, is an honor to these distinguished artists as well as to their professions. They, and other artists like them, shed their own glamor. Since honor and prestige run on a two-way street, appreciation or ownership of a celebrated artist's work is likewise an honor—and a status symbol—for the individual and the country who honor them. I understand that an important advisory committee on the arts is to be appointed, probably by the time this paper reaches print. There was one also under the last Republican administration. These things are admirable gestures; but, unfortunately, at the present time they have rarely gone beyond using and discussing facts mostly accomplished and reputations already established. As such, they are well worth doing. It adds to our national prestige that they are being done with such style. It is, however, essential to do more: art is not all window dressing or public relations. To get at the root of the matter, to really effect or stimulate our national art, to be creative and productive, our government policy and program should be larger, more experimental and dynamic.

Sooner or later, under this or some succeeding administration, our government will be forced to formulate a policy and to organize a program for the arts. I would prefer to see each artistic activity that is used by the government managed in the department using it. This seems to have been the policy of the present and last administration in their token efforts, the State Department being involved with the exportation of exhibitions and of performing artists and their productions. Doing this and attempting to stimulate or subsidize the performing arts nationally is a problem so distant from, for example, the acquisition of painting and sculpture for public buildings, that there is no reason to have them managed in the same governmental department. Separation, like that between the Section and the W.P.A. program, would give each activity a smoother base of operation: it would be quieter politically; and being better able to control publicity, administrators could get more done. Eventually, however, I expect the pressure to create an important directorship of fine arts, as well as an administrative tidiness in having all such activities included in one government agency, may prevail. If so, let us hope that it will be on the high professional and non-political level of the Bureau of Standards.

In the meantime, there is the precedent of the thirties. I submit that the Treasury's Section of Fine Arts was important, not as a palliative for social dislocation, but as a proved and effective method of acquiring painting and sculpture for public buildings. Its organization was sufficiently flexible to be contracted or expanded as needed to include any related activities. Its program was then, and would be now, a modest and reasonable one for a country of our wealth and power. Should such a program be undertaken, its policy should be catholic in taste, not overly committed to a particular aesthetic aim, and large enough to make this broad base reasonably workable. The individual commissions should cost somewhat less than the equivalent private ones would. I believe that competition is still the fairest way of awarding such commissions, but I do not want to be dogmatic about it. No doubt, the success of the Section's competitions and the high quality of the participating artists' work was partly the result of the almost total lack of other jobs at that time. In any case, it is essential that competing artists respect and support the juries, and that a majority of each jury consist of working painters and sculptors. The mechanics of selection depend upon the situation. How many competitions should be held; how many jobs awarded as a result of each competition; the nature of the competition itself—whether open, geographically limited, or invited as the result of the review of an individual artist's work (as with the

American Academy in Rome, the Tiffany and Guggenheim Foundations); whether the artists should be selected from tabulated votes and lists, or from photographs of sculpture (as in the case of the Post Office Department already described)—all this may be decided pragmatically.

Today the rift in vision between abstract expressionists and relatively realistic painters makes it difficult for juries to equate and judge the works of both kinds of artists against each other. It might be possible, however, to try two different juries for making awards. I have already noted the advantages which the Section found in its competition system; there is little doubt that it gives a sense of participation throughout the national artistic community, and affords opportunities to the younger and the less well known members of the profession.

In preparing this paper, I reread some of our enthusiastic and positive statements made about the programs in the thirties. With the skeptical mind and eye of the sixties focussed on essential facts, I do not want to overstate the case now, though I thank God for that enthusiasm. Still, much of the discussion and writing on this subject, foot dragging and apologetic as it is, fails to suggest or even to understand the significance of the programs. If a carefully chosen collection, representative of either the Section's work or of all the programs of the thirties, were assembled, or if a generously illustrated book of the work done between 1934 and 1942 were published, it would stand up very well indeed beside a similarly selected collection of contemporary work taken from the nation's art galleries, the national exhibitions and museums, and the murals and sculpture commissioned during the last nine years.

Such an imaginary collection would constitute a visible report on the government programs. Some of the work done under their auspices will reflect the variety, vitality, and spiritual strength of our country's painters and sculptors. Their work *is* the program and its principal fruit. But the administrative enterprise I have described here also shows us one small but not unimportant solution to the great and urgent problem facing our own and succeeding generations; namely, how to consolidate and organize our fantastic knowledge and power over nature and to distribute its benefits more evenly throughout our nation and the world. It is the practical problem of government, ranging from the question of race relations to the distribution of wheat; the quality of its solution has been, is, and will continue to be an outward and visible sign of our own inward and spiritual grace.

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new york state council on the arts— the first three years

BY JOHN H. MAC FADYEN,

THE COUNCIL'S EXECUTIVE-DIRECTOR

In the current status pattern of conversation topics, the U and Non-U, IN or OUT, certainly the most IN and U is Government in the Arts. And along with all the talk goes a shaky presumption that, properly manipulated, this will become the ultimate panacea, although all statistical allusions and geographic comparisons tend to indicate otherwise. This urge to pass the buck for passing the buck is, far from being a panacea, a potential impediment towards the healthy existence and development of our arts. The only legitimate excuse for governmental patronage of the arts in our country is to supplement and encourage the total development of non-governmental patronage. Only after this broad pattern has been successfully established will the role of government become clear and effective. But the establishment of the pattern demands the exploratory efforts of all the potential participants, and in this spirit the New York State Council on the Arts was formed.

There seems to be some elusive premium in being first in this arena. Let me disclaim this for New York; since our beginning it has turned up that a number of states have had vaguely legislated arts commissions for many years. There is an additional dividend for being the biggest, but this is largely a matter of bookkeeping and I would hesitate to devote our time or energy to establishing statistical proof of our fiscal priority. We were not founded as a subsidizing agency for cultural institutions; our declaration of policy in the legislation is simple and direct: "... to join with private patrons and with institutions and professional organizations concerned with the arts to insure that the role of the arts in the life of our communities will continue to grow and will play an ever more significant part in the welfare and educational experience of our citizens . . ."

The act establishing the Council was passed in 1960 and \$50,000 was at that time appropriated to finance its initial survey responsibilities. By the time the legislature met again in 1961 the Council could demonstrate areas of need and suggest improving

NEW YORK STATE COUNCIL ON THE ARTS—
THE FIRST THREE YEARS

measures that might be undertaken. With an appropriation of \$450,000 for 1961-62, followed by amounts annually of \$560,250 and \$562,335, these and other experimental plans have been carried out.

The New York State Council on the Arts, amended to its present form in 1962, is a temporary commission established through March 31, 1967. There are fifteen members to be rotated annually. With this Council rests the responsibility and authority for carrying out its various programs and appointing its staff. The permanent staff consists at the moment of an Executive Director, an Assistant Director, and an Office Manager, and is periodically augmented with temporary appointments for special assistance. This staff contributes to program development and handles the administrative detail.

New York has a wealth of existing institutions well qualified to conceive and execute programs on behalf of the Council. For this reason the Council hasn't participated in the establishing of such institutions, although in some states throughout the country this might well be an important function of a council on the arts. The New York Council's chief function lies in recognizing ways in which existing programs can be extended to provide broader participation of audiences and raise standards of performance.

In searching out this recognition the Council draws freely on the services of professional advisors, both individually and in groups. Over one hundred such advisors have been consulted in the past three years. It is still too early for us to suggest that we have found a permanent working formula but there is an emerging pattern to the Council's overall operations.

Support For Touring The Arts

A state goal of better art for more people deals essentially with the interpretive. Before many states can make significant progress towards this goal in *all* the arts they must develop public recognition of and interest in quality, and general and special educational programs directed towards sustaining this interest and eventually producing this quality.

Public recognition of and regard for quality can only be achieved through public exposure to quality. This required touring programs in the performing arts and exhibitions of the visual arts.

During its first two years of programming the New York Council approached this objective by supporting extended tours by selected organizations. The response to this program has been enthusiastic indeed. The Council recognized, however, that in such

selective support to a few groups it necessarily limited the nature and number of the attractions that could be made available. As a part of a continued effort to make our work more effective, we undertook, for the 1963-64 season, a new approach to this phase of our program.

Any qualified professional performing organization or individual prepared to tour in New York State may apply for approval to do so with Council support. This support, however, is directed through local sponsors for specific Council-approved dates in communities throughout the State. The performing organization or individual, upon receiving Council approval, may proceed to seek these bookings at the normal selling price. The local sponsor, having made a tentative booking date with the performing organization or individual, applies to the Council for support for this date. If the date is approved, the amount of support is determined by the Council and is based approximately on the difference between the total cost, including certain local expenses, and a reasonable estimate of anticipated income from the sale of tickets, within a specific price range.

As of June 1, current commitments for this program during the 1963-64 season are for 104 performances in eighty-eight communities involving more than fifty different performing organizations. Seven touring exhibitions of the visual arts will make more than eighty stops on their rounds of the state.

Educational Projects

Educational projects in both the performing and visual arts differ from the regular touring support in that the programs are specifically directed towards secondary school audiences. Also, while admission may be charged by the local sponsors, the Council pays the full cost of bringing the performer or the exhibition to the schools. This program has included tours by the Metropolitan Opera Studio and the New York Shakespeare Festival, the extending of the Young Audience program into new parts of the state, and the preparation of special educational exhibitions of the visual arts for circulation to schools.

Special Projects

The special projects category loosely embraces a number of diverse undertakings intended primarily to improve the opportunity for new creative and performing artists to be heard and seen. Such organizations as the Composers Forum and New Dramatists have been commissioned to provide programs in their art with Council support. In addition, this category seeks to conserve the state's cultural resources. An Architecture Worth Saving project was initiated last year in Onondaga County and will be carried on this year in Albany and Rensselaer Counties.

Technical Assistance

On the amateur level, the creative and interpretive arts are frequently a form of diversion, a hobby, although certainly in the test of time great art will emerge from the amateur ranks. There is nothing wrong with the arts as amateur diversion when it is clearly recognized as such. It affords an opportunity for introspection and expression which can lead to a more rewarding life. The danger comes from its being mistaken for valid professionalism.

There are countless organizations for the development of the arts on the amateur level. Their collective membership is energetic, vocal, taxpaying and politically omnipresent, and they simply cannot and should not be ignored by programs of state support. In all enlightened instances, the degree of satisfaction derived from an amateur endeavor

will be in direct proportion to its approach to perfection. It is logical, therefore, that state recognition of these programs should be in the form of offering expert guidance towards the raising of standards from individuals of institutions whose ability to render this guidance and recognize these standards is publicly acknowledged.

Under the New York State Council's technical assistance program more than fifty such experts have provided this guidance to community theatre, opera, ballet, musical organizations and museums and historical societies.

The diversity of these programs suggests the essentially exploratory nature of the Council's endeavor. The Council membership includes Seymour H. Knox, Chairman, of Buffalo, a lifelong collector and patron; Henry Allen Moe, Vice-Chairman of the Council and Chairman of the Guggenheim Foundation; Reginald Allen of the Metropolitan Opera Association; Cass Canfield, Senior Editor of Harper Brothers; Angus Duncan, President of Actor's Equity; Theodore M. Hancock, Syracuse lawyer and art collector; Mrs. W. Averell Harriman; architect Wallace K. Harrison; Miss Helen Hayes; Louis Clark Jones, Director of the New York State Historical Association; David M. Keiser, President of the New York Philharmonic Society; Richard B. K. McLanathan, lecturer and visual arts consultant; Alfred J. Manuti, President of the American Federation of Musicians Local 802; composer Richard Rodgers; and Lewis A. Swyer, Albany builder and art patron.

This group has achieved a dedicated and effective leadership in their regular meetings. They have the confident support of the Legislature. They eschew the politically expedient principle of something for everyone in their search for an effective state program properly related to all other sources of potential patronage for the arts. For let it be again said that the illusion of government support as a panacea must be corrected. It has its place and the New York program is devoted to contributing some understanding of where that place is. For, as Eric Larrabee has written in his introduction to the Council's 1961 report, "The argument, of course, is not over; nor will it ever be, as long as the quality of a nation is judged not only by its wealth and power, but by its poets and painters, the dreams of its dreamers and the songs it sings."

Editorial Note

Although the New York State Council on the Arts has developed the most ambitious program in the nation for promoting and organizing the arts on a state-wide basis, the recent formation of arts councils in fifteen other states indicates that the movement is widespread and is growing in momentum.

In five states, Wisconsin, California, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Illinois, the legislatures or Governors have set up arts commissions or councils primarily as study groups which will survey the existing cultural situations, outline the needs of the citizenry, and report to the legislatures, in most cases before January, 1964.

Wisconsin's Governor's Council on the Arts, formed in September, 1963, has an additional goal, the publication of a bi-monthly digest bringing to public attention the current artistic events, performances, lectures and demonstrations going on within the state's border. The Illinois Arts Council has recently received a \$10,000 donation from the Graham Foundation, sponsored by a Chicago architect, Ernest Graham, to set up a permanent cultural body to survey cultural needs and assets within the state.

In North Carolina the long standing appropriation for the North Carolina symphony has been expanded to \$4,000 to enable it to schedule fifty concerts in nineteen cities this season. In addition, the State has appropriated \$325,000

for the construction and development of a school for the performing arts at both the high school and college level which will emphasize professional performance training rather than academic pursuits and studies. A similar situation exists in Kentucky where there has been a record of support for the Louisville Orchestra and the Lexington Little Symphony as well as small chamber groups which was backed by state funds. Concert tours of the state colleges form a project began in 1960 as a business arrangement between the Commonwealth of Kentucky and Louisville Philharmonic Society. The Kentucky Council for the Performing Arts, developed last year, sponsored its first project this May, a National Folk Festival in Covington. It eventually plans to underwrite and be "concerned with the creation and performance of dramatic productions, festivals, and centennials."

Councils in several other states such as Michigan and Minnesota serve principally as groups to encourage the arts, and in general place the emphasis on participation and initiative by the individual community. In Nebraska, the Council for Cultural Resources has been partially hampered by complete dependence on private donations, but it did co-sponsor a music competition last spring in Crete, Nebraska, to recognize and encourage musical talent in the state. A small budget has relegated the Washington art commission to the status of an idea group to spur private organizations to action. The Virginia Confederation of Art has worked with the Museum of Fine Arts in Richmond to send mobile exhibitions to outlying communities for two years.

Legislative processes have held up the final formations of art councils in Missouri, Ohio and Nevada, but projected groups are being considered in those states. Governor Dalton of Missouri has already appointed a twenty-five member Committee on Arts and is waiting for the legislature to provide a statutory basis for the group.

the arts and the national government

A Report to the President

Submitted by August Heckscher,

Special Consultant on the Arts

INTRODUCTION

Growth of the Arts: Recent years have witnessed in the United States a rapidly developing interest in the arts. Attendance at museums and concerts has increased dramatically. Symphony orchestras, community theatres, opera groups and other cultural institutions exist in numbers which would have been thought

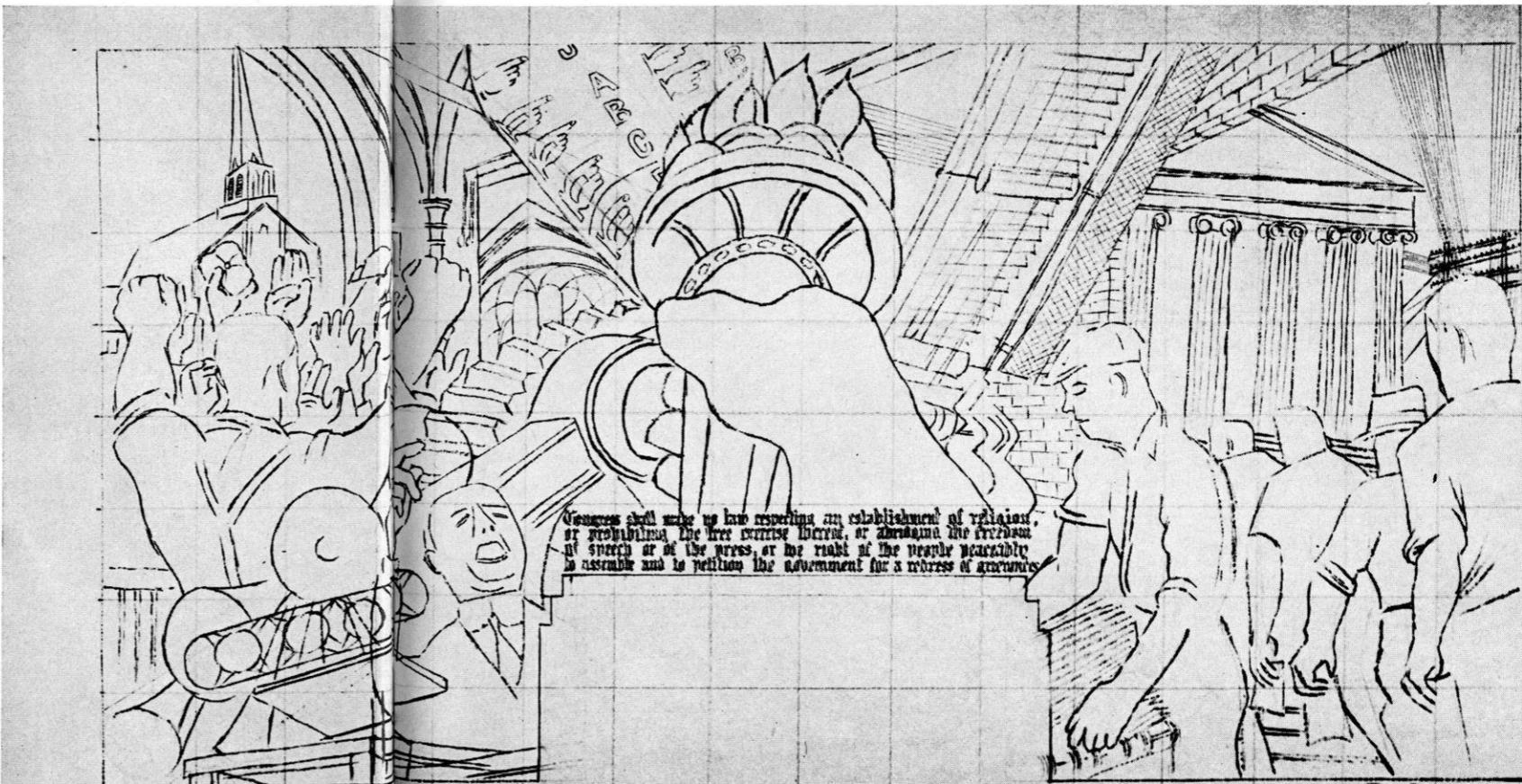
impossible a generation ago. The artist, the writer and the performer hold new positions of respect in our society. Good books are bought in large quantities, as are recordings of good music and reproductions of the great art of all ages. The crafts are developing new standards of creativity.

CARTOON FOR MURAL IN

SOCIAL SECURITY BUILDING

WASHINGTON, D. C.

BY BEN SHAHN



The causes of this widespread popular interest lie, it appears, deep within the nature of our society. What might be taken at first glance as a fad, a passing enthusiasm, is actually related to some of the basic currents of the Sixties in America. An increasing amount of free time, not only in the working week but in the life cycle as a whole; a new sense of the importance of cities; a recognition that life is more than the acquisition of material goods—these have contributed to the search for a new dimension of experience and enjoyment.

At the same time there has been a growing awareness that the United States will be judged—and its place in history ultimately assessed—not alone by its military or economic power, but by the quality of its civilization. The evident desirability of sending the best examples of America's artistic achievements abroad has led to our looking within, to asking whether we have in fact cultivated deeply enough the fields of creativity. We have come to feel as a people not only that we should be stronger but that we should have a higher degree of national well-being in proportion as the arts come into their own.

Despite the new enthusiasm, despite favorable social and political tendencies, the condition of the professional arts in the United States is not in all regards satisfactory. The very demands which changing public tastes have made upon established artistic institutions have strained the financial resources available to them. Older forms of patronage have not in all cases been adequately replaced. A long-standing weakness is what might be called the cultural infrastructure has led to institutions inadequately supported and managed and, as in the theatre, to a lack of the stability and continuity which provide the grounds where talent can develop and mature. Often inadvertently, government has imposed obstacles to the growth of the arts and to the well-being of the individual artist.

The Role of Government

Government in the United States has not in the past showed consistent concern for the state

of the arts. There have been moments, particularly the formative period of the Republic, when statesmen possessed the clear realization that the forms of art reflected the inner ideals of the social order. The planning of cities and the construction of public buildings were expected to match the concepts of order and human dignity inherent in the country's laws and institutions. This awareness was dimmed during most of the period of westward expansion and industrial progress. But in the twentieth century American Presidents again began to sense a relationship between government and the health of the cultural life. Before Franklin Roosevelt inaugurated immensely fertile experiments in this field, Theodore Roosevelt had brought to the White House artists, scholars and poets: William Howard Taft had established the Commission of Fine Arts.

Since the Second World War the role of government in the arts has been repeatedly stressed. In 1958 Congress passed legislation establishing the National Cultural Center. A report on "Art and Government" requested of the Fine Arts Commission by President Harry S. Truman surveyed the field methodically and formed a starting point for much of the work done by the Special Consultant in recent months. Significantly, too, when President Eisenhower established a Commission on National Goals, the cultural life of the United States was one of the areas subjected to inquiry.

A New Phase

These two trends—mounting popular enthusiasm for the arts and a growing concern on the part of the Government—came together at the start of the present Administration. Attendance at the Inaugural ceremonies of outstanding artists, writers and scholars was understandably hailed as signalling a new partnership in the national life. Reconstitution of the White House as a dramatic symbol of America's cultural heritage, and the hospitality provided to outstanding representatives of the

intellectual and artistic community, carried further the idea that government and art have a basic relationship.

Against this background the first Special Consultant on the Arts was named. It was understood that he would be concerned with the progress of the arts primarily as they affect,

not our international posture, but the well-being, the happiness and the personal fulfillment of the citizens of our democracy. In this sense the appointment, modest in scope and tentative in form though it was, marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of art and government.

I

OFFICE OF THE SPECIAL CONSULTANT

Named in March, 1962, with the understanding that he would serve part-time, approximately two days a week, and for approximately six months, the Special Consultant has had a small White House office with one full-time assistant.

During this period work has been carried forward in the following major areas.

Collecting Information on the Arts

A major concern of the office has been to gather so far as possible within its time and resources information about the needs, programs and activities of individuals and organizations within the general field of the arts. This has been a field rapidly developing, with new undertakings in the communities, in the educational system, and among the more traditional forms of cultural institutions. Municipal, county and state governments have been re-examining, and in many cases extending, their role in relation to the arts.

Legislative Activities

During the last session at least forty bills before Congress concerned the arts in some measure or other, and several major pieces of art legislation were under discussion. The office has, within its means, kept in touch with this situation.

Survey of Federal Programs

A specific charge given to the Special Consultant was to make a survey of policies and programs within the executive departments and agencies affecting the arts, and to make recommendations for raising standards and encouraging the fullest use of the opportunities avail-

able. In this work the office secured the cooperation of the Bureau of the Budget, working with it upon a questionnaire for the Bureau's examiners which might reveal unexpected facets and supplementing its leads with personal contacts.

Advisory Activities

In addition to normal duties relating to White House concern with the arts, including liaison with the U.S. Commission for the New York World's Fair and the National Cultural Center, the office has had to deal with a considerable day-to-day correspondence, with interviews and discussions and a variety of informational and counselling activities with private organizations and individuals. This part of the work was augmented by the unexpectedly large public response evoked by announcement of the post.

Attendance at cultural functions, visits to communities engaged in significant enterprises in the fields of the arts, addresses and articles have been expected of the Special Consultant and have seemed important as a means both of gathering information and of formulating new approaches and concepts.

* * *

In considering the future White House role in relation to the arts these four areas should, it is suggested, be kept in view. Together they add up to a body of work which serves a significant public interest and requires sustained and continuous attention. Recommendations as to means for carrying forward activities in these areas are made in Section V (Administrative Machinery Relating to the Arts).

II

THE ARTS AND THE EXECUTIVE AGENCIES

The Federal Government touches the arts at many points. By its programs and activities it can affect the cultural life of the country in important ways. If all is done well, much will have been accomplished, not only in making

the Government a setter of standards but in giving support to creative talent.

In this section existing government programs and policies are reviewed and broad objectives stated. Governmental activities have

been grouped not according to departmental and agency lines but in terms of broad functions. Thus, government acquires art; it creates objects which are marked by quality and good design; it shapes the cultural environment, etc. It has seemed most useful in dealing with this wide variety of material to concentrate on general policies and objectives and avoid administrative or operating detail.

1. THE ACQUISITION OF ART

Government in the normal course of its operations acquires by purchase or commission a considerable number of works of art. In this way, government is a patron of the arts. It creates a market for the work of artists; it sets an example to others, including public and private bodies, which may have an important effect on the general cultural climate. Memorials, statues, murals, fountains, historic and decorative paintings—as well as works of art for public museums—are among the objects which government in some degree or other makes its own.

The role of government as a patron of the arts in this sense could well be increased. Its support of the artist could be exemplified more directly than heretofore; and the resulting acquisitions could more effectively serve to make its buildings, its open spaces, its collections of art, representative of the values of a great people.¹ If the Federal Government is niggardly in this regard, can we expect any better of our states and municipalities? An important recommendation of this Report, therefore, is that the Federal Government make it an objective to increase substantially the number and worth of the works of art which it acquires.

Art is now acquired in a variety of ways and through a variety of agencies. Three areas offer particular possibilities.

Government Collections of Art

The Federal institutions chiefly concerned with the acquisition of art do a splendid job within their resources and their authority of preservation, display and research. But the National Gallery, the Smithsonian Institution and the Library of Congress have virtually no funds, except more or less accidental private bequests, for adding to their collections. As a result, these collections cannot be truly representative either of our artistic heritage or of contemporary American art.

The Commission of Fine Arts in 1953 recommended funds for the purchase annually of American art by the National Collection of

Fine Arts. This could become the one Federal collection of traditional and contemporary American art and urgently requires attention and review, not only in regard to funds but staff and space.

A national government seriously concerned with cultural values would also find ways of making funds available to the Library of Congress and other government museums for the purpose of adding to their collections.

Public Buildings

A current list of works of arts commissioned in the last two years in connection with public buildings suggests that the harvest has been meagre, though the General Services Administration is now attempting to practice a policy of using for fine arts one-half of one percent of the cost of buildings over \$250,000. It is well known that whenever building budgets must be cut, art is the first amenity to go. A bill before the Congress has specified that up to one percent of the cost of Federal buildings in the National Capital area be set aside for the commissioning of fine arts decoration. This would be a highly desirable step, and the principle should be extended to Federal buildings throughout the country and abroad. Such a policy was in effect as a depression measure during the prewar Roosevelt Administration and has been recently adopted by some of our cities, notably Philadelphia. It is certainly to be hoped that in planning the new Pennsylvania Avenue, for example, sculpture will have a prominent place.

American Embassies

American embassies are important cultural outposts. The purchase by the Government of American art, supplemented by private gifts, could lead to a collection administered by the National Gallery or some other Bureau of the Smithsonian Institution and displayed, perhaps on a revolving basis, in United States embassies. These works should not be considered "interior decoration," but as art representing the finest of American creative expression. (They should be supplemented by special exhibitions, stressing contemporary works, loaned for short periods through such private patrons as the International Council of the Museum of Modern Art and the Woodward Foundation.)

* * *

In addition, in a number of often unrecognized ways the Government is constantly "acquiring" art—by purchase, commission, or creation by its own designers and producers. Examples of such activities are the commissioning of official portraits, the photographic

¹*Funds from two private trust funds administered by the Library of Congress have been used for the commissioning of new musical compositions. The Federal Government could well consider whether the commissioning of music as well as the visual arts is not a legitimate objective. Could not, for example, a major work be commissioned for the dedication of an important Federal building?*

and film projects of a number of Federal agencies (for example, Department of Agriculture, USIA and the Departments of the Armed Services), and the continuing art projects of the Air Force and the Navy. (It is interesting in this connection that during the Cuban crisis the Navy sent an artist to Guantanamo, and an artist also was commissioned by NASA to document the landing of astronaut Major Cooper.)

Too often, unfortunately, the criteria observed are solely documentary or functional. There is every reason why the Government should also provide for high standards of artistic excellence. The distinguished quality of the Farm Security Administration photographic programs during the depression years is widely recognized as an artistic achievement of which the nation is proud. In the selection of artists for public portraits or historic events we should as a matter of course wish to be represented by the best American talent, as we do in all other fields of endeavor, whether it be weapons, scientific developments or public buildings. Clear recognition of this principle is hardly less important than the provision of adequate funds.

2. RAISING DESIGN STANDARDS

Many of government's activities are related to the arts indirectly in that they consist of a normal part of its operations which may be done with a sense of beauty and fitness, or may be done tastelessly. Government is a printer and coiner; it strikes medals and makes stamps. It is also a builder on a grand scale. Should it not consistently promote—as Pericles said in his funeral oration to the Athenians—a "beauty in our public buildings to cheer the heart and to delight the eye day by day"?

The task throughout this area is to inject into the process of planning and execution a concern for aesthetic standards, for the quality of good design and good workmanship. Different problems exist in a field so broad and varied, but across them all lie certain common approaches to excellence.

Government Posters—Art Example

Government posters may be cited as an example of the way in which a seemingly utilitarian process—in this case the communication of simple facts or ideas—can be raised to the level of art. A group of government posters collected for this survey by the Prints and Photographs Division of the Library of

Congress shows how frequently inferior American work is to European in this field; it also reveals the difference of quality which exists between different initiating agencies. The USIA has issued some striking posters for its exhibitions abroad; the Department of Commerce, in encouraging foreign travel to the United States, has used photographs to good effect, combined with excellent typography. The Armed Forces recruiting and training services have done consistently good work. Elsewhere, too often, the Government communicates with its citizens on a banal and commonplace level.¹

Does it matter that the level of posters be raised to the level of the best now being produced by private enterprise and by governments abroad? It is a basic assumption of this Report that it does matter. Everything done by the Government bears either the marks of excellence which we like to think characteristic of a free and great people, or else in some measure it betrays the Government and degrades the citizen.

Administrators Alert to the Importance of Good Design

The first requisite for improving design is that men in responsible positions be encouraged to concern themselves with more than practical utility in their respective fields. They may not themselves be knowledgeable in art and design, but they must have an awareness of the need for the highest quality in all that the Federal Government produces or sponsors. They must be ready to take advantage of expert advice wherever it is available. At present in Washington are numerous examples of individuals who have transformed what might have been routine and undistinguished operations. But too often public agencies seem content with the production of governmental objects which fall below the standards set by private enterprise or by European states.

Recruiting and Encouraging Talent

The recruiting and encouragement of talented individuals in those areas where design is carried out has not been sufficiently recognized as a policy objective. There are small incentives at present for men of ability in the arts to think of the Federal Government as a place where they can do good work. Rewards tend to go to the conventional and the mediocre.

At the same time there is slight disposition among government agencies to make use of

¹The following generalizations can be made in regard to government posters: the best work is intended for audiences overseas (like our best government buildings!); the availability of display space, as with the Armed Forces, tends to make for more effective design; the best posters are those neither designed nor executed by government personnel but done on outside contract. Obviously the posters used by a Department would come within the concern of such advisory art committees as are discussed below.

outside talent. Younger artists, designers, architects, etc., are rarely brought into the service of the Government for specific tasks or commissions. Competitions which might appeal to such talent are the exception rather than the rule.

The Use of Advisory Committees on the Arts

In a number of departments special committees have been created to advise on matters of art and design. (See Appendix on p. 113). Such committees can play a highly useful role, depending upon their composition, their quality, and the weight attached to their recommendations. Outstanding representatives from the world of fine arts and architecture have shown themselves ready to give generously of their time when called on for these purposes.

The most notable example of such a committee has been that which advises the State Department on the design of its embassies and consulates. Composed of a small rotating group of gifted architects, ready to take advantage of talented young men as well as famous names, this committee has been responsible in the postwar years for buildings abroad in every way worthy of America's role in the world. In the last several years, the value of this achievement has not been fully recognized. The foreign building program of the State Department has received inadequate support and has been cut back.

The recently appointed committee advising the Post Office Department on the design and subject matter of its stamps has been less successful, judged in terms of aesthetic results. This committee has not had adequate representation from among graphic artists and designers. Nevertheless, the Department has for the first time initiated competitions in stamp design.

An agency which might not have been thought to have need of an advisory art committee is the Federal Aviation Agency; yet here, under Mr. Najeeb Halaby, a significant innovation has been created. A small committee composed of highly qualified individuals has worked most effectively in advising on the completion of the Dulles Airport, as well as on other airport construction and on general problems of landscaping, graphics and decoration. A fine arts committee originally appointed to screen works of art submitted to the National Air Force Academy is now extending its jurisdiction in an attempt to save that magnificent complex of buildings from being cheapened by inadequate future planning and by inferior new construction.

Public Buildings—A Major Area of Concern

In areas where design factors are involved, the advisory committee should be adopted to special needs; thus graphic artists should

advise on postage stamps, sculptors on medals, etc. These committees, perhaps under some system of loose coordination, should continue to work within separate departments and agencies. In the case of public buildings however, a more centralized structure might well be explored.

The most striking and most enduring objects created by government are buildings. Construction is carried on through many agencies—principally by the General Services Administration, but also by the Army Corps of Engineers, the Space Administration, the Post Office Department, etc. Here the possibility arises of an overall panel which would oversee, from the point of view of design, all government building. It could determine occasions where competitions are appropriate and keep open ways to use the fresh talent and novel concepts.

These are vast opportunities for an imaginative approach to architecture in military installations and in construction connected with space exploration. Philip Johnson's atomic power plant for the Israeli Government is an example of what can be done when science and art are brought fruitfully together. In many communities the Post Office is the only concrete symbol of the Federal Government. As a symbol, it should be a dignified and pleasing building in which the citizen can take pride. Although most post offices are acquired on a lease construction or rental basis, the Department has both the authority and the responsibility to approve the design. Here, as in all other government programs, the criteria should include appropriate aesthetic standards as well as purely functional needs. If there are opportunities, there are also dangers that mediocrity will cover ever larger areas of the earth's surface.

An overall panel on architectural policy might help assure that the standards achieved in our best Federal buildings, such as those hitherto constructed abroad, could be made to prevail in what is built at home for all the various purposes which government serves. Such a panel would leave to the Fine Arts Commission the authority over building in Washington which it now possesses: it would not preclude advisory committees on the arts in agencies where special problems of design and construction arise.

The implementation of the President's directive of May 23, 1962, on Guiding Principles for Federal Architecture is of first importance.

This directive recommended a three point architectural policy for the Federal Government. It restated in affirmative and contemporary terms the conviction held by Washington, Jefferson and other early American statesmen that public buildings should set an example for public taste and in the words of the directive "provide visual testimony to the dignity, enterprise, vigor and stability of the American Government." It recommended: (1) the selec-

tion of distinguished designs that embody the finest contemporary American architectural thought (2) the avoidance of an official style and the encouragement of professional creativity through competitions and other means and (3) the special importance of landscaping and site development in relation to the surrounding area.

Positive steps should be taken to incorporate these principles in the policies and criteria governing *all* Federal programs concerned with construction and building. Periodic reports to measure how well we are doing in achieving these objectives might be required and could appropriately be the responsibility of the overall panel suggested above.

A basic assumption of this Report is that good design is not an added embellishment or an unnecessary extravagance. In fact, the position is taken that good design is economical. It strongly endorses that section of the directive on Guiding Principles which says "The committee takes it to be a matter of general understanding that the economy and suitability of Federal office space derive directly from the architectural design. The belief that good design is optional, or in some way separate from the question of the provision of office space itself, does not bear scrutiny, and in fact invites the least efficient use of public money."

3. IMPACT ON THE CULTURAL ENVIRONMENT

We have been speaking of government's responsibility in the design of specific objects—from postage stamps to buildings. But government's responsibility does not stop there. Not always is it recognized how large a role government plays in preserving cultural assets and creating an environment within which cultural values can be realized. Public buildings, if they are to be genuinely significant, must not only be well designed but must be part of a setting in which life can be lived with some sense of spaciousness, dignity and aesthetic delight. Again, roads are not only *per se* susceptible of being improved in appearance and in the aesthetic experience they provide; what is even more important, they must be so conceived and carried out as not to dehumanize the landscape or run roughshod over the living community.

The scale upon which modern government acts makes it vital that this responsibility to the total environment be acknowledged. The constant tendency is to think only of the immediate task, forgetting the wider implications of governmental action. The economics of road building too often threaten to run highways across historic towns, park lands, or even across a college campus. The urgency of slum clearance often means that a wrecking crew

destroys in the process a humanly scaled and intricately woven community life.

Preservation of the Cultural Heritage

The Historic Sites Act, passed nearly thirty years ago, established the Government's concern with the preservation of historic sites and buildings. Under this Act a program of identifying, recording and promoting preservation, by acquisition where appropriate, has been carried out.

The problem is broader, however, than can be met by such an approach. Government policies and programs directed toward legitimate and accepted ends have had the secondary results of destroying sites and buildings which ought to be preserved. It is important that in all Federal policy governing construction, highways and community development the interest of the nation in historic preservation be given weight. This is an area where the vigilance of a Consultant on the Arts can make sure that such an interest is heard and adequately represented.

The phrase "historic preservation" does not fully cover the interest which is at stake. Today a single building of outstanding architectural interest (particularly if it derives from our "colonial" past!) may be saved from the wrecking crew: the occurrence of some outstanding event in former times may make a site immune. But the cultural heritage is more inclusive than these. It comprises areas within cities which taken as a whole express the values of a still valid past, including much anonymous and vernacular architecture. Even more broadly, it comprises a total landscape in which men have found the possibilities for balanced and fruitful lives.

Preservation in this sense requires prudence and sensitivity in administering Federal projects. It requires a willingness to give weight to views in the community which may not always be very loudly expressed but which speak for the long-range national interest. A constant preoccupation with this problem, expressed at key points in the Federal Government, can provide the guidelines for policy now too often lacking.

Shaping the Environment

To shape an environment which meets the needs of men and women for a civilized existence is a long-range Federal interest going beyond mere preservation. The National Parks should be seen in this light: they are important for recreation, but also, more broadly, as a means to fulfilling the characteristic American concept of the good life. In addition the Bureau of Outdoor Recreation (created in April 1962) should be a means for expressing the Government's interest in the environment and its influence upon the citizen.

Within the urban context, as well, govern-

ment policies to enhance the environment and to assist in the achievement of this objective by the private as well as the public sector should be encouraged. Through the varied programs providing financial and technical assistance to private and public housing and to community development the Federal Government has many such opportunities and responsibilities.

The Government's responsibility for good housing was clearly stated in the Housing Act of 1949 which established a national housing objective. This Act declared that the goal of a national housing policy was "a decent home and a *suitable living environment* for every American."

In the fourteen years since that Act was passed, the Government has continued and initiated many programs to carry out this aim. With this experience has come increasing recognition of the importance of environmental factors, especially the use of space. Thus the Housing Act of 1961 authorized a program of grants to help States and metropolitan areas create and preserve open space.

Urban renewal has shown itself in many instances to be the only effective and practical means of saving and redeveloping urban areas. The recognition by the Urban Renewal Administration that plans should be concerned with historic preservation, with the provision of such public services and amenities as theatres, libraries and cultural centers, and with standards of good architectural design, is important. A recent URA policy statement makes the point that "urban renewal provides an unprecedented opportunity to rebuild major parts of our cities. Well designed, these can become great assets—functionally and aesthetically. But if these areas are poorly designed, rebuilt in uninteresting and unproductive patterns, a basic purpose for the expenditure of public funds and public effort will be lost."

From an economic and investment point of view the importance of good design and the availability of amenities and public services responsive to the needs and desires of the inhabitants should not be underestimated. It may be a critical factor in preventing rapid obsolescence from lowering market values, producing vacancies and overtaking mortgage servicing. It is for this reason that the Federal Housing Administration believes that good design is important in a sound mortgage insurance program, and takes it into consideration in approving the eligibility of projects for Federal insurance.

As one means of bringing about an improvement in design, the FHA has taken steps to increase the use of professional architectural services and ensure adequate architects' fees. It is giving increasing attention to research and advisory services relating to community

and land-use planning and to the role of amenities and public services. It is sponsoring an experimental program of insuring mortgages on properties that include new and untried materials and methods likely to improve neighborhood design. Through design seminars for mortgage bankers, planners, architects, and FHA officials and through other methods of identifying the importance of design and environment, it is working to raise standards and formulate criteria. It should be noted that FHA criteria for sound mortgage evaluation are widely used by private industry and are thus very influential.

Public housing is an area in which the Federal Government has even greater and more direct responsibility and opportunity.

Unfortunately public housing has too often been the victim of indifference, suspicion, and even hostility on the part of officials and politicians, private builders, the general public and even the architectural profession. There is a widely held view that public housing should by its very nature be drab, standardized and functional and that materials and "appurtenances" should be held to the minimum type and quality necessary to build what the law describes as a decent, safe and sanitary dwelling.

The law further prescribes that such housing be developed and administered to promote "serviceability, efficiency, economy and stability," that no "elaborate or extravagant design or materials" be used, and that economy of construction and administration be promoted. These criteria have often been unnecessarily interpreted to mean that public housing units under the law cannot be well and imaginatively designed and that essential amenities and services cannot be provided.

The Public Housing Administration should be encouraged and supported in its new efforts to improve the design of public housing and to make its projects more responsive to the needs of its tenants. It is actively working with the American Institute of Architects on improving architects' fees (which have generally been too low) and revising standard contracts. It has asked the AIA also for recommendations on ways to improve design, development and review procedures, the desirability of competitions, design award programs, exhibitions and methods of increasing public and professional appreciation of design and environmental factors.

A consultant program has been established to aid local housing authorities and their technicians on design problems. The program includes architects, landscape architects and planners, and their function will be to consult with and advise on specific plans and designs, land use, site development and assist in the conduct of seminars. A National Panel of

Design and Planning Consultants, composed of thirty or more leading architects and planners, has been set up.

* * *

Notwithstanding such steps, a distinguished United States Senator has recently asserted that "the Federal Government, directly and indirectly, through the laws it writes, the programs it enacts and the regulations it issues, has contributed more than its share to the ugliness of the landscape . . . In countless ways the Federal Government has fettered its own and the efforts of others to improve the appearance and vitality of our communities." Such an indictment indicates the scope of the work to be done by those who concern themselves seriously with the relation between the ideals of the Government and the outward forms in which these ideals are expressed.

The Renaissance state has been referred to as "a work of art." Today the whole environment, the landscape and the cityscape, should be looked on as potentially a work of art—perhaps man's largest and most noble work. The power to destroy provided by modern organization and machinery is also, if it is wisely used, an unprecedented power to create. To create humanely in the service of man's highest needs is a supreme task of modern statesmanship.

4. PRESENTATION AND DISPLAY OF ART

Government responsibility is not discharged in acquiring and conserving works of art and other objects of historic and artistic merit. To be enjoyed and appreciated by the people and to make the contribution they should to our cultural life they must be made available and accessible in a much more extensive and varied manner than they have been to date.

The Visual Arts

A large number of Federal agencies are involved in one way or another with the display and presentation of the visual and graphic arts. Chief of these, of course, are the great galleries in Washington and the Congressional Library. Some individual departments and agencies operate specialized museums and exhibit programs, for example, activities of the Armed Services, historic sites and buildings administered by the National Park Service, national memorials of various kinds, etc.

The quality of existing activities and the competence and dedication of the staff responsible for them was found in the cases which this office was able to study to be unusually good. On the other hand, the casual and unimportant role accorded such programs as far

as policy and financial support was concerned has meant that as a practical matter they are generally inadequate and haphazard. Lack of funds, limited exhibit space, duplication and ineffective coordination and liaison between the different government agencies involved, and above all the absence of any positive policy and program to make our national collections more available to the public have all contributed to this state of neglect.

In general, activities are restricted to the city of Washington. There are some programs which reach out to a broader audience by means of travelling and loan exhibitions; the sale and circulation of slides, reproductions, lecture outlines; the preparation and distribution of catalogues and other publications. These are generally speaking very limited in relation to both the potentialities of the Government's resources and the needs of the public. Furthermore, they are in most cases dependent on private financing.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the lack of any central system of exercising overall coordinating, recording and policy functions has probably contributed to the greatly varying character of professional care, preservation, accessibility and even knowledge of the art treasures belonging to the Government. This should be a matter of some concern.

A great improvement in facilities and space will no doubt be brought about with the opening of the new Museum of History and Technology and the renovation of the historic Patent Office Building to house the National Collection of Fine Arts and the Portrait Gallery.

The large museums in Washington, however, are not the only means through which the visual and graphic arts may be presented. As noted above, many agencies and departments sponsor exhibits and administer specialized museums. The provision of accessible and appropriate exhibit and gallery space should be a consideration in drawing up plans for new Federal buildings, not only in Washington but especially throughout the country.

The National Collections

A positive program should be adopted to expand the educational and presentation activities of the national collections. The many excellent recommendations in this regard of the Report to the President submitted by the Fine Arts Commission in 1953 should be carried out. In this Report, the Commission urged that in addition to providing authority and funds to the National Collection to make this a truly representative museum of American art, a greatly expanded program of travelling exhibitions, catalogues and publications and reproductions should be initiated.

Much more attention should be given to the

production of publications of distinction and high aesthetic standards.

Consideration should be given to organizing some central clearing system to coordinate such activities and to publicize their availability.

The much more extensive and imaginative use of public buildings, such as Post Offices and regional office buildings, for poster and exhibit displays and even the distribution of government publications, should be encouraged. A small pilot project to promote the sale of government publications has just been instituted by the Post Office Department.

The basic objective is the use of the great resources of our national collections for the benefit and enjoyment of all the people throughout the country.

Presentation of the Performing Arts

The Federal Government should fulfill its responsibilities for the performing as well as the visual arts. Government auditoriums have generally been built with little or no concern for this important function. The sponsorship of concerts and theatrical performances has been very limited, primarily restricted to the city of Washington, and in most instances entirely dependent on private gifts to the Government.

The programs of chamber music, literary readings and dramatic performances taking place in the Library of Congress, the National Gallery Symphony Orchestra concerts, and the few programs, including experiments with "Son et Lumière," sponsored by the National Park Service, are the main examples. Tours and performances sponsored by the Armed Services provide an opportunity for presenting the performing arts to an audience which is in a position greatly to influence the future cultural life of American communities.

The National Cultural Center

Creation of the National Cultural Center will enhance the Federal Government's role in presenting American cultural achievements and in stimulating and supporting the performing arts throughout the country. To fulfill its aim, the Center must be more than a group of splendid stages for the benefit of Washington audiences.

The general policy of the Cultural Center is outside the scope of this Report; but it may be stressed here that if it is to fulfill its role of presenting the performing arts to a broad national audience it must from the start conceive a program keyed to diverse and wide-ranging interests. Not only must it be expected to present the best of orchestras, repertory theatre, opera, choral and dance groups from this country and overseas; it must also reach out through competitions, festivals, youth programs and commissioned works into the

heart of the nation's cultural life. The motion picture, that most characteristic and indigenous of American art forms, should have an important place in the program. The organization of the motion picture industry tends to emphasize the expensive commercial feature picture. The Center can provide a means to encourage both the production and the opportunity for public viewing as well as a way of recognizing the best of our documentary and shorter fine arts films.

The Cultural Center must use all means to make its presentations extend beyond the area of its halls. A program of education and dissemination activities must be central in its planning. Plans must be made for bringing the programs to the country at large through full use of television.

Promoting New Facilities

A major obstacle hindering the development of the performing arts throughout the country is the lack of proper facilities. There are a number of ways in which the Government can contribute with little or no increased expenditure of Federal funds. In many of the construction programs in which the Government exercises a financial or advisory role, auditoriums are built or could be built—and at little relative additional cost—with adequate facilities for the performing arts. It is strongly urged that the Government not overlook this opportunity.

Specifically it is suggested that the provision of facilities for the performing arts be considered in: (1) plans for new Federal Centers and buildings throughout the country as well as Washington (2) urban renewal and community development programs (3) public works programs (4) the National Park Service (5) business and building financial and service assistance and (6) the school construction program and advisory service on school facilities administered by the Office of Education.

The Urban Renewal Administration has already taken steps to suggest that the provision of auditoriums and civic and cultural centers be considered eligible and desirable objectives in renewal plans. This policy should be encouraged and extended to other appropriate programs.

Although the Federal Government has no direct responsibility for the design of schools and colleges, except under the special construction program in federally-impacted areas, it can exert important influence. The opportunity afforded by the enormous amount of school building forecast during the next decade should not be lost. Unless its use for the performing arts is taken into account, school auditoriums, which will be built in most schools as conventional educational facilities, may not be suitable or adequate for such performances.

An increasing number of school systems are recognizing the great educational potential of including performances by professional artists in their curricula.

School auditoriums should also be increasingly conceived of as serving the needs of the community as a whole. Communities which can only afford one auditorium should at least make sure that this is suitable for the presentation of various forms of the performing arts.

It is strongly urged that the Office of Education emphasize in its advisory and counseling service on school facilities the desirability of auditoriums which can serve the performing arts.

Presentation in the International Sphere

Cultural exchange is one of the most important means by which government fulfills its role of presenting and displaying American arts. The foreign policy aspects of this program are not considered here. It must be stressed, however, that the cultural life at home is stimulated and benefited by the effectiveness with which this responsibility is carried out. The recognition American artists receive through the exhibition of their works abroad is an important element in their development. Those who have the experience of working abroad and coming to know the artists of other countries bring back fresh skills and new sources of inspiration. (It is significant, for example, that the Jerome Robbins ballet, which played at the White House in 1962, was an American group tempered by three seasons at the Spoleto Festival.)

For these reasons it is urged that an active exchange program be furthered by all government agencies directly or indirectly involved. Despite the proven value of these international programs and the great increase in the number of new countries we are trying to reach, there has been no increase in the relatively small amount of money allocated to the circulation of art exhibitions and the touring of performing arts groups. The average cost of a symphony orchestra tour runs to twenty-five percent of the budget, and the tour of the American Repertory Theatre, a company created to meet the demand for a professional American theatre tour, was so costly that its repetition cannot be reasonably contemplated within present budgets. Funds for travelling art exhibitions are totally inadequate. If these programs are to fulfill their purpose in demonstrating abroad the vitality and quality of the arts in the United States, adequate funds must be made available.

International Fairs and Conferences

The Commerce Department, responsible for trade fairs and exhibitions, can also play a role in presenting before foreign publics the best

work of American architects, graphic artists and designers.

Such as Federal exhibition as that at the New York World's Fair—the building, displays, landscaping, graphics, etc.—should be significant indication to our people and to foreign visitors of the kind of excellence which the Federal Government seeks to express in all its works.

The Department of Justice should make every effort to put into effect simpler and more realistic entry requirements, thus encouraging the holding in this country of international conferences, competitions and festivals. It must be hoped that ways will be found for providing the funds which other countries authorize for hospitality to foreign visitors at such gatherings. At present, due largely to legislative obstacles and stringencies, international groups rarely meet within the United States.

This failure of the United States to provide the hospitality and the funds necessary to the successful putting on of such conferences is having unfavorable repercussions on just that group of young leaders and professionals whose understanding and knowledge of this country is of critical importance to our long-range interests. This is one of the best means of assuring other countries of our commitment to a common effort in scientific, cultural and technical development. If funds to hold five or at most ten such conferences a year were available the rewards would be far greater than the relatively small cost.

5. EDUCATION, TRAINING, AND RESEARCH

The Federal Government affects the arts through what it does, or fails to do, in the related fields of education, training, and research. In developing these potentialities there is opportunity for much positive and useful support. Programs in these areas are well-established and recognized as a natural governmental operation. But at present, the arts are given a low priority, or are even excluded in most educational and training programs; and basic research information in this field is scarcely pursued at all. These programs could easily express toward the arts a greater interest and concern without substantial additions to their funds or personnel.

The National Defense Education Act

The major program of Federal assistance (aside from and to special construction, vocational and minority groups) is that authorized by the National Defense Education Act. Assistance is limited to those fields of education which contribute to the national defense—specifically science, mathematics and modern

languages. Initially the Act was interpreted to permit a limited program of fellowship awards in the arts, but this was later terminated as being contrary to Congressional intent.

The Office of Education

The Office of Education, the chief agency of the Government concerned with education, has until recently given little attention to the arts. Recommendations for increasing the art programs of the Office of Education have been submitted after a study by a consultant who reviewed for HEW its activities in this area. A new division has been established to deal with educational needs beyond formal school programs. This division will be responsible for the Library Services and Adult Education programs and through a new Cultural Affairs Branch will give increased attention to the arts. Specialists in various fields will be added to the permanent staff. There is need, for example, for a program to strengthen and improve the educational role of museums and the training of curators and museum personnel.

It is recommended that further consideration be given to increasing the share of the Federal Government's support to education which is concerned with the arts and the humanities. This should include the same type of across-the-board assistance now given to modern languages, mathematics and science: for example, facilities and equipment, teacher training, teaching techniques and materials, scholarship and fellowship programs. The predominant emphasis given to science and engineering implies a distortion of resources and values which is disturbing the academic profession throughout the country.

Other Federal Institutions

The activities of the Library of Congress and the several museums comprising the Smithsonian Institution are often classified as educational in nature. Those agencies do carry on a variety of educational services, but they are to a large extent dependent on private funds and volunteer staff, necessarily limited in nature and primarily restricted to Washington. A major recommendation of the Fine Arts Commission Report of 1953 was the allocation of funds to make color reproductions, photographs, slides and movie pictures available to schools and colleges on a national basis. This recommendation should be put into effect.

Research in Art Education

Encouraged by its success in stimulating the preparation of new teaching material in science and mathematics the Panel on Education Research and Development (a committee sponsored by the Office of Education, the National

Science Foundation and the President's Science Advisory Committee) has initiated a project on the teaching of art and music in elementary and secondary schools. One of the research studies in new educational media financed under the National Defense Education Act is to examine the potential role and function of such media in the future program of the National Cultural Center.

Generally speaking, however, no more attention has been given to research on and in the arts than to training and education in the arts. Since 1956, for example, the Office of Education has administered a Cooperative Research Program in collaboration with state and private educational institutions. Although appropriations in 1963 were approximately \$7 million and requested funds for 1964 are more than \$17 million, only a handful of the approved projects have been concerned with the arts.

It is suggested that the teaching of the arts is particularly susceptible to improvement through the use of new techniques, visual and audio aids and materials, and such mass media as television and radio. It is recommended that funds and attention be directed to new research and application, especially pilot experiments.

Gathering Statistical Information

A major obstacle to the assessment of the problems and needs of the arts and the formulation of sound and realistic public policies is the lack of adequate up-to-date factual and statistical information. Professional organizations of the arts have not had the resources to collect such information as is commonly collected by business, labor or other professions. None of the fact-collecting agencies of the Federal Government collect comprehensive or consistent data on any detailed or meaningful basis. The problem is not easy, as much of the data relating to the arts is not available through standard methods of collecting information on economic and social activities. At the same time, the growing social and economic role played by the arts makes the collecting of such information increasingly necessary. For example, Department of Commerce figures on recreation and entertainment show that in 1961 expenditures on admissions to legitimate theatre, opera and entertainments of non-profit institutions amounted to 400 million dollars, which is substantially more than total admissions to spectator sports. The importance of the performing arts in the employment picture has been recognized by the Department of Labor in including data in the annual Occupational Outlook Handbook of 1961 for the first time. But there is little reliable information on such elementary facts as numbers of performing groups, character of facilities, types of services, sources of financial support including state and municipal sub-

sides, etc. To be of value this information must be collected on a continuing, systematic and detailed basis.

It is recommended that funds be made available to both the Department of Labor and the Department of Commerce so that the arts be covered adequately in both the regular census and periodic surveys.

6. GOVERNMENT RECOGNITION OF THE ARTIST

Most of the great countries of the world have traditionally given national recognition not only to outstanding military and government service but also to individuals for distinguished accomplishment in science, the arts and the humanities. Britain has an Honors List; France the Legion of Honor and the Academy; the Soviet Union a variety of awards. Japan gives recognition by designating her artists as "living cultural assets."

In recent years there has been growing support in the United States for a system of national recognition of achievement in the arts and the humanities. Presidential recognition has been given in several different ways through special dinners, individual invitations to the White House, and occasional performances by leading professional artists or youth groups. This method, however, is necessarily irregular and personal and can scarcely answer the requirements of a formal and continuing system, though a more official system does not, of course, exclude the continuation of the various forms of personal Presidential recognition noted above, which have important values of their own.

A number of bills to establish a system of medals or awards in various fields of civilian endeavor have been introduced in Congress in recent years but have never been passed. An occasional individual, such as Robert Frost, has been honored by a medal authorized by special legislation. Until very recently, however, there has been no system of regularly honoring accomplishment or contribution in all fields of human endeavor. As a result of legislation passed in 1959, a National Medal

of Science was established and the first award made in February 1963. Also in the scientific field are the Fermi and Lawrence Awards, which include cash prizes, and are granted by the Atomic Energy Commission, as authorized in its basic legislation, for meritorious contributions to the development of atomic energy.

The highest civil honor of the United States has been the Medal of Freedom originally established by President Truman as an award for meritorious service in connection with the war. Its scope and purpose has recently been broadened, and from now on it will be awarded on a systematic annual basis to a limited but unspecified number of persons who have made especially meritorious contributions to the security or national interests of the United States, world peace, cultural or other significant public or private endeavors.

There still seems a need, however, for an additional system of awards in specific art fields. The schemes adopted should be chosen carefully after thorough consideration of various alternative proposals, criteria and means of selection and consultation with the intellectual and artistic community. It is the recommendation of this Report that the consideration of all proposals should be specifically assigned to the President's Advisory Council on the Arts.

The basic objective of a system of recognition should be to stimulate interest in and respect for intellectual and artistic effort and achievement.

Very careful thought should be given to the scope of the awards, the nature of the awards (should they include cash prizes or be purely honorary?), and the type of awards (should they recognize young talent, a specific achievement, accomplishments over a period of years, the winner of a specially held competition, or include several types and perhaps on a graduated scale of prestige?). The procedures, criteria and membership of the selection system should be weighed especially carefully. The question of whether recognition should be restricted to American citizens or in some instances extended to foreigners should be discussed.

III THE NATIONAL CAPITAL

The city of Washington has an importance far outweighing its relatively small population of less than 800,000 people. As the National Capital of the country, it is the center of a metropolitan population of two million (over half of whom live not only beyond its municipal borders but in other states), it plays host to more than fifteen million tourists a year (estimated to rise to twenty-four million in

the next decade), and as a political and diplomatic capital is visited by hundreds of thousands of business and professional men, public officials and foreigners.

It should be an example to the rest of the country, a symbol of the finest in our architecture, city planning and cultural amenities and achievements—a symbol in fact of what the environment of democracy ought to be.

A New Era for Washington

For more than a hundred and fifty years Washington's chief problem has been growing up to the dimensions of the L'Enfant Plan. The original conception of the City was in every sense magnificent; but for long periods Washington was allowed to grow without order, design or a true appreciation of its aesthetic potentialities. Federal architecture has been largely second-rate, with the new State Department Building standing as a particular monument to false functionalism and false grandeur.

In the past decade Washington has suddenly outgrown not only the original Plan but also the political and administrative system which has been relied on to date to guide its development and maintain its distinction.

In any discussion of Washington, or of the relationship of government and the arts, the responsibility of the Federal Government for Washington should be stressed. It is the Federal Government—through the executive branch and the Congress—which makes the ultimate decisions and authorizes the funds which determine the quality and character of the city.

Much of the problem is due to overlapping, conflicting or inadequate policies, agencies and interests. In the aesthetic field, we have the General Services Administration, the Fine Arts Commission, the National Park Service, the Office of the Architect of the Capitol (Congress has complete authority over buildings and grounds in the 135 acres comprising the Capitol area), the National Capital Planning Commission and, if we include the metropolitan area and the Potomac River, the National Capital Regional Planning Council and the States of Virginia and Maryland.

What is needed is an imaginative new approach which will realize the concept of a Capital City fully expressing the standards and values of the nation.

A beginning has been made in the new policy on Federal architecture contained in the President's Memorandum on May 23, 1962, in the establishment of the Pennsylvania Avenue Advisory Council charged with drawing up plans for the redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue as the "great thoroughfare" it was originally intended to be, and in the President's Memorandum of November 27, 1962, establishing "guidelines" for the development of the National Capital Region. These policies and projects should be vigorously pursued and implemented.

This Report also strongly endorses the establishment of a National Capital Parks Memorial Board as proposed by the Secretary of the Interior. The passage of the necessary legislation is essential to protect the pleasing and dignified development of the Capital's park lands and open spaces and protect them from

being over-run by a hodge-podge of poorly placed and ill-designed statues and memorials.

Federal policies applicable to cities should be applied with special care and imagination to Washington itself. Thus it is fortunate and fitting that what is potentially the country's best urban renewal project in terms of planning and design is situated within a stone's throw of the Capitol. In the same way mass transportation, arterial highways and other public improvements should be constructed so as not only to enhance the life of Washington but to be a model to other communities.

The Fine Arts Commission

It is vitally important that the Fine Arts Commission be made capable of carrying out its mission of helping to ensure that the architecture and environment of Federal buildings in the Capital be worthy of the best of our times. It should take a positive attitude toward achieving good design in the Capital. To this end it should be equipped with a full-time director and adequate staff.

Planning the Capital Region

A more difficult but equally urgent task is to create some means to eliminate the present piece-meal approach to the planning and development of the National Capital Region. A plan worthy of L'Enfant, for example, would provide for the preservation and enhancement of the Potomac River as a natural resource offering amenities to our citizens as well as assuring the Capital the beautiful setting it deserves.

Cultural Opportunities

The Capital should, however, be more than a collection of buildings, monuments, museums and parks. It should also offer both opportunity and recognition to the best dramatic and musical talent, both from here and abroad, as expressed in performances of composers, playwrights and choreographers new and old.

It has never had a stage appropriate to this role, and this is what in essence the National Cultural Center will be. It is, therefore, of utmost importance that the efforts now under way to bring to reality the Center with its several halls and stages should be given every possible encouragement.

In addition, Washington should be an example to other cities in seeing that the artistic institutions and programs needed to provide the city with a broad range of cultural opportunities are flourishing and responsive to new needs as they develop. The Federal Government's role in most communities can never be more than marginal and indirect. The real stimulus and support must come from the community itself, but in an increasing number of cases it is being found that this requires both

public and private funds and closer collaboration between public and private agencies. States and cities are establishing Art Councils and even executive offices solely devoted to

cultural affairs. Washington could well be a laboratory for the working out of effective relationships between public agencies and private institutions.

IV

GENERAL POLICIES AFFECTING THE ARTS

There is a broad range of general government policies which are designed to accomplish objectives not primarily or specifically related to the arts, but which do affect and concern the state of the arts and the position of the individual artist, often adversely and mainly through inadvertence. These are in such fields as taxation, copyright laws, postal rates, disposition of surplus government property, public works and general assistance programs.

1. TAXATION

Of these, the impact of the tax laws is undoubtedly the most important, mainly because the earning and income pattern of the writer and artist differs strikingly from that of most other professions and occupations.

Our tax laws have traditionally been more concerned with providing relief and incentive to the "inventor" than to the "artist." The argument has been that tax relief to the inventor is necessary to encourage the inventive genius essential to economic growth. It is time that the contribution of the artist and writer to the cultural growth of society be given at least equal consideration. Nor need the artist be accorded special privileges. Revisions in tax laws and administrative interpretations which would recognize the distinctive character of his income pattern would of themselves go a long distance to remedy the artist's precarious economic plight.

Income Tax

It has been widely recognized that the progressive tax rate principle affects individuals whose incomes fluctuate from one year to the next much more harshly than it does those with steady annual earnings. This result violates a basic principle of equity providing that equal incomes should bear equal tax liabilities. Existing tax laws make some provision for averaging income over a period of years but for narrowly prescribed and limited situations. For example, although the writer can qualify for a three year spread of income (even if his book takes ten years to write), it appears that the performing artist cannot. Frequently the writer's earning pattern does not permit any real relief because it does not fit the specific requirements of the law. Existing law is quite restrictive and limits the benefits of averaging to a particular invention or artistic work the completion of which took two years or more,

and requires that 80 percent of the income from the work be received in a single taxable year. The economics of book publishing and selling are such that few writers can qualify under the law.

Revision of the tax laws to create a fair income-averaging provision which will provide realistic and equitable tax relief to the artist is of first importance to the growth of the arts.

Tax Deductibility of Contributions to the Arts

The President's new tax proposals contain a number of recommendations which affect the tax deductibility of contributions. This Report welcomes the proposed extension of the 30 percent ceiling to such non-profit organizations as symphony orchestras, museums, libraries, and other cultural institutions. Under existing law contributions to these types of organizations are limited to 20 percent. It is strongly urged that the higher limit be applicable to all recognized cultural institutions. The proposed revision should embody this principle very clearly in its final wording.

The tax message also urges the repeal of the unlimited charitable deduction provision on the grounds that no group of taxpayers, no matter how small nor how beneficial their contributions, should be permitted to escape income tax entirely. Under present law some taxpayers need give little more than the otherwise allowable 30 percent in order to escape from the payment of any tax. Although the \$10 million dollars involved is small, relative to total philanthropic giving, repeal could seriously affect specific institutions and organizations, especially in the cultural field.

The major proposal which may adversely affect the level of private support of non-profit cultural institutions and programs is the recommendation for a 5 percent floor on itemized deductions.

Under existing law voluntary contributions are wholly deductible and it has been frequently argued that this is the American way of proving public support and encouraging private giving to philanthropic and cultural institutions. Treasury officials have estimated for the purposes of this Report that such tax concessions result now in an average tax benefit to individual and business donors to the arts of about 50 percent. With total voluntary

giving estimated at approximately \$8 billion annually, this 50 percent tax benefit is clearly substantial. But the amount given to the arts is very small in comparison to that given to religion, education and general philanthropy. (Indeed, an estimate of annual giving to the arts, based necessarily on inadequate data, puts the figure at probably not more than \$50 million.)

In any case the tax benefit is considered of crucial importance by those responsible for the managing and financing of our cultural institutions. They state with virtual unanimity that a 5 percent floor would seriously affect contributions. To the argument of Treasury officials and other tax experts that over the years the level of voluntary giving has been unaffected by tax changes, they answer that the psychological effect of such a change introduced at this point would be severe, and that individual contributors would definitely decrease their giving.

This Report strongly urges that contributions to non-profit organizations and institutions be considered a quite separate category of personal expenditure entirely different in nature and purpose from other deductible items of personal expenditure, such as taxes, interest, employment and investment expenses. Complete tax deductibility for contributions is a method, deeply imbedded in American tradition, of support for philanthropic and non-profit enterprise. In many ways it is a substitute for the direct public subsidy these organizations would need in the absence of private contributions. The eligible organizations and institutions are providing important services, are not run for profit, and can by their nature never be self-supporting. Government policy should be to provide the maximum positive encouragement and contributions should be wholly and not partially exempt from taxation as a matter of principle.

Admissions Tax

Other countries give positive support to their theatres; the United States by contrast "penalizes" the theatre by imposing a 10 percent admissions tax. Such a tax has been considered a legitimate excise tax traditionally levied on "luxuries." It has been defended on the ground that its remission would not necessarily have the effect of lowering ticket prices or benefiting the actor or playwright. But the theatre is not a mere "luxury." And it is quite possible, as the recent agreement between Actors Equity and the New York producers has shown, to ensure that a tax saving will be used in ways which advance the true interests of the theatre and of the acting profession.

The repeal of the Federal admissions tax on the legitimate theatre, especially if combined with other acts aimed at promoting the American stage, would give a vital stimulus to this basic and enduring art form.

Professional Tax Deductions

Artists and writers often find themselves penalized by not being permitted to deduct what they consider legitimate professional expenses under existing tax laws. The issues are basically technical and frequently a matter of regulation and administrative interpretation. They relate generally to the fact that the practising artist must often earn his living through other employment, notably teaching, and is often unable to earn any money from his creative output for years at a time.

The tax laws and their administration should be consistently responsive to these characteristics of the creative artist's profession, both as a matter of equity and of the nation's interest in the encouragement of the arts.

Tax Treatment of Copyrights

The creator of a work of art is denied the rights available to holders of patents and other property under the capital assets tax provisions. The result of this is, for example, that while inventors and others may benefit from the lower capital gains tax, the writer and artist is subject to the higher income tax rates on income derived from copyright transactions.

This issue is controversial and it is argued that it is difficult to justify treating the value of copyrights as a capital asset. It is urged, however, that the merits of this issue be given new and serious consideration.

2. OTHER POLICIES

Postal Rates

Existing special rates for organizations and educational and library materials are important to the maintenance of communications within the cultural community. The postal regulations limit eligibility for special rates to specified organizations and types of material, and the definitions sometimes exclude or are interpreted to exclude materials of cultural institutions and organizations e.g. museums. It is important that rates for all legitimate cultural materials be kept as low as possible as a matter of principle.

Copyright Laws

The Register of Copyrights is preparing legislative proposals for the first general revision of the U.S. Copyright Laws since 1909. This step is long overdue. Technological developments entirely unknown in 1909 have rendered the existing laws in many respects uncertain, inconsistent, inequitable and inadequate.

It is not possible in the space of this Report to go into the innumerable factors involved. It is sufficient to say that the equitable protection of fundamental rights as well as the

recognition of the contribution of the creative writer, artist, composer and playwright are at stake. The outcome will be of major significance in determining the degree of encouragement or discouragement this nation offers the creative arts.

Major issues involved include: (1) duration of copyright whether 56 years as at present or longer (most other countries have adopted a life-plus basis) (2) proof and evidence of copyright protection (3) extent and character of rights, and (4) existing limitations and exceptions (for example, jukebox operators) from payment of royalties. There are a number of others.

In addition, there might well be expressed a concern for the performing artist similar to that shown the composer and playwright.

A more radical proposal, the merit and feasibility of which should be seriously studied, is the suggestion that royalties on works in the public domain should be paid to the Government to be used to support and advance the arts. Care should be taken in working out a formula which would be equitable and sound in its effect on both living authors and musicians and on the cost of performing and publishing classical works now in the public domain. The suggestion has sometimes been made that such a policy be applied on a limited basis, both as to years and amounts, only on works which will fall into the public domain in the future. It could perhaps be tied in with an extension of the period of copyright protection.

Government Surplus Property

Many millions of dollars worth of surplus real and personal Federal property becomes available annually for free disposal or sale. Under present law such non-Federal and non-profit use as schools, libraries, health, recreation, and wildlife conservation programs, etc., are eligible to acquire this property on a free or low-cost basis.

It is suggested that the importance to the theatres, orchestras, cultural and art centers, public interest of such institutions as museums, etc., all of which are educational in its truest sense, could well be recognized.

At the very least, it is urged that the President's recommendation to the Congress of May 16, 1962, to amend existing statutes to permit the sale of real property to public bodies at 75 percent of fair market value—rather than full value as at present—be approved. This recommendation has been resubmitted to the 88th Congress.

Public Works and Community Development

Although such cultural facilities and institutions as auditoriums, museums, theatres and cultural centers are not specifically excluded

from Federal public works and community development programs, very few projects of this type have been aided.

In a few instances assistance has been given to libraries, civic auditoriums and zoos. In general, however, such projects are given low priority as not meeting essential public needs or contributing to either economic growth or the reduction of unemployment.

It is suggested here that the existence of adequate cultural facilities in a community is often an important factor in plant location and therefore economic development. In any case, the concept of the public interest should be interpreted to include cultural opportunities as well as basic material needs.

Special Assistance and Service Programs

Federal programs of service and assistance have not usually taken into account environmental factors or considerations of good design. The Small Business Administration and the Community Facilities Administration could well include these considerations in their advisory services and in their planning and research assistance. Better design is not only to be desired on aesthetic grounds but, as manufacturers are increasingly aware, can be important to efficiency, public relations and sales, particularly exports. Similarly, plant location could be subjected more effectively to considerations of environmental planning, including cultural factors.

Media of Mass Communication

Government has long been recognized as having responsibility to ensure that radio and television are operated in the public interest. Within the scope of this authority, through exhortation and encouragement, the Federal Communications Commission has recently been able to raise in some degree the level of programming, with the result that the arts and cultural activities in general have received a better hearing. But this indirect method has definite limits. The Federal Communications Commission is a quasi-judicial body, not a watch dog on behalf of the great community of listeners. The commercial broadcasters, though not infrequently surprised at the broad appeal which programs of a high cultural level achieve, can scarcely be convinced that this appeal is *numerically greater* than that of popular entertainment.

The Federal Communications Commission cannot be expected to carry the burden of determining the cultural level of programs. But through other machinery it should be possible to report periodically upon the advance or decline of current programming insofar as it relates to the specific field of the arts and cultural activities. It is recommended that a panel of the President's Advisory Council regularly issue such reports based upon a

review of actual developments. In this way a series of benchmarks might at least be provided, in place of the scattered and unsystematic impressions on which judgment is now formed.

A second area of general government policy related to the quality and the cultural content of programming is through the ability to increase the number and effectiveness of educational television stations. Here, as in other fields, government's long established concern with education can be properly used as a means of stimulating the arts. Educational television as it has developed in the United States is only partially geared in with the educational system narrowly defined; it is also—and not least importantly—a means of bringing to the broad public a high level of programming, with stress upon literature and the other arts. Educational television may become the kind of yardstick—testing new ideas and audience response—which many have urged be established by one means or another.

For this reason the encouragement of educational television becomes a major means by which the Government through its regular activities can affect the arts. Particularly to be noticed is the precedent of recent legislation authorizing Federal assistance on a matching basis to facilitate the creation of educational television facilities. Funds should be appropriated to carry out this program. There are valid grounds for similar assistance for program and network development.

Tariff Policy

It is most important that the necessary legislation be passed to implement the Florence Agreement to establish duty-free status for educational, scientific and cultural materials. This agreement is one of several international conventions drawn up under the auspices of UNESCO to promote the free flow of cultural materials. It was adopted in 1950 and has since been ratified by approximately forty countries, including the United States.

V

ADMINISTRATIVE MACHINERY RELATING TO THE ARTS

Experience during recent months suggests the need for setting up continuing administrative means for dealing with issues of the arts. The public has come to anticipate that the expressed concern of the Government will be formalized in some way. It is important that nothing pretentious or heavy-handed be created, and equally important that recent initiatives not be allowed to expire. The following suggestions build upon what has already been done, and look ahead to what seems a natural development in the light of increased and deep-lying national interest in the arts.¹

These suggested steps presuppose a constant concern with the enhancing and development of the arts through normal activities of the Federal Government. They also look forward to a more direct involvement of government through a new institutional body with operating funds. They do not envisage any effort to direct or influence the work of artists; their purpose is to keep the arts free, not to organize or regiment them.

1. SPECIAL ADVISOR

A major recommendation of this Report is that the post of Special Consultant on the Arts be continued after the present trial period. Consideration should be given to its being full-time and having the status of Special Advisor. Detailed day-by-day attention is necessary if

governmental operations, often seemingly unrelated to the arts, are to be brought to the standards advocated by this Report.

Principal areas of work for which the Special Advisor would be responsible have been described in the first chapter of this Report. Besides the policy-planning and review functions which formed the major part of the original assignment, he should be available for advice on all matters pertaining to the arts which arise in the course of the Administration's work. He should be the President's liaison with the National Cultural Center, should sit in on panels and meetings where matters of Federal architecture, design, graphics, etc., are being discussed.

In addition, the Special Advisor should have, as described below, a close relationship with the President's Advisory Council on the Arts.

2. THE ADVISORY COUNCIL

Detailed recommendations relating to the establishment and functions of an Advisory Council within the Executive Office of the President have been separately submitted. This Council provides an essential part in an orderly and representative structure dealing with the arts. Its basic function is to continue and fill out the work of study and gathering information begun with the limited resources of the

¹One of the institutional steps often proposed has been the calling of a White House Conference on the Arts to assist in the formulation of a national arts policy. It is recommended that such a conference should be held only after a frame of reference has been worked out in some detail. The advisability and timing of such a conference should be a concern of the President's Advisory Council.

Special Consultant; to review Federal policies and make recommendations for improving design; to recommend long-range programs; and to assure the active participation of the artistic community in the Government effort.

The Special Advisor can call upon the Council and its specialized committees for assistance. The Advisory Council will thus become part of the machinery through which advice is provided to the various agencies of government as they endeavor to set up art committees of their own, to organize competitions, or otherwise to raise the level of design.

The President will appoint the Chairman of the Council, who presumably will be the Special Advisor. Following experience in the science field, the Advisory Council should achieve effectiveness and stature through being related to the President's Advisor and having its recommendations go through him directly to the President.

3. A NATIONAL ARTS FOUNDATION

An Arts Foundation, on the model of the existing foundations in science and health and as already proposed in legislation before the Congress, would appear to be the logical crowning step in a national cultural policy. Such a Foundation would be a means of administering grants-in-aid, generally on a matching basis, to states and institutions of the arts. It might thus administer matching grants to states setting up Arts Councils. It might make available grants for demonstration projects proposed by particular cultural institutions. Thus it could consider helping support experiments designed to increase attendance, to foster creativity and introduce contemporary works to new audiences, or to offer

services on an experimental basis. The Foundation would not provide subsidies to carry the deficits of such institutions, but would aim at promoting cultural diversity, innovation and excellence.

Such an Arts Foundation should be thought of as supplementing the goals of the National Cultural Center, for it would help develop and stimulate the cultural activities and institutions of the country. And these, in turn, would have for their ultimate showcase the stages of the National Cultural Center in Washington.

* * *

What is sketched here represents the beginning of what could become a permanent policy giving form to the relationship between government and the arts. It is a limited policy; for government's role in this area must always be marginal. It is a policy not copied after European models, but keyed to the particular conditions of diversity and decentralization prevailing in the United States.

There will always remain those who feel that art and government should exist in different spheres, having nothing to do with each other. But in fact the Government of the United States comes up constantly against choices and decisions where aesthetic considerations are involved. In today's world, moreover, artistic talent and creativity are resources vitally important to the nation, and the well-being of the people is related to progress in the arts as surely as to progress in fields such as recreation and education where government's responsibility is fully recognized.

Although government's role in the arts must always remain peripheral, with individual creativity and private support being central, that is no reason why the things which the Government can properly do in this field should not be done confidently and expertly.

APPENDIX

LIST OF EXISTING FEDERAL ADVISORY COMMITTEES RELATED TO THE ARTS

1. THE WHITE HOUSE

*The Fine Arts Committee of the White House
Advisory Committee to the Fine Arts Committee
Special Committee for White House Paintings*

2. COMMISSION OF FINE ARTS

(itself an advisory body)
*Board of Architectural Consultants for the Old
Georgetown Act*
Advisory Panel on the Performing Arts (inactive)

3. SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

*Smithsonian Art Commission
Advisory Committee on the Arts to the National
Cultural Center*

4. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

*Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites,
Buildings and Monuments*
*Consulting Committee for the National Survey of
Historic Sites and Buildings*

5. DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE

*Air Force Academy Fine Arts Panel
National Music Council Overseas Touring Committee
(Department of the Army)
American Educational Theatre Association
Overseas Touring Committee
Navy Art Cooperation and Liaison Committee*

6. DEPARTMENT OF THE POST OFFICE

Citizens' Stamp Advisory Committee

7. DEPARTMENT OF STATE

*U. S. Advisory Commission on International
Educational and Cultural Affairs
Advisory Committee on the Arts
U. S. National Commission for UNESCO
Advisory Panel on Buildings Overseas
Government Advisory Committee on International
Book Programs*

8. U. S. INFORMATION AGENCY

*Advisory Committee on Cultural Information
Music Advisory Panel*

a comment on the heckscher report

BY HERBERT BLAU

With the advent of the Kennedy Administration, Art, like the Negro, began to receive some preferential treatment. If it is somewhat more than Tokenism, it is a good deal less than a Renaissance. And there was nothing so emblematic of the problem our country has with the idea of culture than the crowds filing past the Mona Lisa.

Against the instinct for mass production or mass attendance, known in LIFE as the "cultural explosion," August Heckscher tried—during his term as Mr. Kennedy's special consultant in the arts—to reassert the classical ideal of Excellence. As it is manifested on the New Frontier, the ideal is not entirely free of dilettantism; and Mr. Heckscher has occasionally sounded like an academic dean vaguely espousing higher standards as the enrollment goes up. Nevertheless, his report to the President, The Arts and National Government, realizes that as culture is not written into the law of the land, true art cannot be legislated. And even if it could, Mr. Heckscher's real feelings about that possibility were, I take it, better conveyed by a remark he made to the press on announcing his resignation—that among some of our legislators culture still has the status of a dirty joke.

By reminding us that there are some real clods in Congress, Mr. Heckscher was defining what William Blake called "the limit of opacity." The clods are the tithe we pay for our tradition of populism, with its instinct for leveling and the common denominator. Unfortunately, some of them sit on the committees which determine what is done where. The tradition of populism cleared forests and built cities of the wilderness, and it is still the potential source of a mighty public energy. But the hand that holds the pursestrings rocks the cradle, and the common denominator adds up, in everything from federal buildings to postage stamps, to a consistent level of mediocrity.

As Mr. Heckscher reports, the commissions go to the untalented; our best artists cannot be persuaded, or are not persuaded, that they can really do their best work for the Government (except, as in architecture, abroad—where aesthetics presumably counts); and when federal "building budgets must be cut, art is the first amenity to go." Mr. Heckscher does well to dismiss the bureaucrat's belief that art is a mere luxury item. Even if one grants, when the money is running out, that a piece of sculpture or a mural is expendable, what the bureaucrat often fails to see is that in the design of the building itself the most aesthetic design is likely to be the most economical.

It is in this area, where the Government is a natural patron of the arts, that the report makes its strongest proposals. The Government is investing in art all the time—in the erection of buildings, memorials, statues, fountains; the commission of historic and decorative paintings, medals, posters, bulletins and books; in its museum collections; and most of all, in the preservation of the landscape, both rural and urban. (The report says little about direct subsidy of the artist; but that is a function being taken over by the foundations.) We could improve our culture with every necessity, and without unbalancing the budget, if we put our hearts to it. But it is more than a tight budget that puts off our best talent; give de Kooning a wall in the post office and somebody is going to lose a lot of votes—or thinks so.

The most important assertion of the report, however, is its basic assumption: "Everything done by the Government bears either the marks of excellence which we like to think charac-

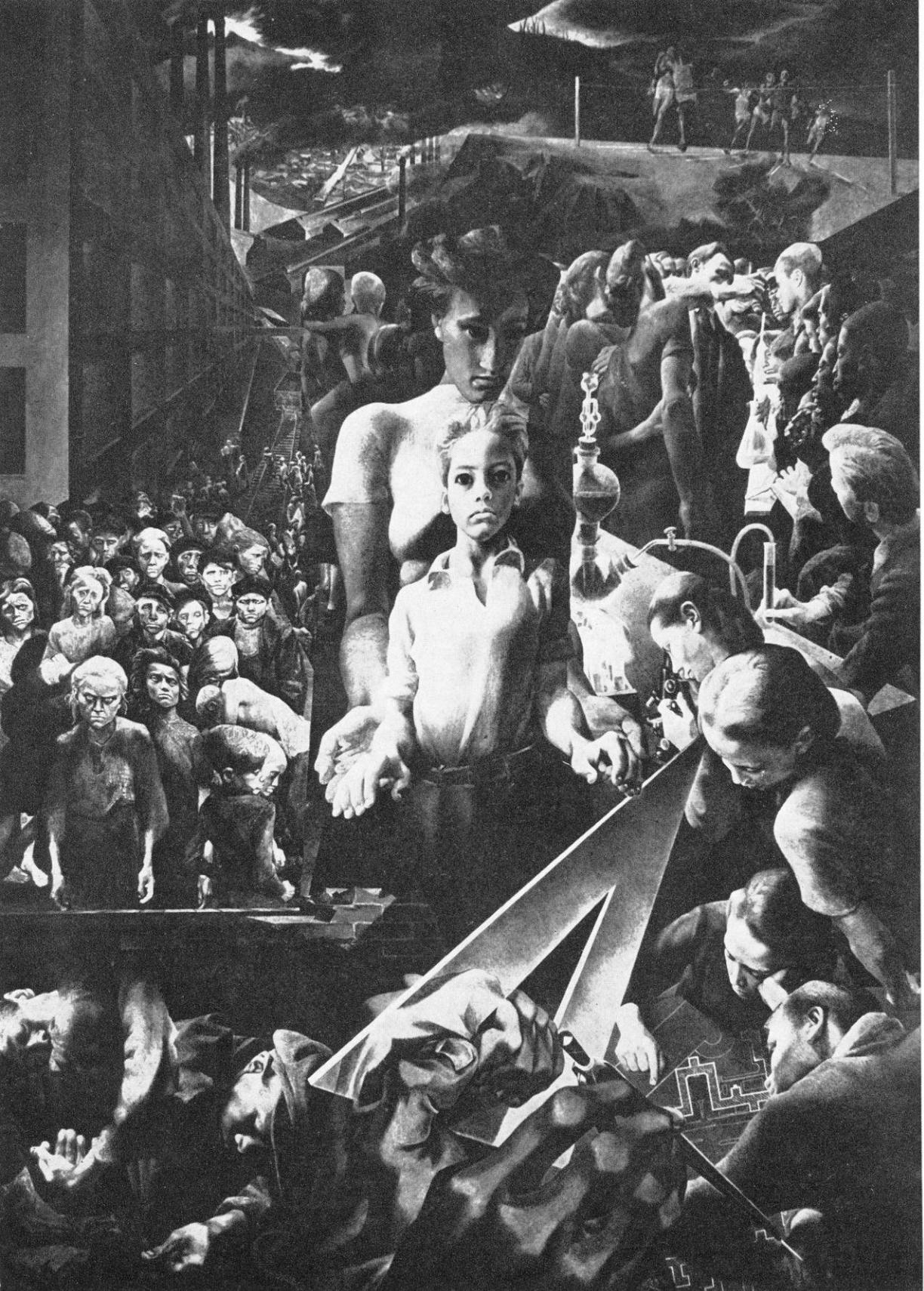
teristic of a free and great people, or else in some measure it betrays the Government and degrades the citizen." If there were a House Committee to investigate this form of subversion, the Government would be devastated by dumped security risks. That said, let us not exonerate the citizen who does the electing; it is a serious question whether the man who submits himself day after day to the brainwash of the idiot box really wants to be spared from his own instincts for degradation. He is not necessarily against art, but he is not particularly for it—and how can we learn the difference when Henry Fonda lectures to him on the Greek theater at Epidaurus (eyes glancing at the cue card, for what does Henry Fonda know or care about the Greek theater?) to introduce a play on Sacco and Vanzetti that studies that inscrutable event from the searing perspective of soap opera. (Yes, yes, the documentaries are great—the whole world in your living room, so that passivity can feel better informed.)

The Heckscher report is an indirect outcome of the new leisure. The Government is worried not only about culture, but about accumulating spare time—and the problem is not destined to get simpler with automation. Affluence and fringe benefits are, indeed, changing the patterns of American life; and no one concerned with the welfare of American culture can avoid seeing the promise in it. But let us not be deluded by the more highbrow developments either: the large record sales, the paperbacks, the little theaters, the art films, and the book clubs—the dead end of the cultural explosion may be glutted markets and more leveling—uniformity scaled upward. In his report, Mr. Heckscher campaigns for the National Cultural Center in Washington. Nothing I have heard of this ambitious project—which seems to have been invented by a computer—convinces me that it will be anything more than—to use Mr. Heckscher's word—a "showcase" for established mediocrity, paying due respects to the venerable. As Mort Sahl remarked in a recent interview, "the concept of having Pablo Casals and all these people who are not about to rock the boat, and have it pass for culture, I think is misleading." To say the least.

Still, I have no doubt that we will one day have such a cultural center; we will have smaller ones all over the country—for, let us face it, the dirty joke of culture is becoming a national habit, and even the most backward legislators will soon turn it to political coin. Right now in San Francisco, the two major candidates for Mayor—neither of whom strikes me as having the slightest personal interest in it—are making room for culture on their platforms. Never have artists been so wooed, so solicited. Good. I am not above seeing the right thing done for the wrong reason. But if the artists are not having the last laugh, it's because they wonder what will come of it all. They know, the best of them, that the future of American culture depends a good deal more on what they have to say than what the Government can do for them. But the temptation, as they enjoy their lunch, is not to rock the boat. Great art has been patronized in the past, but as they hear the platitudes bounce around them, they wonder whether the common denominator is the patron they want.

Surely, the opportunities grow all around them, too. The Heckscher report in itself represents a kind of progress; it will turn up more opportunity. But I suppose the uneasiness over the new passion for culture arises because it seems to be another manifestation of the commodity instinct. In the cultural explosion, we have yet to feel the barest suggestion of released energies—the sort of impulse that Blake might recognize as truly revolutionary, an expansion of consciousness, imagination triumphant, the assertion of ineluctable creative forces, the expression of a nation which, trusting what it claims to believe and confident of its mission, wants monuments for it, commanding its poets to celebrate and sing praise. What we see, rather, is another form of industry, more activity, more therapy, more organized momentum and available distraction, new sops for the Divine Average, more culture in general, not artistic Power but vague Possibility. Nobody really feels—as Milton felt when he composed the Areopagitica and distinguished between tolerance, which tries to provide for everybody, and Liberty, which looks for individual excellence—that America is rousing itself "like a strong man after sleep," a veritable Samson, shaking off the fantasies of the Philistines.

Well, first things first. Let us say (I don't wholly believe it), form follows function. The virtue of the Heckscher report is to put a higher premium on the function of art in affairs of state, and to urge the Government not to waste present opportunity. What more can we expect from a part-time job? The report makes its case in the language of objective reporting, rocking the boat as tactfully as possible. Having mentioned Milton, I find it interesting to imagine what might have been said if Cromwell's Latin Secretary had been assigned to do the same job. Is that irrelevant? I think not. What we need in our cultural explosion is some fervor, and soaring imagination.



censorship in the arts

BY GERALD C. MACCALLUM, JR.

Governments can interfere in many ways with the circulation of art. Speaking narrowly, "censorship" labels only the most notorious of the ways, but there are others. As private citizens have been clever enough to discover, there are also informal and non-governmental ways of interfering; these, insofar as governments must either tolerate or forbid them, also raise issues of governmental policy.

Differences among these ways are important. If the government is going to interfere directly, criminal prosecution *after* initial distribution or exhibition of the works is preferable to a flat prohibition on distribution or production ("prior restraint," or "censorship" in the narrow sense) because only in the former case will the crucial decisions necessarily be made in an open and public forum (a court) and in accordance with well-established standards of evidence and procedure. The disadvantages of prior restraint, on the other hand, have been notorious at least since the time Milton argued them in the *Areopagitica*, when he attacked the English licensing laws of 1643. These laws continued in force royal and Star Chamber decrees forbidding unlicensed printing, and established a committee of twenty licensers. Milton saw this, and we now see it, as one of the more obnoxious and uncontrolled forms of public regulation.

On the other hand, we are sometimes urged to abandon public regulation altogether in favor of such informal sanctions as ostracism or the loss of public reputation. This advice is usually offered on the ground that it is better for people to manage their own

affairs than to cry for government intervention at every hint of an injured sensibility. When people *do* attempt to manage the matter in this way, however, they turn very readily to proliferating "citizen's committees" who visit and perhaps picket distributors and exhibitors of the offending works, expressing their displeasure and occasionally threatening some kind of organized, although still non-governmental, coercive action. Thus we have letters to the editor protesting the booking policies of a local theater. But we also have pickets patrolling in protest against a performance of "Showboat" or a performance by Kirsten Flagstad, and committees of mothers visiting the neighborhood druggist to examine his stock of paperback novels and perhaps to threaten some kind of retaliation "if these racks aren't cleaned up." The latter actions raise disputes about how far governments should tolerate such private coercive measures.

Aside from these important disputes about *what form* control should take, there is fundamental disagreement about whether there should be *any control at all*. This, too, raises an issue of governmental policy, viz., whether the only task of government in this area should be to "protect" the circulation of any and all works of art. Because we will make no headway in discussing desirable *forms* of control until we at least agree that there ought to be *some* control, I shall discuss especially this latter issue. It is complex enough to occupy us for some time.

We have come to expect discussions of this matter to be conducted in an atmosphere of inflammatory charges and counter-charges. This is unfortunate, and we might at least do what we can to promote a calm and judicial atmosphere. My thesis, however, is that our difficulties run much more deeply than those we experience in remaining dispassionate in debate; they run also to dimly perceived but unresolved disagreements and indecisiveness about what the problems at bottom really are, about what ought to count when we discuss these problems, and about what the answers are to some admittedly subsidiary questions.

It is not surprising to find these difficulties latent and unrecognized in some of the more superficial popular discussions, but it is disturbing to find them latent and at least seemingly unrecognized in even the most sober and exhaustive public discussions. Consider, for example, the 1956 Kefauver Interim Report entitled "Obscene and Pornographic Literature and Juvenile Delinquency."¹ Here is a summing up of the results of a lengthy investigation by a Senate subcommittee into one aspect of the censorship problem, an aspect which might be thought clear if anything is clear, viz., the injurious effects of viewing "hard-core" pornography. The investigation was conducted by responsible and intelligent public officials, and although any such investigation is subject to political pressures which may warp its outcome, it is reasonable to suppose that these officials did their best to provide the public with a straightforward account of what they found. Yet the Report offers prime examples of equivocation and confusion about the scope of the problems at hand. Such equivocation and confusion can only obscure public vision when we come to ask even the limited but practical question, "What shall we do about 'hard-core' pornography?" That this feature of the Report has not been widely observed is especially disturbing, for it may indicate that we already had our minds made up about "hard-core" pornography, and that no one looked at

the Report very carefully because the investigation was only shadow-play. But if we do not take the trouble to get matters clear even where most people agree that some sort of interference is needed, we will be ill-equipped to deal clear-sightedly with other areas where the value of interference is more disputed.

Consider the Report. On page 4 we read:

Once again we think it is important to reiterate that the type of material with which the subcommittee concerned itself is not as many persons might mistakenly believe, a heterogeneous collection of off-color jokes. The quantity and quality of the material beggars description; it is wanton, depraved, nauseating, despicable, demoralizing, destructive and capable of poisoning any mind at any age. (Italics mine.)

The italicized claim makes the scope of the problem appear enormous. But *none* of the expert testimony quoted in the Report supports that claim,² and it is directly contradicted on page 63, where it is said:

There would be few deleterious psychological effects of pornographic literature if this were exposed to people who are normally developed and have been able to develop normal inhibitions, repressions, and controls.³

As the Report eventually makes clear (and as its title suggested in the first place), it is concerned primarily with the effects of viewing such materials on persons "of adolescent age, which from our point of view is a very unstable period of life." But even here the Report is not clear enough. This is perhaps best illustrated by Senator Kefauver's own summary of its findings in *Federal Probation*, a periodical published by the Administrative Office of the United States Courts.⁴ On page 7 of this summary, Senator Kefauver, in a masterpiece of equivocation, states clearly only that the findings of the investigation show that viewing pornography leads to anti-social behavior *in adolescents who are already emotionally disturbed*. (My italics) He does declare also that "large numbers of relatively emotionally normal children can develop harmful attitudes because of the pornographers;" but he makes no straightforward claim about any relationships between "harmful attitudes" and anti-social behavior.

The production of "harmful attitudes" alone may, of course, be important. Nevertheless, the relevance of this effect is strikingly different from the relevance of the production of anti-social behavior, as I hope to show below. Further, the fact that viewing pornography often leads to anti-social behavior in adolescents who are already emotionally disturbed is important. If this is the only effect, however, the scope of the problem takes on a different look, and different avenues of solution may come into view. It is all the more important, therefore, to notice that in an equivocating way the Kefauver Report claims, hints at, and implies much more.

This fuzziness, appearing in public documents produced by respected public officials, is not only a symptom of existing difficulty; it is likely to produce a greater difficulty in future discussions. It both manifests and encourages blindness to crucially important considerations. When one notes that it concerns only the effects of viewing "hard-core" pornography, the challenge may appear staggering; surely the issues will be more complex and the confusion greater when dealing with works more clearly having serious aesthetic intention or worth, or with works less generally thought offensive.

I.

As the Kefauver Interim Report shows, we are often insufficiently clear about the *scope* of the problems at hand. This is dangerous in part because it affects our search for, and our choice of, remedial measures. Protecting emotionally disturbed children is one thing; protecting all children is another; protecting both children and adults is yet

another. Indeed, our carelessness in answering the question, "Who needs protection?" is closely related to the fruitlessness of many debates about censorship. Too many people have approached the problem with the assumption that if anybody needs protection from certain materials, then everyone must be denied access to the materials. This, of course, is false, although the importance of its being false may be difficult to make clear to people who are thinking only of "hard-core" pornography. There are significant differences between blanket restrictions placed on all members of the public, and restrictions which operate selectively against only certain classes of persons, e.g., children (as in movies "for adults only"), members of a laity (as in permission from a church hierarchy to read heretical works), or persons not professionally concerned with the materials in question (as in restrictions on the use of archives of pornography in government and university libraries). The more narrowly our restrictions are placed, the easier they may sometimes be to justify. It follows that if we make our restrictions needlessly broad in these cases we involve ourselves in fruitless and unrewarding debates. Obviously, such needless debates have occurred and still occur too often.

The situation is not simple, however. Depending upon whom we wish to protect, strikingly different techniques of control may be possible or required if one is to be effective. Consider dealing with such diverse materials as books sold on the open market, exhibitions viewable only at theaters and art galleries, and television and radio shows beamed into an indefinite number of private homes. If we are to protect even a small class of persons in some of these cases, we may find it necessary to make certain materials inaccessible to a vast number of other persons as well. When we are convinced that this is the case, we may believe it simply scholastic to strive for precise answers to the question "Whom are we protecting?" Further, we may suppose (as we do most often with pornography) that if anyone needs protection from certain materials, then no one can really have a moral right to access to those materials, because the materials must be such that no legitimate purpose could be served by distributing and viewing them.

Both these conclusions seem to me to be mistaken. Concerning the first, notice that the "necessity" of rendering certain materials inaccessible to many in order to protect a few is most often solely a function of our ingenuity and imaginativeness. Even where overprotection seems necessary, we should constantly remind ourselves that it is overprotection, and that we might be able to avoid it if we were clever enough.

This, however, raises the second issue: why should we *want* to avoid it if the materials in question must be such that no legitimate purpose could be served by making them accessible to anyone, even to persons not in need of protection from them?

We must recognize at the start that the very characterization by the Kefauver Subcommittee of the materials they were investigating as "hard-core" pornography was an attempt to suggest that no legitimate purpose could be served by the distribution and viewing of such items. Since we are concerned with censorship in the arts, I think we may correctly assume that "hard-core pornography" is a label intended at least to relegate what is so labelled to the class of works without either aesthetic worth or aesthetic intention. We would be wise in this case always to ask whether what is so labelled actually deserves such treatment. But we would be wise also to recognize that there may be some public confusion about whether the label refers primarily to the *intention* and *content* of the work, or rather to its *effect*. In the former case, "hard-core" pornography would presumably not be intended as a work of art; in the latter case, it might very well have aesthetic intention, and indeed aesthetic merit as well. Most important, in the latter case one could claim a legitimate interest in the distribution of the work even while admitting that the effect of the work might be "pornographic" for some

persons, i.e., arouse prurient interests in them.

This consideration serves to show that censorship issues may in the end be immensely complex. We may in fact find that in most cases where the issues arise there are both reasons *for* and reasons *against* interfering with the works in question. We should not allow emotively laden labels such as "hard-core pornography" to obscure our awareness of this. Nor should we allow them to obscure our awareness of something else at once more subtle and profound: not only are there most often both reasons for and reasons against interference, but even when we find that the reasons on one side *outweigh* the reasons on the other, we should not thereby suppose that the latter reasons can safely be put out of sight and out of mind. To do this would be to put controversies about censorship on a level with games of tug-of-war; it would be as though we had, in the end, to declare the side with stronger arguments to be the "winner," and as though once this were done, the game would be over and the losers would have to pack up and go home. Such a view might be reasonable and even necessary in making short run decisions about censorship, but in the long run it would be poison. It would blind us to the fact that our decisions on such matters most often involve sacrifices as well as gains. We would thus be blocked off from any realistic understanding of what we have done in making decisions—that we may have lost something as well as gained something. We would lose appreciation of the full effect of our decisions upon the character of our communities.

This latter point is of immense importance. One reason treatments of censorship so often seem both confused and confusing is that in our partisanship we have failed to admit the full effects, negative as well as positive, of the solutions we advocate. Why not face fully the fact that our solutions most often involve sacrifices as well as gains? This would lead us to take a more appropriate attitude toward what we are doing; namely, influencing the development in our communities of ideals of social and personal life by making choices from among already existing ideals found in conflict. If we are unwilling to admit that censorship poses problems resulting from a conflict among ideals of social and personal life, all of which we may cherish, we will remain blind. The task is to get clear what ideals are involved and how they get involved. If we complete this task, we will at least be in a position to act responsibly, because we will know more fully what hangs on our decisions.

II.

Some ideals are common to many communities, and some are characteristic of only one community; alternatively, one might say instead that some ideals are those of a larger community (e.g., "the western nations"), and others are characteristic of sub-communities within the larger one. They are commonly expressed in highly general terms such as those appearing below, and, for example, those appearing in certain passages of the United States Constitution (e.g., "due process of law"). The terms acquire strong emotive force, and under cover of this emotive force, changes in their descriptive content are often made and conflicts resolved. The histories of the terms "moral" and "religious" afford prime examples of this.

In attempts to specify and clarify the descriptive content of the ideals, further concepts—sometimes called "satellite concepts"—are developed and occasionally later discarded. In censorship discussions, two prominent satellite concepts are "obscenity" and "subversion." One could even, when thinking of the United States as part of the Anglo-American community, regard "due process of law" as a satellite concept relative to the ideals of that larger community. Naturally, the satellite concepts sometimes

develop their own satellites; for example, "prudent interest" and "patent offensiveness" are satellite concepts of criminal obscenity.

There are thus available various levels of appeal to community values. One could deal with censorship entirely in terms of such obviously satellite concepts as "obscenity" and "due process of law."⁵ Alternatively, one could move directly to the more general ideals of which the satellites are attempted specifications and clarifications. I have adopted the latter course, both in order to give my remarks more general application, and to free myself to evaluate and criticize certain satellite concepts. There is, of course, danger in talking on a level where the emotive rather than the descriptive force of one's words plays a large role—a danger not so much of polemics as of vacuity. But, for the reasons just stated, the venture must sometimes be made.

The involvement of such general ideals in censorship issues may be revealed by assessing the relevance of various claims about the benefits and dangers of such restrictive practices.

To discover the relevant possible *benefits* of interfering with the circulation of works of art, one should ask: How can the unhindered circulation of movies, books, paintings, etc.,^{5a} injure the members of a community? Answers to this question, however, need to be sorted out by the following more specific questions:

1. Can the circulation of these materials lead to anti-social behavior?
2. Can it lead to morally or religiously blameworthy thoughts, or to behavior which is blameworthy even though not clearly anti-social?
3. Can it lead to yet other harmful effects, such as emotional disturbances or the loss of chances for personal happiness or fulfillment?
4. Are there any significant differences among answers to Questions 1, 2, and 3 regarding works having aesthetic worth, those having only aesthetic intention, and those having neither?

First, the relevance of these questions; then some problems connected with attempts to answer them:

QUESTION 1. This question focusses on anti-social behavior, i.e., behavior which violates the rights or interests of persons other than the actor. There is no real problem about the relevance of such behavior. If unhindered circulation of certain books, movies, etc. raises the incidence of behavior violating human rights or interests—if, for example, it raises the incidence of unprovoked violence, theft, or wanton recklessness—this is surely a good reason for interfering with that circulation. Only two general cautions are needed. First, we should notice that the reasons for interference thus provided may be insufficiently strong to countervail other considerations. One should at least ask in each specific case what must be done in order to interfere with the materials, and what may be lost by the interference. The importance of either of these may outweigh the importance of the anti-social behavior led to by the circulation of the materials.

Secondly, one should recognize that because our notions of human rights and interests have changed from time to time and may continue to change, our view of what behavior violates those rights and interests also has changed and may continue to do so. This is important because as these changes are encouraged or resisted within a community, divergent opinions on the subject will be reflected in disagreements about which books, movies, paintings, etc., could possibly have directly injurious effects upon the community if their free circulation were permitted. For example, if one person disagrees with another on whether warfare should be condoned or homosexuality tolerated, he may differ with the other in his identifications of offending works, i.e., works whose circulation "leads to" or raises the incidence of offending behavior.

Disagreements of this latter sort are undoubtedly at the bottom of much controversy over censorship. There is no easy way of resolving the disagreements, but one

should remain sensitive to the role they play. One should also notice that if he is himself confused or indecisive about what human rights or interests are or ought to be, he will be confused or indecisive about what does or ought to count as anti-social behavior.

The very occurrence of divergent opinions on human rights and interests raises yet another issue: the possibility of a kind of anti-social behavior which assuredly may be produced by the circulation of various works, but which may not seem relevant in determining governmental policy toward that circulation.

It is the third of three ways the circulation of various works might lead to anti-social behavior. The first is by direct viewing, which may intensify the impulses leading to such behavior. This possible effect figured importantly in the Kefauver investigation although, unfortunately, the anti-social behavior in question was not sufficiently distinguished from behavior which was simply degenerate, immoral, or "naughty" (the importance of such distinctions will emerge in the discussions of Questions 2 and 3). Nevertheless, the Subcommittee did hear testimony concerning the connection between the commission of certain brutal crimes and the prior viewing by the criminal (generally a juvenile) of various pornographic materials. We are all familiar with such reports, and with reports of how criminally violent behavior depicted in comic books or on the television screen has "led to" juvenile crimes.

The Kefauver Subcommittee also heard testimony involving a second way in which the circulation of various materials may lead to anti-social behavior, viz., in the effects of unhindered distribution upon persons in search of standards of behavior (e.g., children). Unhindered distribution was thought by some witnesses to serve as a sign to those in search of standards of behavior that whatever is implicitly or explicitly endorsed in the works is at least tolerated by the community. If what is so "endorsed" includes anti-social behavior, (the story went) this will encourage indulgence in such behavior. Again, one is faced with the problem of verifying these claims; and again it is important to distinguish claims about anti-social behavior from claims about behavior which may simply be immoral, degenerate, or "naughty." Concerning the general production of offensive behavior, some of which may be anti-social, such claims are generally thought to have some plausibility. Surely the protests by the N.A.A.C.P. against "Uncle Tom" characterizations of Negroes and the protests of some groups in the past against the characterization of Shylock in the *Merchant of Venice* have been based not only on the belief that these characterizations were offensive to Negroes and Jews, but also on the belief that toleration of the characterizations would encourage impressionable people to regard misbehavior toward Negroes and Jews as tolerable and tolerated.

But, although unmentioned in any testimony before the subcommittee, there is yet a third way in which the circulation of various works may lead to anti-social behavior. It stands spectrally behind every public investigation of censorship issues and concerns the effects of unhindered circulation upon persons who believe strongly that some viewers of the works will be affected deleteriously, and who are willing themselves to disrupt the public peace in order to prevent such viewing.⁶ The peculiarity of this third way is that while it obviously provides impetus to many public investigations, some persons argue that it is an irrelevant consideration; that is, that it *ought not* to be considered. I think they are mistaken.

Persons whose behavior falls in this third and questionably relevant category need not have viewed the works under consideration at all (true also of the second category), and in most instances probably have not viewed them; indeed, persons may behave in this way quite irrespective of what the actual effects of viewing the works are. Nevertheless, the occurrence or threat of their behavior must be counted as relevant in determining

whether to interfere with the circulation of the works. If, for example, sentiment in a community is such that police protection of a theater will be required if a certain film is shown, then this is a reason for not showing the film (although not a decisive reason). Counting this as a reason has nothing to do with condoning the behavior of the persons threatening the public peace, nor has it anything to do with the value, in the abstract, of the work under fire; it has only to do with the distribution of human and other resources in a world where conditions are not always as favorable as we would like them to be.⁷

The threat to public peace, whether we approve it or not, is by hypothesis present and must be taken into account. It is a danger to the rights and interests of innocent persons. How is it to be met? A calculation of the community's resources and of the losses and gains involved in various alternative courses of action is called for; the answer is by no means automatic unless one imagines only cases where the size of the threat is negligible relative to the resources the community has to meet it. To say, then, that the presence of the threat is a reason for not showing the film is to say simply that it legitimately enters into the calculation of whether or not to show the film, and its presence weighs against showing the film. In a free society, the presence of the threat may generally be outweighed by the importance attached to freedom of communication and freedom of choice, although even this may depend upon how grave the threat is. But the fact that the importance of the threat is generally outweighed does not imply that the threat has no importance. To suppose that it did would be to adopt the tug-of-war approach already rejected above.

In sum, then, there are three ways in which the circulation of art or pseudo-art might lead to anti-social behavior, and all three are relevant in determining whether to allow circulation of the works. They are relevant because the minimization of anti-social behavior is one of the ideals of our communal life; this, in turn, is an ideal because our view of what counts as anti-social behavior involves our views on when and where men ought to be protected from each other.

QUESTION 2. Can the unhindered circulation of books, movies, paintings, etc. lead to morally or religiously blameworthy thoughts, or to behavior which is blameworthy even though not clearly anti-social?

Opinion is bound to be divided in the relevance of moral and religious considerations in dealing with the circulation of works of art or pseudo-art; that is precisely why this question needs to be distinguished from the others. The failure of the Kefauver Report to distinguish these issues sharply and clearly from each other is, in my view, one of its more significant failures.

It is easy, of course, to confuse issues here. Many persons seem to believe that such immoral or irreligious thoughts and behavior are important because they tend to lead to anti-social behavior. But if this is true, then any circulation of books, movies, etc., leading to the former leads also to the latter and thus falls squarely within the scope of Question 1. The question at hand, however, asks us to consider the possible corrupting influences of circulation quite apart from the social effects of this corruption.

The confusion is introduced whenever one is asked to eliminate a purported corrupting influence, and yet not asked at the same time to consider what value to the community can lie in eliminating that influence. The answer is supposed to be obvious. It is obvious if one is considering the elimination of anti-social behavior resulting from the influence, but not otherwise. For it is not obvious that avoidance of morally or religiously blameworthy thoughts and behavior by means of external controls (by restricting the circulation of materials contributing to such thoughts and behavior) is of great moral

or religious importance. Unfortunately, this issue is not even raised in most public discussions of censorship issues. The prurient-interest test now used in the United States as one of the criteria of criminal obscenity is infected with confusion on this matter. No one is quite sure whether we are worried about prurient interests because they tend to lead to anti-social behavior, or simply because they are immoral or "naughty."⁸

The question raised concerns the importance in religion and morals of *character* as well as of *action* vis-a-vis other persons. In discussing this, one need not take the extreme stand that *only* character and strength of character are important. The importance of effects of one's actions upon other persons can be admitted. But that consideration has now been left behind in our discussion, and one should be careful to ask what else remains to be achieved.

The issue concerning character is surely in the minds of persons who oppose censorship on the grounds that "we cannot legislate morality." These persons need not go so far as to say that laws against murder and theft are of no moral or religious importance. They need merely ask in our present context, "Can a person really be counted a good person, or can he ever really achieve religious salvation if his avoidance of blameworthy thoughts and behavior is achieved by means of external controls protecting him from temptation?"

One might claim that only in the fire of temptation can anyone prove or, even, make himself worthy. This need not be pushed to the extreme of holding that temptation should be *invited*; one need only hold that the use of external controls in order to protect persons from temptation does not achieve anything lastingly worthwhile either in religion or in morals. Strength of character is what makes a person worthy, and strength of character is not achieved by such means. This view of religion and morals is important, even if it is not universal. At least it cannot be ignored in assessing the relevance to censorship and allied problems of the question at hand.

Nevertheless, one might hold that this view, while possibly applicable to adults, is clearly not applicable to children. In the latter case, varying degrees of protection might be thought entirely justifiable paternalism (i.e., benevolent interference). But if so, this in turn could at most be protection with a view to eventual independence, and in order to make this claim convincing, some reasonable measures for the achievement of intelligent and stable independence would have to accompany the program. For, after all, if children don't choose wisely, we can give them immediate protection by narrowing their range of choice to what we believe harmless. But no one believes that this trains them to choose wisely.

The protection of children would, in any case, not justify the withdrawal of offending materials from adults unless the latter withdrawal were, for practical reasons, inseparable from the former (as is sometimes claimed about television and radio shows, and even about books for sale); this claim in turn would have to be examined carefully in order to determine whether some ingenuity on the matter wouldn't enable us to avoid the difficulty. The challenge here has become increasingly severe because modern living conditions (large-scale communities and tremendous physical mobility) have made less effective than ever suppressive control over children by their parents (a kind of control which at least has the advantage of not denying adults access to the works in question). Reliance on parents for the moral and religious training of their children is deep in our tradition; but at least insofar as that reliance is based on the presumption that parents can effectively "censor" the materials viewed by the children, the need for abandoning it is becoming increasingly obvious. This raises more than ever the spectre of community-wide programs involving denials to adults as consequences of denials to children.⁹

In dealing with the general issues raised by Question 2, there is the problem of further distinguishing between the moral and the religious grounds for judging behavior or thoughts to be blameworthy.^{9A} This is a problem because we are considering what is relevant to *governmental* policy concerning the circulation of art, and because, while we believe it suitable for governments to reinforce morality in some areas, we are becoming increasingly cautious about letting governments reinforce religion in any area. The core of the problem is this: insofar as we now *distinguish* between what is a matter of morals and what is a matter of religion, we regard the latter as a sectarian concern. Thus, for behavior or thoughts to be blameworthy on religious grounds is for them to be blameworthy within a religious sect, and in the light only of the tenets of that sect. It is believed to be of moral importance for one to maintain the tenets of the sect to which he is committed, but it is likewise thought that the government has no legitimate concern with a person's commitment to any given sect. The watchwords, "freedom of religious choice," imply not only that a person should be free to make whatever religious commitments he likes, but also that he should be free to lift or alter his commitments as he likes. Insofar as this view is acceptable, it follows that the government has no legitimate concern with enforcing the standards of any sect; the blameworthiness of thoughts or behavior on sectarian grounds would thus be irrelevant in determining governmental policy.

Enough has been said, perhaps, to indicate why the relevance of the various issues raised by Question 2 is disputable, to suggest where the difficulties lie, and to show how our community ideals are involved. The discussion has indicated also why one should be sensitive to possibly important differences between the status of children and that of adults in these matters. It is unfortunate that neither the Kefauver Report nor most other public discussions of censorship have seen fit to separate these issues sharply from the issues raised by Question 1.

QUESTION 3. Can the free circulation of books, movies, etc., lead to yet other harmful effects such as emotional disturbances, or the loss of chances for personal happiness or fulfillment?

As before, the relevance of answers to this question should be discussed only after the question itself has been clearly distinguished from the others, something which the Kefauver Committee failed to do. It is true that harmful effects such as emotional disturbances may themselves lead to anti-social behavior, or simply to blameworthy thoughts or behavior. But insofar as they do so, consideration of them would fall squarely under one of the questions already asked. The present question, on the other hand, intends to get at the relevance of the production of such phenomena as emotional disturbances quite apart from any possible further effects of the sorts already discussed.

Once this issue is clearly seen the relevance of the question appears to depend solely upon admission that paternalism is a legitimate means of reducing human misery and enhancing chances for human happiness. In the light of such an admission, censorship in the narrow sense could be seen to protect persons absolutely from their susceptibility to harm occasioned by viewing the materials in question. Restrictive devices less absolute than such censorship could be seen to protect only certain classes of persons, or perhaps to warn them of potential dangers. It would be as if the government were to build or to tolerate the building of a fence around a dangerous bog or precipice (to use Locke's imagery about law generally); the object in this case, too, would be to protect persons from danger that lay ahead, or at least to warn them of it.

Locke's imagery suggests something that hasn't yet been established; *viz.*, that free viewing of certain works may be as dangerous to the welfare of individuals as bogs

and precipices. This may or may not be convincing to one who thinks of the issue in terms of the desirability of avoiding nightmares "produced" in some children by horror movies. Or the parallel may or may not be convincing to one who considers the possible persuasive effects of various works "leading" people to do or advocate something unwise (politically? Consider the "Hollywood Ten.") or imprudent (neurotically? Consider protests against a film purportedly making Lesbianism seem attractive). The difficulties special to these latter cases are two: (1) there is the question of the *efficacy* of the works in producing the purported injurious effects, to be discussed later in this paper and (2) the prior question of whether the action or advocacy produced is actually unwise or imprudent. The controversy in some cases may not be very great, but the presence of any controversy at all is enough to make these cases strikingly different from discussions of the consequences of falling into bogs or over precipices. We must take care not to let Locke's imagery mislead us.

Further, even if the dangers of these metaphorical bogs and precipices are admitted, one need not suppose that this alone settles any censorship issues. For, even if we were to take this talk quite literally, we would understand that while travel through bogs and over or down precipices is ordinarily thought to be avoided if possible, these might be precisely the places where experiences of value in themselves are to be found, possibly in their most desirable form. Careful consideration of the conditions of aesthetic experience may lead us to believe that in such "dangerous" works are to be found values not available elsewhere. This is a highly speculative hypothesis, but surely not one to be rejected out of hand.

Alternatively, one might see travel through such "dangerous" territory as a necessary means to getting where one is going. Here, at least, we have a clear story, and one which is now deeply embedded in our cultural tradition. It is this: If "fences" were built around certain works, perhaps some threats to human happiness of the sort under discussion could be avoided; but people would be denied free opportunity to learn from experience and exploration. If the development of human character is important, and if the presence of free opportunity to learn from experience and exploration is essential for that development, as John Stuart Mill argues in his essay *On Liberty*, then there may be a considerable cost incurred by the restriction. Of course, Mill might wish, and we might wish, to make *some* distinctions between adults and children in this matter (but, if so, issues raised in the discussions of Question 2 as well as some issues to be raised later in this paper will have to be faced). Nevertheless, the point remains that the danger against which censorship in these cases might protect us, while relevant, might not in the end be decisive. Other considerations may countervail them.

None of this, however, requires us to deny that paternalistic protection of its citizens from harm is a legitimate governmental enterprise. The only question concerns the importance of the sacrifice likely to be incurred when such protection is provided; this must be weighed against the relative seriousness of the harm from which persons are to be protected. As the former is a function of the methods of protection proposed, ingenuity in devising such methods is obviously again to be prized. One need not suppose that the only alternatives are absolute prohibition on the one hand and absolutely unqualified freedom on the other.

QUESTION 4. Are there any significant differences among answers to the above questions regarding works having aesthetic worth, those having only aesthetic intention, and those having neither?

If our only reason for interfering with the circulation of aesthetic and pseudo-aesthetic materials is that their circulation would somehow be socially injurious, and if

at the same time we wish to maximize the development and availability of aesthetic values, we should consider carefully the claim that the injurious effects of viewing works having aesthetic worth, if indeed such effects exist at all, are appreciably fewer than the injurious effects of viewing works having neither aesthetic worth nor aesthetic intention. Such a claim seems to have been made by Eberhard and Phyllis Kronhausen in their book *Pornography and the Law*.¹⁰ The authors attempt to distinguish between "erotic realism" and "pornography" on this account. Such claims may very well be true, and the public-at-large should not close its eyes to that possibility; ignorance here would blind them to important distinctions. Nor should the artist close his eyes to the possibility that such claims may be false; ignorance here would deceive him as to the true nature and extent of his social responsibilities. The Kefauver Report did not touch on this matter because the Subcommittee considered itself to be dealing with materials notoriously having neither aesthetic worth nor aesthetic intention.

The discussion of the above four questions has so far attempted merely to consider their relevance, and, in so doing, to reveal the ways in which our social and personal values may be involved in calculations of the possible *benefits* of censorship. (The ways such values are involved in estimates of the possible *losses* incurred by censorship is yet to be discussed.) But besides the relevance of the questions just discussed, the various difficulties which have been met in attempting to *answer* the questions in any reliable way merit some attention. Why have we not been able to find and agree upon straight-forward answers to these questions? Our failure must surely be one of the ultimate embarrassments to anyone inclined to think that censorship might sometimes be desirable; it should as well be an embarrassment to all of us since the answers to these questions are important for all citizens no matter what they are inclined to believe about censorship.

In the first instance, difficulty has undoubtedly been produced by our general unwillingness to confront and examine carefully two plausible hypotheses. These hypotheses, if true, would enormously complicate the task of formulating intelligent censorship policies; but they also, if true, would reveal opportunities which ought to be seized. They are: (a) that susceptibility to the possibly injurious influences of viewing various works may not be along lines easily recognized by law or other forms of social regulation; that susceptibility in any given way may not be uniform among children, nor among adults and children of any particular class, race, or easily identifiable situation; nor might it be the case that persons susceptible in certain ways to materials of some kinds are so susceptible to materials of all kinds; and (b) that the viewing of books, movies, paintings, etc., may never be more than a contributing influence in the production of the injurious effects in question; that the victim's unfavorable reaction may also be dependent upon many other alterable features of his environment and character.

We have not been sufficiently willing to face up to the possibility that these hypotheses are true, nor to their implications if they are true. This charge can be supported in detail by a look at attempts to answer Question 1: Can unhindered circulation of movies, books, paintings, etc., lead to anti-social behavior?

I have mentioned three ways in which the circulation of such materials could lead to anti-social behavior. The first is by direct viewing of the materials, which may intensify the impulses leading to the behavior. The second is by the effects of free circulation of the works upon persons in search of standards of behavior. The third is by the effects of free circulation upon persons who believe that viewers of the works will be injured, and are willing to threaten the public peace in order to prevent such viewing. Not much

difficulty is met in determining that threats of the last sort have occurred; the only question has been the extent to which governments ought to cater to them. Great difficulty seems to have been met, however, in determining the extent to which effects of the first two sorts have occurred.

The matter is the focus of considerable controversy. Some social scientists and legal scholars claim that studies of it are in a state of confusion.¹¹ In our examination of the Kefauver Report we have already seen some evidence as to the sources of that confusion, e.g., failure to distinguish sharply enough from each other the various questions guiding the investigation, and failure to delineate precisely enough the scope of the problems faced by the policy-makers who hope to make use of the investigation. But, what else is involved?

We are not, after all, entirely ignorant. As Senator Kefauver rightly points out in his summary of Subcommittee findings in *Federal Probation*, we have at least the intuitive impressions of persons with expert knowledge in the field. Many clinical psychiatrists, youth counselors, and law enforcement officials concur in their impressions that the deleterious effects, at least of viewing pornography, are socially significant; such informed impressions cannot be discounted (although they certainly ought to be tested). In addition, one can, as Senator Kefauver does, argue against those who would deny the injurious effects of viewing certain materials by pointing out that such denial is inconsistent with assumptions made elsewhere about the relationship between constant viewing and overt expressions. Advertising, propaganda, and many forms of education all presume this relationship. (Here, however, Senator Kefauver should have distinguished between *constant*—regular and persistent—viewing and casual, irregular viewing. Which of these pertains most to the problem of pornography?)

It is probably trivial but true to say that our trouble is produced at least in part by the simple tendency of censorious-minded persons to inflate grossly the modest amount of information we have. The temptation is great. In the United States, for example, punishment of distributors and exhibitors of books, paintings, etc., is clearly thought justifiable if continued circulation of the materials in question can be shown a clear and present danger to the community of evils that government has power to prevent; this, at least, is the now classic test used in dealing with subversion and revolution, and incitement to riot. Although the test has hardly been more than latent in other areas, as for example in cases dealing with obscenity, and although there has been a good deal of equivocation and confusion in that area about what evils the government *has* power to prevent (see again note 8 of the present paper) it is still the test which most clearly legitimizes governmental interference with the circulation of *any* materials of communication.¹² The continuing temptation on the part of the censorious-minded has therefore been to show the injurious effects of the materials in question in such a light as to indicate they pass this test (whatever the "evils" in question may be). We find evidence of this in the overstatements of the Kefauver Report. The simple fact, however, is that we lack the knowledge sufficient to demonstrate this in accordance with legally acceptable standards of evidence. Hence equivocation, conflict, and confusion.

But the difficulties run deeper. They are also due in part to our failure to face up fully enough to the fact that viewing various materials at most can be a contributing influence in the production of anti-social behavior, or for that matter in the production of any deleterious effects whatever. Turning again to the *Interim Report*, one discovers the following curious juxtaposition of sentences suggesting precisely this point:

The impulses which spur people to sex crimes unquestionably are intensified by reading and seeing pornographic materials. The sharp increase in crimes of this type

is largely the result of social and family upheavals which occurred during and immediately after the Second World War.¹³

Senator Kefauver, in *Federal Probation*, is clearer. He says:

The almost complete lack of sex education in the established institutions, such as the home, the school, and the church on the one hand, coupled with the excessive stimulation received in this area from repeated presentations in all forms of mass media, plus his own biological urges, predisposes the youngster to seek sources of knowledge and information. We find the pornographer ever present to provide this information at a price.¹⁴

This, of course, deals with only one kind of material, and perhaps only pseudo-aesthetic material at best. But a similarly complete picture of the background against which the viewing of certain movies, books, etc., is capable of producing anti-social behavior must always be filled in if one is to have any reasonable understanding of the role of viewing these materials in producing such behavior, and of the feasible and practicable *alternatives* to restricting or prohibiting the circulation of the materials. Insofar as we are interested in reducing anti-social behavior, we should be aware that censorship is not the only way of doing this, and may not even be needed at all. This lesson obviously applies as well to all the other injurious effects about which we have been speculating.

Failure to admit fully the other contributing influences, coupled with more or less vague awareness of their presence, renders us susceptible to further confusion on this important issue. Our astigmatism is undoubtedly due in part simply to our failure to accept responsibility for what we ourselves have contributed to the unfortunate situation. But it is also undoubtedly due in part to our awareness that some of the contributing influences are built deeply into our society; it often seems difficult if not impossible to imagine politically and socially feasible ways of correcting them. For example, one reason for our horror at art and pseudo-art calling attention to adolescent sexuality or threatening to enlarge it is that our institutions are simply not equipped to cope with it. Contrast our attitudes toward these works with our attitudes towards works calling attention to or threatening to enlarge the scale of violence in our society. The latter do not arouse the public to such a degree because the public believes, whether mistakenly or not, that its institutions can cope with this problem. Restriction of the works in question is thus not thought urgent because other avenues of correction seem readily available. This goes some way toward explaining why the public is more censorious toward erotic works than toward sadistic works.

Discussions of attempts to answer Questions 2 and 3 would reveal similar difficulties. But on the restricted issue of blameworthy thoughts, aside from the questions already raised about their relevance, there is a further problem. Our "evidence" on the production of such thoughts is still almost exclusively introspective, and has been collected and published in a most arbitrary fashion. We have highly impressionistic observations from many persons about the causal connection between viewing certain works and the occurrence of blameworthy thoughts. Very often, they support the claim that censorship or some related restriction is needed. But this support is challenged by persons who say that the observations are by those who are themselves unusually susceptible to the kinds of influence in question, and who are thus not reliable informants on the general and widespread effects of viewing the works under consideration. There is no special reason to believe that this is true, but we are surely not yet in any position to demonstrate that it is false. We must, therefore, if we conclude that the occurrence of blameworthy thoughts is relevant, recognize the need to devise less arbitrary means of assuring ourselves what role viewing aesthetic and pseudo-aesthetic works can play in producing them.

What are relevant *losses* which might be suffered as a result of interfering with the circulation of aesthetic and pseudo-aesthetic works? The following questions are intended to mark out systematically the range of such losses, and thus to reveal clearly what social and personal ideals may be destroyed or damaged by censorship in the arts.

QUESTION 1. What are the possible losses to the community of aesthetic and related values? Members of the Kefauver Subcommittee, for reasons we have already considered, did not believe that their investigation raised this question. But readers of this journal will surely suppose that this question is raised by the censorship issues of most concern to them, the issues involving estimable or at least serious art works. What these readers may overlook, however, is that arguments to establish the *relevance* of this question are not, as perhaps too many persons suppose, supernumerary. The need for argument must be taken seriously if those who wish to fight censorship are to be in anything like as strong a position as that which they require of their opponents.

Further, the need to be in a position of strength cannot be taken lightly. Not only is the requirement rational and equitable, but dismal failures to win the day against restrictions may be due partly to failure to meet it straightforwardly and explicitly.

The nature of the challenge may be specified by the following questions (which are not simply rhetorical but are meant to be taken seriously):

- (a) Do works of aesthetic worth or intention aid either directly or indirectly in the education of sensitivities appropriate to human beings? This question is intended to touch on the common assumption that aesthetic sensitivity is one of the central dignifying features of human life, one of the features distinguishing humans from other creatures. If this is so, its loss or the loss of opportunities for developing it would not be trivial to any community.
- (b) Do such works either directly or indirectly contribute to satisfaction of sensitivities already present? This, of course, is important because the works would then be direct contributions to human happiness and contentment.
- (c) Do they either directly or indirectly increase the potentialities for enrichment of human experience in ways not directly associated with the aesthetic? It is often said that works of art can on occasion bring persons to an awareness of features of human experience which they had not heretofore noticed or appreciated. If true, this is important.¹⁵

To the extent that these questions can be answered affirmatively, the loss of aesthetic values to a community can be shown as important.

As these questions suggest, the loss may be direct or indirect. Interference with the circulation of various materials obviously results in direct loss when it renders items of aesthetic worth inaccessible to persons who could profit from them in any of the above ways. Interference with works having only aesthetic intention, on the other hand, may result in indirect loss. One might argue, for example, that artists and observers must learn from failures as well as successes, and, indeed, that circulation of failures as well as successes ought to be protected as an essential condition of creativity and appreciation in the arts.

There is, however, a further possibility of loss worth considering. Commentators on the conditions of aesthetic creativity have noted quite regularly that the *mere presence* of a censor saying, "Here is a line you must not cross," sharply inhibits creative imagination and hence creative production; this may be so even when the line is one which the artists themselves don't care to cross. This suggestion seems plausible and surely worth investigation when one considers the frequency of remarks about the "flatness" of artistic production in communities where censors are active and effective, e.g., recent Russia.¹⁶

Given that we wish to maximize opportunities for gaining aesthetic values, the intelligent formulation and administration of *any* restrictive policy whatever is a formidable task. Any attempt whatever may result in some loss of these values to the community, if only by influencing the quality of artistic production. Even if restrictions on some materials were found desirable in the end, however, we should still wish to minimize the unnecessary loss of aesthetic values resulting from the exercise of restrictive powers in unenlightened, prejudiced, or self-interested ways. The dangers here, as most people recognize, are immense. Anyone desiring a reasonably horrifying catalogue of a *modern* chamber of administrative horrors on censorship matters in the United States can turn (to cite merely one place) to the dissenting opinion of Chief Justice Warren in *Times Film Corporation v. Chicago* 368 US 43, 69ff (1960).

In such matters, we need to identify our problems carefully. Differing precautions will be needed depending upon whether the problem lies in the *formulation* or in the *administration* of the standards of restriction used, and depending upon whether the greatest lack appears to be lack of enlightened judgment or lack of curbs on prejudice and self-interest.

QUESTION 2. To what extent does censorship arouse socially harmful interests in the works so treated? This question suggests that restrictive devices may lead to harm of the very type which they are designed to forestall. The Kefauver Subcommittee considered this possibility, but turned away without much exploration of it. Awareness that something is "forbidden fruit," even if not forbidden to oneself, may raise socially harmful attitudes toward it, and may actually increase its harmfulness in any of three ways:

- (a) It may alert persons who would have viewed the work anyway to certain aspects of the work, and lead these persons to give undue attention and emphasis to these aspects.
- (b) It may serve to call the work to the attention of persons who would be harmed by it but who would not otherwise have been aware of or interested in the work. (Remember that "banned in Boston" used to be the best advertisement a book or movie could get.)
- (c) It may encourage profitable or simply perverse subversion of the restrictions by arrangements for viewers among those whom the restrictions were designed to protect. (Pornography, for example, is a big business as the Kefauver Subcommittee investigation made plain).

Insofar as these claims are true (and their general correctness has been recognized at least since the time of Ovid, see *Amores*, III, iv, 17), a person who restricts circulation of a work actually throws a spotlight on what he wishes to hide, not, perhaps, on the specific thing he wishes to hide, but at least on that *type* of thing. Hardly a negligible result.

QUESTION 3. To what extent can censorship lead to emotional or other disturbances in those whom the restrictions seek to protect? Claims have been made that restrictions can lead to emotional or other disturbances and deprivations simply by cutting persons off from the feelings, behaviors, and ideas dealt with in the suppressed works. In *Pornography and the Law*, Eberhard and Phyllis Kronhausen suggest that suppression of what they call "erotic realism" leads to ignorance about fundamental matters in human life, and that this in turn raises the incidence of deprived and emotionally disturbed persons. (This issue was seemingly not raised by the materials investigated by the Kefauver Subcommittee. I do not know, of course, whether the Kronhausens would be inclined to challenge the Subcommittee's judgment on any of the materials the Subcommittee examined.) The Kronhausens' claim operates in the interests of psychological growth and enrichment against restriction. But this and similar claims could reasonably be made only about some types of work. Further, arguments that a type of work is of the appropriate sort are bound to be sticky because there is probably

as much myth on one side of the fence as on the other about what the conditions of psychological or political or economic (etc.) growth and enrichment are. This is not to say that argument will be hopeless, but only that allegations and counter-allegations will most likely be controversial and will bear close scrutiny.

More importantly, one should remember at this point the earlier discussion about "contributing influences." Clearly, the very fact that "injurious" restrictions of this sort are imposed in a community on the production or circulation of certain works shows that general conditions are not favorable for the relevant kinds of growth and enrichment. The presence of the restrictions is undoubtedly a symptom of more fundamentally unfavorable conditions in the ideological, institutional, and emotional life of the community. This is not to deny that the restrictions may themselves play a role in worsening the situation; they may very well do so. But one needs to maintain a sense of proportion as to the importance of that role.

QUESTION 4. To what extent will restrictions produce dangerously authoritarian or elitist results in what is supposed to be a free society? The extent to which such results will be produced depends in part upon how the restrictive standards are established and applied. In this connection, one must deal separately with the issues raised by restrictions on adults, and those raised by restrictions on children. The Kefauver Subcommittee did not consider this question at all, probably because it saw itself as concerned primarily with children. But as we shall see, the issue ought to be raised even there.

Concerning adults, there is a simple, and for our society, decisive argument against any restrictions designed to protect persons with the voting franchise from the injurious effects of voluntary viewing of any works. In a democracy, the extension of the voting franchise assumes, in an iron-clad and totally committed way, that *all* adults with the vote (excluding, that is, persons in prisons, mental institutions, etc.) have both the character and intelligence needed to avoid the bad effects alleged to follow from the voluntary viewing of any work, whether the work in question is alleged politically subversive, immoral, obscene, or whatever. This assumption may be false, but if we abandon it or fail to act on it, we abandon democracy by inevitably introducing paternalistic protection of adult and franchised citizens *from themselves*. The democratic commitment requires us to believe that the individual voter is not in need of protection from himself. This is decisive for anyone intending to preserve democracy. It requires also that we not inquire into what legitimate interest could be served by adult viewing of materials we find questionable; such judgments must be left to each adult to determine for himself.

This argument, however, does not cover two important classes of restrictions. It does not cover denials to adults when these are necessary accompaniments of denials to children, nor does it cover at least temporary denials to adults when these are needed to avert serious and imminent threats to the public peace. The argument, of course remains relevant and, indeed, very important in these cases; but it is not decisive because the denials in question are not designed to protect franchised adults from themselves; they are, rather, only incidental to the achievement of other and perfectly legitimate goals. The argument does not, in any case, reach children or adults without the franchise. Attempts to protect these persons from themselves are not obviously inconsistent with the democratic commitment.

Concerning children at least, there are other arguments against restriction, although not decisive ones. In the first place, as already mentioned, effective denial to children sometimes involves denial to adults. Where this genuinely is the case, it is surely a reason against restriction.

Secondly, if we propose to restrict the fare of children and not that of adults, we will find ourselves using somewhat arbitrary criteria for singling out the "children," arbitrary, that is, in determining which persons are actually able to benefit from the works in question and yet not likely to be damaged significantly by them. Capacity for benefit and immunity from harm are, after all, the only reasonable considerations here; but these capacities and immunities may not be neatly distributed chronologically, or along any other lines readily usable in a large-scale program of control. It is therefore at least probable that in the light of the needs of community administration some injustices will occur no matter what program is adopted; some "children" who could profit from the works and would not be injured by them will not be allowed to view them, and, of course, some "adults" who will perhaps be harmed by the works will be permitted to view them.

Thirdly, the denial to children of free opportunity for exploration and discovery in the world of books, movies, paintings, etc. may bring some benefits, but it undeniably risks losses as well in both the character and the subsequent performance of the children. We cannot safely "protect" our children from some areas of life, and then suddenly, when they reach a certain age, thrust them into adult life, and reasonably expect them to function in a stable and socially useful way regarding the matters previously closed to them. Protection at some stages may be desirable or even essential; but protection merely postpones the day of reckoning—the day when the child must learn to manage for himself whatever it is that has been closed to him. There is always at least the danger of postponing the day of reckoning too long out of sheer laziness and under the pleasant illusion that "innocence" is being preserved.¹⁷

IV.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

After this examination of relevant issues and evocation of relevant ideals, where do we now stand? Concerning restrictions on the fare of children, no decisive considerations have emerged. We obviously need to consider much more carefully than we have, what we want here and how to get it. We especially need to be much more certain than we are of the actual deleterious effects upon children (and upon adults, for that matter) of viewing various kinds of materials. We must also remain alert to the possibility that these effects, whatever they may be, might be avoided by policies other than restrictions of the sort in question, namely, by eliminating other influences contributing to the production of the deleterious effects. Consider, for example, the multiple influences mentioned by Senator Kefauver in connection with the problem of pornography, e.g., the vacuum created by the lack of sex education in the home, and the excessive stimulation of sexual impulses by all forms of mass media. To what extent would elimination or even mitigation of these influences dissolve the problem of pornography? Such alternatives, even though sometimes superficially more difficult, might in the long run be much less costly in terms of our most permanent goals and ideals.

Further, while we must, because of the democratic commitment, treat every voter as an adult for purposes of policy in this area, it does not follow that all non-voters must be treated as children. The "child-adult" distinction is often—one might say virtually always—drawn ineptly by communities insofar as it is intended to reflect who is immune from harm or capable of benefiting from the various materials in question. We should search constantly for improved yet practicable means of drawing the line so that it makes sense in the light of what we are trying to do. For example, we sometimes allow the age of a child to create a *presumption* against his being permitted to view

certain works, but allow the presumption to be defeated by clear evidence of parental permission to view. This policy may be limited both in its effectiveness and its rationality, but it at least represents an attempt to introduce flexibility based on relevant considerations.

If, when considering children alone (however we identify them), we decide that it would sometimes be best to restrict their fare, we will certainly find that this sometimes seems to involve denials to adults as well. We should always keep in mind that a bit of ingenuity may show us how to avoid or mitigate this difficulty. One step in this direction is to transmit "objectionable" radio or television shows at a later hour than usual, rather than taking them off the air entirely. This was done a year or so back, for example, with the *Defenders* television show on abortion. It doesn't produce "perfect" results (assuming that the show would have damaged any children), but we must, after all, balance the supposed gains with respect to children against the losses to adults. If we are inclined to demand perfect protection of children, we should at least be fully aware of how this demand will in the end influence the character of our adult community. The above mentioned show on abortion was a serious effort to raise a helpful discussion of an important social problem. Are we to deny television absolutely the right to perform such a service?

Concerning adults alone, one *decisive* consideration against restriction seems to have emerged. Restrictions of any sort imposed on adults with the right to vote, and aimed at protecting the adults from their own susceptibilities, are inconsistent with a central tenet of democracy. Restrictions of this sort might, to be sure, reduce human misery and social disorder, and perhaps even lower the incidence of immoral behavior; but these benefits would be purchased at too great a price—the price of compromising a fundamental article of democratic faith.

We have noted that this consideration, while it continues to be relevant, is not decisive against denials to adults which are incidental either to restrictions upon children or to the maintenance of public order. In these cases at least, we are still faced with the difficulties of "weighing" gains and losses of the many different kinds surveyed in this paper. Furthermore, even in cases where the democratic commitment *is* decisive, it is important for us to recognize the cost of that commitment. As far as it concerned the susceptibility of franchised adults, the discussion above was an exploration of what the cost of maintaining our democratic faith might be in this area of life.

On the other hand, we have also explored what the rewards, aside from simply keeping the faith, might be. We are in no position to act sensibly and resourcefully until we are aware of both. Nor are we even in a position to understand fully the true import of our faith. The democratic commitment in the area of the arts, as well as in every other area, brings with it liabilities as well as benefits for our community life. If we don't know this, we simply don't know what democracy is all about, nor are we in a position to evaluate its genuine worth.

We cannot, in any case, avoid the need to investigate the full range of possible gains and losses surveyed in this paper. The ultimate problem which then follows is this: When called upon to do so, how are we to weigh against each other considerations of so many different types, e.g., the preservation of aesthetic values against the occurrence of emotional disturbances, or the importance of the democratic commitment against the occurrence of anti-social behavior?

Conflicts among these categories of appeal often do not emerge very clearly. Because of the emotive force of the terms used in making the appeals (e.g., "anti-social" and "aesthetic value"), the resolution of conflict is often attempted *within* the categories.

For example, it is likely that persons threatening the public peace in order to prevent the showing of a movie will protest that their behavior is *not* anti-social. And consider the claim that failure to preserve aesthetic value is itself anti-social.

Conflicts among appeals of different types will undoubtedly sometimes appear and be recognized. In such cases, one may itch for a formula of weights and measures and a neat ledger to tote up the results. But it would be futile to offer a formula. Apart from dealing with the specific cases in which the issues are raised, no one is in a position to judge the sharpness or the extent of the conflicts in question. As the relevant considerations, pro and con, are embodiments of community and personal ideals, and as we wish, of course, to maximize the attainment of them all, we cannot judge apart from specific cases which policies will achieve this aim.

More fundamentally, no formula can reasonably be provided because the conflicts are conflicts of ideals, and a society which is sufficiently open to permit the *development* of its ideals will not have a fixed and static hierarchy of them.¹⁸ Resolutions of conflicts among ideals in such societies will not be calculations made only in the light of already developed hierarchies of values, but will at the same time be influences upon their development. We not only discover in such cases what we *do* value, but we also make up our minds about what we *shall* value. Full recognition of this reveals not only our freedom to develop, but also our responsibility for reasoned choices of the character we wish our communities to attain.¹⁹

REFERENCE NOTES:

1. S. Rep. No. 2381, 84th Cong. 2nd Session 1956.
2. See especially pages 11 and 13 of the Report for the strongest of the genuinely expert testimony.
3. If this is so, then what is pornography? See below.
4. 24 Federal Probation (December 1960, Number 4, page 3.)
5. Relative to the United States, this has recently been done with great clarity and persuasiveness by Louis Henkin in "Morals and the Constitution: The Sin of Obscenity," 63 Columbia Law Review 391 (1963).
- 5a. Not all of which may merit the partly honorific title "work of art," or even the partly honorific title "art," but all of which must be considered at the start. These are clearly the general types of materials with which we should be concerned. Distinctions based on aesthetic merit or on meritorious intention will be noted in the appropriate places. I do not discuss how such distinctions should be made, however, nor am I especially qualified to do so. They are undeniably important but I think it unwise to permit any account of censorship in the arts to rest solely upon partly honorific distinctions no matter how well founded.
6. Such behavior may likewise be produced by the desire simply to eliminate something that is thought offensive. The argument in the text need not treat these cases differently. But when one comes to consider the relevance of reasons for such behavior, an important difference may be seen. Persons who protest that a movie is offensive may be told: "If it offends you, walk out, or don't see it in the first place. You are not forced to see it." Fortunately, such an argument is available with respect to most aesthetic works; one can easily escape seeing them if he wants. One difficulty, however, lies in the fact that persons who are offended by a work (or think they will be) are notoriously unable to distinguish between the pain and discomfort the work produces in them, and the threat the work constitutes to the welfare of the community. Another difficulty lies in the fact that persons who find a work offensive are likely also to find offensive the showing or sale of the work in their community. The issue is then whether merely the showing or sale of the work invades an interest these people have in a community free from what is offensive to them. The issue is important because it is the key to understanding the driving force behind many censorious-minded persons: we urgently need to ask what consideration we owe persons with these feelings. Governments are ordinarily conceded to have some power to prohibit and remove what is offensive to the bulk of the members of the community; such things are "public nuisances." But they are usually things with which direct contact cannot be avoided because practically inescapable (such as pervasive and obnoxious odors), or things which cannot reliably be avoided because they cannot be anticipated (such as

exhibitionism). It does not seem to me, however, that the presence in a community of works being shown to those who wish to see them, and shown in such a way that others may easily and reliably avoid seeing them if they wish, is the kind of nuisance against which people ought to be protected. Indeed, I don't see how anyone with the slightest interest in a free society could hold it to be that kind of nuisance; if we allow it to be, we will not have a free society. Nevertheless, it is important to see that this is a comment solely on the relevance of the offensiveness of the showing or sale of the work, and not a comment on the relevance of the other ways mentioned in which the showing or sale may appear to constitute a threat to the welfare of the community; concern about the latter is perfectly legitimate.

7. It might be helpful here to remember a distinction suggested by Aristotle in the *Politics* (1288b 10ff) between:

- (a) what we would regard as best if we could imagine circumstances as favorable as possible, and
- (b) what we would regard as best given the present circumstances (which are not wholly favorable).

Plato also suggests the importance of this distinction in the *Laws* (Bk. IV, 709ff)

8. For an example of how this confusion has become embedded in the law, see the recent discussion in *Manual Enterprises v. Day* 370 US 478 (1961). For a helpful treatment of constitutional traditions in this area, see Henkin, *op. cit.*

9. The course of public discussion in the United States of some of the issues raised by this difficulty is fascinating. For example, compare the declaration of the U. S. Supreme Court in *Butler v. Michigan* (352 US 380, 383 (1957)) that Michigan could not reduce its adult population to reading only what is fit for children, with the declaration of the Chicago police sergeant once in charge of that city's censorship unit, who said, "Children should be allowed to see any movie that plays in Chicago. If a picture is objectionable for a child, it is objectionable period." *Chicago Tribune*, May 24, 1959, p. 8, col. 3. Quoted by Chief Justice Warren in his dissent in *Times Film Corp. v. Chicago* 365 US 43,72 (1960).

The statement of the police sergeant deserves comment. It is certainly plausible, although debatable, to say that something objectionable for children is objectionable to adults (or perhaps, ought to be). But it is not even plausible to assert that what is objectionable for children is also objectionable for adults: this would imply that everything which must be kept from children must also be kept from adults. Does anyone really believe this? It certainly seems to be what the sergeant is suggesting.

9a. I owe this point to Professor George Dickie.

10. Eberhard and Phyllis Kronhausen, *Pornography and the Law: The Psychology of Erotic Realism and Pornography*, Ballantine Books, New York, 1959. I say the claim "seems to have been made," because I am not sure of the extent to which the Kronhausens regard "erotic realism" as an aesthetic concept, or "pornography" as a non-aesthetic one.

11. For a recent review of the studies, see Bernard Green, "Obscenity, Censorship, and Juvenile Delinquency," 14 U. of Toronto Law Journal (1962) 229.

12. Some persons believe it should be the only test. Cf. the remarks of Patrick Murphy Malin before the Kefauver Committee, cited in 24 Federal Probation, Number 4 (December 1960), page 12.

13. *Op. cit.*, p. 62.

14. *Op. cit.*, p. 5.

15. This hypothesis borders closely on the matters discussed in connection with Question 3 below.

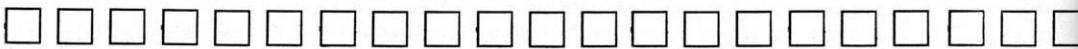
16. Cf. Green, *op. cit.*, pp. 251-252. And see Sir Herbert Read's account of the reaction of D. H. Lawrence to the censoring of one of his (Lawrence's) works; Sir Herbert Read, *To Hell With Culture*, Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1962.

17. It is true, however, that what the child finds when he is eventually allowed to explore freely will be somewhat up to us. For the child will be exploring our communities and the characters in them, and we must accept some responsibility for what these are like. Nevertheless, we must recognize the limits of our power, and distinguish carefully between genuinely eliminating evils, and simply ignoring them or sweeping them under the rug. The censorious-minded are often too facile in supposing that they have done the former when, in fact, they have done only the latter.

18. Nor, of course, will even the kinds of ideals be fixed in such a society. Consider in this connection the disputed relevance in our society of the various moral and religious considerations discussed earlier in this paper; we are clearly moving away from an interest in "sectarian" ideals. But changes in kinds of ideals are made for the most part by attaching new significance to old labels. The terms I have used in this paper when appealing to community values are the old labels, as became clear, for example, in my discussion in Section III of rights and interests.

19. Of those who have helped me along the way with criticisms and suggestions, I should like especially to thank Professor Donald Arnstine and Dr. Peter Weiss. I don't suppose for a minute, however, that they will approve of everything I have said.

seeing for ourselves



NOTES ON THE MOVIE ART AND INDUSTRY

CRITICS AND AUDIENCES

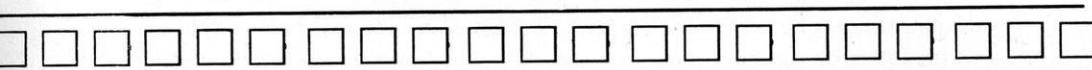
BY MARTIN S. DWORKIN

For Finer Failures. Taking the movies seriously can be a lot of fun—and very serious business indeed, fraught with profound cultural importances and profounder trivialities. Unlike the apocryphal blind man, who didn't care what was playing, so long as it was a movie, most people do care about what films they see, one way or another. But like the blind man, movie audiences usually have little choice. Or, rather, they have only an appearance of choice, from among an infinite assortment of commonplace variations on a few hackneyed themes, played by actors whose distinction is their predictability.

Those of us who see a great many films either acquire a heightened sensitivity to this illusory variety—and an exacerbated awareness of mediocrity, or we protect ourselves by simply re-entering each new film experience through the same door by which we left the last: aesthetic somnambulists too anaesthetized to keep awake. One of the worst things about the latter happening is that when the unusual, stimulating films do come along, we may be fast asleep, and not get in the door at all.

Only a few films can be superlative, of course. We sometimes forget that the others, inexhaustibly numerous and dependent for their success upon the very fact that they seem to recall every movie ever shown, are somehow needed in order that good ones can be made. As Gilbert Seldes remarked on the radio, for there to be good films "...you've got to have the background of the second rate." But this must never be construed as an argument *in favor* of the second rate. What is meant is that in practical terms most of what film makers produce isn't first rate, and that it couldn't be, even if they all tried their best with all their resources all the time.

Beyond the mass of movie "produce"—the "programmer" films manufactured to provide exhibitors with staple merchandise—are the small number of films attempting to express some creative intentionality, as well as make money. And beyond these, forming the growing edge of the movies as an artistic force, are the few great works—sometimes commercial losses occasionally returning their costs only after long periods



of release and re-release—but recreating the cinema in subtle or shattering ways, changing our lives for having seen them and their successors.

The great works presume the others: the industry that enables them to be made and to be shown. But they grow out of the creative failures: those fine films in their own right that may miss being masterpieces only by the distance between eloquence and the sublime. We speak here not of progress, which would imply that today's mediocrity is somehow better than yesterday's masterpiece. What is suggested is the need for a climate wherein creative people may be encouraged to risk failure, however magnificent, instead of being constrained to emulate success, however trite.

Such a climate cannot be created by the industry itself—although the producers and distributors unquestionably can assist or prevent its maturing. The public, informed and stimulated by responsible criticism, has the first and last say. But "the public" in this sense is not the mass audience, although it may be very large. A "public" is not a matter of size, but of awareness and concern. The mass audience forms and disintegrates casually. Its members relate to each other only by accident, suspending their separate identities as they direct their attention toward some seductive stimulus. A public is composed of individuals, who communicate with each other and themselves, participating in the experience of a work of art, rather than submitting to the impacts of the moment, in the noisy torpor of industrialized entertainment.

In a sense, one of the first things a creative film maker must do is awaken the audience, transforming it within the limitations of its members, from an inchoate mass to a sentient public. This is difficult to do, without being merely sensational. Films which do not conform to habitual ways of seeing are essentially *invisible*, in the phrase of Jean Cocteau. And yet, the most ingenious devices may become so commonplace, as movie follows movie, that they are absorbed into the essential calligraphy of the filmic language. Audiences seeing one of D. W. Griffith's early close-ups of an actress's face, resented this apparent decapitation, shouting, "Show us her feet! Show us her feet!"—as yet

unable to visualize a cinematic relationship that soon was so ordinary as to be considered necessary. More recently, the eccentric camera angles and severe, contrasty lighting of Orson Welles's *Citizen Kane* pounded the audience's sensibilities in shot after shot, until beyond stimulation, we were almost numbed. Yet, seeing *Citizen Kane* today, after almost twenty years, we must pay special attention to be aware of those devices which were once simply shocking. By now, they are part of the common armament of film production, even as they are familiar terms in our visual vocabulary.

With so much profit possible from keeping people pleasantly unconscious, the wonder is that so much is made that tries to awaken and engross us. That most of these films do not achieve the sublimity they seek does not diminish their worth, which is real, just as the intentions of their producers are admirable, however unrealized. After all, there is more to be said for the faults of such efforts as *Bad Day At Black Rock*, *Night of the Hunter*, and the *Desperate Hours*, than for the perfected pointlessness of *The Last Time I Saw Paris*, the monumental vulgarity of *The Prodigal*, or the polished triviality of *Soldier of Fortune*.

But there is a point beyond which it is dangerous for us to follow our respect for the intentions of an artist. It is all very well to admire the worthy attempt that fails, but we must never assume the burden of success or failure. It is luxuriously easy for film makers to blame the public when some seriously intended work excites little support. For one thing, there are always some in the public whose passion is to despise all the rest, and they will agree with any denigration of anybody but themselves. Unfortunately, many in serious film audiences, attending "art" theatres, museum showings, and film societies, seem to lose their capacity to criticize the esoteric, out of snobbishness or an exaggerated solicitude for the artist who has not had popular success.

It is interesting that this reservation of responsibility was stressed by one of Hollywood's most dedicated venturers after better films, Stanley Kramer, before the huge New York film society, Cinema 16. Discussing those of his films which failed to make money, Kramer first absolved the distributors and exhibitors—although a case could be made that a few productions, like *Member of the Wedding* and *The 5000 Fingers of Doctor T*, had been unwisely handled, and for all their faults might have reached a larger audience than they did. But Kramer took all the blame onto the production end, remarking that while some of the films expressed "difficult" ideas, this had not repelled the public.

Somehow, he said, the "gap" between the conception and public acceptance had not been bridged. *Member's* costs were too high, forcing a poor try at mass acceptance in ordinary distribution; *5000 Fingers* had aimed at youngsters as well as adults, but ended up both too sophisticated and too obvious; *Cyrano de Bergerac's* love story "never got off the ground," and the one in *The Caine Mutiny* ought to have been left out; *Death of a Salesman* needed to be a *tour de force*, but several of the performances were inadequate: "The play was the finest piece of writing for the stage in twenty years. We muffed."

Kramer, then, could be dissatisfied, just as the public had been disappointed. He closed his remarks on this point with the observation that he had come to realize, in evaluating the total of his work, that the failures made the "lucky ones" possible, and that the latter must "carry" the others. So long as he tries to make better films, and succeeds in bridging the "gap" between conception and acceptance at least as well as he did with *The Defiant Ones* and *On the Beach*, we may agree.

The Money and the Message. Attempts to make better films, however, must perennially storm the walls of fortified stupidities about the nature of the movies—as business

or as art. One of the silliest ideas with which movie industrialists—especially on the exhibition side—like to stroke themselves is that “message” films cannot make a profit. The movies, it is recited, are designed to entertain, because that’s what the people want. The public pays, and the public chooses: entertainment.

Moreover, say some in the industry, this attitude is not to be derided as mass hunger for circuses, while martyrs everywhere perish in flames spreading to consume us all. The people, everywhere, do not like to be propagandized, and this is a wholesome feeling: something to be encouraged, even by those do-gooders who will do anything to get better movies except buy tickets to support them once they are made.

What is wrong with this argument isn’t its foundation on hard economic realities—as many sentimental critics of the movies seem to believe. There is no passage to any adequate understanding of cinema except by way of the box office. All discussions of aesthetic, educational, or broadly cultural considerations which do not assume and contend with the fact of the screen’s industrial basis are less than meaningless, and obstruct the kind of discussion that is needed; that which treats problems of quality and intention with constant awareness of those of production, distribution, and exhibition before audiences—must be persuaded somehow to pay money to underwrite the massive costs of the whole process.

The film is an art, a medium of expression, an instrument of persuasion, a language for communication, an experience for participation—all these and yet a myriad other things, to vast anonymous masses, separate publics of concern, and each of us alone, unique in our own personhood and history. But the art of the film—the most characteristic and influential art of our age—is founded upon the techniques and logistics of industry, from the manufacture of the raw film stock to the complex merchandising required to get finished movies into theatres where they can be seen. Merely to make a film and leave it in cans in a vault, unseen by its potential audience, requires elaborate financing, large numbers of participating craftsmen, great resources of technological processes and equipment.

When standards of artistic integrity and cinematic quality are developed for the movies with little relation to the actual nature and problems of the medium, the result is an easy snobbery or foggily aesthetic sentimentalism that does more harm than good, by evading the real issues that must be faced, and antagonizing the film people themselves. But the movie industrialists, who supposedly know the problems, can be as unrealistic in their comprehension of the true nature of cinema—unrealistic, or unconsciously cynical and irresponsible.

It is true, for example, that the public prefers to be entertained, rather than harangued. Hence, it is not surprising that “message” movies have failed to draw the public, when their messages have been poorly delivered. But there are enough examples of films which have stated their good intentions in terms of good cinema—good art—to point the simple moral here: that what you say in films takes on its life and interest from the way you say it. A film that is merely a vehicle to transport some message, however worthy, will surely mire in boredom.

It is a wonder, in fact, how some messages survive their filmic petrification. We may suppose, for example, that Christianity will outlast the continuing cycle of religious films, which seem bent on making the invisible voluptuously visible—and spiritually unbelievable. But we may suspect that this survival may be in spite of the films—although there may be some who, for a generation or two, await miracles which are heralded by off-screen choirs of crooners in heavenly juke boxes, or who think that martyrs really live happily ever after in this widescreened, multicolored world.

The public comes to the movie theatres neither to be informed nor indoctrinated. But the movie industry cannot evade responsibility by assuming that learning or uncritical habituation does not take place simply because films are designed primarily to entertain.

The fundamental fact of the movie business is not that the public demands to be entertained, and will pay only rarely to be informed. *All* films are "message" films; *all* films make propaganda—if only for day-dreaming; all films take sides somehow on the issues of whether the audience is to be treated as a mass, whose constituent units are assumed to have no individuality, and are to be seduced to move in predetermined directions, or whether it is to be treated as a group of individual persons, to be persuaded to choose freely. This is the underlying issue of all the mass media of our time, defining the responsibility of those involved.

As Professor C. Hillis Kaiser of Rutgers has written in his *An Essay On Method*:

"When one surveys the overall character of the press, movies, radio, and television in our own country, it is difficult to resist the feeling that never before in the history of Western culture has a population . . . been so completely and systematically vulgarized. What is particularly tragic is that such vulgarization results, not merely from the self-interest of these agencies themselves, but from the fact that the public is getting 'what it wants.' By means of the irresponsible policy which attempts to provide an uneducated public with what it wants, rather than what it needs, cultural depravity perpetuates itself, and we have a social situation very little different from that which produced the 'bread and circuses' of the decadent Roman Empire."

The policy of "giving the public what it wants" has been painted 'round with an aura of holiness, out of an originating confusion of the economic conditions of the market-place with the political requirements of democracy. The public pays—but it can buy only what it is offered. Every dollar may be equal to every other at the point of sale, but every idea is not equal to every other, at the instant when we must choose. To be responsible in making movies is not to be undemocratic; to be irresponsible is.

In the market-place of the mass media, to "give the public what it wants" is to give the public little choice. The illusion of freedom in the creation and selection of all the manufactured experiences with which we are constantly bombarded is the truly dangerous narcotic of our times. The freedom offered by the industrialists of the movies and the other mass media is too often the freedom of addicts, choosing among brands of opium and flavors of lotus leaves.

The relation of freedom and responsibility is no less vital a matter for constant elucidation here than in any other realm of action. In the nature of this relationship, involving the technological, commercial, aesthetic, political, and moral dimensions of the movies, will be found the foundations for valid standards of filmic quality—the only standards, in fact, which will enable us to control what we do to ourselves in the theatres.

The Suburbs of Criticism. Once standards are defined and clarified, however, there remain serious problems of their application—by critics who try to talk to audiences, and audiences that make themselves heard unmistakably in the boxoffice ears of industry. The actual influence of critics is not anything to be taken on faith, if there is to be clarity in our vision of what standards audiences actually apply—and ought to apply.

A comprehensive survey of the influence of film criticism on American movie audiences was run late in 1954 by the show business trade paper, *Variety*. Reporting the estimates of theater operators throughout the U.S., the survey concluded that critics' opinions have an appreciable effect on the box office only erratically, and then principally in cases of "art" films—serious or unusual foreign films, documentaries, and others outside the regular commercial categories of the industry. These are usually shown in small theaters catering to limited audiences. The great mass audience, the exhibitors said, pays little attention to film reviews, much less to serious criticism. (Almost identical conclu-

sions were drawn from a generally unfavorable examination of French critics made in 1955 by Francois Truffaut, then film critic of *Les Arts*, in Paris).

A great deal of film "reviewing" in magazines and newspaper, of course, is only an extension of the publicity and advertising apparatus of the movies. What opinions may be expressed therein are at best "service" judgments as to whether audiences will enjoy this movie or that, and rarely refer to coherent or systematic standards of taste, filmic quality, or cultural significance. At their worst, they are not opinions at all, but mere summaries of plots, eked out of paraphrases of publicity handouts.

The mass audience responds to movie advertising as it does to blurbs for toothpaste, cosmetics, refrigerators, and all the myriad products which are manufactured to be sold and advertised to be needed. The ordinary reviewer, then, becomes something like a quality control inspector at the end of an industrial production line. Is Miss Bosom's latest, scientifically mixed, vacuum-sealed package guaranteed as advertised? Insofar as the public is guided by brand names in its selection of what to patronize, it is entitled, we may suppose, to be the traditionally "impartial" analyses by "independent laboratories" as to the wholesome uniformity of movie products.

But the sophisticated, discriminating moviegoers who consider critical opinions published in prestigious magazines in contemplating the current off-trail films in the "art houses"—and then, so often, don't go—should take small comfort from their vaunted independence of judgment. This manifestly pays heed above all to what someone has said, and then to what someone else has said about what the first person said, and so on and on—opinions about opinions, ideas about ideas, in the manner of civilized conversations over cocktails in which only book reviews, and reviews of reviews, are discussed, to endless insignificance. The exhibitors may be forgiven their cynicism regarding the importance of serious criticism, even for the "mature," perennially "lost" and occasionally found audience, so long as its primary effect seems to be the information of notions at third or fourth remove from any experience in the theaters.

The poor films—or, rather, the grandiloquently mediocre—do, however, persist in relative prosperity, supported by the mass audience which rarely depends upon what critics have to say for more than corroboration of its attitudes. Of the hundreds of new films shown each year, long lists may be drawn up of those which were lacerated by reviewers and critics, yet enticed multitudes to the theaters. But, with greater significance for the encouragement of quality, there are also sadly attenuated lists of films which ought to have been seen, by people avowedly interested in filmic worth, and weren't—because those very people simply didn't go to the movies, despite the strongest critical encouragement.

It may be disconcerting, but it is healthily humiliating for a critic to discover how little effect his judgments are actually having upon theater attendance. But it is an error to define the parlous state of film criticism only in terms of ticket sales. David Reisman suspects that "... the difficulties in qualitative analysis of the effects of films are not unconnected with the present low state of criticism of the movies as an art form." This relation of the problems of scientific investigation of the impact of the screen and the quality of aesthetic judgment is worth considering. A similar point has been made by Walter Kerr, in calling for more critical precision and less uninformed righteousness in dealing with problems of censorship—particularly on the part of Catholic groups. But there are dangers for both science and aesthetics in pushing the point towards any identification of quantitative research and analysis with qualitative judgment.

In this case, the critic's influence should not be defined as something to be counted in number of ticket sales—no matter what improvement in production may be supposed

to result from such utopian governance. The astonishing domination of the American stage by a handful of New York newspaper critics illustrates the extreme of what can happen when criticism serves principally as the light at the ticket window. A form of the ancient difficulty of determinism and free will may be seen here, as the judgments of critics are "proved" by their acceptance in practice—affecting the success or failure of theatrical offerings, and also affecting the reputation or acceptance of the criticism itself.

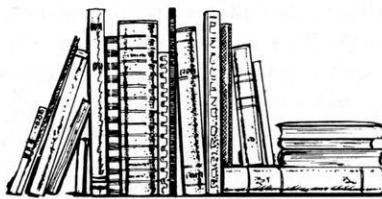
No matter how much people may use critical opinions as guides, critical judgment may not refer—in any way, direct or indirect—to commercial success or failure for proof of its validity. The proof lies in its argument; its persuasiveness in action is ancillary—vital and voluntary, but essentially dependent upon reasoning that must have merits of its own. The standards of the critic of films, as those of any other aspect of culture, ought to provide leadership—but not in the sense of the classic revolutionary demagogue, who races after the mobs to find out where they are going, in order to lead them.

Criticism is essentially a discipline of rhetoric, of persuasion; its method is analysis, and its highest function is the enrichment of the interior conversation. The significance of Reisman's disappointment with film criticism in theory, and of the exhibitors' dubiety about its effects in practice, lies in the exposure of the shallowness of our understanding of what films signify, and of what they do to us, individually and together. The reason the uncriticized life is not worth living, as Socrates maintained, may be that it really isn't lived at all. The person becomes the insensible creature of forces working upon him; the images of the screen, in this case, envelop the thoughts and feelings of those whose desires gave them birth.

Connoisseurs of paradoxes may be especially struck by what is implied for the relationship of critics and audiences. The critics have to work as if their readers will see everything on the screen (an impossibility even for the critics): as if, in effect, they are truly literate in the filmic literature, rather than merely well informed about what imputed experts have said about some things they have not seen themselves. In fact, "the present low state of criticism of the movies" stems directly from a still lower pitch of concern on the part of even intelligent filmgoers with the quality and meaning of what they see, when they happen to see it. The trouble, we may suspect, arises from the notion that entertainment is insignificant. But for an understanding of a world dominated by popular attitudes—tyrannized, in fact, by "the revolt of the masses"—it should be obvious that the popular arts may be the most significant of all.

Movie audiences, on their part, have the problem of approaching movie criticism as if for an exchange of views, not primarily as a service to help them make occasional selections—and especially not as a source of ready-made comments to be used as ammunition in counter-battery clamors among the determinedly *courant*. If being useful is easy virtue, being "pawed at and gossiped over by the promiscuous crowd," in Auden's words, is poor practicality.

One film director has written that "a true critic is the conscience of the audience." He might have added that the critic's job, therefore, may be to feel guilty about what is done in the audience's name—even as the audience itself may disregard his agonized analyses, or use them to make frivolous change in the market place. Conversely, too, he might have cautioned against the false paradise of conscientious agreement. The Jerusalem of intelligent participation in the film experience, in fact, may be built only in what Auden calls "suburbs of dissent," where critics and audiences eternally disagree as those who see for themselves eternally must.



BOOK REVIEW

notes on the decline of culture in america

BY WARREN BOWER

AGAINST THE AMERICAN GRAIN,
BY DWIGHT MACDONALD. 427 PP. NEW YORK:
RANDOM HOUSE. 1962. \$6.50

THE IMAGE, OR WHAT HAPPENED TO THE AMERICAN DREAM,
BY DANIEL J. BOORSTIN.
261 PP. NEW YORK: ATHENEUM. 1962. \$5.00

THE PUBLIC HAPPINESS,
BY AUGUST HECKSCHER.
293 PP. NEW YORK: ATHENEUM. 1962. \$5.75

Recently an anonymous reviewer in *Newsweek* hailed *Eternal Fire*, a novel by Calder Willingham which bears an obvious resemblance to any novel by Erskine Caldwell, as deserving "a place among the dozen or so novels that must be mentioned if one is to speak of greatness in American fiction." This astounding literary judgment upon a novel which careened wildly from the long-standing clichés of Southern fiction of our day to the most obvious incorporation of the set pieces of sex-laced fiction was argued for on the ground that Willingham had written a comic masterpiece, subtly hold-

ing up to ridicule the type of novel which he has in fact produced. But the claim fell of its own weight because no subtlety whatever could be discovered: the lurid passages were there for the delectation of the panting readers, and no other discernible purpose. It was ingenious to assert that the author's intention was to provide "a savagely serious burlesque of all men who presume to call themselves virtuous and civilized," because this highly philosophical aim allowed the author to have it both ways; anyone who chose to call the work a literary masterpiece could do so, and those who were looking for straight vicarious sex experience could find it with great ease at any random opening of the book. The vulgarization of serious fiction in America, and its defense on any trumped-up ground by the organs of our mass culture, could scarcely have been more clearly demonstrated.

Had Dwight Macdonald's book on the effects of mass culture, *Against the American Grain*, not been published earlier than this review of Willingham's novel, he might well have pointed to such a travesty of criticism to point up the results of what he calls "Masscult." The book is a collection of essays published since 1952 in a number of magazines, the *New Yorker* predominating, all of them relevant to the theme of the nature of mass culture at which we have arrived in this country and its effect upon genuine or "High Culture." He points out that up to 1750 art and thought were pretty much the exclusive province of the educated class, or minority. But with the democratization of education, with its substitution of a college degree for the acquisition of a soundly based culture, the determination of cultural issues became an appeal to numbers rather than the application of standards on which all, or nearly all, can agree. What gains a reputation for excellence is that which is preferred by the greatest number. With the individual losing his importance it becomes possible to conceive of society as a mass, an undifferentiated group that can be given ideas and opin-

ions, since the mass is manipulatable and uncritical. In matters of art and culture the determination of excellence through counting heads inevitably works toward depreciation of the excellent and the upgrading of the worst. The result is confusion: second and third-rate authors are uncritically appraised as geniuses because their books have been on the best-seller list for months; "action paintings" sell at astronomical prices, figures which these works will probably never achieve again, after their temporary vogue has passed; the "glass box" architecture now dominant in America, and spreading widely, is reducing our cities to utter dullness. True, more books are being read now than ever before; art is a "kick" for vastly more people than in any time in history; buildings are glitteringly new, efficient, and with their own artificial atmospheres, temples of the business culture of our time.

All this has been said before, but here done brightly, wittily, and with high spirits. But what really exercises Mr. Macdonald is the rise of what he calls "Midcult." Masscult is deplorable but it is not as much of a threat to a high and discriminating culture as a hybrid spawned from the unnatural intercourse between Masscult and High Culture. This intermediate form "has the essential qualities of Masscult—the formula, the built-in reaction, the lack of any standard except popularity—but it decently covers them with a cultural figleaf. In Masscult the trick is plain: to please the crowd by any means. But Midcult has it both ways: it pretends to respect the standards of High Culture while in fact it waters them down and vulgarizes them." One of the means by which it can be recognized is that it is easy to get; it is merchandised to the hilt. Pay nothing down, just fill in the coupon and receive... by return mail. Midcult is the Revised Standard Version of the Bible instead of the King James version; it is the Book-of-the-Month Club, "which since 1926 has been supplying its members with reading matter of which the best that can be said is that it could be

worse," instead of any volume chosen out of an individual's personal knowledge and enthusiasm; it is any one of a list of magazines which tell you what to think of art or travel or books or ideas instead of going to original sources and working through the thought and reasoning of a first-rate thinker.

In Mr. Macdonald's view, Midcult is a corruption of High Culture; in making his own personal analyses of some of its typical products, he has the courage of his convictions and takes on a Nobel prize-winner with a glancing view of another and a whole clutch of Pulitzer-crowned writers, who would also be called well-nigh sacred names in contemporary American literature. The typical products he analyzes are Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, Thornton Wilder's *Our Town*, Archibald MacLeish's *J. B.*, and Stephen Vincent Benet's

John Brown's Body. Hemingway is castigated because his novel is written in "fake biblical prose;" because it is a windy, sentimental, pretentious treatment of the same theme as in *The Undefeated*, a short story; because he talks down to the reader and editorializes flagrantly throughout. In this commentator's opinion, the charges are sustained, and *The Old Man and the Sea* is Midcult right enough.

Our Town is not quite so easy a victory for the searcher after Midcult. Even Mr. Macdonald admits that it is an extraordinarily skillful bit of craftsmanship. It has heart and moving sentiment. But of course he is right in what he says of the stage manager, who is all too much the heart of the play: "Guess there just hasn't been anybody around for years as plumb mellow nor as straight-thinking neither, as Mr. Wilder's stage manager. Nope. 'Cept mebbe for Eddie Guest out Detroit way." Decision: Mr. Macdonald is an old curmudgeon who could not, ever, like *Our Town*.

In the theatre, *J. B.* is a natural for our author's scorn: it was incredibly pretentious, overweighted with significance, but grandly inconclusive, wordy and windy, and acted in the best ham

tradition. When the play is read, the latter charge may fall away, but the rest remain, with only a few mitigating lines of poetry in which there are real discernment and command of words. The conclusion: a large effort that escaped the author's grasp.

John Brown's Body has been called a classic—always a dangerous decision without the aid of considerable time. Our critic makes some observations on this "epic" which are sound enough: that obvious models were used, that Benet was exceedingly vague about the character of Robert E. Lee, that the final judgment on the United States is ambiguous—imperfections which make the poem less than a classic, certainly not an epic, but do not vitiate its celebration of American virtues in a re-telling of some stirring scenes in American history. Result: hung jury.

In choosing these four examples of what he would denominate Midcult Mr. Macdonald has been tendentious and doctrinaire. He dare not forget that he is a highbrow, and in order to hold his franchise he had better not find much to praise. He does admit that since 1900 American culture has moved up. The general level of reading has risen to include the quality paperbacks, many of which are as rigorous in their demands upon the reader as even Mr. Macdonald would desire. Recordings are now available of the best in musical literature, as well as the worst; the two manage to co-exist by some unworded agreement. That they can do so is some warrant for believing that this model can and will be followed in many other cultural fields. There will always be a market for the worst in any art; what we must maintain, through constant effort and recommendation by men of good will, taste and discrimination, is that there is a steadily growing demand for the best that our culture has produced.

What I am not at all sure of is that Mr. Macdonald and men like him can help very much in encouraging this desirable state of affairs. The cold winds of his disapproval of practically every-

thing (there is a notable lack in this big book of much enthusiasm for any practitioner of the arts in our time, though there is deserved praise for James Agee, and Mark Twain and James Joyce are labelled as "heroes") blow sharply and on all sides, chilling interest which might be aroused in writers not yet dead. I assume that Mr. Macdonald thinks of himself as discriminating, and, obviously, as possessing the very highest standards. And indeed he is a useful man to have around when a resolute and powerful blow has to be struck against the debasement of our language, such as the aberration of permissiveness which produced the third edition of Webster's *New International Dictionary*. That essay, "The String Untuned," is superbly and scornfully devastating of those who were put in charge of making that dictionary and who made it scientific in principle, but without the normative function which it is the very purpose of a dictionary to serve. Mr. Macdonald is a good idea man, as other essays in this book attest, and we can use more of his likes; but the qualities which make him effective as a critic in the broadest sense of the term work against encouragement of fiction and poetry which grapple in a significant way with life as it is in our time. It may well be necessary to approve certain qualities in an otherwise flawed book which suggest the potentialities the writer has. Few writers first appear as nearly full-blown in their development as did Hemingway, for example. Most go through an apprenticeship, a period when they are obviously learning and growing. Sound raps on their knuckles will do them much less good than discriminating selection of traits and qualities which hold most promise for their future.

It is easy to join in Mr. Macdonald's angry scorn for Masscult writing, and the Masscult belief that art and culture should be diluted to the point where its products can be merchandised widely. It is certainly not true that a thin wash of culture will hide ignorance, unfamiliarity with ideas, and fundamental inability to

reason with cogency. Even Masscult has its limits, despite the popularizers' apparent belief there is none. But I have a feeling that the readers of *Against the American Grain* should not rush into condemnation of all of that body of less-than-excellent art which is grouped together there under the heading of Midcult. I am against levelling down; and I like the precision which enables a critic to determine that a novelist is third-rate, and no genius, however many months he stays on the best-seller list. I wouldn't throw Benet's *John Brown's Body* off the schools' reading lists because Mr. Macdonald labels it Midcult. It can still make some mileage on the long road to achievement of a personal culture for some of those who are asked or persuaded to read it. Maybe it isn't Shakespeare; but if we are clear about why it is not the great classic that Benet felt it deserved to be because of its subject matter, but could not quite bring off, the poem will be stirring and useful still. It is crabbed and self-defeating to imply that only the greatest literature has meaning for any reasonable man. I could wish that Mr. Macdonald had not felt that he had damned the works that he dislikes (and with altogether adequate reasons) by inventing a pejorative term and fixing it upon them. Had he remained a literary critic, content to give his reasons for his judgments, instead of putting up warning signs to effect a quarantine on the advice of one doctor only, he would have better served the cause of culture.

This leads to some consideration of the idea, which seems to have got about, that Mr. Macdonald believes in the establishment of a cultural elite as a solution for the problems of vulgarization, which he finds to have become acute. On this point he himself says in his preface: "I see only two logical solutions: (a) an attempt to integrate the masses into high culture; or (b) a contrary attempt to define the two cultures, one for the masses and the other for the classes. I am for the latter." And in a footnote to his passage he says further: "By 'classes' I don't mean a social or

economical upper-class but rather an intellectual elite." This is refreshing candor, admirable in itself and, it may be, admirable as a working out of the practical problem. It assumes that the masses should be allowed to have what degree of vulgarization of the real thing they are willing to stand for, even though the commercial pressures will be constantly tending to increase the vulgarization rather than lessen it. I could wish, however, that some mechanism could be built into the cultural set-up for the masses which would actually help members who could not lift themselves out by their own bootstraps to make some small progress toward becoming a member of the elite. Of course, there is always the ineluctable impulse in most human souls to reach the fullest development of their potentialities as either artist or appreciator of the arts; but there does not seem to be as much belief in this among the indubitable members of the elite as one would hope would be true. My own impulse would be to secure as much mobility between these two classes as possible. The major traffic, I would hope, would be upward toward appreciation and understanding of what a genuine culture, perhaps even a High Culture, could contribute to making life meaningful; but certainly there should also be a way left open for the elite to make some progress toward the ground.

The idea of an intellectual elite is not really undemocratic; I suspect it should be thought of as a way of describing what is actually the situation in the human family. Some do indeed have better genes than others; and some are fortunate enough to be born into a family which has been aware of art and culture for some time, where involvement becomes a great deal easier for the new individual. I am not suggesting that one is born into the elite, though in practice it might work out that way. But always there must be available the equivalent of the creation of a new peer, with no blackball possible. The elite must never be a closed society; its ambition should be to have class turned into mass, even at the risk of having the more elite

withdraw in order to be truly distinctive and set apart. The desire to be distinctive is an all-too-human trait, from which the elite are not saved in any way. In fact, the very conception of the existence of an elite suggests that there must be a leader, someone to set the tone, determine the degree of eliteness necessary, first for selection, second for preferment in the tasks and rewards available to members. Who is to be that leader? I should like to nominate Dwight Macdonald! But if it be repugnant and un-American to have a single all-powerful leader, should power be given to a group made up of the editorial staff and contributors to the *Partisan Review*? or *Commentary*? or —?

The problem is too vast for solution. Should we not return to the situation in which each man has as high standards as he can achieve for himself? We can't all be Dwight Macdonalds. We can't all be against the American grain. Most of us would prefer to be with it; that is, we would like to aid in raising standards, resisting Masscult, educating everyone to the limit of his capabilities, giving encouragement to the best artists and writers, and somehow pruning away the excesses of bad taste which American affluence has led to. In short, to act as an elite ought to, without the organization, the posturing, the self-consciousness and self-congratulation of belonging, and in the interests of an American culture which rises as high as it can reach.

Other writers beside Dwight Macdonald have lately been concerned with the general problem of how far short Americans have fallen of achieving what they hoped for themselves and their society. A tacit agreement seems to exist among such commentators that while America has been given promises, these remain largely unfulfilled. Daniel J. Boorstin, a Professor of American History in the University of Chicago, has made the implied question in the phrase, "What happened to the American Dream", the sub-title of his book, *"The Image."* This is a highly critical survey of the actual springs of American belief and action in such elements of our life as the

newspapers we read, the television programs we watch, the movies we see, the art we select for our walls, the vacations we choose to go on, the advertisements which move us to buy what fits in with our conceptions of ourselves, our consciousness of the "image" each of us has and that our country has in the eyes of the rest of the world. And what he comes to, after some fairly horrendous interpretations of the analyses he has made, is that Americans are unable to accept, even to recognize, reality. Scales are over our collective eyes; worse, they are scales we have made ourselves, and now wear painfully but without awareness that we could lay them aside if we chose. Professor Boorstin thus documents Mr. Macdonald's thesis that something is rotten in the state of American culture, but he is far more detailed about the symptoms, finding them in well-nigh every department of our lives.

Professor Boorstin is convinced that Americans live by illusions, and in the belief that a formulation in words or image is the same thing as to have achieved the reality. His book is essentially a compilation of what those illusions are, and some suggestions as to how we have built them and have come to have utter faith in them. Essentially, he says, we have extravagant expectations in all areas of life: "When we pick up our newspaper at breakfast, we expect—we even demand—that it bring us momentous events since the night before.... We expect new heroes every season, a literary masterpiece every month, a dramatic spectacular every week, a rare sensation every night." And of course this mood predisposes us to accept a reasonable facsimile of whatever it is we have been led to want. Thus we invent illusions and live in the expectation that they will nourish our minds and satisfy our felt needs. When they do not we create larger illusions with which to deceive ourselves. Not consciously, to be sure, but this process comes very close to that level of awareness. For example, as we think of America's relations with the rest of the world we realize that it would be a fine thing if the nation had a clear

and definite "national purpose." The phrase has a beautiful and impressive ring about it, connoting clarity of mind, unity among the diversity of our people, a single front to face the world with, eloquence which all our citizens understand and, most importantly, believe in and act on. Naturally this is an abstraction which does not exist. But if it is formulated it will exist, and so there is a national committee to consider its terms, and finally to phrase it simply, so that all our people will feel that their deepest, but inchoate, thoughts have been clearly and movingly expressed. So now we have a national purpose! Here it is, tangible and real in a paperback book!

Most decidedly, the professor has a point. We are a gullible people. We believe easily, especially in our own fabrications, and as a result we get taken in very often by those who act on hard realities only. Walter Lippman began to analyze our shortcomings back in 1922 when he published *Public Opinion*, and pointed out the discrepancies between "the world outside and the pictures in our heads." He spoke of "stereotypes," which he defined as an over-simplified pattern that helps us find meaning in the world. The author of *The Image* up-dates his language, if not his thought, by talking of the power of the "pseudo-event" and the "image," which has with in recent years become one of the most overworked words in the American language.

Yet the "pseudo-event" is a newer invention than anything that Lippman knew back in 1922. It is worth looking at freshly, in the way that a new epithet to hit off its special character provides. A "pseudo-event" is a happening which is not spontaneous, as is an earthquake, for example, but is staged, "planted," produced for the purpose of creating an effect fairly closely calculated in advance. Its real meanings are left outwardly ambiguous, unformulated, and for that very reason it is made to seem newsworthy. The interview or public debate is such a "pseudo-event" but reported in newspapers as if it were a real event; so is the President's press conference. The modern

newspaper has only the smallest modicum of "hard news" any day of the week; its pages are full of pseudo-realities, someone's conception of what is true in Viet-Nam, for example. Television reporting is ninety-nine per cent impure, or pseudo. But these reports, dispatches, columns—their nature is variously concealed—are read avidly because they are more dramatic than a real event, they stay longer in the memory, are more intelligible and reassuring, more convenient to witness, lead to their being talked about, and even reported in the "news magazines." Hence Boorstin is able to announce a new Gresham's Law: "Counterfeit happenings tend to drive spontaneous happenings out of circulation."

A people steadily feeding on this pabulum for their knowledge of the world is not likely to recognize reality if they should experience it. The American people have been conditioned to accept abstractions and assume that they are real. The revolution in graphics, a triumph in technology, has enormously extended the range and power of print, but has brought with it a flood of pseudo-events and images. The vulgarization of culture which our society constantly produces, the publication of books which should never have seen print, the unlimited extension of the moving image, the substitution of celebrities for real heroes, the transformation of travelers into tourists—these are some of the effects of our wealth and skills and literacy which Boorstin rightly deplores. The undoubted virtue which the book possesses for students of the American society is the clarity with which the influence of image-thinking upon our thought and decisions may be understood.

Yet *The Image* is not a satisfying book, perhaps because any viewing with alarm loses its force quickly unless the reader is given something that he can do about the deplorable situation. The real weakness of this shrewd analysis of the cultural situation in America is that it consists solely of analyses, however usefully clarifying these may be. The author

seems aware of this when he says, "If I can only dispel some of the mists, the reader may then better discover his own perplexity." This is a pious hope, the equivalent of saying, "Now that I have shown you how, get in there and smash some images yourself." But it will require more than exhortation to accomplish straighter thinking in the American people. It would have been interesting to hear from Professor Boorstin whether he feels that some differing emphases in education might not be indicated. And could not the arts be made useful to us, since art at its highest is both a recognition of reality and a penetration into its deepest meanings? Such salutary disciplines as art furnishes might well aid us as a people to deal more directly with reality.

The former Special White House Consultant on the Arts, August Heckscher, has written a book called *The Public Happiness* which has little more present usefulness than to indicate that he believes in his subject. Clearly he is a man of good will, and one who, if he could, would contribute to the amount of happiness in the world. But as to how this is to be achieved he is exceedingly vague, which leads to the suspicion that not much can be expected of the government in active support of the arts in America. If art and artists can, in effect, make propaganda for the nation by being sent on good-will tours, this will be done: money can be found for political ends, even if the projects are cultural. But a nation which does not have a national theatre, nor a national ballet, nor a program of encouragement of artists in training through scholarships or grants has not done enough for the arts merely because the late President had done more than any of his predecessors to give musicians and poets a hearing, because he liked the theatre, had more books put on the White House shelves than ever were there before, and had even devised a riband to affix to assorted coats (though the percentage of artists of any stripe in the first honors list was not high)—such a nation has not done

all that it could or should do for the arts and for artists.

I read this book with the expectation of learning what a nation could do in support of the arts as a means of increasing the public happiness. But too late I learned from the blurb that the manuscript was finished *before* Mr. Heckscher took office. I wish that he had waited until *after* his tour of duty,* and after he had had some practical experience in government, especially in dealing with the arts, in order to tell us what plans were accepted, what rejected and why. Perhaps that book has been begun, and we should wait in patience, and not complain that this is the wrong book.

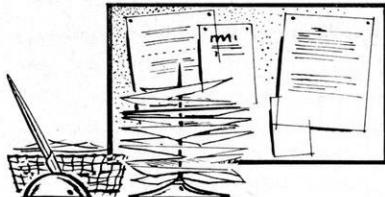
But judged as a published book, without any reference to whether it is timely or no, one would have to say that *The Public Happiness* is dull because it is so relentlessly abstract in tone. The discussion stays steadily on the level of ideas; there is never a for-instance or an actual proposal. To be sure, I was made publicly happy (I was reading in the subway at the time) to know that beyond a proper concern for the health and security of its citizens "the state may make it possible (sic) for men to take full advantage of education, art, leisure, including setting up an environment which answers men's needs for order, brightness and variety." I don't know how the latter is to be done, but I'm all for it. And I was gratified to have Mr. Heckscher tell me that the problem of one's sharp identity within a scene constantly dissolving and reforming results in an attitude that is "detached, contemplative, playful and even ironical." But puritanism and rationalism have inhibited the development of the detached and ironical spirit. I wondered: Should the state encourage this sort of thing? What would a sense of irony do to faith in one's government?

I gather that Mr. Heckscher it not like Messrs. Macdonald and Boorstin, convinced that American culture is deterior-

ating under the pressures of our time. A hopeful note on which to end: but I do wish that he had some more definite plans for providing an atmosphere where art and culture could flourish—some, I mean, that came straight from an unimpeachable source.

* Editor's note: For this report, given after Mr. Heckscher's service as special White House Consultant on the Arts, see this issue, p. 94.

NOTES AND DISCUSSION



NOTES AND DISCUSSION

pattern and innovation

A MISCELLANY OF INFORMATION

ABOUT UNIVERSITY ADULT EDUCATION

PROGRAMS IN THE ARTS.

(Editor's Note: This new department, under the editorship of Freda Goldman of the Center for Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Chicago, will bring you reports on practices and directions in programming with respect to the arts in university programs for adults. No specific policy respecting content or form has been set in the hope that you will participate in shaping the scope and format by sending along your suggestions and experiences.

The central intent is to provide a medium whereby educators may inform each other of events and departures in their programs that are of general interest.

The material to appear in these columns will reflect the information that reaches Mrs. Goldman from the field. At times, therefore, facts known to you will be overlooked. Such information brought to the attention of the editor will be noted in later issues.)

FOR THE SUMMERTIME

As you read this, snow may be falling where you are. But while we write it is full spring, and summer is only days away. The news of university art programs for adults that reaches us these days is almost all of plans with the warm leisured summer months in mind. It seems a good time to review what goes on at universities during the summer with respect to adult education in the arts.

SUMMER ADVANTAGE

Properly, and typically, most such programs take advantage of three peculiarly summertime characteristics—the good weather (programs involve outdoor theater, residential institutes at rustic resorts, courtyard concerts, street art fairs), people on vacation (activities are scheduled to fit vacationers' plans), and artists at liberty (professional performers free from their usual commitments are on teaching staffs). And on the whole, although the activities are solidly thoughtful, the mood is summerish—bright brief intervals

between acts of life in the serious working months of the year.

Chosen from what is undoubtedly a highly biased sample (the material that gets here), the examples of 1963 summer activities described here include arts festivals (dazzling displays of creative and performing arts), summer schools (where extended programs of art education are a *stressed* aspect of the regular summer session), and special short courses (all highly individualistic offerings, but characteristic of summer activities in that they exploit the season's special virtues).

FESTIVALS

Among summer activities, perhaps the most noticeable are the arts festivals. Usually not strictly an effort solely of the university's adult department, they are a means of the university to fulfill the obligation it feels to bring the community in touch with the arts on the campus, at the same time that it encourages concern for art among students and faculty. At some schools, festivals are annual events of major proportions, anticipated and supported by large numbers of adults, not only from the immediate community, but from an extended geographical area. (They are often popular with the local chamber of commerce, since, in the present cultural climate, they can become tourist attractions. This has sometimes meant financial support from the business community, and in a few instances actual municipal or other community-wide sponsorship, as for example in the case of the famous Vancouver festivals.) The festival is intended to call dramatic attention to the arts through a concentrated, many-featured, hopefully also dazzling, show to take by storm the eye, the ear, and the intellect.

There is no single form for arts festivals, but in general they tend to be of similar pattern. A tightly scheduled series of events is presented to students and public, sometimes focussing on one art form (a film festival, a music festival, a theater festival), but more generally involving a combination of forms, especially the visual arts, music, and theater. In addition to grandly conceived exhibits and performances, there are lectures, symposia, even discussion seminars, at times related to the art events, but more often on supplementary artistic or humanistic topics. Outside talent and guest lectures are prized features, but so also are the performance and exhibition of faculty and student work.

The two examples briefly described below are not in any real sense representative, only indicative of what this year's college sponsored arts festival is like.

Theme of Chicago Festival is Contemporary Art

The University of Chicago's 1963 Festival of the Arts, the ninth, is a show of some proportions. Contemporary in theme, it presents "new ideas" in a wide range of art media. Among the more than twenty events offered during a three week period are three *art exhibits*, including a show of the work of artist in-residence Bruce Conner (collages and assemblage), an exhibit of student art (a competition), and an invitational show for Chicago area artists;

two *concerts*—electronic music by a Princeton University mathematician, and chamber music (Bartok, Bach, Blackwood) by violinist Isidore Cohen; a modern *dance* program by Eric Hawkins; several *theater* events—an original musical comedy, a pantomimist (Peter Lane), readings from Albee's "Zoo Story" and Agee's "Let Us Now Praise Famous Men;" reading and discussion of their own works by outstanding figures in *literature*—James T. Farrell, Norman Mailer, and James Baldwin; and a number of *lectures*— "The Composer and the Public Since the 18th Century" (by Columbia University's visiting professor, Walter Wiora, from the University of Kiel in Germany); "The Human Figure" and "The Stone Figure" by Anna Mahler, a sculptor; "Evolution of the Modern Dance," a lecture-demonstration; Peter Lane in a lecture-demonstration of pantomime; "Motivation and the Modern Artist," a panel discussion with psychiatrist Bruno Bettelheim, artists-in-residence Harry Bouras and Bruce Conner, sculptor Anna Mahler, and others. In addition, the second Midwest Film Festival (the first was described in this department last time), is part of the total festival program, with its main theme again a competition of original works by experimental producers.

Week-end Festival in Akron

A much shorter-term affair than the Chicago festival, the 1963 Fine Arts Festival at the University of Akron (the fifth annual festival), presents a full schedule of events during a single weekend; a concert of 20th Century French music by the faculty; a play, "The Beaux' Strategem;" a recital by a Metropolitan Opera star in company with the Akron Symphony Orchestra and the University Singers; an illustrated lecture on "Improving Community Appearances" by an architect; as well as exhibits of student and faculty arts, and a display of a special collection of rare first editions. The brochure describes the festival as "a medium in relating the activities of art, drama, music at the university to the general community." But except for the display of the first editions (the "premier display" in Akron of this collection) and community people in the audience, there appears to be little indication of collaboration between university and community.

A First Festival at New School

And just in time to be included in this report, notice comes of a new festival series—the "First Annual New School Summer Arts Festival" to be held in New York's New School courtyard. Events, including jazz concerts, poetry reading, folk music, off-Broadway theater, and the New Wave Movie Makers, are scheduled over several consecutive week-ends. No details yet.

SUMMER SCHOOLS

Most colleges and universities, as a matter of routine, offer some art courses (both informally and for credit) in their regular summer session curricula for adults, but the two mentioned below are among those that give rather more than usual emphasis to the arts, and offer somewhat more organized programs.

**UBC's
Twenty-Sixth
Season**

The University of British Columbia, Department of Extension, Summer School of the Arts (the 1963 session is its twenty-sixth) offers to college students and adults, courses and workshops in theater, art and music. Guest artists and teachers supplement regular university faculty. On the 1963 schedule are these promising activities: a creative writing workshop ("An Introduction to Contemporary Poetry"), with six American poets contributing readings and lectures, and participating in group discussion in an eleven session course; a seven-week program of intensive training for professional careers in theater and for work in community theater or on drama in schools (students are admitted on the basis of prior university study, other previous training, or experience); a music program comprising an opera workshop, a high school band and orchestra workshop, short courses in piano; classes in painting and sculpture directed toward the intermediate and advanced student and artist (evidence of previous training is required); and a series of evening lectures (six sessions) on music and art.

**University of
Syracuse
Chautauqua
Center**

At Chautauqua (which claims, and probably correctly, to be the oldest summer school in the United States), the University of Syracuse conducts (1963 is the tenth year) a Center for a six week summer session of art education. Mainly for the regular graduate and undergraduate students, the Center offers also a number of short courses through the Adult Education division in art, music, drama, creative writing, music appreciation, etc. The session extends from July 8 to August 16, and adult students may enroll for a full course or for a week.

**SUMMER
SPECIALTIES
Focus on
"uncommonly
common"
materials in
Lake Tahoe Area**

Art Studio: The Painter Seeks New Materials is a two week in-residence program offered by University Extension of the University of California at Berkeley and held at Squaw Valley, Lake Tahoe, for painters, students of painting and teachers (tuition, board, room and a *tool kit* for \$200—art supplies and equipment supplied by students.) Leonard Breger, a painter and teacher, is artist-in-residence and lecturer.

The idea of the course (a study of environment as a stimulus to the painter) is to "develop the faculty for finding and making," with the natural landscape of the Squaw Valley and Lake Tahoe areas serving as subject and stimulus. Lectures and studio sessions cover teaching techniques and the philosophy underlying the use of "uncommonly common" materials, and precedents such as collage, dada, and assemblage are examined. In addition to direct landscape painting, participants are encouraged to develop their own concepts through the use of found objects. (It would be interesting to see how this approach would work in a course in art appreciation. Has anyone tried it?)

**Rosina Lhevinne
and Margaret
Webster teach
Master Classes**

Taking advantage of many artists' summer free time, Berkeley also offer a Master Class in Piano conducted by Madame Rosina Lhevinne, and a Master Class in Theater Art by Margaret Webster, among others. Enrollment in these is limited, and is based on auditions and professional and academic status. The Master Class in Piano admits auditors, without prerequisites, but the course description does not say whether they are given any special guidance, or merely allowed to learn what they can from the unquestionably valuable experience of observing the training of practitioners.

**Vacation Seminar
on Idea of Tragedy**

Forms and Ideas of Tragedy, offered by the continuing education division of the University of Washington, is described in its announcement as a week-long vacation seminar at Lake Wilderness Lodge (books, tuition, board and room for \$75.00). Adults may enroll without prior qualification.

The idea of tragedy is approached from a variety of view points. Topics include origin and nature of great tragedy, 20th Century theories of tragedy, the tragic nature of history, and a psychoanalytic view of tragedy. Dostoevsky, Euripides, Shakespeare, and Beckett are read and studied.

**Shakespeare
Seminars at
Stratford, Ontario**

Held during the *Stratford Shakespeare Festival*, a series of two six-day seminars in-residence is sponsored by the Department of Extension, McMaster University, of Hamilton, Ontario. They are open to the public without prerequisites or credit. The seminars take advantage of the excellent opportunity for the study of Shakespeare provided by the famous productions of the Stratford Festival. Previous seminars (one each in 1961 and 1962) were received with enough enthusiasm to warrant offering two sessions this year.

Members of the seminar (not housed together, but with meals in common) go to the plays, hear lectures by scholars, critics and directors, and participate in formal and informal discussions. A special point is made of the close relationship with the theater—meetings are held in theater buildings, theaters are toured, and theater people lecture and join discussions. Students are helped to understand the problems of playing Shakespeare before a modern audience, as well as to achieve a deeper appreciation of the plays themselves.

**NOTES IN
ADDITION
Writer's
Conferences
Continue as a
Major Seasonal
Specialty**

Writers' Conference, initiated more than thirty-six years ago, are possibly the most widely known form of summer adult art activities. They combine all the summertime features—vacationers as students, a bucolic setting, and professionals as teachers. The format is firmly established: workshops in which lectures and discussions are supplemented by editorial coaching and criticism—all by professional writers. They differ mostly as to length (the range is from a weekend to about three weeks), and the number or kind of writing forms studied (fiction, non-fiction, children's literature, poetry, technical writing, and many more—or any combination of these).

Aspiring writers can find one of these conferences in almost any part of the country; the *Saturday Review* (in an April issue) usually carries a full list. Enrollment is unrestricted and costs are moderate. Amateurs, professionals, teachers, hobbyists—all are welcome and many come.

**AFA Offers
Summer Rates**

The American Federation of Arts, (41 East 65th Street, New York 21), as might be expected during the summer months, offers many of its regular *exhibits for summer* showing at special fees; the standard three week fee for a two month showing in the summer, for some shows, and half the standard fee for a three-week or one month showing for others.

**Exploratory Study
on Arts
Audiences Begun**

As a final item in this roundup of summertime plans, we must mention, very briefly, a project with which the Center for the Study Of Liberal Education for Adults is now involved—an exploratory study of arts audiences. This project is a first step in a long range plan to develop a fresh approach to understanding the function of university adult education in the arts.

Syracuse University, the University of Washington, Western Reserve University, and CSLEA, each in its own community, are interviewing informally, local key figures in the professional arts (conductors, directors, producers, artists, critics, *et al*), to find out what they know about their audiences, how audiences "improve," what is done (if anything) and by whom to bring this about, and what in the view of the producers of the arts, the universities might contribute to the process.

Developments will be reported later, but in the meantime, if you are very much interested, you can request background papers from CSLEA.

* * *

When you read this, the programs here described will be a matter of history. Some word on how they fared from those of you who are connected with them would make most desirable news for a future report, as would any comments on the programs from other readers. Also welcome will be information from you on other new or even old programs that you consider worthy of note. As you know, it is our hope that you will use this department to let the rest of us know of your latest ideas or activities, to boast about successes, or just to raise questions. All notes sent here will be given full consideration.

ENVOI

the arts and education in a free society

The following is an excerpt from The Arts in America: Retrospect and Prospect, the Andrew T. Weaver lecture delivered in Madison, Wisconsin on May 1, 1963 under the sponsorship of the University of Wisconsin Speech Department, by J. Martin Klotsche, Provost, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. This statement perhaps suggests the rationale and objective for the new School of Fine Arts which Dr. Klotsche recently established at his university.

* * * * *

In our society the distinctive role of the arts has not been carefully defined. Yet the purposes of the arts are really no different from the purposes of the society which it serves. Thus, while censorship of the arts is an inevitable consequence of a totalitarian society, the primary role of the arts in a free society should be related to the stated objectives of such a society, namely the cultivation of the potential that lies in every individual whoever he may be. In a free society the arts should develop the creative and imaginative capacities of the people in such a manner that the individual emerges, not as a conformist preconditioned to a prescribed pattern of thought and behavior, but as a person capable of independent thought making his own individual assessment of the problems at hand and contributing variety and diversity to the body politic. It should become a function of the arts to support the basic belief of a free society that man must be free—free to think, to believe and to act in a manner given to a person of dignity and worth. This is why the arts are the first to suffer in a totalitarian climate, for no dictator can tolerate the kind of creativity implicit in a society which nurtures and encourages individual artistic talent. And conversely, no free society can afford to limit or to restrain in any way the creative talent that is so essential in dealing with the complex problems that face us.

If the arts, then, are one of the means by which the individual develops his resourcefulness and acquires the capacity to deal with concepts which he has never actually experienced, or of creating new images by combining previous experiences, then we must begin early in the life of our people to develop an understanding of the vital relationship between the arts and everyday living. In this context the arts are not a nonessential luxury or frill, peripheral in the education of our children. Rather they are central and should be an integral part of the educational curriculum. Yet they are the first ones to suffer when retrenchments have to be made as was done in so many cases during the depression years of the 1930's. The reason for this is that we have not yet achieved the understanding of the way in which art enters into the life of each

individual. The fact that any person today under the age of thirty has never really known normal times has some frightening implications in the area of personal adjustment. These people have lived through a depression, wars (hot and cold), recurring domestic and international tensions, and have seen unleashed here and everywhere explosive forces which are unsettling and which have created a host of inner needs which earlier generations have not had to face. Thus, more than ever before our society needs people who can assert themselves as individuals of importance, integrity and uniqueness, and the arts, since they are a means by which the individual makes discoveries about himself and the world about him, can play a positive role in this regard. Through them the individual can clarify his own relationship to society and combat the disruptive and disintegrative forces with which he is confronted.

But it is not enough to insist that children attending our elementary and secondary schools be exposed to the arts. The process must be a continuous one extending into the life of the adult. We know that people can learn after the age of twenty-two. In fact, some of the best learning situations come after a person has completed his formal education. Winston Churchill provides a classic example of the unfinished education. All through his life he considered his own further education of first importance.

Considerable research has been carried on in recent years in the area of adult learning in relation to the arts. A series of studies were conducted at the University of California a few years ago in cooperation with a group of businessmen who were exposed over a period of time to varied art experiences. It became quite apparent in the process of the investigation that when businessmen were first confronted with the arts they were embarrassed because their own efforts were so limited and poor. Their output appeared childish, immature and uncertain. Yet as they gained experience and added to their store of insights, their powers of visual discrimination increased and a new creativeness began to emerge. In time these men not only experienced the pleasures of creation but their value perceptions rubbed off on other experiences. Often, for example, they became aware of the aesthetic limitations which surrounded them. They noticed for the first time the deformed shapes of buildings, incoherent architectural planning and other manifestations of lack of design and purpose which they had never before noticed.

On this occasion I want particularly to underscore the role of the university in the area of the arts. One of the most critical needs in the United States today is a proper institutional base of support for the arts. The creative talent of the individual artist exists in great abundance in this country, but his ability to relate himself to a stable institutional structure that will give him some security and tenure but also will permit him to pursue his talent without jeopardizing his individuality is rare. In spite of the so-called cultural explosion of our times there are many, highly talented and creative, who can find no professional security; 6,000 members of Actors Equity are seeking jobs on Broadway with no more than 750 able to be placed in any one year. The same is true of other fields—music, the dance, writing—thus most artists depend on a sideline often unrelated to their professional interest in order to remain alive. Many, discouraged at home because of limited opportunity, seek outlets in Europe. The problem has become more and more aggravated in recent years with proprietary and independent schools finding the struggle to exist more and more difficult. For, the problem of rising costs, of accreditation, and of competition with multipurpose institutions that offer in addition to a professional curriculum a broad general education, have made it more and more hazardous for the independent school to survive. Yet because Americans are more likely to accept the arts if they are education sponsored rather than patron sponsored (which has snobbish connotations), Mr. August Heckscher in his book *The Public*

Happiness, recently concluded that our colleges and universities can and must become one of the liveliest segments of American culture. The growing practice of appointing artists-in-residence on university campuses is in keeping with this suggestion. Both the Madison and Milwaukee campuses of the University of Wisconsin have taken important steps in this direction—steps which should be expanded and augmented in future years.

But there are other reasons why universities must more vigorously assert a leadership role in the arts. For with the broad exposure that the arts are now receiving and with more and more people participating in so-called "amateur art," it becomes more important than ever that an institution such as the university exist, where the high standards of the performing artist can be nurtured and where he can preserve his integrity and have full opportunity to fulfill his creative role in society. Mr. Heckscher describes this need quite appropriately as follows: "Disinterested and considerate help of the artist is particularly necessary because of the mass nature of our society. The innovator too far in advance of his times or too independent of current trends and fashions is likely to find the great audience unwilling to listen. The performer who does get the ear of his audience, moreover, is subject to subtle temptations and pressures to compromise the quality of his work. The existence of the popular arts in their present pervasive and insatiable forms provides, indeed, one of the obstacles to the highest development of the fine arts. The need is to make possible fruitful interaction between the artist and the mass audience, but at the same time to give the artist the means of keeping a life somewhat apart, under conditions allowing him to develop in his own way and at his own pace."

Faced also with increased costs of producing a good artistic fare, and with continued inadequate financial support plaguing the arts, there will always be outside of the university in the community, a strong inclination to compromise, to seek the lowest common denominator, and to concentrate on the familiar and the popular. For costs are high and few entrepreneurs are willing to risk the uncertain, the unknown and the untried. Thus as the arts are brought closer and closer to the people it is important for the university to set standards and preserve the excellence essential in a society that does not consider quality incompatible with mass exposure.

REPORT ON A SURVEY OF

government subsidization of the arts in europe

Professor Emmett R. Sarig, Professor of Music and Chairman of the Extension Music Department at the University of Wisconsin, traveled in the fall of 1961 through eight European countries obtaining interviews and collecting information about government subsidization of music (and the arts in general) in these countries. An unpublished report made by Mr. Sarig reveals a number of important points:

- ☆ Government subsidization of the arts has increased markedly since the Second World War as a consequence of a decline in private patronage.
- ☆ Most subsidization operates on a system of removal of deficit. Musical organizations appeal for support *after* the season's schedule and budget have been fixed and deficit is shown. The *ex post facto* method of subsidy allows less opportunity for governmental influence on choice of repertory. European art leaders insist that under this system of support the artist is free to experiment and that the quality of performance remains high.
- ☆ Europeans find that public interest in the arts has risen as subsidy increases. The new opportunities for exposure created by radio, television, and records have also significantly improved mass taste.
- ☆ Because of marked success of present subsidy programs, future plans indicate both expansion to new areas and increases in aid.
- ☆ In most cases the sources for funds are both the local or municipal governmental agency and the national government. In Germany, however, the burden is carried entirely by local and district authorities, since the national German government traditionally does not participate in art subsidy.
- ☆ The most frequent method of apportioning requires that local tax units provide the original sums for subsidy of performing groups and the national government's allocation supplements the local fund (sometimes on a matching

basis). This more indirect method of contribution places the government in a position of encouraging rather than controlling the arts.

☆ Methods for raising the subsidy vary according to the country. The money generally comes from three sources: 1) general taxation, 2) radio and television tax, 3) an entertainment tax. In countries such as Italy in which an entertainment or similar special tax is used, the people report a more direct sense of participation in their support of the arts.

☆ The emphasis is placed on supporting the professional in the performing arts, and the amateur is left largely to finance his own efforts. For example England's National Federation of Music Societies, composed entirely of amateur groups, allocates money only for the employment of professional musicians to raise the quality of amateur performances.

☆ There is a strong movement to encourage and assist the young artists and composers beginning professional careers. The Young Artists Contests of The National Federation of Music Societies in England and the "Donemus" Foundation in Holland are outstanding examples.

☆ Allied to the strong feeling for youth is an increasing willingness to underwrite orchestras presenting concerts of modern music, usually not a big "box office" attraction and almost certain to lose money. Some groups such as the Austrian National Radio Orchestra, have regular series of concerts devoted exclusively to the performance of contemporary compositions.

☆ The following comments indicate typical European attitudes toward governmental subsidization.

John Denison, Music Director for the Arts Council of Great Britain asserted in speaking of subsidy of amateur groups:

"They are supported by us with small sums of money, not to pay for their fun as amateurs,—we believe they should pay for this themselves,—but to improve the standard of performance by employing professionals.

"For example, if you and I as businessmen play in the local orchestra, we should come prepared to pay for our own music and other incidentals. But if the group needs especially good oboe players, a few more violins or an outstandingly competent soloist, we are willing to devote our funds to help them employ these professional performers."

When asked if government support might imply government control, Mr. Denison replied:

"I believe that *control* is too strong a word. All we say is that we *encourage* the people. We are not in control, but we *influence*. This has had a good effect. Generally, it has raised them to high standards. They know jolly well that we don't want second-rate artists."

Mr. P. C. Heuwelkemeljer, Grand Director Concertgebouw Orchestra, Amsterdam, Holland offered the following comment on government support of the arts in his country:

"In our country, we can't maintain a good orchestra without subsidies. Subsidy means money from your own people, so you have to give them a right, through their representatives, to have a certain influence. And you can't waste money, you see. As I said before, in our country it works. I don't know about other countries."

"My experience from being in the United States, is that you are always afraid to lose your freedom by accepting something from the government. I can tell you without lying or making it more beautiful that I have never had any trouble about the government influencing our repertory."

A STATE-WIDE ARTS INVENTORY

Culture in Florida by Robert Smith, a book-length inventory of artistic activity in that state, was published this year by the Florida State University Press and the Florida Development Commission. It attacks the large and cumbersome problem of indicating the cultural assets and needs of Florida by restricting its focus to the ten most populous cities.

The author indexes the cities according to population, government, communications media, church and educational facilities, economic and industrial conditions, etc., and for each he tabulates activities in art, music, drama, dance and allied areas, both amateur and professional, including statistics on audiences, budgets, physical facilities, and participation.

In the final section of the book the author presents a case for the creation of a state arts council in Florida, which would be made up of the representatives of community art councils. He also urges further studies of artistic activity in the state.

While the book succeeds in giving adequate coverage to the statistical nature of the cultural life in Florida, it makes little attempt to describe the quality of the activity. It fails, for example, to report the standards and aspirations of art leaders and performers. Perhaps even a random sampling of names of specific works performed, or artists exhibited, etc., would help to provide a more vivid sense of the artistic climate of Florida today.

government and the arts:

A SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

PREPARED BY IRVING KREUTZ

Art and Government; report to the President by the Commission of Fine Arts on activities of Federal Government in the field of art.

Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C., 1953

Dorothy Grafly "The art mountain conceives a mouse" *American Artist*, December, 1953

The author, an editor of *American Artist*, looks at the Commission of Fine Arts' report to President Eisenhower and finds it wanting: "What we need in order to face existing art deficiencies in Government isn't more investigations but more courage of convictions backed by the will to make them effective."

"Toward a Federal art program" *American Artist*, October, 1954

A favorable view of the "Report of the Committee on Government and Art" (May 1954) by the "unofficial" Goodrich Committee and its unfavorable opinion of the report of President Truman's Commission of Fine Arts to President Eisenhower.

Margaret French Cresson "A minority opinion on the Goodrich report" *American Artist*, November 1954

The author, the daughter of Daniel Chester French and herself a member of the National Sculpture Society, takes strong exception to the recommendations of the Goodrich Committee: "For if the recommendations . . . were ever put into effect in this country, it would be the end of all freedom of expression and the biased and ruthless shackles of modern art would make conformity to that point of view absolute."

Lloyd Goodrich and Alfred Barr "Mrs. Cresson draws fire" *American Artist*, January, 1955

Sharp answers to Mrs. Cresson from Goodrich himself (Chairman of the Commission on Government and Art, and Director of the Whitney Museum) and from Alfred Barr (Director of Collections, Museum of Modern Art.)

Edward Ettingdene, Lord Bridges *State and the arts* Oxford, 1958

A printing of Lord Bridges' Romanes lecture, delivered in the Sheldonian theatre, Oxford, in June, 1958. An editorial devoted to the lecture can be found in the *Times Literary Supplement*, August 22, 1958.

Rupert Brooke *Democracy and the arts* London, 1946

The poet's mother gave the manuscript of this lecture (to the Fabian Society) to Geoffrey Keynes, and in 1946—"with the dawning of the Socialist State in England of which Brooke was one of the Minor Prophets"—Keynes felt it his duty to present the paper for publication in print. The poet's ideas are idealistic and, in the light of what has happened since his death in 1915, not a little naive: "But if we're going to do away with the very clumsy and inefficient machinery of patrons (who don't work at all now) and inherited capital, we, the community, must endow the artist."

Richard Carless and Patricia Brewster *Patronage and the arts* London, 1959

"This book represents an attempt to make a factual survey of all the various sources and methods of patronage of the arts as they exist in Great Britain and to suggest ways of improving them." (from the introduction)

John Drinkwater *Art and the state* Liverpool, 1930.

A lecture delivered in 1929, in which the writer pleads for the English National Theatre which his country was finally to get in 1963, twenty-six years after his death.

Hellmut Lehmann-Haupt *Art under a dictatorship* Oxford, 1954

"This book is the culmination of an artistic youth spent in Germany, a tour of duty as a Civil Art Administration officer for the U. S. Military Government in Berlin, and two years spent in study under a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Perhaps its main value is that its focus is spread far beyond Naziism. The author's purpose is much broader and deeper—to isolate and synthesize the relation between art and the state in all dictatorial governments—and in pursuing it he ranges all the way from the French Revolution, through the German, Italian, and Russian varieties, to certain embryonic manifestations he finds in contemporary American society." (*The New Yorker*, May 29, 1954)

Sibyl Moholy-Nagy "The artist's master" (a review of Lehmann-Haupt's *Art under a dictatorship*) *Saturday Review*, June 19, 1954

Admiring the author's diligence, the reviewer denies the validity of most of his theories. "The facts of history," she says, "are almost completely against the author's theory that the plight of the arts under the Nazi dictatorship was unprecedented and of far-reaching consequences . . ." In fact, she declares, ". . . art did not fare badly under the Hitler regime, because in its purest form it cannot be polluted under any dictatorship."

Alfred Werner "Art under a dictatorship" (a letter to the editor) *Saturday Review*, August 14, 1954

The art historian defends Lehmann-Haupt's book and its conclusion.

Sibyl Moholy-Nagy "Mrs. Moholy-Nagy replies" (a letter to the editor) *Saturday Review*, August 14, 1954

And the original reviewer answers Mr. Werner.

Grace Overmeyer *Government and the arts* New York, 1939

"Prefaced by a brief historical sketch of art patronage, this book consists in the main of facts concerning the history, plan of organization, financing and present operation of systems used in various countries for the official encouragement and support of the fine arts. More than fifty countries and the United States of America are included in the study. Bibliography." (*Book Review Digest*, 1939)

J. B. Priestley *The arts under socialism* London, 1947

Priestley, in a 1947 lecture to the Fabian Society, is less starry-eyed than most in his summary of the problems facing the artist and the arts in a Socialist state, but he is firm in his conviction that "the State exists for the artist, and not the artist for the State."

1956

"To quote from the book's introduction: 'Professor Purcell traces the continuing though fluctuating interest of American government—national, state, and local—in art since the earliest days of the republic.' Singled out for extended treatment is the Federal Arts Project of the WPA." (*American Political Scientist*, March, 1957)

John M. Harrison "Creativity: the state's role" (a review of Purcell's Government and art) *Saturday Review*, February 2, 1957

The reviewer finds convincing Mr. Purcell's arguments for an increased role for the Government in art, although he does suggest that the author "might have given more specific consideration to the misfortunes which have attended some government ventures into sponsorship of art in various State Department and U. S. Information Agency programs."

* * * *

Periodicals and Newspapers

"America the beautiful" *New Republic*
December 5, 1960

".... Still, governmental support of culture is not merely Socialist; it is monarchist, imperialist, republican, democratic, Shintoist, Syndicalist, Fascist, Falangist, and tribal, since, with the exception of our own, just about every government the world has ever known has taken patronage of the arts for granted."

"Arts in politics" *Newsweek*, January 17, 1963

A brief story on the resignation of August Heckscher from his post as Special Consultant on the Arts, with a few thoughtful fragments from two speeches he has made since then. For example—"A nation that seriously and deeply sought to combine democracy with culture would find that its life was being changed as it pursued its goal; many of its institutions were being made over and its habits were profoundly altered."

"Arts in America . . . who should foot the bill?" *Senior Scholastic*, May 4, 1960

For the high School senior, this is a simple (but not simple-minded) presentation of arguments for and against government aid to the arts.

"Aid to the arts: what kind and how? pro and con discussion" *Senior Scholastic*, May 2, 1962

A repetition and continuation of the above article, but suggesting "federal encouragement" as a middle way between "direct federal aid" and "private aid only."

"Arts under authority" *Times Literary Supplement*, May 4, 1962

A sharply critical look at the fortunes of France's "culture" under the aegis of Andre Malraux, the Minister of Cultural Affairs. It is censorship, suppression, and sometimes prosecution which the anonymous author deplores, for, as he says, "when a government has a major writer among its members it is simply

not good enough for it to have, at one and the same time, an attitude towards the printed word which makes those who prosecuted the publishers of *Madame Bovary* and *Les Fleurs du Mal* seem enlightened by comparison."

"The candidates and the arts" (Two letters from Richard Nixon and John F. Kennedy to Irving Kolodin) *Saturday Review*, October 29, 1960

In answer to a questionnaire, the two then candidates for President express their views on, in Kolodin's phrase, "the claim of art and artists to government recognition, encouragement, and assistance."

"Patterns of patronage; public responsibility for the arts in Europe" *Times Literary Supplement*, October 13, 1961

In its plea for greater help by the Government in nurturing and promoting the arts in Great Britain, *TLS* surveys other European countries, both in front of and behind the Iron Curtain, and finds that Britain occupies "a lowly tenth position, and would get the wooden spoon of patronage if these grants were expressed in *per capita* terms of population."

John Berger "Free to starve" *New Statesman*, November 8, 1958

A comment by a British art critic on an annual report for the Arts Council of Great Britain. The writer's plainly partisan stand on such matters is perhaps epitomized by one of his statements in the article: "I do not believe that there is the slightest chance of the arts in England now being energetically sponsored until a powerful political opposition, which is to say the organized working class, realises that the arts can usefully serve and promote their own interest."

Ray Allen Billington "Government and the arts: the WPA experience" *American Quarterly*, Winter, 1961

A retrospective look at the Arts Project of the WPA by a man who was a director of the Massachusetts Writers' Project, but a clear-eyed and unsentimental summary nevertheless. Particularly valuable for the wealth of detail about all phases of the Project.

Daniel M. Fox "The achievement of the Federal Writers' Project" *American Quarterly*, Spring, 1961

A careful analysis of the Federal Writers' Project, whose work is now so often cited both as a justification for or argument against federal aid and subsidy in the arts. "Their contribution stands today," Mr. Fox concludes, "as an increasingly dated example of American ingenuity and literary skill, and an unfinished reminder of the tension between culture and the American political system."

Robert Frost "I want poets declared equal to—" *New York Times Magazine*, May 18, 1960

In a brisk dialogue with members of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare the poet campaigned for a National Academy of Culture.

Frank Getlein "Federal aid to art: distribution" *New Republic*, August 8, 1960

Getlein's sly and telling point here is that, since the Federal Government spends a relatively large amount of money in tax dollars on "art" in the shape of, among other things, public buildings and the decoration of them, it is only

reasonable that "they'd be spent more intelligently if the official attention to art were more conscious than it has been. One of the most urgent duties of any new government art project is to see that the American people get full value for money spent on their art and full art representation in their buildings. It is only recent custom, not law, that says government art must be hack work."

"Gesture toward the arts: advisory commission on the arts for the Federal Government" *Commonweal*, December 6, 1957

Written on the occasion of President Eisenhower's appointment late in 1951 of an advisory committee on the arts, the subtitle of Mr. Getlein's article insists that the creation of the committee amounts to little more than "ritual piety."

Arthur Goldberg "To come to the aid of the arts" *New York Times Magazine*, March 11, 1962

A recommendation by the Secretary of Labor for "a six-point partnership for the support of the arts in America." This round-dance would ideally involve the public, the individual patrons and benefactors, the corporation, the labor union, the local government—and finally the Federal Government, with the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts.

Tyrone Guthrie "Case for an Arts Council here" *New York Times Magazine*, November 25, 1956

The eminent director, in hopes of our emulating England's example, analyzes the form and function of the Arts Council in Great Britain, "a mechanism," he says, whereby the state, out of taxpayers' money supports the arts—theatre, music, opera, ballet, poetry, painting, and sculpture It was devised with two principal objects: first, that recipients of subsidy should be selected by a more qualified body than a government department; second, that such subsidy should not be subject to the prejudices and fluctuations of party politics."

Alexander Janta "Art as its own patron" *Saturday Review*, June 18, 1960

To assist creative minds "in every field of artistic endeavor," the author not implausibly suggests the establishment of a fund for this purpose, said fund to be derived from a fraction of the taxable profits made on works in the public domain. "Thus part of the earnings produced by creative works would be plowed back into the very field from which they came."

Katherine Kuh "Art in America in 1962: with a note on government and art" *Saturday Review*, June 18, 1960

This noted art critic's opinion: "There is no doubt that *intelligent* government administration of art is, by and large, preferable to the American trustee system, where too often personal vagaries assume frightening proportions. But one should not underestimate the word 'intelligent.' "

Russell Lynes "Government as a patron of the arts" *Yale Review*, September, 1952

A fervent vote against government patronage of the arts. His principal argument lies in his analysis of the relation of the individual (or consumer) to the art which he chooses to enjoy. "In matters of the public good," he writes, "decisions in a democracy are left to the individual and in questions of the private good, whether it is the selection of a wife, or of a hat, or of a work of art, the individual's choice is supreme."

"The case against government aid to the arts" *New York Times Magazine*, March 25, 1962

Mr. Lynes feels just as he did ten years ago, nor have his metaphors changed much. But his arguments are still persuasive: "It is . . . a curious contradiction that the enthusiasm for the arts in America today is so great that if one suggests that the arts should not be directly subsidized by the Government, one runs the risk of being branded a Philistine."

Rene d'Harnoncourt (a letter) *New York Times Magazine*, April 15, 1962

In the letters column, Mr. d'Harnoncourt, Director of the Museum of Modern Art, replies briefly to Mr. Lynes, especially to his contention that government subsidies would mean "creeping mediocrity" in the arts.

Helen Hill Miller "American culture in search of angels" *New Republic*, June 23, 1958

A brief survey of governmental help to the arts (federal, state, and local) both past and present.

Robert Moses "Needed: new Medicis for art centers" *New York Times Magazine*, May 10, 1959

With considerable dash, the unsinkable Park Commissioner talks of the tribulations attendant upon the planning and accomplishment of the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, and along the way issues a hard-headed, if sympathetic warning to those who would, in his words, ask too much underwriting by the local taxpayer: "In this age of mass media and in the heyday of the lowest common denominator I urge my artistic friends not to provoke a showdown with the city on the precise amount of public money it should spend on our somewhat dubious claim to culture."

Howard Taubman "Who should pay the bill for the arts?" *New York Times Magazine*, December 7, 1958

Recalling that the Italian Government had just granted a subsidy of \$16,000 to Chicago's Lyric Opera Company, Mr. Taubman, the *New York Times* critic, moves on from this depressing irony to a fairly blistering attack on our attitude toward the arts, which, he says, will undergo a change "when we learn to admire whole-heartedly achievements of the mind that do not produce an immediate monetary gain, when a Trendex count is not used to thrust low-grade conformity on the bulk of what is presented on a mass medium like television."

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