

“(j) (1) For the purpose of providing for the preservation, and maintenance as a shrine, of the former home in the District of Columbia of John Philip Sousa, there is hereby established a board consisting of the conductor of the band of the United States Army, the conductor of the band of the United States Navy, the conductor of the band of the United States Marine Corps, and the conductor of the band of the United States Air Force, ex officio, plus ten additional individuals appointed by the President, which shall acquire the home of John Philip Sousa at 318 Independence Avenue, in the District of Columbia, and shall preserve and maintain such home as a shrine dedicated to his memory, and as a museum for the preservation of memorabilia of John Philip Sousa.

“(2) For the purpose of obtaining funds for carrying out this subsection, the board is authorized to accept donations of funds, services, and property, and to conduct a nationwide fund-raising campaign. All departments and agencies of the United States, upon request by the board, shall transfer to the board all memorabilia of John Philip Sousa in the custody or control of such departments and agencies.

“(3) Members of the board shall serve without compensation for their services as such, but they shall be reimbursed for their expenses of travel and subsistence while actually engaged in the performance of the duties vested in the board. There are hereby authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary to carry out this subsection.

“(k) Until a comprehensive plan has been prepared for the proper development, preservation, and improvement of the physical environs of the United States Capitol Building and the surrounding complex of Federal buildings, including the Senate and House Office Buildings, the Library of Congress, and the United States Supreme Court, no funds shall be expended for the acquisition of real property or for the purchase or demolition of existing buildings located in the vicinity of the United States Capitol Building and the surrounding complex of Federal buildings.”

[From the Washington Post, May 8, 1961]

“HOME SLATED AS SHRINE TO SOUSA IS CONDEMNED

“(By Stephen S. Rosenfeld, staff reporter)

“The Capitol Hill home of John Philip Sousa, the man who put a nation on march time, planned as a shrine for 20 years, now faces destruction.

“The District has condemned as unsanitary the victorian edifice at 318 Independence Avenue SE., the first home Sousa owned and where he lived from about 1900 to World War I. Unless the Condemnation Board is dissuaded or the home repaired, it will be razed.

“With it will go the last chance to memorialize America's premier bandsman within walls that he knew, since his birthplace at 636 G Street SE., was chopped up into apartments.

“Efforts to make the home a museum in the early forties and middle fifties flopped. But another effort has been mounted.

“Sousa's daughter, Helen Sousa Abert of New York, who owns the house, entrusted it a few years back to the Sousa Memorial Committee.

“So when the District told her last week she had only until May 9 to ask for a stay, she turned to the committee.

“This, apparently, is fine by the Condemnation Board. At its meeting Wednesday it probably will shelve the matter until the committee acts, Director Richard L. Mattingly said.

“The committee itself will meet informally this week in Coral Gables, Fla., where its chairman, Lt. Col. William F. Santelmann of Arlington, former Marine Band director, will be visiting Otto Kraushaar, president of the American Bandmasters Association.

“Kraushaar, who played in Sousa's band, said a fund-raising scheme would be mulled over. Mrs. Abert estimates \$50,000 to \$100,000 is needed.

“She stands ready, she said, to furnish several rooms with her father's belongings and to give a roomful of his trophies, his music library, books of press clippings, pictures and such memorabilia as batons. The Library of Congress already has the manuscripts of his marches.

“‘There's so much talk about culture and the arts in Washington,’ said Mrs. Abert, ‘it would seem rather wicked to drop this. It's unique.’”

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post, May 9, 1961]

"MEMORIAL TO 'MARCH KING'—HOUSE BILL TO PRESERVE SOUSA HOME WOULD BLOCK CAPITOL HILL EXPANSION

"Legislation was introduced yesterday to preserve the Capitol Hill home of John Philip Sousa. The bill includes a provision which would block efforts of the Government to purchase a block of Capitol Hill property.

"The bill, introduced by Representative Carroll D. Kearns, Republic of Pennsylvania, besides providing for the Sousa memorial, would require a comprehensive plan for development, preservation, and improvement before any Federal money could be spent to purchase or demolish buildings in the area around the Capitol.

"The Republicans' Capitol Hill Club, at 214 First Street SE., has already been purchased for \$600,000 but other residences and small businesses in the area scheduled to be taken over, bounded by Independence Avenue, First and Second Street SE., are still to be affected. The eminent domain proceedings have come under attack by area residents who charge that the payments to be made are both inadequate and inequitable.

"The Kearns bill would establish a 14-member presidentially appointed board to acquire the Sousa residence at 318 Independence Avenue SE. and maintain it as a shrine.

"Kearns submitted the measure after reading in the Washington Post that the residence of the famed bandsman had been condemned by the District as unsanitary.

"If it is razed, it will end years of effort to memorialize Sousa within a home that he knew. His birthplace at 636 G Street SE. is no longer available for a shrine. His birthplace was restored by R. C. King & Associates into a home quite similar to the original home, but with an apartment on the first floor.

"In view of the Condemnation Board's pending action, the Sousa Memorial Committee, which has been entrusted with the preservation of the Independence Avenue dwelling by Sousa's daughter, announced it intended to consider a fund-raising effort to save the home.

"Under Kearns' bill, however, the proposed 14-member board would be authorized to conduct a nationwide fund-raising campaign. The board would include 10 members appointed by the President and the conductors of the Army, Navy, Marine, and Air Force bands.

"The proposed legislation, amending the District Redevelopment Act, goes beyond the preservation of the Sousa home and seeks to protect other Capitol Hill residences and businesses."

WILL DEMOCRATIC APATHY DEFEAT MOVE TO MAKE THE LAFAYETTE SQUARE OPERA HOUSE A LIVING MEMORIAL SYMBOLIC OF THE SPIRIT WHICH HAS ALWAYS UNITED AMERICA AND GERMANY IN SPITE OF ALL STORMS AND YEARS OF WAR?

Extension of remarks of Hon. Carroll D. Kearns, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, May 9, 1961

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, a German-language newspaper, the Washington (D.C.) Journal reported on May 5:

"During the past weeks talks had been conducted in the congressional office rooms and in the cultural department of the German Embassy, which proved that the project (to restore the old Lafayette Square Opera House in the Nation's Capital as the Beethoven Opera House and as a living memorial to the friendship which unites Germany and the United States in spite of all storms and years of war), which is especially close to the hearts of all Washingtonians, is also of great interest to the German authorities."

This seems to me to be an especially meritorious project, and it is my hope that the familiar Democratic apathy toward the arts will not strangle it in official redtape or smother it with less worthy plans to destroy this great structure in order to build a Federal court building, which could better be located elsewhere.

Only last year the President introduced a bill, S. 3280, to restore the Lafayette Square Opera House, which David Belasco once owned, as a civic theater.

It can be expected that the President, who is known as a great student of our history, will look with approval on the conversion of the Lafayette Square

Opera House to the Beethoven Opera House. Certainly he would have strong support from the Republican side of the aisle in such a historic development.

I include as part of my remarks the article from the Washington Journal which has been translated for me by the Library of Congress:

"WILL BELASCO THEATER BECOME 'BEETHOVEN OPERA HOUSE'?—GERMAN INTEREST IN THE RESTORATION OF THE OLD THEATER ON LAFAYETTE SQUARE—ONE-HALF MILLION DOLLARS NEEDED

"During the past week talks had been conducted in the congressional office rooms and in the cultural department of the German Embassy, which proved that the project, which is especially close to the hearts of all Washingtonians, is also of great interest to the German authorities. Other European countries, among them Italy and the Netherlands, in the past years expressed their gratitude to the United States for its active postwar assistance by donating representative gifts to the American Federal Capital. Within the Federal Republic, the desire to give a lasting token of this gratitude in a suitable form, has been repeatedly expressed. Now a project is being considered, which has a special symbolic significance.

"For years a struggle of prominent citizens and numerous organizations of Washington has been going on to preserve historical buildings on Lafayette Square, that park in front of the White House which, among other things, honors such revolutionary generals as Friedrich Wilhelm von Steuben and Thaddeus Kosciuszko. One of the buildings which are threatened to be torn down by the renewal plans of certain ambitious circles, is the old Belasco Theater which, since 1940, has been used for other purposes. Today it serves as a USO soldiers home. From 1895 to 1940, this chamber theater was one of the few cultural centers of our Capital City and generations of Washingtonians experienced unforgettable artistic adventures in its cozy rooms. To be sure, the theater is not large, but is it not a fact, that it is the small opera houses and stages of Europe that belong to the jewels, to those places where one can make music, sing and spin yarns without enormous costs?

"BEETHOVEN OPERA HOUSE IN THE FEDERAL CAPITAL

"Well, German circles now think not only of rescuing this Washington theater from destruction (in which task they will need an active support of uncounted citizen's associations of Washington and the whole country), but also of its restoration and, while preserving the traditional frame, of converting it into a snug opera house for our city. The name of Ludwig von Beethoven would suit more than any other to symbolize what had always united America and Germany in spite of all storms and years of war.

"We have learned from the circles which are interested in the preservation of the theater, that the total cost of the restoration of the Belasco Theater would amount to about \$500,000—DM2 million. Recently, the Federal Republic offered DM1 million for the preservation of the Nubian Temple of Kalabasha in Egypt. In spite of all savings appeals to all free governments, those in Bonn know that cultural needs require sacrifices which are never spent needlessly. Perhaps, a part of these expenses could be met from contributions by those industrial enterprises and institutions which were able to regain their world importance with the aid of the Marshall plan money. In this way, the gift would not be just a Government matter, but an expression of gratitude of the German people. Congressman Carroll D. Kearns, Republican, of Pennsylvania, who was quite happy to learn about these plans and who, together with his Democratic and Republican colleagues has taken the stand for the preservation of the buildings on Lafayette Square, told us that a European country could hardly select a better form of the expression of its gratitude to America, than this contribution to the cultural life of the capital city. In the meantime, Mr. Kearns and Congressman Harris B. McDowell, Democrat of Delaware, together with other representatives of the population, continue their campaign for the preservation of the Belasco Theater (which, by the way, has received its name from the unforgettable manager David Belasco), because the original idea of rescuing the theater through the initiative of the American citizens has not been given up. It is possible, however, that an initiative from Bonn will precede these endeavors, and erect a lasting cultural memorial in Washington, in the spirit of American-German friendship."

[From the Congressional Record, Mar. 29, 1961]

NATIONWIDE SUPPORT IS GROWING FOR LEGISLATION TO PRESERVE THE HISTORIC BUILDINGS ON LAFAYETTE SQUARE IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL, INTRODUCED BY PRESIDENT KENNEDY LAST YEAR AND BY SENATORS JOHN SHERMAN COOPER, WAYNE MORSE, AND CARROLL D. KEARNS THIS YEAR

(Extension of remarks of Hon. Carroll D. Kearns, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, March 29, 1961)

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, the able and distinguished president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. E. Lee Ozbirn, has written a letter to me in which she outlines the views of the 5 million American women of that great organization, which the Congress itself chartered in 1901, on the important subject of the preservation of the historic buildings on Lafayette Square.

Mrs. Ozbirn begins by saying:

"I wish to commend you and your colleagues in the 87th Congress for your continued effort to try to preserve the Lafayette Square area."

Then, on behalf of the members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Ozbirn declares that—"we all know that this square and the buildings surrounding it has a unique importance because it is the view from the front door of the President's home—the White House. Certainly all Americans who are students of history know of the famous historic houses which include the Dolly Madison House, the Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater. These buildings depict a very important era of American history and are in keeping with the structure of the White House and should be preserved not just as a monument but they could be used for historic or cultural purposes which would perpetuate the heritage for future generations."

This is an extremely interesting proposal, and it is in line with one which I have received from Joseph Watterson, editor, the Journal of the American Institute of Architects. In a letter under date of February 29, 1961, to me, Mr. Watterson wrote in part as follows:

"The American Institute of Architects deplores the apparently impending destruction of certain buildings fronting on Lafayette Square and the construction of large Federal buildings in their place. Although by now many of the buildings on the square may be of a nondescript architectural character the flavor and charm of the square have not been destroyed. It is still a fitting forecourt to the White House—which it must always be. This fitness would be lost with marble monumentality flanking the square—east and west."

"Since the Decatur House, on the northwest corner of the square, and the Blair and Lee houses on Pennsylvania Avenue, are to be preserved, and the new executive office building designed to surround them with low wings and courts, it would seem that the same approach could be taken on the east side of the square. The Madison house, on the northeast corner, and the Tayloe house in the middle of the block, are worthy of preservation and restoration, both historically and architecturally. Rather than preserve them purely as monuments, suitable uses can be found for these buildings, as is done in so many of the old cities of Europe. It is a brash generation indeed which will destroy all physical evidences of its great heritage."

The General Federation of Women's Clubs and the American Institute of Architects do not stand alone in their concern for preserving the historic flavor and charm of Lafayette Square. Many other organizations and individuals are deeply interested in preserving the Dolly Madison house, the Benjamin Tayloe house, and the Belasco Theater for historic and cultural purposes, as proposed in a bill, S. 3280, which President John F. Kennedy himself, when a Senator, introduced on March 24, 1960. Members of the Senate and House from both parties have introduced legislation for this very same purpose in the 85th, 86th and 87th Congresses.

Mr. C. Arthur Bullock, president of the National Federation of Music Clubs, and a citizen of the great State of Pennsylvania, has written me in support of my own bill to save the Lafayette Square buildings, and she has included a letter which she has written to President Kennedy.

In her letter to the President, Mrs. Bullock declares that—"Personally and on behalf of the approximately 600,000 members of the National Federation of Music Clubs, this is to express commendation and appreciation to you for your vital interest and support of the arts in our national life. It is with substantiation by even many specific acts including the introduction of your

outstanding bill, S. 3280, in the spring of 1960; and a telegram placing importance on music for use in our 1961 National Music Week brochure in conjunction with our annual sponsorship.

"May we go on record in support of these bills, introduced in the 1st session of the 87th Congress; and urge your support of their immediate enactment:

"H.R. 3982, introduced by Representative Carroll D. Kearns and S. 1020, introduced by Senator John S. Cooper and Wayne Morse—for establishing a Commission on the Cultural Resources in the Nation's Capital—these including the preservation of the historic buildings on Lafayette Square and the Belasco Theater.

"We feel that these historic buildings on Lafayette Square in our Nation's Capital should remain protected as historic monuments to our culture; and for the sake of economy as well."

The General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Federation of Music Clubs, and the American Institute of Architects will surely be able to mobilize the grassroots support needed to save the historic buildings on Lafayette Square, for most people would agree that the destruction of these buildings for the stated reasons is unwise and totally unnecessary.

Somone has suggested, facetiously, that the way to save Lafayette Square as well as its historic buildings would be to lease everything to Harvard University. By way of explanation it was pointed out that Harvard Yard was recently rescued from a similar plan for a great office building, but, then, Harvard Yard had the President of the United States on its side.

I include the New York Times account of the saving of Harvard Yard at this point in my remarks.

"HARVARD, AGAIN

"Another item the White House has said nothing about is how, in the midst of questions of national and international import, the President took up a cause with Harvard.

"It was proposed that Cambridge, Mass., sell a piece of the Common as the site for a 15-story office building. The land is near Harvard Yard.

"The President thought he had better stay out of the fight. But when the legislature's Democratic majorities pushed through a bill authorizing the sale, he quietly let his views be known in the right places.

"Kenneth P. O'Donnell, class of 1949, and special assistant to the President, phoned leading State Democrats urging them not to make the project a party issue.

"McGeorge Bundy, Yale 1940 and a Republican, former dean of the Harvard faculty, and now special Presidential assistant for national security affairs, passed the word to some Republicans.

"Also active was Mr. Kennedy's one-time Senate colleague from the Bay State, Leverett Saltonstall, a Republican.

"Last week, Republican Gov. John A. Volpe vetoed the bill. The State senate, with some Democratic support, upheld the veto."

What would extremely be helpful, too, would be an observable determination on the part of the leading newspaper publishers of Washington, D.C., and throughout the Nation, to wage an unrelenting campaign to save the historic buildings on Lafayette Square. The New York Herald Tribune is currently engaged in a campaign to save the Metropolitan Opera House in New York City from destruction. Carnegie Hall in New York City was saved from destruction some months ago, so it would be instructive for such newspapers as the Washington (D.C.) Post, and the Washington (D.C.) Star to study the techniques used by New York City's great newspapers in mobilizing the support needed to successfully save buildings and sites of which possess historic and cultural values.

I include as part of my remarks the letter I received from Mrs. E. Lee Ozbirn, president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, as well as an editorial from the New York Herald Tribune urging that the Metropolitan Opera House be saved:

"GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS,
Washington, D.C., March 15, 1961.

"Hon. CARROLL D. KEARNS,
"House of Representatives,
"Washington, D.C.

"DEAR MR. KEARNS: I wish to commend you and your colleagues in the 87th Congress for your continued effort to try to preserve the Lafayette Square area.

"We all know that this square and the buildings surrounding it has a unique importance because it is the view from the front door of the President's home—the White House. Certainly all Americans who are students of history know of the famous historic houses which include the Dolly Madison house, the Tayloe house, and the Belasco Theater. These buildings depict a very important era of American history and are in keeping with the structure of the White House and should be preserved not just as a monument but they could be used for historic or cultural purposes which would perpetuate the heritage for future generations.

"The General Federation of Women's Clubs continuously works for the preservation of the early cultural and historic influences for future generations. We know that there are those who think progress is measured by a new and changing pattern but we would remind them that in a few decades the structures of today will be old and obsolete and will be torn down but let us remember that buildings of today are not symbolic of our early history. Only the authentic buildings of the early days of our national development depict our progress and our heritage."

"We do not want to see our generation destroy things that have long been accepted as historic. We believe that the beautiful surroundings of the President's home should be preserved and the White House should not be situated in the shadow of high, modern stone buildings.

"We appreciate what Senator Ellender has said about the preservation of the Lafayette Park area and we think his leadership will surely be worthy of sincere consideration. We commend Senator Ellender for his attitude and his willingness to devote much effort to a cause that some feel is lost.

"I should like to urge that action taken by the 86th Congress to have the buildings on the east side of Lafayette Square demolished be rescinded. I have great hopes this this will be done because President Kennedy, when a Senator in the 86th Congress, presented a bill to preserve them and because both the President and our lovely First Lady have the wisdom and the desire to restore the White House to its original charm, it surely would be a grave mistake, at the very time they are making every possible effort in restoring the White House, to destroy the historical surroundings. Surely it is more pleasant for the occupants of the White House to look out upon the lovely surroundings than to look out upon cold stone structure that overshadow their home.

"Again I wish to commend those who would preserve the beautiful Lafayette Square area in our Nation's Capital, and I trust your efforts will be fully rewarded.

"Most sincerely,

"MRS. E. LEE OZBIEN, *President.*"

[From the New York Herald Tribune, Mar. 26, 1961]

"MORE ABOUT SAVING THE METROPOLITAN

"Judging by readers' letters to the editor of the Herald Tribune, there is considerable public interest in the future of the present Metropolitan Opera House.

"The question, to state it once again, is not whether the old house should continue to serve as the home of the Metropolitan Opera Co. after 1964. That is when the Met will move to its new home at Lincoln Center and no one has any thought that it should try to remain at its old stand a moment longer than it has to.

"The question is what will happen to the old opera house once the present company pulls out? Should it be torn down and replaced by an office building, as the Met management desires? Or should an attempt be made to preserve it as an auditorium that still can play a useful part in New York's entertainment and cultural activities?

"Several correspondents have pointed out the deficiencies of the present Met building from the standpoint of audiences and performers alike. Shortcomings it has in abundance, and some of these may have to be corrected if the building is preserved.

"But even when allowances are made for the side seats with no view of the stage, the inadequate storage facilities, the cramped quarters and outdated equipment, the fact remains that foreign ballet companies and other visitors have been able to play at a profit in the old theater on 39th Street. And it seems

reasonable to expect that there would be impresarios ready to book such attractions into the old Met once its present company vacates it.

"If New York had a superabundance of capacious theaters suitable for use in the international cultural exchange era we are just entering, there might be no impulses to save the Met except nostalgia and sentimentality. But in point of fact, New York has a lack of such theaters. At present, large-scale foreign companies must play either in the present Metropolitan Opera House during the Met's off-season, or at the City Center. If both of these buildings are gone when Lincoln Center is operating, only the new Metropolitan Opera House will offer a 3,000-plus seat capacity, and this will be preempted by the Met itself most of the year.

"So, it's entirely possible that the old opera house, with all its flaws, still might have some serviceable years ahead of it. In any case, we believe the pros and cons should be carefully weighed—and not merely by the directors of the Metropolitan, who own the building, but by the citizens of New York, whose future pattern of cultural growth may be deeply influenced by the decision."

NOTES ON A SPEECH TO BE DELIVERED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Over the weekend I read several articles in the Washington Post and the Evening Star about the "Salute to the Arts" luncheon held April 27 at the Mayflower Hotel by the Women's National Democratic Club. The theme was, "What I Would Do for the Arts if I Were President for a Day."

The distinguished speakers were Cornelia Otis Skinner, actress; Philip C. Johnson, architect; George Balanchine, director of the New York City Ballet; Mischa Elman, violinist; Paul Horgan, Pulitzer and Bancroft prizewinner for literature; and Larry Rivers, a painter with the distinction of having his paintings in the Museum of Modern Art, the Metropolitan, the Whitney, and the Corcoran Galleries in New York and Washington.

In a bipartisan spirit of good neighborliness, I would like to offer a few suggestions to Mrs. Betty B. Ross, luncheon chairman, Mrs. Joseph E. Casey, Mrs. Clark Clifford, Mrs. Clifford Davis, and Mrs. Ned Russell for advancing the fine arts in the United States. Surely, if we are to advance the arts this can only be done on a bipartisan basis.

You will recall, I am sure, that in his 1955 message on the state of the Union, President Eisenhower declared that "The Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities." At that time he recommended that the Congress establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts. So far, this has not been done, so, perhaps, the first suggestion I would make is that the President call on the Congress to quickly establish such a National Arts Council. Six years is an awfully long time to wait for the establishment of such a new Federal advisory agency. The contemplated budget is only \$50,000. When our gross national product is over \$500 billion, it can be seen that such a step would scarcely unbalance the national budget, so one may well ask what the reason is for the present timidity on the Democratic side in holding up the early creation of such an Arts Council?

Among the cultural steps that were taken during the Eisenhower administration were: The enactment of the Humphrey-Thompson Act, Public Law 860, 84th Congress, otherwise known as the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956, under which our great orchestras, and artists, as well as talented groups from our colleges and universities, were sent overseas to demonstrate our high cultural accomplishments, and to counter-act Russian propaganda that ours was a nation of materialists.

Others steps taken under President Eisenhower included adoption of the Thompson-Fulbright National Cultural Center Act, and the Thompson-Humphrey-Anderson Act transferring the historic Patent Office Building (presently occupied by the Civil Service Commission) to the Smithsonian Institution for Art Museum purposes and to house the National Collection of Fine Arts.

I don't want to bore you with this recital but I did want to set the record straight. Many people are beginning to think that the art interest of the Federal Government, the President, the Congress, and top administration leaders began with the invitation extended to Robert Frost, the great poet, and 150 other cultural leaders to attend the inaugural ceremonies in January 1961.

Now for some of the other steps which could be taken to advance the fine arts.

I have introduced a bill, H.R. 1942, to establish a program of grants to States for the development of programs and projects in the arts. This measure has been cosponsored by Senator Joseph S. Clark, Jr., and by Representatives Frank Thompson, Jr., Adam Clayton Powell, Frank Chelf, and Emanuel Celler. It calls for only \$5 million a year to aid the arts, which is roughly what Great Britain gives the arts through the British Arts Council. There are 30 or so Federal grant-in-aid programs going forward to assist in building hospitals, highways, etc., etc. Surely the arts—as well as education—deserve Federal recognition and support. This is a program with which the Congress is familiar, and which is sponsored by leading Democrats. A message from the President could get this program underway by next year at the latest. When it is remembered that every other major nation in the world aids the arts except the United States, it is hard to explain why America has done so little to assist the fine arts in a way which will make our fine words have meaning. Our people need vision at all times, and the typical movie and television fare which our young people are subjected to makes it mandatory for our great Nation to provide a nobler fare for all of our people—not just for those who can pay the inflated box office prices of operas, theater, and symphony concerts today. Last fall, during the political campaign, President John F. Kennedy was asked to express his views on a bill to provide \$5 million a year for art through a federally supported foundation. He was a Senator at that time and he replied: "I am in full sympathy with the proposal for a federally supported foundation to provide encouragement and opportunity to nonprofit, private, and civic groups in the performing arts. When so many other nations officially recognize and support the performing arts as a part of their national cultural heritage, it seems to me unfortunate that the United States has been so slow in coming to a similar recognition." I shall look forward with keen anticipation to an early message to the Congress from President Kennedy on this subject, and shall only note that 5 months have already elapsed without a word from him on this.

In February 1961, I introduced a bill to establish a Commission on the Cultural Resources in the Nation's Capital, and to provide a comprehensive plan for the effective utilization of such resources in carrying out a long-range program to make the Nation's Capital equal in cultural matters to the capital cities of other nations.

Similar measures were introduced by Senators John Sherman Cooper and Wayne Morse, and by Representative Adam Clayton Powell. So here, too, is a bipartisan measure which deserves Presidential support. In fact, in a speech to fund-drive workers of the National Symphony Orchestra, the new Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs, Philip H. Coombs, called for a great overall plan to give the significant overarching cultural climate needed to make it possible for the Nation's Capital to take its rightful place beside other capital cities of the world with regard to the fine arts.

A study by the Library of Congress, which Congressman Harris B. McDowell, Jr., of Delaware, and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, inserted in the Congressional Record last year, showed that the municipal government of Washington spent annually the piddling sum of \$16,000 on fine arts. This can be compared to the \$800,000 which San Francisco, which is 100,000 smaller than Washington in population, spends on the arts. Facts such as these led the New York Times, Time magazine, the Reporter magazine, the Christian Science Monitor, and other publications to deplore the cultural progress of the Nation's Capital. The Federal City of Washington has been called such unflattering things as "hick town," and "cultural backwater" by national publications. W. H. Kiplinger, publisher of the Kiplinger Newsletters, a native Washingtonian, declares that Washington has no homegrown culture such as London, Vienna, and other European capital cities have.

In 1942 the Congress established the District of Columbia Recreation Department and gave it extensive authority to conduct programs in the fine arts. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed this act into law. The President and other leading Democrats of those years saw this Department as the vehicle to provide creative opportunities for the hundreds of thousands of Federal employees, many of them single men and women of tender ages, living in rooming houses of uncertain vintage. Until the last few years, the Congress provided little or no funds to carry out the ambitious cultural program in the fine arts provided in this act. Now, the Congress provides the \$16,000 which I mentioned earlier through this act's authority. Now I admit that \$16,000 is better than nothing, but I think that is about all one can truthfully say about such a piddling amount.

For 6 years now, the District of Columbia Recreation Department has had an opera program of high standards. This year it will present "The Student Prince" at Howard University's magnificent new Cramton Auditorium in June, under the sponsorship of Mrs. Lyndon Johnson. The specious budget provided for this activity is \$6,000, most of which must be repaid by the opera program. No wonder New York City's great publications, such as the New York Times, and Time magazine, despair about the cultural growth of the Nation's Capital. Please think for just a moment of what the President could do, Mrs. Bolling, if he were to take as much interest in this program as President Franklin Delano Roosevelt who signed the bill into law creating the District of Columbia Recreation Department.

I think I should note that the cultural activities of the District of Columbia Recreation Department are completely integrated and that there is no bar to any person because of race, creed, or color.

Oh, yes; I forgot to mention that in his bill, H.R. 4348, Congressman Adam Clayton Powell called for "the effective development of the human and other cultural resources in the District of Columbia, without regard to race or color, a necessary step in view of the undemocratic hiring and employment policies persisted in by such cultural organizations as the National Symphony Orchestra despite the contribution of the American Negro to our Nation's culture." I note from the newspapers that the National Symphony Orchestra is using the new State Department Auditorium for its concerts. But, only last week, according to UPI (United Press International), the President took specific action to bar the facilities of any Federal agency or department to groups which practice racial discrimination. Now, according to the UPI report, President Kennedy, in a memo to the heads of all Federal departments and agencies, demanded that "current practices in each department are to be brought into immediate compliance with this policy and a report by the head of each executive agency filed to that effect before May 1, 1961." Will the Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, actually bar the National Symphony Orchestra from use of the fine new auditorium in his Department which the President uses for his press conferences? Or does the President's order apply only to employee organizations. It will be interesting to see how this matter develops and is handled on the New Frontier.

On another point, I think you will agree that our struggling contemporary composers need all the official backing they can get from the White House. A music trade paper, *Musikhandel*, published in Germany, recently made much of the fact that President Kennedy failed to list a single composition by an American composer as being among his favorites. The German publication pointed out that former Vice President Richard Nixon mentioned at least one composition out of three, the one being by an American, as being one of his favorites. This prompted my dear friend Arthur A. Hauser, president of the Theodore Presser Co., of Bryn Mawr, Pa., to write that "International good will might have been served by his (President Kennedy's) choice of music from various foreign countries, but on the other hand our struggling contemporary composers need all the official backing they can get, and if our President had mentioned at least one American composition, I am sure that this statement quoted in foreign countries might have helped our cause. Perhaps President Kennedy is not familiar with American music. If this is the case, I am sure that our various musical societies will be only too happy to help him learn more about what is being done in America to improve our cultural standing among nations."

Nationwide support is growing for legislation to preserve the historic buildings on Lafayette Square in the Nation's Capital. This legislation was introduced only last year as S. 3280 when he was a Senator by President Kennedy. Other good Democrats sponsoring the legislation at that time were: Senators Humphrey, Morse, Douglas, Murray, Hennings, Mansfield, and Gruening.

This year President Kennedy's good friend, Senator John Sherman Cooper, Senator Wayne Morse, and I have introduced legislation which would carry out the purposes of S. 3280.

The National Federation of Music Clubs has carried on a national campaign to save the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater—also known as the Lafayette Square Opera House.

The Daughters of the American Revolution adopted unanimously with applause a resolution presented by Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, honorary president general, on April 20 deploring the fact that "one-fourth of the historically significant buildings in this country have been destroyed during the last 20 years" and calling for the preservation of the Lafayette Square buildings and endor-

ing bills introduced by myself, Senators Cooper, and Morse, and by Senator Humphrey, Representative Macdonald, Representative McDowell, and others, which would preserve America's historic and architecturally important buildings.

It is a brash generation, indeed, which will destroy all physical evidences of its great heritage.

The powerful General Federation of Women's Clubs has also called for saving the Lafayette Square buildings.

Two men, William Walton, a painter, and John Moore, Administrator of General Services Administration, like pharaohs or reigning monarchs of an earlier and unenlightened period have decided to proceed with the destruction of the Lafayette Square buildings. At this very moment, however, the President has called for spending some \$10 million in saving the ancient treasures of the Nile. Recently the President rescued Harvard Yard at Harvard University from an office building.

If the Nile treasures and Harvard Yard can be saved, why can't the Lafayette Square buildings be saved, Mrs. Bolling?

Some months ago a bipartisan drive saved New York City's Carnegie Hall, a building no more culturally important than the Belasco Theater is to a Nation's Capital starved for cultural facilities. The Carnegie Hall drive was headed by Mayor Robert Wagner, Gov. Nelson Rockefeller, Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Isaac Stern, the great concert artist.

If some European government, say the German Government, offered \$500,000 to the city of Washington to refurbish the Belasco Theater as an opera house perhaps this significant building could be saved for cultural purposes. There seems little or no concern with its preservation at present at the top reaches of the New Frontier. Here again, it is up to the President.

Senator J. W. Fulbright and Congressman Harris B. McDowell, Jr., have introduced legislation to consolidate and strengthen existing acts of the Congress providing for educational and cultural exchange programs. Its stated purpose (S. 1154 and H.R. 5204) is to "provide for the improvement and strengthening of the international relations of the United States by promoting better mutual understanding among the peoples of the world through educational and cultural exchanges."

The exchange program legislation consolidated in this bill is found in six public laws: the original Fulbright Act (Public Law 584); the Smith-Mundt Act (U.S. Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948, Public Law 402); the Humphrey-Thompson Act (the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956, Public Law 860); the Finnish Debt Payments Act of 1949 (Public Law 265); the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 (Public Law 480); and the India Emergency Food Aid Act of 1951 (Public Law 48).

This bill contains authority to carry out and, where appropriate, to enlarge every program in the cultural and educational exchange field which has been authorized by these acts.

Less extensive legislation having similar purposes passed the Senate in the 85th and 86th Congresses under the able sponsorship of Senators Hubert Humphrey and J. W. Fulbright. No action was taken in the House, where the bottleneck was another Democrat, Wayne L. Hays, chairman of the Subcommittee on State Department Organization and Foreign Operations.

The new Fulbright-McDowell bill was the result of a conference of high-level educators and Government officials last October in which the new Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, participated.

Perhaps Congressman Hays will take some action this year, but a word from President Kennedy would certainly help move this vital legislation.

Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr., and Congressman Torbert H. Macdonald have sponsored legislation to amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 to provide for high standards of architectural design and decoration for Federal public buildings. When it is remembered that Thomas Jefferson and the other Founding Fathers went to great lengths to decorate the U.S. Capitol Building itself and this example has been supported by every Congress since then it can be seen that this legislation is in the best American tradition. If Thomas Jefferson can take such a position why can't President Kennedy? Certainly most Federal buildings these days resemble concrete boxes, and are desperately in need of decoration. Europeans set aside a percentage of the building costs for building decoration. Recent American buildings built to house American delegations overseas have been highly praised for their attractiveness. Apparently, again, we

believe in putting our best foot forward abroad; while at home we don't save our historic buildings, or build handsome Federal buildings, or support art except to impress the people of other nations and as a part of our foreign policy.

Bills were recently introduced by Senators Humphrey, Williams of New Jersey, and Long of Missouri, and cosponsored by Congressmen McDowell, and Rhodes of Pennsylvania, to establish a National Portrait Gallery and protect the National Collection of Fine Arts which otherwise would be pushed out of the historic Patent Office Building under legislation sponsored by still another Democrat, Senator Clinton P. Anderson of New Mexico.

The Congress established the National Collection of Fine Arts in 1840.

Don't you think that after 120 years the National Collection of Fine Arts should have a building for permanent use?

Here, again, President Kennedy could properly intervene to protect the interest of all Americans in our own fine arts, and call for the enactment of the Humphrey-McDowell bills (S. 744 and H.R. 5352).

Then, take the Florence Agreement to reduce tariffs on educational, scientific and cultural materials, Mrs. Bolling, which was initiated by the United States in 1950. This agreement was ratified during the 86th Congress, but it is an empty gesture until legislation is enacted to alter current tariff regulations. Representative Dominick V. Daniels of New Jersey has introduced a bill, H.R. 2537, to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 so as to exempt from any import tax books, publications, documents, music (whether manuscript or reproduced), architectural designs, works of art, films of certain categories, scientific instruments, articles for the blind, materials for exhibition. The only proviso is that these items must come within the scope of the "Florence Agreement." Here, again, a word from the President would be decisive.

There are those who hold that cities are among the supreme cultural expressions of man. One of these is Lewis Mumford. Without arguing this case I am interested in the health and welfare of cities and of the inhabitants of cities. I have introduced legislation to enlist the help of individual homeowners in every city of the country in a concerted attack on decay and obsolescence and blight which is destroying our cities at the heart. I would assist individual homeowners to do, in other cities, what individual homeowners have done in such areas in the Nation's Capital as Georgetown, Foggy Bottom, Kalorama Triangle, Mount Pleasant Village, and Capital Hill in rescuing whole sections from advanced stages of decay and obsolescence. My bills, H.R. 4251, H.R. 4254, and H.R. 6134, and their companion measures in the Senate: S. 1635 (Carlson) and S. 1681 (Thurmond), do not shovel out billions of dollars for grandiose urban renewal schemes which destroy good homes for parking lots, yacht basins, and luxury apartments starting at \$270 a month because, in my opinion, these things do not have any place in a Federal program designed to rehouse slum-dwellers.

You will recall that Congressman Louis C. Rabaut introduced legislation in the 86th Congress which drew on lessons learned in the southwest urban renewal project where 500 acres of housing, much of which was in no worse shape than houses in Georgetown were when Democrats decided that section of the Nation's Capital would be a good place to live. You will recall that the Georgetown migration took place in the early days of the regime of Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The Rabaut bill passed the House 10 to 1, but came to naught in the Senate. Now the urban renewal leaders in Washington are intent on destroying fine homes in the 18th Street-Columbia Road-Lanier Place area to make two great parking lots.

I am not appealing to my colleagues to support the Kearns-Carlson-Thurmond legislation because I know how hard it is for Democrats to support Republican-originated bills at any time, especially early in a new and popular regime such as the present one. I have just had a lesson in this on a bill of mine to provide increased incentives for private giving to private and public education. His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman has said a good word for my bill but I can't get the President to budge—even though my bill is substantially in line with one which Senator James E. Murray, now deceased, God rest his soul, introduced in the 86th Congress. Senator Murray was a Democrat, and a Catholic, but that doesn't help my poor bill.

Anyway, to take off the hex from my bills on urban renewal, let me quote a moving statement by John Crosby who, incidentally, would have been an excellent choice for your "Salute to the Arts" luncheon. In the Erie, Pa., Times of April 18, 1961, Mr. Crosby writes on one of his favorite subjects, housing, as follows:

"There is getting to be an awfully fishy smell to title I and to everything connected with that phrase 'urban renewal.' 'Urban renewal,' (hideous phrase) sounded splendid when originally proposed. In the 350-odd title I projects now underway from New York to California, invariably the mayor issues the original clarion call. The real estate board and all sorts of respectable people from the American establishment get behind what seems like a very good thing. (And for real estate people, it is a very good thing.)"

"Twelve thousand homes without flush toilets," says the press release. "Six thousand without hot water." My god, you say, can such a thing happen in America? No flush toilets! No hot water! One of the glories of America is that everyone has a toilet to flush. The press release goes on with the other words: blight, slums, blighted area. The word blight you must be specially curious about. Usually, if you investigate a blighted area you will discover it is the loveliest area in town.

"In New York, for example, two title I projects under consideration are in Greenwich Village and Brooklyn Heights. Now, God knows, New York is loaded with areas that need fixing up. In fact, New York is rapidly getting to be almost uninhabitable (except for automobiles) but among the few places in town that are worth living in are Greenwich Village and Brooklyn Heights.

"The Greenwich Village area contains some of the last 18th century houses in Manhattan (there are at least three), scores of 19th century houses. Brooklyn Heights is one of the loveliest parts of New York City, and contains over 1,000 hundred-year-old buildings. In both these areas—to say nothing of Houston, St. Louis, Los Angeles, and hundreds of other American cities—real estate operators come in loaded with Federal money and vast powers and vast responsibilities. They can throw you out of your home, pay you a condemnation price for a house whose mortgage you've been paying off for 20 years, and construct a perfectly hideous anthill in its place which is called luxurious housing. All this at the taxpayers' expense.

"What is particularly sickening about all this—and it is just as bad in other cities as it is here—is the amount of official deception that invariably accompanies this ravishment of our beauty spots. George Orwell would chuckle with glee at the uses to which languages are being put in these affairs. For beauty, say blight homes are called slums. Slums are called modern housing. (Modern housing has toilets all right, which can be heard for miles, and a general sleaziness of construction which would be rejected by a French peasant in the 16th century.) Has anyone really counted the number of toilets people haven't got—except the real estate speculators who put out the press releases?

"Why does title I have to descend, not on the worst neighborhoods in town, but the best? Americans can never again afford to build homes like those they propose to tear down in Brooklyn—so why not hang on to the ones we have? And why use public funds to build high rental apartments? To me, there is a shocking waste of the national energy in tearing down beautiful buildings that might better be remodeled or rebuilt—at much less expense. (Of course, this reduces the plunder to the builders and the real estate speculators.) Besides there are plenty of places to build buildings that are not currently occupied by homes. Why tear down homes, displace people, when it's unnecessary?"

So far, in my comments on the culture of cities I have mentioned the Kearns-Carlson-Thurmond bills, and quoted from an article by John Crosby of the New York Herald Tribune.

I might be more persuasive if I quoted from a speech made by one of the undoubted leaders on the Democratic side in the House. I summon to my aid Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr., who, at the 30th annual meeting of the National Housing Conference, on March 13, 1961, said:

"Now we are moving in the direction of the automatically obsolescent house. In Europe, to which so many Americans travel to find the beauty they cannot find at home, there is nothing unusual in finding families occupying houses 300 and 400 years old. On this side of the Atlantic, on the other hand, we are docilely learning the dictum that if a house is secondhand it must be inferior and if it's been built more than 25 years it must be getting ready to fall down.

"What lies behind this mania for consumption, consumption, consumption? Simple. The belief that high consumption will keep our manufacturers churning out goods and hence, counteract tendencies toward unemployment. But once again I remind you—just 40 years from now we are going to need new dwelling units for 120 million new Americans. I tell you we can't afford to let existing housing decay and then be torn down for as-yet-unthought-of urban re-

newal plans. In my more nightmarish moments I wonder where those millions of board feet of lumber, those countless tons of clay for bricks, those endless bags of cement needed just for the houses of that 120 million are going to come from.

"No, we are going to have to learn to preserve what we have and build upon it.

"We must ponder long and hard before we kill existing neighborhoods. Carelessly uprooting people from a neighborhood in which they have lived a lifetime in order to replace their houses with something better may indeed provide sounder buildings and spruce up the area. But too often it scatters around the city confused and resentful people who vent their justified hostilities upon their new dwelling places and cause more slums.

"One time when families moved to public housing developments, they went voluntarily, hoping they were finally getting the break that would permit them to build themselves a new and better life. Now, too often, they go because the place they lived in previously is being torn down and public housing is all they can afford. Construction specifications of public housing units frequently are an insult to the tenants. No doors on the closets, no baseboards on the walls have become symbolic of project living. What wonder is it that projects go sour and decay from the inside out?"

These are some of the thoughts that have occurred to me and I pass them along to you in a spirit of helpfulness, in connection with your "Salute to the Arts" luncheon on Thursday, April 27 at the Mayflower Hotel.

There are some other things I had hoped to discuss such as a Presidential proclamation of National Music Week during the first week of May each year; and having the President extend the benefits of civil service to all the special services people in the armed services, such as librarians, and leaders and specialists (who are college trained) in music, drama, and other arts, as well as crafts who contribute to the welfare and morale of our soldier sons and daughters as well as personnel of the Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps. At the present time, only half of these trained specialists are protected by civil service.

[From the Baltimore American, Sunday, May 7, 1961]

WASHINGTON WONDERLAND—MUSICAL CONGRESSMAN ATTACKS CORNER ON ARTS

(By Ruth Montgomery, Hearst Headline Service)

WASHINGTON, May 6.—All heck has broken loose in the fine arts division of the Kennedy administration.

A Republican Congressman who was singing in opera before First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy was born has dared to challenge the New Frontier's corner on "the arts."

Representative Carroll Kearns, of Pennsylvania, the only legislator who holds an honorary doctor of music degree, has stirred up such a hornet's nest that he has Democrats fighting with each other, and the National Symphony Orchestra shrieking like a wounded banshee, while he and Jackie write flattering *les belles* letters to each other.

Meanwhile, Kearns' staffers are gleefully insinuating that the wife of Democratic Representative Richard Bolling, of Missouri, swiped Kearns' idea for a Committee of the Arts to win herself a prize at the recent "Salute to the Arts" luncheon at the Woman's National Democratic Club.

The cauldron began to bubble last February when Kearns wrote to Mrs. Kennedy, suggesting that she and ex-prexy Ike serve as cochairmen of a National Committee for the Arts. If fine arts are to be advanced as they should, he added, such a committee must be created to work for passage of legislation already introduced by Eisenhower and the new administration.

Jackie replied virtually by return mail, with a gracious letter thanking him for his "stimulating" suggestions. She said that "both the President and I are interested" in his proposals, and that after studying his ideas further she will be in touch with him.

Kearns, bitten by the bug of helpfulness, next wrote a lengthy letter to Mrs. Bolling. Noting that she was staging a "Salute to the Arts" luncheon for Democratic ladies, he broke the news that the Kennedy administration did not discover the arts.

President Eisenhower, he pointed out, is the father of the National Cultural Center Act, and also of the International Cultural Exchange.

Then he applied the stiletto. President Eisenhower, he said, had further called for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, but the Democratic-controlled Congress has been sitting on the bill since 1955.

Kearns, who used to be a music director at schools and colleges, and has conducted the Air Force Band on world tours, saved his Sunday punch for Secretary of State Dean Rusk. He did it by subtle stages.

First he quoted from a bill introduced recently by Democratic Congressman Adam Clayton Powell, which condemned "the undemocratic hiring and employment policies of the National Symphony Orchestra," for employing no Negro musicians.

He pointed out that the Kennedy administration has granted the symphony permission to use the new State Department auditorium where JFK holds his news conferences, and purred:

"Only last week President Kennedy took specific action to bar the facilities of any Federal agency to any group which practices racial discrimination."

Then he blandly asked: "Will the Secretary of State actually bar the National Symphony Orchestra from use of the fine new auditorium in his Department?"

Symphony Manager Raymond Kohn cried out that Adam Clayton Powell doesn't know what he's talking about—the only reason the symphony lacks a Negro musician is because one with sufficient background and symphony repertoire has yet to be auditioned.

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE,
New York, May 9, 1961.

HON. CARROLL KEARNS,
*Member of Congress, House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR REPRESENTATIVE KEARNS: Many thanks for sending me the extracts from the Congressional Record. What you say is, of course, entirely true; you know the score and you know the facts. Yet I cannot altogether subscribe to the conclusions.

While a Democrat (more correctly an independent who often votes Republican) I never took those promises on their face value. So long as Congress counts among its Members a mere handful of your enlightened persuasion nothing can be done. The notion that culture is a private affair (President Eisenhower in the People to People pamphlet), that public money cannot be spent on the cultural welfare of the citizenry, is too deeply imbedded in our social and political makeup. Yet even the anti-intellectuals would like to reap the kudos—if it could be done without spending any money on it. That some advance was made during the last few years is solely due to the Russian competition.

I think that President Kennedy is sympathetic to the cause, but he is a practical politician, as is Mr. Nixon, which means that both of them duck, instinctively, when the "money for culture" issue comes up.

And I don't blame them. Just look at the publicity emanating from Lincoln Center and the Washington Cultural Center: palaces, air-conditioned restaurants, underground garages, 100 million here, 70 million there, etc. The humble and untutored millions, raised on television and perfectly satisfied with the fatuous fare they receive, cannot see why these "rich people" should be subsidized. Kindly read my next Sunday column about Lincoln Center where I spell out some of these things.

The accent is on prestige and patriotism, neither of which is involved in the Nation's cultural life. If you can wean the Nation—and your colleagues—from this concept, if you can establish the fact that the Government is responsible not only for the economic well-being of the Nation but also for its cultural health, perhaps the elected officials from the President down will be a little less cautious and more positive.

With best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

PAUL HENRY LANG.

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun, Saturday, May 6, 1961]

BETTY BEALE'S WASHINGTON—CAPITAL ON CULTURE KICK

WASHINGTON, May 6.—The Capital's off on a cultural kick that at least diverts caustic comments from the Cuban catastrophe.

For Carroll Kearns, Republican, of Pennsylvania, the only Member of Congress to hold a doctor of music degree, the Women's National Democratic Club Salute to the Arts luncheon was the last straw.

In a seven-page, single-spaced letter to Mrs. Richard Bolling, wife of the Missouri Representative and one of the luncheon committee, he fired a broadside at the Democrats for all this cultural talk.

"Many people are beginning to think that the art interest of the Federal Government * * * began with the invitation to Robert Frost, the great poet, and 150 other cultural leaders to attend the inaugural ceremonies of 1961."

But it was under President Eisenhower, he recalled, that the National Cultural Center Act came into being and "the International Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Act under which our great orchestras, artists, drama and dance groups are sent overseas to demonstrate U.S. accomplishments in the fine arts."

Then he let go his second volley: President Eisenhower, he said, called for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts and although the Democrats have been in control of the Congress since 1955, nothing has happened.

"Six years is an awfully long time to wait for the establishment of such a new Federal advisory agency. The contemplated budget is only \$50,000. When our gross national product is over \$500 billion, it can be seen that such a step would scarcely unbalance the national budget. So one may well ask, What is the reason for the present timidity on the Democratic side in holding up the early creation of such an Arts Council?"

A BARB AT KENNEDY ADMINISTRATION

His third shot was aimed at the Kennedy administration. John F. Kennedy himself, when he was Senator, introduced legislation to save the Dolly Madison House and two other buildings on historic Lafayette Square adjacent to the White House. But, blasts Mr. Kearns:

"Two men, William Walton, a painter, and John Moore, Administrator of General Services, like pharaohs or reigning monarchs of an earlier and unenlightened period, have decided to proceed with the destruction of the Lafayette Square buildings. At this very moment, however, the President has called for spending some \$10 million in saving the ancient treasures of the Nile. Recently the President rescued Harvard Yard at Harvard University from an office building."

"If the Nile treasures and Harvard Yard can be saved, why can't the Lafayette Square buildings be saved?"

Pharaoh Walton was ready with a reply. Mr. Kearns must be aware that Congress itself passed a law to demolish those buildings and appropriated the money to build two courts of justice there. Besides, the Dolly Madison House was completely gutted by the Cosmos Club in 1895 so that it no longer has any historical meaning. Under its stucco covering are some original brick walls, that's all." The other buildings have far less reason for preservation, he pointed out.

"He's right about the first point," continued Mr. Walton. "Federal interest in art did not begin January 20, 1961. The difference now is that the President and his wife are using the prestige of his high office to create a cultural climate favorable to the arts. There hasn't been time for anything else."

While all this was going on, Jacqueline Kennedy was attending a performance of the Washington Ballet Co. * * * And the Kennedy Cabinet was giving "An Evening With Robert Frost," the plushest poetry reading ever presented in this political Capital and drawing a VIP roster that was enchanted by his telling humor.

MISS SKINNER OPPOSES NATIONAL THEATER

The salute-to-the-arts luncheon that began all the controversial cultural conversation contained explosions from the artists themselves. Asked what each would do "If I were President for a day":

Actress Cornelia Otis Skinner observed dryly, "I would not encourage a national repertory theater. I don't believe it would work here. I have a vision

of a Senator whose daughter has made a hit as Candida in the Vassar Club play insisting she be made part of the troupe."

Architect Philip C. Johnson proposed "the destruction of U.S. Highway No. 1 from Washington to the border of Maine, including all the cities along the route" in order to rebuild. "We have to build to be remembered," he said. "Sparta conquered Athens but we remember Athens."

An abstract expressionist artist, Larry Rivers, said he would have Government do nothing for art. "Government taking a role in art would be like a gorilla threading a needle. It is cute to watch, the heart is in the right place, but it is clumsy and above all impossible."

The Pulitzer prize-winning author, Paul Horgan, and Violinist Mischa Elman took the opposite view. "Art flourishes best where the artist is cherished," said Mr. Elman. "Appropriate \$50 million a year to worthy projects," said Mr. Horan, "and take art to the people" on a freedom-train basis.

Ballet Choreographer George Blachine was the most ethereal. "God creates beauty, man assembles it," he said. And women are appointed by destiny to inspire beauty.

"I would ask Mrs. Kennedy to lead in the spiritual and artistic life. * * * Already without her saying anything, all the women are doing their hair like Mrs. Kennedy. If she said one word about beauty, all the women would follow."

* * * * *

[From the New York Times]

HUDSON MANSION LIVES AGAIN—BOSCOBEL, DEMOLISHED AND SOLD FOR \$35 6 YEARS AGO, HAS BEEN RESTORED TO 18TH-CENTURY GLORY

(By Merrill Folsom)

GARRISON, N.Y.—A new major point of interest for motorists on drives up the Hudson Valley will be dedicated by Governor Rockefeller today and opened to the public soon after June 1.

It is Boscobel, a beautiful frame mansion that has lived many lives. Originally at Crugers, 15 miles south of here, it was torn down 6 years ago, and its rare woodwork, staircases, mantles and other elements were sold for \$35 to a dealer who specialized in selling second-hand woodwork.

Earlier, the mansion had passed through other vicissitudes, but this was the climax.

The 1955 sale did not go unnoticed in this area. A leader in seeking to preserve this precious bit of Americana was Benjamin W. Frazier of Garrison, president of the Putnam County Historical Society. He enlisted the interest and help of others in Putnam and Westchester Counties, and a fund-raising campaign was started.

CONTRIBUTORS

The principal contributors at the start were Mr. and Mrs. DeWitt Wallace of Pleasantville, copublishers of the Readers Digest. Mrs. Wallace gave \$750,000, and she and her husband, through the Readers Digest Foundation, set up a trust fund of \$500,000 to keep the restored structure open to the public in perpetuity.

The Wallaces, on a trip to England and France some months ago, bought antique tables, chairs, pictures, and other furnishings for Boscobel, since the originals had vanished long ago. The replacements are considered typical of the period and place.

Other contributions have been received and pledged for the restoration. The total sum required apart from the trust fund, was set at \$1,250,000.

The urgency of the matter early became evident when Mr. Frazier learned that some beautiful parts of the old house had been sold to be incorporated into a handsome new home being built on Long Island. The proprietor was persuaded to give up the original parts if they could be faithfully replaced. Mr. Frazier recently said that this cost "many thousands of dollars."

COMMITTEE FORMED

A committee, Boscobel Restoration, Inc., was set up. Carl Carmer, author, of Irvington-on-Hudson, is president. Other members are Mrs. Wallace, Mr. Frazier, Mrs. Charles Stearns, Harry G. Wilcox and Mr. and Mrs. Frederick D. Thompson, all of Westchester or Putnam Counties.

The dealer in second-hand woodwork cooperated in taking Boscobel apart with the greatest care, numbering each element. These parts were stored in barns around Garrison.

A 36-acre tract on a plateau high above the Hudson River midway between Garrison and Cold Spring was acquired, and Boscobel now has been assembled there. The tract adjoins State Route 9D.

The site is across the Hudson from the United States Military Academy at West Point. Directors of the restoration expect to welcome many visitors from among the motorists on circle tours to West Point, Bear Mountain State Park, the Washington Headquarters and other Revolutionary War shrines near Newburgh, and the Sleepy Hollow restorations that the late John D. Rockefeller, Jr. endowed in Westchester County.

Boscobel, on its original site overlooking the Hudson at Crugers, was an American landmark that was commenced in 1795 and completed in 1804. It became one of the great social centers of the Hudson Valley.

It is a fine example of the style of the noted 18th-century Scottish-born architect, Robert Adam. His elegant designs, based on classic and Italian models but displaying an airiness and lightness all their own, are to be seen in numerous public and private buildings in London and elsewhere in Britain and are considered 18th-century masterpieces.

IMPORTED DESIGN

It was constructed by Staats Morris Dyckman, a member of one of the wealthiest families in New York at that time. Dyckman had seen the design in England and brought it to this country. The name Boscobel was taken from an estate in Shropshire, England, where, in 1651, King Charles II hid in a hollow oak after the defeat of his army by Oliver Cromwell at the Battle of Worcester.

Originally the name Boscobel had come from the Italian "Boscobello," meaning beautiful wood.

The mansion was sold by Dyckman descendants to the Westchester County Park Commission in 1923. The commission relinquished Cruger's Park, in which Boscobel stood, and the mansion itself, to the Veterans' Administration after World War II. The Government built the \$25,000,000 Franklin Delano Roosevelt Hospital for neuropsychiatric veterans next to the house.

INDOOR SKATING RINK

Several times the Veterans' Administration threatened to raze the mansion, partly because it was considered a possible hiding place for mentally disturbed patients of the hospital. Then, for several winters, the main hall, 42 feet long, was used as a skating rink by Boy Scout groups.

Despite the efforts of those interested in preserving the mansion, its demolition was suddenly ordered by the Veterans' Administration and the dealer made his \$35 purchase. The bargain has been compared with Peter Minuit's purchase of Manhattan for \$24.

A carriage house on the new property of Boscobel will have exhibitions of the various aspects of Hudson Valley life in the era of the early Dyckmans. They will include farm implements and tools. The exhibits will be changed occasionally.

The dedication will be at 3 p.m. today in a large tent on the property. Soon after June 1, the mansion and other buildings will be open to the public from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. every day except Tuesday. The entrance fees will be \$1 for adults, 60 cents for children 6 to 14 years old, and \$2.50 for families of two adults and up to four children.

[From the New Republic]

[From the New York Times, Saturday, May 13, 1961]

A HOME FOR AMERICAN ART

No one seriously questions that European painting, in the aggregate from A.D. 1200 to the present, is immeasurably superior to anything yet produced on these shores. But this does not mean there is no such thing as American art. Unfortunately the visitor to Washington—from Dubuque or Delhi—can easily draw that conclusion from what seems to be the total absence of concern on the part of the American Government for American art.

The National Gallery of Art supplies an excellent view of European art, particularly painting, from the earliest Renaissance up to the start of this century. Some of the greatest European masterpieces are in the Gallery. American art, however, is not represented with anything like the same completeness or the same quality in individual examples. Now there are two bills before the Senate (and two before the House) which would provide a home for the National Collection of Fine Arts and the proposed National Portrait Gallery. The proposed home—the Civil Service Building in the District of Columbia, also known as the Old Patent Office—is itself one of the architectural monuments of the Nation's Capital and was only barely saved in recent years from destruction in favor of a parking lot.

In the Senate, legislation introduced by Senators Humphrey of Minnesota, Williams of New Jersey, and Long of Missouri, would establish a National Portrait Gallery and house it in up to one-half of the space in the Old Patent Office Building—the remainder of the space to be reserved for the National Collection of Fine Arts (which was the intended occupant of the building when Congress ordered its preservation in 1958).

Senator Clinton Anderson of New Mexico declined to join Humphrey on the grounds that no new legislation was needed. On February 24, however, Anderson, joined by Senator Saltonstall, introduced legislation of his own establishing a portrait gallery in the old Patent Office Building. The language in all four bills is very similar but there are significant differences. The Humphrey bill grants the new portrait gallery up to half the space of the building and specifies that the building shall also house the National Collection of Fine Arts. The Anderson bill makes no mention of all of the national collection and gives the portrait gallery use of "the whole or any part of the building."

That language opens up the direct possibility that if the Anderson bill is the one finally passed, the National Collection of Fine Arts will never occupy the building reserved for it by Congress in 1958, but will continue to be crowded in among the stuffed elephants and plaster Esquimaux of the Museum of Natural History—in space which is needed by the Museum of Natural History and which is pitifully inadequate to show anything like the scope of the national collection.

The national collection itself, it must be confessed, is no great shakes as an assemblage of art, either American or European. There are better collections of American painting in New York, Chicago and dozens of other American cities and towns. But in Washington, the Nation's Capital, the national collection is at present our last best hope, such as it is. If the collection can stay alive, if it can find suitable quarters for preservation and exhibition, if it can come out from behind the elephants in the Natural History Museum, it just may, in the future, attract the kind of liberal and princely givers with whom the national gallery has been so singularly blessed.

[From the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., May 28, 1961]

ART LEAGUE FEARS LOSS OF PATENT OFFICE "HOME"

(By Grace Bassett, Star staff writer)

Will American art take second place to American history in the first suitable home for native talent now planned in the Nation's Capital?

Some Washington artists are afraid so, despite assurances to the contrary from Smithsonian Institution and Congress. The 170 members of the American Art League, Inc., have resolved to fight legislation which, they feel, may keep the National Collection of Fine Arts out of the monumental old Patent Office Building at Eighth and F Streets NW.

The history of the bill, the building, and the collection has made artists wary. They can point to a 23-year record of futile efforts to establish a suitable gallery for American art in the Federal City.

Failures seem no less frustrating to Smithsonian Secretary Leonard Carmichael, who assured the House Appropriations Committee this year that a requested \$400,000 would finance remodeling plans for the building for an art gallery. Included would be both the National Collection and the National Portrait Gallery, he testified.

CRAMMED IN MUSEUM

The House granted the \$400,000, which appears assured of Senate approval. Paintings, ceramics, prints, and sculptures of the collection now are crammed among the stuffed elephants and plaster Eskimos of the Smithsonian's Natural History Museum. The collection, with a board of its own, accommodates native artists by exhibiting their works in the foyer. History, not art, sets the mood of this museum.

The National Portrait Gallery still has no board of its own. But it has been a favorite concept, if not an organ, of the Smithsonian for a century. The Clark collection of portraits of Americans of the 18th and 19th centuries by prominent American artists has been envisioned as the nucleus of a national portrait gallery. Most of the Clark paintings are stored in the basement of the National Gallery of Art, which displays work—mostly European—primarily of artistic rather than historical interest.

Although many of the works in the portrait collection are considered of finer quality than those of the fine arts collection, history, not art, sets their mood.

It is this conflict between artistic and historical art that disturbs the Art League.

PORTRAITS WOULD GAIN

And the Smithsonian's predisposition for history and science instead of art is the real danger league members see in a new bill introduced by powerful Senators Anderson, Democrat of New Mexico, and Saltonstall, Republican of Massachusetts. Both are regents of the Smithsonian.

At the request of the Smithsonian, they sponsored legislation to create a board, controlled by Smithsonian Regents, for the National Portrait Gallery. This board could use "the whole or any part" of the Patent Building for the Portrait Gallery.

Should the board decide to use "the whole" the National Portrait Gallery would squeeze the National Collection of Fine Arts right out of the Old Patent Building, League President Francis Peters reasoned.

Yet, the building is eminently suited for a gallery to show off and to improve the quality of American art, the league is convinced. An architectural treasure itself, the building is to be transferred to the Smithsonian under a 1958 law when its present occupant—the Civil Service Commission—vacates. The CSC is due to move into a new building in 1963.

American Architect Robert Mills, who designed the Washington Monument and the Treasury Building, fashioned the Old Patent Office Building in Greek revival style. The two-block site downtown, bounded by Seventh, Ninth, F and G Streets NW., was set aside in the L'Enfant plan of 1791 for an "American Pantheon."

FEARS CALLED UNFOUNDED

Senator Anderson said the league fears were unfounded. It would be impractical to section off the Patent Building, one-half for the collection and another for the Portrait Gallery, he said.

He cited language in the congressional reports on the 1958 transfer law saying that the Patent Building would be used for both collections.

Hardened by past disappointments, the league has yet to be convinced. Members have thrown their support instead behind a bill sponsored by Senator Humphrey, Democrat of Minnesota, creating a Portrait Gallery Board headed by the Chairman of the Board of the National Collection. Further, the Humphrey bill would limit Portrait Gallery occupancy of the Patent Building to half of the space.

Cosponsors of the Humphrey bill are Democratic Senators Williams of New Jersey and Long of Missouri and Representative McDowell of Delaware.

LAW SEEN NEEDLESS

Some league members feel no legislation is required at all.

Congress in a 1938 resolution called for establishment of a suitable gallery for national collections of "fine arts, comprising paintings, sculptures, bronzes, glass, porcelain, tapestry, furniture, jewelry, and other types of art." Also, the gallery would house portraits of eminent Americans and exhibit works of artists deserving recognition, the resolution said.

But the resolution fixed a site along the Mall now occupied by the new Smithsonian Air Museum for the gallery.

The intent of the resolution protects the National Collection of Fine Arts in a new gallery—now proposed in the Patent Building—according to one view. But to the majority of league members, the fact that the Smithsonian built an air museum on one art gallery site hints that the pattern could be repeated by history nosing out art again in the Patent Building.

[From the New York Times, Saturday, May 13, 1961]

CAPITAL TO HAVE ITS SHAKESPEARE—FREE PARK PRODUCTIONS ARE PLANNED THIS SUMMER

(By Louis Calta)

Washington, like New York, will have its free Shakespeare in the park this summer. The founder and organizer of the venture is Ellie Chamberlain, who once worked with Joseph Papp's Shakespeare Festival in Central Park.

Yesterday Miss Chamberlain explained that her association with Mr. Papp's group had been the motivating element for the capital project. The plan she has chosen for the first season is "Twelfth Night," which will open July 1 for a 2-week run.

The classic will be played at the Sylvan Theater, a 1,500-seat outdoor theater set in a grove of trees and shrubbery about 2 blocks from the White House and about 100 paces from the base of the Washington Monument.

The Department of Interior is providing the theater and maintenance and the District of Columbia Recreation Department will supply the equipment. Production costs are being met by private donations. These will be supplemented by a recently launched dollar drive.

Among those who already have responded to the drive, according to Miss Chamberlain, are Robert Frost, Laurence Olivier, Mr. Papp and Richard L. Coe, drama critic for the Washington Post.

All of the actors, Miss Chamberlain explained, have volunteered to perform without pay in the expectation of improving on their art. Rehearsals are scheduled to start May 29.

[From the Evening Star, Washington, D.C., Friday, Mar. 17, 1961]

SHAKESPEARE FETE PLANNED—ACTRESS DREAMED IT UP, MEANS TO MAKE IT ANNUAL

(By Amelia Young)

If Ellie Chamberlain gets her way, the Nation's Capital will have its own Shakespearean Festival every summer beginning in 1961.

Ellie is a local actress-director turned entrepreneur who means to stage a festival this July no matter how she has to do it.

She plans to put on "Twelfth Night" for a 2- or 3-week run, using the best of area talent and drawing on the National Capital Parks and the D.C. Recreation Department for assistance.

Already she has received permission to use the Sylvan Theater on the Washington Monument grounds, pending final arrangements, and the Parks Department has agreed to put up seats for an audience of 1,500.

Ellie's dream is to raise \$5,000 to cover the production costs (lighting, costumes, scenery) and she is applying for a license to solicit donations. The actors will not be paid and the public will not be charged. This is strictly a non-profit venture.

Should she fail to collect the full amount, Ellie said, she'll have to rely heavily on imagination—but the show will go on.

WORTHY PRECEDENT

For example, if necessary the company will perform on weekend afternoons without any stage lighting at all. "We would have a valid precedent for this," she said. "Shakespeare's own company performed in full daylight."

And the scenery could be reduced to just the suggestion of a set. "Scenery should be simple, anyway. I feel. It's there to enhance the mood and quality of a production, but it shouldn't be heavy. It shouldn't interfere. So the

scenery, as such, is not going to be too important. We could almost dispense with it."

"In other words," Ellie added, "we can make a virtue of necessity."

So far Ellie's project exists on handsome letterhead stationery that proclaims the "Shakespeare Festival of Washington" with her address printed beneath it. To the left, in small letters, the type reads "Ellie Chamberlain, Managing Director."

She has formed a small fundraising committee that will seek contributions chiefly by direct contact, and has assembled the major portion of a company that will number 30 or 40 people, including the technicians.

The Recreation Department, she said, has promised to "sponsor" the event, which means it will help to promote it and provide some technical and administrative assistance.

The idea for the festival has been nagging at Ellie for at least a year. A native New Yorker who moved here 2 years ago with her husband, Panos Gildas, she has been all over the lot in local little theater, both acting and directing. (She is director of "The Current View From the Bridge" production at the Capitol Hill Theater.)

CREATING AN OUTLET

It appears to Ellie there's plenty of real acting talent around but no high-caliber outlet for it, "What I'm after," she explained, "is good quality theater absolutely comparable to professional stuff." As it is now, Washington has "amateur theater that only your friends and relatives come to, and professional theater that is closed to most local talent."

The festival company will be what she describes as "nonequity but professional"—professional, that is, in its artistic standards. I'm getting actors who take their acting seriously, who think of it as a job rather than a hobby." Almost all those chosen so far have at some time been involved in professional theater.

Ellie, a scholarship graduate of the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York (which produced Eli Wallach, Jo Van Fleet, and Gregory Peck among others), attended the Shakespeare Institute in Stratford, England, the summer of 1955. Three summers later, after appearing in a number of off-Broadway shows, she joined the company of the Central Park Shakespeare Festival. That remarkably successful company, which grew out of an actor's reading group, is the model for Ellie's project.

She hopes to do what they have done—produce enough excitement to attract the best directors and set designers in future seasons. "There are noted directors who want to work on Shakespeare and haven't much opportunity. If we make the shows good enough, they'll want to come down."

"The first season is always hard," she added. "Everybody has to really pitch in. But if we make a success of it, then it will be something that exists. It won't be just in the realm of dream or vision or idea."

[From the Congressional Record, Mar. 24, 1960]

AMENDMENT OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS ACT OF 1959, RELATING TO LOCATION OF CERTAIN COURTS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. KENNEDY. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 to authorize a study for the purpose of determining the feasibility of locating the Court of Claims, the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, and the Tax Court of the United States near the Supreme Court.

These three courts have all outgrown their present locations. There is pending before the Public Works Committee a plan to locate the Court of Claims in Lafayette Square. This means that many of the historic buildings now fronting that square will be torn down. The Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Taylor House, and the Belasco Theater have long served as an inspiration to generations of Americans who have visited their Capital City. Certainly, before any irrevocable action is taken to destroy these buildings to provide a site for a courthouse, other sites should be investigated.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial which appeared in the Washington Post last Friday, entitled "Courthouse Politics."

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the editorial will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 3280) to amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 so as to authorize a study for the purpose of determining the feasibility of locating the Court of Claims, the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, and the Tax Court of the United States near the Supreme Court of the United States, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Kennedy, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

(The editorial presented by Mr. Kennedy is as follows:)

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 18, 1960]

COURTHOUSE POLITICS

A choice corner fronting on Lafayette Square is swiftly becoming a site for sore eyes (of Texas) as a result of a quarrel involving three courts all in search of a new home. All the courts—the Courts of Claims, Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, and Tax Court—are in urgent need of more space. On this there is little dispute. The plight of the Court of Claims is especially desperate; because the court deals only with cases involving the Government, its docket has grown at an awesome rate (6,000 cases are now pending) while its quarters have failed to keep pace.

But is Lafayette Square the appropriate site for a courthouse? Chief Judge Marvin Jones of the Court of Claims contends that his bench should be given sole occupancy of the site on Madison Place and H Street NW, now occupied by the old Belasco Theater and Dolley Madison House. Judge Jones, a former Texas Congressman, points out that the General Services Administration has assigned the site to his court and that the House Public Works Committee has endorsed the move.

At this point, Chief Judge Eugene Worley, of the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, enters a sharp dissent. His court, too, is in dire need of more space and he proposes the addition of 30,000 square feet to the Lafayette Square edifice so that both courts could be housed together. Chief Judge Worley, also a former Texas Congressman, feels this could be done with a minimum of delay. And doubtless it would be desirable if another 90,000 square feet could be found for the Tax Court.

To a bewildered bystander, one alternative seems clear. The needs of all the courts could be met adequately in a "judiciary square" on the east side of the Supreme Court Building. This is the proposal previously endorsed by both the National Capital Planning Commission and the Fine Arts Commission. Not only would it mean that an area could be created which would comport with judicial dignity (the buildings, perhaps, could be grouped around an Oliver Wendell Holmes Memorial Park) but also that Lafayette Square could then be preserved for an executive use more in keeping with its historical values and its proximity to the White House.

Granted that such a change in plans would mean further delay, and granted that the location might be more inconvenient for the Court of Claims, we still think the idea of grouping the courts in a more suitable site deserves further consideration before the bulldozers begin their work. To meet the problems of delay, surely further space in other Government buildings—or leased private quarters—could be found on a short-term basis.

[From the Congressional Record, Mar. 24, 1960]

AMENDMENT OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS ACT OF 1959, RELATING TO LOCATION FOR NEW U.S. COURT OF CLAIMS BUILDING

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in an editorial on March 18, the Washington Post called attention again to the plans going forward to use the sites surrounding Lafayette Park, now occupied by several historic structures, for construction of a new office building to house the Court of Claims and the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals.

No one can deny that the workload of these courts makes it imperative that they be provided with expanded quarters. But I entirely share the objection of the Washington Post to using the sites around Lafayette Park for that purpose. A much better idea is the one offered by the Post that they be grouped around the U.S. Supreme Court Building as recommended by the National Capital Planning Commission and the Fine Arts Commission.

I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial from the Washington Post printed at this point in my remarks.

(There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:)

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 18, 1960]

COURTHOUSE POLICIES

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But is Lafayette Square the appropriate site for a courthouse? Chief Judge Marvin Jones of the Court of Claims contends that his bench should be given sole occupancy of the site on Madison Place and H Street NW. now occupied by the old Belasco Theater and Dolly Madison house. Judge Jones, a former Texas Congressman, points out that the General Services Administration has assigned the site to his court and that the House Public Works Committee has endorsed the move.

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Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, in order to get a restudy of the question of locating the needed new courthouses, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill directing the General Services Administration to bring together recommendations from itself, the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts to determine the feasibility of a "judiciary square" proposal. These recommendations would be brought back to the House and Senate Committees on Public Works for further action.

The old Belasco Theater is one of the buildings which would be razed if the new courthouse were constructed on the square. The February 21, 1960, issue of the Post carried an editorial on the Belasco Theater and its place in the history of Washington. I ask unanimous consent to have this editorial, too, appear at this point in my remarks.

(There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:)

[From the Washington Post, Feb. 21, 1960]

FINAL CURTAIN

A fine old theatrical relic and the graceful home where Dolly Madison once lived now appear doomed by the General Services Administration's latest plans to "improve" Lafayette Square. Only those with hearts of ice could be wholly unmoved by the impending change. The Belasco Theater, second only to the National in local eminence, once carried such lustrous names on its playbills as Sarah Bernhardt, Mrs. Fiske, and DeWolf Hopper. During its years as a USO center, it basked in a brief Indian summer before the Treasury Department turned its velvet-and-gold interior into a vault for Disbursement Office records. And now the shade of L. Stoddard Taylor, the Belasco's last manager, will surely sigh at the news that his 65-year-old stage will soon make way for a Court of Claims given to more prosaic drama.

No less poignant is the fate of the Dolly Madison House a few doors up on H Street. The second oldest private dwelling on the square (Decatur House is older), and once the home of the Cosmos Club, the house is celebrated as the place where Dolly Madison spent the years of her widowhood. It is a house rich in associations on a square limned in history. A catalog of those who have lived around the park evokes the Republic's heroic days: Daniel Webster, William H. Seward, John Hay, Henry Adams, James G. Blaine, Henry Clay, Charles Sumner, Roger B. Taney, Gideon Welles, Stephen Decatur, and John Randolph, of Roanoke.

Long ago, the decision should have been made to preserve the residential character which predominated around the square until World War I. The opportunity has been thoughtlessly thrown away. The GSA is preparing to raze most of Jackson Place to make way for a monolithic office building; the AFL-CIO was permitted to build a headquarters mosque that towers grotesquely over St. John's Church; and now one of the city's choicest locations will be awarded to the Court of Claims. Even at this late date some hard questions ought to be raised about whether a courthouse would make the most appropriate use of such a desirable site.

With a little more foresight, the square could have remained as a pleasant patch of the past—with a refurbished Belasco serving, perhaps, as a repertory theater. The chance has long since gone, and our grandchildren may well reproach us for failing as guardians of a heritage worth saving.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, no one can quarrel with the need for these new courthouses. But I cannot understand why they must be crowded into the downtown area of Washington, and into the lovely square across from the White House. Destruction of these buildings to make room for new office buildings will deprive Washington of much of the grace and charm which now envelops the White House. I hope this matter can be resolved in favor of their preservation. The Congress is already studying proposals for monuments to such notable figures of our past as James Madison, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt. I am all for appropriate memorials to these great men. I am all for the very large sums which were spent to restore and preserve Independence Hall in Philadelphia, and other sites of significance in American history.

But I do not understand why we cannot preserve what we already have by way of historic sites in the city of Washington, D.C. In addition to their historic import, they also contribute to the beauty of the White House, and I hope that by introducing this measure today, I can assist in their preservation.

I ask unanimous consent to have my bill lie on the table for 3 days so that any Senator who may wish to do so can cosponsor it.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President I ask unanimous consent that the bill may be printed at this point in the Record in my remarks.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the bill will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 3279) to amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 to provide a study by the National Capital Planning Commission, the General Services Administration, and the Commission of Fine Arts as to the best location for a new U.S. Court of Claims Building, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Morse, was received, read twice by its title, referred to the Committee on Public Works, and ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Public Buildings Act of 1959 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"Sec. 18. The Administrator is authorized to conduct a joint study, together with the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts, for the purpose of determining the feasibility of constructing, near the Supreme Court of the United States, adequate facilities to house the Court of Claims, the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, and the Tax Court of the United States. As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this section, the Administrator shall submit a report on the results of such study, together with such recommendations as the three agencies may deem advisable, to the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House of Representatives.

"Sec. 19. In keeping with the national policy of protecting and preserving historic American buildings and sites for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States, the Administrator shall preserve and maintain the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater on Lafayette Square in the District of Columbia, for historical, cultural, and civil purposes. The Administrator is authorized and directed to restore the Belasco Theater to a condition at least equal to its condition at the time it was acquired by the Federal Government. The National Park Service, and the District of Columbia Recreation Department, shall advise and assist the Administrator in the restoration and management of the Belasco Theater as a municipal art center. The Administrator is authorized to accept contributions of money, which shall be deductible for tax purposes, for the purpose of assisting him in the restoration of the Belasco Theater for cultural and civic purposes."

[From the Congressional Record, Apr. 21, 1960]

AMENDMENT OF PUBLIC BUILDINGS ACT OF 1959, RELATING TO LOCATION OF CERTAIN COURT BUILDINGS IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to provide for a study of the best location for certain Federal court buildings in order to preserve Lafayette Square for cultural and educational purposes.

The bill calls for a study by the Administrator of General Services, the National Capital Planning Commission, and the Commission of Fine Arts of the feasibility of constructing a building for the U.S. Claims and Customs Courts in the area bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue on the north, 17th Street on the east, New York Avenue on the south, and 18th Street on the west.

My bill would also provide for preservation and maintenance of the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater.

A proposal now being considered for construction of the necessary court building on Madison Place on the east side of Lafayette Square would mean destruction of the gracious Dolly Madison and Benjamin Tayloe Houses as well as the theater. I believe that these cherished reminders of our history and the historic spirit of the entire square should be maintained.

As we plan for the future of our Nation's Capital, we must remember that our city is a living lesson in our Nation's history as well as the center of our Government operations.

In locating Federal buildings in the District of Columbia, we must think not only of Government services for our children, but of preserving for them the beauties of our American heritage.

We have not always guarded this heritage as we could and should. I hope that we shall not fail in this opportunity to maintain one corner of our past in the heart of the District.

THE VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred.

The bill (S. 3403) to amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 to provide a study as to the best location for a new building for certain courts of the United States, to preserve the Dolly Madison House, and other historic buildings near the White House for cultural and educational purposes in keeping with the national policy enunciated in the Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Humphrey, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Public Works.

[From the Congressional Record, July 1, 1960]

RECONSTRUCTION AT LAFAYETTE SQUARE

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, this afternoon the Senate passed upon the conference report on the independent offices appropriation bill, which included an appropriation for \$7 million as a part of the project to destroy most of Lafayette Square and prepare the way for constructing three court buildings in that area.

It strikes me it is rather curious that this administration, which is supposed to be conservative, and this Congress, which has some, at least, conservative characteristics, is so ready to destroy buildings which have historic interest and which are significant, in the tradition of the United States. The Belasco Theater, the historic Dolley Madison House, Tayloe House, and a number of other buildings in the area would be destroyed by bulldozers and battering rams within the next few months.

It is not necessary to consider only the historic interest of the buildings, but the beauty of the streets should justify our going somewhat slowly before we proceed to this destruction.

In their place, it was said at one time, there will be built two courthouses, but we understand now that the proposal is to construct three of them, one for the Court of Claims, one for the Court of Customs, and the other for the Tax Court of the United States.

No one knows what the architectural designs will be. I think most of us feel that the architects who have been employed on Government buildings recently have not constructed buildings which are likely to live in the history of architecture.

I regret that the Committee on Public Works, of which I am a member, approved this construction; and I am hopeful that the other commissions, agencies, and persons who have some power of reviewing our actions may recommend effectively against this construction.

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, will the Senator yield?

Mr. McCARTHY. I yield to the Senator from Oregon.

Mr. MORSE. I thank the Senator from Minnesota for making these comments for the Record tonight in regard to the very unwise course of action which is being followed in respect to Lafayette Square.

I testified before the Public Works Committee in opposition to this great mistake that we are about to make. There are reasons not only of esthetics, and not only of history which argue against it, because, after all, I think this section of Washington, D.C., is really a part of the cradle of American democracy, in this Capital City of the Nation, but I would like to argue a very practical reason against it, namely, that of traffic congestion. I think it is inexcusable that we would concentrate this additional traffic congestion in the Lafayette Square area.

May I say as a member of the District of Columbia Committee of the Senate, we have a serious problem of traffic congestion already in the city, and there are areas farther out, such as the area behind the Supreme Court Building, and other areas in southeast and southwest Washington, where these buildings could have been constructed.

I am at a loss to understand why, merely for accommodation, as one columnist pointed out, for certain judges who apparently do not like to move very far from their bridge tables and clubs in the center of Washington, we should go to the great expense of building these courthouses in the middle of town.

This is not good city planning, Mr. President. I think it is unfortunate that the Public Works Committee in this instance really has set itself up above the Committee on the District of Columbia, which has chief jurisdiction over the question of District of Columbia planning.

At least, Mr. President, it is too bad we have rules which permit the Public Works Committee to go ahead without the matter being subjected to the veto of the Congress of the United States.

Mr. President, I serve notice now that in the next session of Congress I shall offer some changes in rules which will bring the Public Works Committee under greater control of the Senate of the United States, so that this power it is able to exercise in this instance will be taken away from it in the future.

Mr. McCARTHY. Mr. President, I suggest it might be good if all of us on the Public Works Committee were to read Mr. C. Northcote Parkinson's book, entitled "Parkinson's Law," in which he has some rather significant comments

with regard to public buildings and their implications with respect to the vitality of the institutions which use them for their purposes.

In discussing an institution "clothed from the outset with convenience and dignity," he remarks: "The outer door, in bronze and glass," which is quite a specific description of the entrance of the New Senate Office Building, "is placed centrally in a symmetrical facade. Polished shoes glide silently over shining rubber to the glittering and silent elevator."

This was the issue the Senator from Illinois was much concerned about—polished rubber tile. This is all in "Parkinson's Law."

Then he talks about the receptions, and so on, and says:

"From behind closed doors will come the subdued noise of an ordered activity."

We had a problem with respect to the louvers in the doors. It seems as though this ordered activity was too noisy for the people in the halls.

"A minute later and you are ankle deep in the director's carpet."

This was objected to by the Senator from Illinois.

He says that this is supposed to indicate an organization or institution really alive and functioning, but that this is not correct.

"In point of fact you will have discovered nothing of the kind. It is now known that a perfection of planned layout is achieved only by institutions on the point of collapse."

I hope this does not apply to the U.S. Senate. To the extent that Mr. Parkinson's law applies—and it seems to have been proved correct on the record of history—I think we need to be concerned. He says further:

"During a period of exciting discovery or progress there is no time to plan the perfect headquarters. The time for that comes later, when all the important work has been done. Perfection, we know, is finality; and finality is death."

This may be an overstatement, but he does go to the record of history and makes a point with respect the Parliament buildings in London. He had this to say in that regard:

It represents, beyond question, a magnificent piece of planning, aptly designed for debate and yet provided with ample space for everything else—for committee meetings, for quiet study, for refreshment, and [on its terrace] for tea."

We have not gone that far yet.

"It has everything a legislator could possibly desire, all incorporated in a building of immense dignity and comfort. It should date—but this we now hardly dare assume—from a period when parliamentary rule was at its height. But once again the dates fail to fit into this pattern. The original House, where Pitt and Fox were matched in oratory, was accidentally destroyed by fire in 1834. It would appear to have been as famed for its inconvenience as for its lofty standard of debate. The present structure was begun in 1840, partly occupied in 1852, but incomplete when its architect died in 1860. It finally assumed its present appearance in about 1868. Now, by what we can no longer regard as coincidence, the decline of Parliament can be traced without much dispute, to the Reform Act of 1867."

That is 1 year before the completion of the building:

"It was in the following year that all initiative in legislation passed from Parliament to be vested in the Cabinet. The prestige attached to the letters "M.P." began sharply to decline and thence forward the most that could be said is that "a role, though a humble one, was left for private members." The great days were over."

Mr. President, I suggest that Members of the Senate and members of the Committee on Public Works give some thought to this matter. We have had a great rash of building on Capitol Hill. It is my opinion that the construction of the New Senate Office Building is a sign of a decline of the Senate. We have more room for public relations people and more room for service to our constituents. In fact, almost every office has become a kind of separate political headquarters, not simply for those who are running for the Presidency but also for those who are trying to do their jobs.

The House of Representatives was to be the branch of the people. It was hoped the House would be representative of the people. It was thought there might be some party discipline and unity. The House of Representatives is now constructing another office building.

I thought the least we could do, to establish some line of responsibility, was to have one office building reserved for Democrats and the other for Republicans. We have two office buildings for the Senate, yet that may not be enough. Perhaps we will need a third or a fourth, to give a proper distinction.

The House of Representatives has two office buildings now, and is constructing a third. The third will be the largest office building of any representative legislative body in the world.

I have grave doubts as to whether this will make of the House of Representatives what the men who founded this country intended it to be. I refer to men like Madison, who said he expected the House of Representatives to predominate in the government of this country.

I think that what Mr. Parkinson talks about in the case of the British Parliament may be happening to us. We are getting more office space and more employees; yet our effectiveness as legislators and our influence in the country decline in almost that same measure. I say that I think we ought to look into the building program. This may be the way to get back to what we were intended to be at the beginning.

Now we have the proposal for Lafayette Park, which raises another serious question of the particular function of the executive branch of the Government. Lafayette Park was sometimes referred to as the President's park. It may soon have very little connection with the White House, and it may look less and less like a park.

Frederick Gutheim, noted architectural historian, wrote in the Washington Post and Times Herald of June 24, 1960, that the park is in danger of being "engulfed by office building," and "the White House itself will be the casualty."

There was a time when the White House stood for more than it does now. We ought to be concerned about the record. We ought to keep some space around the White House, on the assumption that we have a Chief Executive. We ought to keep minor courts out of the front yard of the White House. If this were the Supreme Court, perhaps there should be some relationship, but these are minor courts about which we are talking, rather unimportant courts. These courts could well be built at McLean, Va., with the CIA. They do not have to be in the front yard of the White House.

As I said yesterday, there may come a time when the President may occupy the White House. That time may come soon. I think the least we can do is to wait until after the next election, and let the next President decide what he desires to see when he looks out of the door—I think it is the back door, but whichever door it is—to see the view.

Mr. President, I yield back my remaining time.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Texas has the floor.

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. Mr. President, does any other Senator desire to address the Senate?

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President—

Mr. JOHNSON of Texas. I yield to the Senator from New York.

[From the Congressional Record, July 1, 1960]

FUTURE OF LAFAYETTE SQUARE

(Extension of remarks of Hon. Eugene J. McCarthy, of Minnesota, in the Senate of the United States, Thursday, June 30, 1960)

Mr. MCCARTHY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the Record a letter to the editor of the Washington Evening Star of June 30, written by Mr. Frederick Haupt III, entitled "Future of Lafayette Square."

I was one of those who joined with several other members of the Public Works Committee in objecting to the approval that the committee gave to the planned courthouse construction in Lafayette Square. The least we can do is to wait until after the next election, because of the possibility that the next President might wish to spend more time at the White House and he may be concerned about Lafayette Square when he looks out his front door.

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I would like to voice my approval.

(There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:)

"FUTURE OF LAFAYETTE SQUARE

"I wish to acknowledge a debt of gratitude owed to our paper by everyone who is interested in preserving Lafayette Square and the buildings adjacent to it. The editorial support which you have given bespeaks a breadth of

vision and a genuine concern with the historical—and esthetic—appearance of the Nation's Capital, both of which provide the logical answers to the parochialism which would convert this 'forecourt of the White House' (as Frederick Gutheim has called it) into another Federal Triangle—or rectangle, in this case. In addition to your editorials, your news coverage of the hearings by the Senate Subcommittee on Buildings and Grounds, the pieces by Day Thorpe, and the piece by Gilbert Gimble (on June 26) have not only maintained public interest in this matter (which had already begun to take on the aspects of a strictly private affair between various agencies of the Federal Government) but have also provided the backing that is so necessary to the efforts undertaken to preserve the square in Congress and by private citizens in Washington.

"The article by Mr. Gimble ably presents both sides of the case as it has developed to this point, and quite properly points out that congressional action 'may shape the character of the historic square for coming generations.'

"General Services Administrator Franklon Floete is especially to be thanked for his sensible alternative proposal to erect a triple court building in Southwest Washington. It is particularly encouraging to see the legislation introduced in Congress by Senators Douglas, Gruening, Hennings, Humphrey, Kennedy, Mansfield, Morse, and Murray, and by Representatives Thompson and McDowell. The General Federation of Women's Clubs and the National Federation of Music Clubs have shown a determined interest in preserving Lafayette Square; and their support is invaluable and of special significance because it does not represent purely local interests. And finally, our thanks should go to Carl Levin for his initiative and energy in forming the Citizens Committee To Save Lafayette Square.

"FREDERICK HAUPT III."

[From the Congressional Record, Aug. 7, 1957]

DESIGNATION AS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITES OF LAFAYETTE SQUARE AND CERTAIN BUILDINGS IN THE VICINITY THEREOF

Mr. MURRAY. Mr. President, I introduce, for appropriate reference, a bill to designate as national historic sites Lafayette Square and certain buildings in the vicinity thereof, in the city of Washington.

Mr. President, it may interest the Members of the Senate to know that a companion measure, H.R. 9060, has been introduced in the House of Representatives by the distinguished young Representative from my State of Montana, Hon. Lee Metcalf, of the First District.

September 6 of this year will mark the 200th anniversary of the birth of Marquis de Lafayette, hero of the American Revolution, and of the revolution in his native land of France. It is my earnest hope that our Nation will observe fittingly this historic anniversary; and in connection with it, I think it appropriate that we should set aside the beautiful area in the city of Washington that bears his name as a national historic site, together with several of the buildings adjoining the Square that are so prominently connected with our national history.

The pressing need for the enactment of a measure such as the one I have introduced today is emphasized by the revelations of the plans of the executive department to raze the remaining historic buildings bordering Lafayette Park, in order to make way for monster office buildings. I refer particularly to the Dolly Madison home, or at least what is left of it today, which was the home of the fourth President of the United States, James Madison. In the Congressional Record for last Friday, August 2, Robert E. Merriam, Executive Director, Bureau of the Budget, was quoted as stating that the Treasury Department had plans for expansion which would involve taking over this hallowed site, as well as a number of others on the square.

Lafayette's birthday suggests to me, as I know it will to other Members of the Senate, that this is an opportune time for us to pause for a while in our onward rush for bigger and better Government buildings for the executive, and to rededicate ourselves to the cause for which Lafayette and kindred heroes who are honored in Lafayette Square dedicated themselves. Among those honored in Lafayette Square are President Andrew Jackson, Count Rochambeau, Commodore Stephen Decatur, who fought against the Barbary pirates, and whose home still remains overlooking Lafayette Park, as it did when he lived in it, General Von Steuben, and General Kosciusko.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record, as a part of my remarks, a report made by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress on Lafayette and the award and the honor paid to him by the Congress in 1824.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The bill will be received and appropriately referred; and, without objection, the report will be printed in the Record.

The bill (S. 2724) to designate as national historic sites Lafayette Square and certain buildings in the vicinity thereof, in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, and for other purposes, introduced by Mr. Murray, was received, read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

(The report presented by Mr. Murray is as follows:)

[From the Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service]

GENERAL LAFAYETTE: AWARD FROM CONGRESS IN 1824

Lafayette arrived in New York in August 1824 and President Monroe in his Eighth Annual Message, December 7, 1824, spoke at length about his visit to this country. Among other things, he said: "His high claims on our Union are felt, and the sentiment universal that they should be met in a generous spirit. Under these impressions I invite your attention to the subject, with a view that, regarding his very important services, losses, and sacrifices, a provision may be made and tendered to him which shall correspond with the sentiments and be worthy of the character of the American people."

Brand Whitlock, in his life of Lafayette, states that "The propriety of such a gift has been discussed ever since his arrival," and adds, "Jefferson was in favor of the donation, and had urged it upon his friends in Congress" (vol. II, p. 246).

Gales and Seaton's Register of Debates in Congress for December 20 to 23, 1824, relates the discussion on the bill to reward Lafayette. Senator Hayne, from the committee to which was referred the subject of making provision for General Lafayette, reported to the Senate a bill providing for a grant of \$200,000 and an entire township of land. This passed the Senate the next day, December 21. On December 22 a similar bill passed the House, but with minor differences on how the sum of \$200,000 was to be paid to the general. On December 23 the Senate accepted the House version of the bill.

In a volume of Lafayette Letters edited by Edward Everett Dale (Oklahoma City, 1925), the following footnote appears on pages 54-55:

"By a special act of Congress Lafayette was given a township of land to be selected by him from any part of the public domain. The lands chosen were in Florida. All were eventually sold, or otherwise disposed of, by Lafayette and his heirs.

"(Statement of the land commissioner of Florida.)"

[From Hans P. Caemmerer, *A Manual on the Origin and Development of Washington*, Washington, 1939]

LAFAYETTE PARK

The L'Enfant plan shows the ground now known as Lafayette Park, or Lafayette Square, comprising about 7 acres, to have been a part of the President's park, extending on the north side from H Street southward to the Monument Grounds, between 15th and 17th Streets. Similarly, the subsequent Ellicott plan and the Dermott plan make provision for such a spacious park to surround the President's house. These plans show no street dividing Lafayette Park from the White House Grounds.

When L'Enfant prepared his plan this was a neglected area, a common with-out trees. A racecourse was laid out, in 1797, on the west side of the grounds, extending westward to 20th Street. Huts for workmen who helped build the President's house were erected on the grounds, and when these were removed a market was established there. This was later relocated farther to the center of the town, on Pennsylvania Avenue, between Seventh and Ninth Streets. Thomas Jefferson first undertook really to improve the grounds and marked the east and west limits as they are today, called Madison Place and Jackson Place, respectively.

Until 1816 the only important building that had been erected adjacent to Lafayette Park was St. John's Church. Then, in 1818, the Dolly Madison House was built, and in 1819 the Decatur House. From then on and for more than 50 years following Lafayette Park became the center of social life in Washington. Nearly every house surrounding it became noted for its historical associations. However, the park seems to have been neglected the greater part of this period. In 1840 there was an ordinary fence around it.

Just when this park area took the name of Lafayette Park is not definitely known. As has been said, originally this area was a part of the President's park, and D. B. Warden, in his volume entitled "Description of the District of Columbia," published in 1816, refers to it as such by saying, in connection with rates of fare for hackney carriages:

"From the President's Square to Greenleaf's Point, and also to Hamburg wharf, or to the western limits of the city, the rate is but 25 cents, and half the distance one-half that sum."

In his voluminous history of Lafayette Square, Gist Blair states:

"Its name has come from the people and arose after this visit of Lafayette to the city in 1824."

Again, speaking of the many social events held in Washington during this visit of Lafayette, Mr. Blair says:

"Socially, the season of 1824-25 was the most brilliant Washington had seen, so it is natural to understand how everyone at this time may have started to call this square Lafayette Square."

In the office of the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, there is a map dated 1852, on which Lafayette Park is shown to be separated from the White House Grounds. The first printed report of the Commissioner of Public Buildings, on file in that office, is of the year 1857. In that report there is a reference to Lafayette Square with an account of certain work being done there in that year.

During more than a quarter of a century past the grounds have been properly maintained as a park. Today there are five notable monuments in Lafayette Park; namely, the Jackson, Lafayette, Rochambeau, Von Steuben, and the Kosciusko.

[From the Congressional Record, Apr. 12, 1960]

IT WOULD BE AN ACT OF FOLLY TO DESTROY THE DOLLY MADISON HOUSE AND THE OTHER HISTORIC BUILDINGS NEAR THE WHITE HOUSE

(Extension of remarks of Hon. Harris B. McDowell, Jr., of Delaware, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, April 12, 1960)

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, it would be an act of folly to destroy the Dolly Madison House and the other historic buildings on Lafayette Square near the White House in the Nation's Capital.

Many organizations are interested in preserving these historical buildings, among them the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the American Institution of Architects, the National Federation of Music Clubs, the AFL-CIO, the Washington (D.C.) Post and Times Herald, the Commission of Fine Arts, and the National Capital Planning Commission.

Governor Rockefeller and Mayor Wagner have sponsored legislation to save historic Carnegie Hall in New York City. Here in Washington, my able colleague from New Jersey, Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr., and I have sponsored legislation to save the Dolly Madison House and other historic buildings on Lafayette Square from destruction. Bills for the same purpose have been sponsored by Senators John F. Kennedy, Wayne Morse, Hubert H. Humphrey, Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Paul H. Douglas, Ernest Gruening, and Mike Mansfield.

(I include the text of the bill which Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr., and I have cosponsored:

TEXT OF THOMPSON-MCDOWELL BILLS : H.R. 11678 AND H.R. 11691

A bill to amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 to provide a study as to the best location for a new building for certain courts of the United States, to preserve the Dolly Madison House and other historic buildings near the White House for cultural and educational purposes in keeping with the national policy enunciated in the Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled, That the Public Buildings Act of 1959 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"Sec. 18. The Administrator is authorized and directed to conduct a joint study, together with the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts, for the purpose of determining the feasibility of constructing in the area bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue on the north, Seventeenth Street on the east, New York Avenue on the south, and Eighteenth Street on the west, in the Northwest sector of Washington, District of Columbia, or near the Supreme Court of the United States, adequate facilities to house the Court of Claims, and the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals of the United States. As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this section, the Administrator shall submit a report on the results of such study, together with such recommendations as the three agencies may deem advisable, to the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House of Representatives.

"Sec. 19. (a) In keeping with the national policy of protecting and preserving historic American buildings and sites for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States, the Administrator shall preserve and maintain the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater on Lafayette Square near the White House in the District of Columbia for historical, civic, cultural, and educational purposes and to further the purposes of the Act of June 5, 1860 (12 Stat. 35) chartering the National Gallery and School of Arts; the Act of March 3, 1863 (36 U.S.C. 251-253), chartering the National Academy of Sciences; the Act of March 3, 1891 (26 Stat. 1093), providing for a National Conservatory of Music; the Act of March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. 1438), chartering the General Federation of Women's Clubs for educational, literary, artistic, and scientific culture; the Act of June 3, 1906 (34 Stat. 804), chartering the National Education Association of the United States; the Act of February 4, 1913 (37 Stat. 660), chartering the National Institute of Arts and Letters; the Act of April 17, 1916 (39 Stat. 51), chartering the American Academy of Arts and Letters; the Act of July 5, 1935 (49 Stat. 457), chartering the American National Theater and Academy; the Act of October 26, 1949 (16 U.S.C., 468-468e), establishing the National Trust for Historic Preservation; and the Act of August 1, 1956 (36 U.S.C. 661-630), chartering the National Music Council. The Administrator is authorized and directed to restore the Belasco Theater to a condition at least equal to its condition at the time it was acquired by the Federal Government, and to accept contributions of money which shall constitute 'charitable contributions' for purposes of section 170 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to deductions for charitable etc., contributions and gifts), for the purpose of assisting him in the restoration of the Belasco Theater.

"(b) The President is authorized to create such interagency committees and advisory committees as in his judgment may be of assistance in carrying out the purposes of this section. The provisions of section 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945 (59 Stat. 134; U.S.C., sec. 691), shall be applicable to any interagency committee created pursuant to this section."

[From the Congressional Record, Sept. 2, 1960]

EFFORTS TO OBTAIN THE SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT EISENHOWER AND VICE PRESIDENT NIXON FOR THE PRESERVATION OF THE HISTORICAL BUILDINGS NEAR THE WHITE HOUSE WERE WITHOUT SUCCESS, CITIZENS COMMITTEE DECLARES; SENATOR KENNEDY'S BILL WOULD SAVE BUILDINGS FOR CULTURE PURPOSES

Extension of remarks of Hon. Harris B. McDowell, Jr., of Delaware, in the House of Representatives, Wednesday, August 31, 1960

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, some 30 national and local organizations representing millions of Americans rallied to save the historic buildings near the White House: the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the great Belasco Theater which had very deep connections with America's cultural life.

Among the organizations fighting to save these great buildings was the General Federal of Women's Clubs with 5 million members; the National Federation of Music Clubs with 600,000 members; the National Music Council with 1,228,000 members; the American Federation of Musicians with 270,000 members; and the Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO, of Greater Washington. The support of the 15 million member AFL-CIO for the preservation of these historic buildings is assured because of the strong American Federation of Musicians and the Central Labor Council, AFL-CIO.

On July 13, 1960, the Citizens Committee To Save Lafayette Square in the Nation's Capital reported to one and all that efforts to obtain the support of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon for the preservation of these historic buildings were without success.

The Committee declared:

"Efforts to obtain the support of President Eisenhower for the preservation legislation were unavailing.

"It would appear that the only remaining hope is intervention by a new administration next year. There is indication that the General Services Administration will not be ready to start razing the buildings for perhaps 2 years, giving us time for an all-out effort next year with the new administration."

Senator John F. Kennedy introduced a splendid bill, S. 3280, on March 24, 1960, to preserve and maintain the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater for historical, cultural, and civic purposes.

In introducing this bill Senator Kennedy said:

"There is pending before the Public Works Committee a plan to locate the Court of Claims in Lafayette Square. This means that many of the historic buildings now fronting that square will be torn down. The Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater have long served as an inspiration to generations of Americans who have visited their Capital City. Certainly, before any irrevocable action is taken to destroy these buildings to provide a site for a courthouse, other sites should be investigated."

New York City's famed Carnegie Hall was recently saved through the efforts of a committee of distinguished citizens who were able to interest Mayor Robert Wagner and Gov. Nelson Rockefeller in preserving this great cultural institution.

In Chicago the famed Garrick Theater, built in 1892, the same decade the Belasco Theater and Carnegie Hall were built, was saved recently through the efforts of a citizens committee headed by Mayor Richard J. Daley, of Chicago. Involved in the efforts of Chicago citizens to save for cultural purposes one of the city's great theaters was a court decision. Judge Donald S. McKinlay decided that private owners of a property such as the Garrick Theater can be forbidden to destroy such property on grounds of esthetics. In support of his decision, Judge McKinlay cited a 1954 Supreme Court decision which unanimously upheld the power of the District of Columbia to include in a slum-clearance project the destruction of a department store that was in no way a slum building. The Supreme Court held that District of Columbia authorities had the right to decide that the District of Columbia should be beautiful as well as sanitary and could consider artistic values in deciding what should be destroyed and what should be saved.

I include as part of my remarks the July 13, 1960, report of the Citizens Committee To Save Lafayette Square in the Nation's Capital; the text of a broadcast by the distinguished concert manager, Patrick Hayes; and the text of S. 3280, introduced by Senator John F. Kennedy.

(The material follows:)

1960 REPORT OF THE CITIZENS COMMITTEE TO SAVE LAFAYETTE SQUARE IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL

Belatedly, we wish to report on the status of the fight to save the old buildings on the east side of Lafayette Square.

Some 30 national and local organizations rallied to the cause in cooperation with the citizens committee.

The first effort to obtain hearings before the Senate Public Buildings and Grounds Subcommittee, before which legislation was pending, succeeded in that hearings were granted and held on May 23.

Proponents—supporters of the pending bills to save the buildings and to restore the Belasco—made a completely overwhelming argument for the record. The only substantial opposition came from Marvin Jones, chief judge of the Court of Claims, and Eugene Worley, chief judge of the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, who argued that the site was needed for a building for them for convenience and that to switch to another site would cause too great a delay in construction of a needed court building.

At the hearings and in the behind-the-scenes maneuverings, they were greatly assisted by Judge Jack Martin, Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, who is a former administrative assistant of President Eisenhower (and the late Senator Taft) in charge of congressional liaison.

The opponents of the preservation legislation were taken by surprise when General Services Administration Franklin Floete, responding to the new pressure which had been built up in opposition to razing the east side of the square, testified that there was another, and perhaps better, site for the courthouse.

However, despite Mr. Floete's surprise move to accommodate our desires and despite the very convincing showing at the hearings, the Senate Public Works Committee voted to authorize the courthouse construction on Lafayette Square. Only when their vote was announced after a secret meeting was it revealed that Mr. Floete had been secretly forced to produce still another prospectus, putting the courthouse back on Lafayette Square.

It was clear that the lobbying effort of two or three of the opponents of the preservation legislation, namely the judges and their friends in Congress and in the administration, had succeeded in reversing Mr. Floete's recommendation and in forcing approval of the site for Judge Jones.

Efforts to obtain the support of President Eisenhower and Vice President Nixon for the preservation legislation were unavailing.

It would appear that the only remaining hope is intervention by a new administration next year. There is indication that the General Services Administration will not be ready to start razing the buildings for perhaps 2 years, giving us time for an all-out effort next year with the new administration.

Recommendation: It is urged that every effort be made following the inauguration in January to get the ear and the understanding of the new President. If he wishes, he can refuse to spend the money authorized for the new courthouse which the congressional committees have approved.

Acknowledgement: The committee and its officers wish to acknowledge with deep gratitude the highly intelligent and dedicated effort which has been made by people too numerous to list in the effort to save Lafayette Square. Only an invincible combination of behind-the-scenes politics and official apathy have robbed you of success to date. Certainly the absence of success is no measure of the devotion and effort brought to this problem by the many supporters of this committee.

The committee also wishes to thank and to acknowledge the help of Senators John Sherman Cooper, Edmund S. Muskie, Eugene J. McCarthy, and Ernest Gruening, and of Congressmen Frank Thompson and Harris B. McDowell, Jr., who made every possible effort in our behalf before and after the Public Works Committee's vote. Thanks go also to the Washington Post and Times Herald and the Evening Star for their fine editorials and their numerous news columns which supported us completely.

CARL LEVIN,

Chairman.

HOBART A. SPALDING,

Vice Chairman.

MARIE A. HURLEY,

Secretary.

BROADCAST BY PATRICK HAYES, WGMS, AUGUST 28, 1960, WOODWARD & LOTHROP

Good afternoon. They did it out in Chicago. They did the unexpected and the wonderful. They saved an old empty building from being torn down for esthetic reasons alone, because it is an historic landmark, a theater, rich in memories, still attractive to the eye. The theater and building are known as the Garrick, built in 1892, 1 year after Carnegie Hall was built. It is a combination office building and theater, and in the heyday of show business it was one of Chicago's leading legitimate theaters. In recent years the theater was used only for motion pictures, and not too successfully, and the offices upstairs were occupied by tenants.

The march of progress in Chicago has produced a master plan for a huge downtown center which will involve tearing down a few blocks of old buildings, some of them tremendous in size, to make way for the new and even bigger buildings. The Garrick is just across the street from one side of this proposed complex of buildings, and its real estate and parking potential are obvious—tear down the Garrick, build a new and bigger building, including substantial parking facilities. This is the modern, downtown, march of progress.

The owners of the Garrick applied some time ago for a wrecking permit from the city of Chicago. A citizens committee, headed by Mayor Richard J. Daley himself, intervened. The permit was refused by the city. The owners took the matter to court, seeking an action that would force the city of Chicago to grant the wrecking permit. This is where matters stood a few weeks ago when we commented on this Garrick situation, bearing in mind always the Belasco situation here in Washington. Last Tuesday Judge Donald S. McKinlay gave his decision, after a personal inspection of the premises and long reflection on the law involved. He decided that an architectural landmark can be saved, that a wrecking permit can be denied, that owners of a property such as the Garrick can be forbidden to destroy it even though they own it—and esthetic reasons alone suffice as a basis for his decision. The Garrick had been declared an architectural landmark in 1958 by the appropriate city commission.

There is a lot involved here, which might affect similar situations across the country. Judge McKinlay pointed out that what he was doing was essentially a new interpretation of a municipality's police power. He said that a clear legal right to a wrecking permit is not an absolute right when the public esthetic interest is involved. I think we should all pause here and say "Hallelujah." Judge McKinlay says that the public esthetic interest can come first in the march of progress.

In support of his decision, Judge McKinlay cited a 1954 Supreme Court decision which unanimously upheld the power of the District of Columbia to include in a slum clearance project the destruction of a department store that was in no way a slum building. He said that the Supreme Court held that District authorities had the right to decide that the District should be beautiful as well as sanitary and could consider artistic values in deciding what should be taken and what left. Are you listening, members of the Citizens' Committee to Save Lafayette Square? A judge out in Chicago is giving you the answers, from a case right here in the District of Columbia, on which he based his decision to save the Garrick in Chicago.

The Garrick case deals with the same values, artistic and esthetic values, but differs in that it upholds the power of a city to deny a private owner the right to destroy his own property. Judge McKinlay was frank to say he knew of no similar case. Lawyers for the owners promptly said that the decision would be appealed to the Illinois Supreme Court. That decision will be one to watch for. Meanwhile, it is more than encouraging to realize that there are a few Athenians among us in positions of influence. To return to the Chicago story of the Garrick Theater, and bearing in mind that the Belasco Theater here on Lafayette Square is in jeopardy, it is ironic to note that in Chicago a court saved the Garrick, while here a courthouse may lose us the Belasco.

S. 3280, INTRODUCED BY SENATOR JOHN F. KENNEDY

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Public Buildings Act of 1959 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"SEC. 18. The Administrator is authorized to conduct a joint study together with the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts, for the purpose of determining the feasibility of constructing, near the

Supreme Court of the United States, adequate facilities to house the Court of Claims, the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, and the Tax Court of the United States. As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this section, the Administrator shall submit a report on the results of such study, together with such recommendations as he may deem advisable, to the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House of Representatives.

"Sec. 19. In keeping with the national policy of protecting and preserving historic American buildings and sites for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States, the Administrator shall preserve and maintain the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater, on Lafayette Square in the District of Columbia, for historical, cultural, and civic purposes. The Administrator is authorized and directed to restore the Belasco Theater to a condition at least equal to its condition at the time it was acquired by the Federal Government. The National Park Service, and the District of Columbia Recreation Department, shall advise and assist the Administrator in the restoration and management of the Belasco Theater as a municipal art center."

[S. 3128, 86th Cong., 2d sess.]

A BILL To designate as national historic sites Lafayette Square and certain buildings in the vicinity thereof, in the city of Washington, District of Columbia, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That Lafayette Square, the buildings known as the Dolly Madison House, located at 1520 H Street Northwest, the Benjamin Taylor House, located at 21 Madison Place Northwest, and the Decatur House, located at the northwest corner of H Street and Jackson Place Northwest, Washington, District of Columbia, are hereby designated national historic sites. Hereafter, so much of the property as may be in Federal ownership shall be administered by the Secretary of the Interior, pursuant to the Act of August 25, 1916 (39 Stat. 535), as amended, and in accordance with the purposes of the Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666).

SEC. 2. The old Belasco Theater on Lafayette Square shall be transferred to the Department of the Interior, to be administered by the Secretary of the Interior as a municipal art center for the Nation's Capitol. The Secretary of the Interior is authorized and directed to restore the old Belasco Theater to a condition at least equal to its condition at the time it was acquired by the Federal Government. The District of Columbia Recreation Department shall assist the Department of the Interior in the restoration and management of the old Belasco Theater as a municipal art center.

[S. 3229, 86th Cong., 2d sess.]

A BILL To amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 to provide for the preservation and maintenance of the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Taylor House, and the old Belasco Theater for historical, cultural, and civic purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Public Buildings Act of 1959 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new section:

"SEC. 18. In keeping with the national policy of protecting and preserving historic American buildings and sites for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States, the Administrator shall preserve and maintain the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the old Belasco Theater, on Lafayette Square in the District of Columbia, for historical, cultural, and civic purposes. The Administrator is authorized and directed to restore the old Belasco Theater to a condition at least equal to its condition at the time it was acquired by the Federal Government. The National Park Service, and the District of Columbia Recreation Department shall advise and assist the Administrator in the restoration and management of the old Belasco Theater as a municipal art center."

[S. 3279, 86th Cong., 2d sess.]

A BILL To amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 to provide a study by the National Capital Planning Commission, the General Services Administration, and the Commission of Fine Arts as to the best location for a new United States Court of Claims Building, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Public Buildings Act of 1959 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"SEC. 18. The Administrator is authorized to conduct a joint study, together with the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts, for the purpose of determining the feasibility of constructing, near the Supreme Court of the United States, adequate facilities to house the Court of Claims, the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, and the Tax Court of the United States. As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this section, the Administrator shall submit a report on the results of such study, together with such recommendations as the three agencies may deem advisable, to the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House of Representatives.

"SEC. 19. In keeping with the national policy of protecting and preserving historic American buildings and sites for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States, the Administrator shall preserve and maintain the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Taylor House, and the Belasco Theater on Lafayette Square in the District of Columbia, for historical, cultural, and civic purposes. The Administrator is authorized and directed to restore the Belasco Theater to a condition at least equal to its condition at the time it was acquired by the Federal Government. The National Park Service, and the District of Columbia Recreation Department, shall advise and assist the Administrator in the restoration and management of the Belasco Theater as a municipal art center. The Administrator is authorized to accept contributions of money, which shall be deductible for tax purposes, for the purpose of assisting him in the restoration of the Belasco Theater for cultural and civic purposes."

[S. 3280, 86th Cong., 2d sess.]

A BILL To amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 so as to authorize a study for the purpose of determining the feasibility of locating the Court of Claims, the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, and the Tax Court of the United States near the Supreme Court of the United States, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Public Buildings Act of 1959 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"SEC. 18. The Administrator is authorized to conduct a joint study together with the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts, for the purpose of determining the feasibility of constructing, near the Supreme Court of the United States, adequate facilities to house the Court of Claims, the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals, and the Tax Court of the United States. As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this section, the Administrator shall submit a report on the results of such study, together with such recommendations as he may deem advisable, to the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House of Representatives.

"SEC. 19. In keeping with the national policy of protecting and preserving historic American buildings and sites for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States, the Administrator shall preserve and maintain the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Taylor House, and the Belasco Theater, on Lafayette Square in the District of Columbia, for historical, cultural, and civic purposes. The Administrator is authorized and directed to restore the Belasco Theater to a condition at least equal to its condition at the time it was acquired by the Federal Government. The National Park Service, and the District of Columbia Recreation Department, shall advise and assist the Administrator in the restoration and management of the Belasco Theater as a municipal art center."

[S. 3403, 86th Cong., 2d sess.]

A BILL To amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 to provide a study as to the best location for a new building for certain courts of the United States, to preserve the Dolly Madison House and other historic buildings near the White House for cultural and educational purposes in keeping with the national policy enunciated in the Historic Sites, Buildings, and Antiquities Act, and for other purposes

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Public Buildings Act of 1959 is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new sections:

"SEC. 18. The Administrator is authorized and directed to conduct a joint study, together with the National Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts, for the purpose of determining the feasibility of constructing in the area bounded by Pennsylvania Avenue on the north, Seventeenth Street on the east, New York Avenue on the south, and Eighteenth Street on the west, in the northwest sector of Washington, District of Columbia, or near the Supreme Court of the United States, adequate facilities to house the Court of Claims, and the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals of the United States. As soon as practicable after the date of enactment of this section, the Administrator shall submit a report on the results of such study, together with such recommendations as the three agencies may deem advisable, to the Committees on Public Works of the Senate and House of Representatives.

"SEC. 19. (a) In keeping with the national policy of protecting and preserving historic American buildings and sites for the inspiration and benefit of the people of the United States, the Administrator shall preserve and maintain the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater on Lafayette Square near the White House in the District of Columbia for historical, civic, cultural and educational purposes and to further the purposes of the Act of June 5, 1860 (12 Stat. 35), chartering the National Gallery and School of Arts; the Act of March 3, 1863 (36 U.S.C. 251-253), chartering the National Academy of Sciences; the Act of March 3, 1891 (26 Stat. 1093), providing for a National Conservatory of Music; the Act of March 3, 1901 (31 Stat. 1438), chartering the General Federation of Women's Clubs for educational, literary, artistic, and scientific culture; the Act of June 3, 1906 (34 Stat. 804), chartering the National Education Association of the United States; the Act of February 4, 1913 (37 Stat. 660), chartering the National Institute of Arts and Letters; the Act of April 17, 1916 (39 Stat. 51), chartering the American Academy of Arts and Letters; the Act of July 5, 1935 (49 Stat. 457), chartering the American National Theater and Academy; the Act of October 26, 1949 (16 U.S.C. 468-468e), establishing the National Trust for Historic Preservation; and the Act of August 1, 1956 (36 U.S.C. 661-680), chartering the National Music Council. The Administrator is authorized and directed to restore the Belasco Theater to a condition at least equal to its condition at the time it was acquired by the Federal Government, and to accept contributions of money which shall constitute 'charitable contributions' for purposes of section 170 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (relating to deductions for charitable, etc., contributions and gifts), for the purpose of assisting him in the restoration of the Belasco Theater.

"(b) The President is authorized to create such interagency committees and advisory committees as in his judgment may be of assistance in carrying out the purposes of this section. The provisions of section 214 of the Act of May 3, 1945 (59 Stat. 134; U.S.C. 691), shall be applicable to any interagency committee created pursuant to this section."

[From the Congressional Record, Mar. 6, 1961]

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS DEPLORES THE APPARENTLY IMPENDING DESTRUCTION OF CERTAIN BUILDINGS FRONTING ON LAFAYETTE SQUARE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF LARGE FEDERAL BUILDINGS IN THEIR PLACE

(Extension of remarks of Hon. Carroll D. Kearns, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, Monday, Mar. 6, 1961)

MR. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, I have been assured by Joseph Watterson, editor of the Journal of the American Institute of Architects, that the American Institute of Architects "deplores the apparently impending destruction of certain buildings fronting on Lafayette Square and the construction of certain large Federal buildings in their place."

Mr. Watterson goes on to say that "although by now many of the buildings on the square may be of a nondescript architectural character, the flavor and charm of the square have not been destroyed. It is still a fitting forecourt to the White House—which it must always be. This fitness would be lost with marble monumentality flanking the square—east and west."

Mr. Watterson makes, I think, a major contribution to the current consideration of the famed Lafayette Square when he adds that "since the Decatur House, on the northwest corner of the square, and the Blair and Lee Houses, on Pennsylvania Avenue, are to be preserved, and the new Executive Office Building designed to surround them with low wings and courts, it would seem that the same approach could be taken on the east side of the square. The Madison House, on the northeast corner, and the Tayloe House, in the middle of the block, are worthy of preservation and restoration, both historically and architecturally. Rather than preserve them purely as monuments, suitable uses can be found for these buildings, as is done in so many of the old cities of Europe. It is a brash generation, indeed, which will destroy all physical evidences of its great heritage."

(I include herewith as part of my remarks the letter I have received from Mr. Watterson, as well as an excerpt from a brilliant article by L. Morris Leisenring, FAIA, which was published in the February 1961 issue of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*.)

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF ARCHITECTS,
OFFICE OF THE JOURNAL,
Washington, D.C., February 28, 1961.

Representative CARROLL D. KEARNS,
New House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KEARNS: I am sorry that you were unable to see me last week, for we have noted with great interest the bill (H.R. 3982) which you introduced in the House February 7.

The American Institute of Architects is of course a strong supporter of any proposed legislation which would strengthen and improve the cultural opportunities here in Washington—or anywhere in the Nation, for that matter. But at the moment it is the last part (section 3) of this bill which prompts me to write you. The AIA has always had an active interest in the planning and architecture of the city of Washington, ever since its part in the inception of the McMillan plan of 1901, in the formation of the Commission of Fine Arts and the National Capital Planning Commission, etc. Consequently, the institute deplores the apparently impending destruction of certain buildings fronting on Lafayette Square and the construction of large Federal buildings in their place. Although by now many of the buildings on the square may be of a nondescript architectural character, the flavor and charm of the square have not been destroyed. It is still a fitting forecourt to the White House—which it must always be. This fitness would be lost with marble monumentality flanking the square—east and west.

Since the Decatur House, on the northwest corner of the square, and the Blair and Lee Houses on Pennsylvania Avenue, are to be preserved, and the new Executive Office Building designed to surround them with low wings and courts, it would seem that the same approach could be taken on the east side of the square. The Madison House, on the northeast corner, and the Tayloe House in the middle of the block, are worthy of preservation and restoration, both historically and architecturally. Rather than preserve them purely as monuments, suitable uses can be found for these buildings, as is done in so many of the old cities of Europe. It is a brash generation indeed which will destroy all physical evidences of its great heritage.

I enclose for your interest and information a copy of the February issue of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*, which contains an article on Lafayette Square. Its author makes no plea for preservation of buildings on the square, for the article was commenced months ago, when their destruction seemed inevitable. It is rather a somewhat nostalgic lament for their passing. However, with the interest displayed in the square by the President, and by the introduction of bills in the Congress, new hope has been aroused that perhaps the square is not doomed after all. This article has been widely circulated in Washington and has aroused considerable interest and comment in the newspapers as well as in Government circles. I hope you will find something of value in it.

Meanwhile I wish to assure you that support for this or similar bills will be forthcoming from the AIA and its 13,850 members all over the country.

Cordially yours,

JOSEPH WATTERSON, *Editor*.

[From the Journal of the American Institute of Architects, February, 1961]

LAMENT FOR LAFAYETTE SQUARE

(By L. Morris Leisenring, FAIA)

What manner of people is it that destroys its shrines? True, our Nation has preserved many shrines—but it is now, in the name of progress and efficiency, everywhere destroying more than it is preserving. Our grandchildren will place the blame on our heads. As a people, we pay little heed to the voices of the few who cry a halt to this destruction. More shame to us.

Lafayette Square has been the scene of few great events in our Nation's history, but it has been always, since our beginnings, the forecourt to the home of our Presidents and the site of the homes of generations of the great and the near-great.

Although the square itself is not now to be destroyed, most of its surrounding buildings are, thus completely altering its character as the front yard of the White House.

As the journal has said before, and will upon proper occasion, say again, the rebuilding of Washington is the concern of the entire Nation. It is not only our Capital, it is our national symbol.

Thus it is with pride and deep concern that the AIA Journal presents this story of Lafayette Square, written by a senior member of the Washington-Metropolitan Chapter AIA, its preservation officer and holder of architect's license 3 of the District of Columbia.

In L'Enfant's first conception of a plan for the Federal City, two elements of the Federal Government, the Congress, and the President, were emphasized in his first report and shown on his subsequent plan of 1791. In all adjustments made in this plan, by Andrew Ellicott and others, the location and relative importance of these has remained unchanged—the Congress House with its plaza and the President's mansion with its park, joined by broad parked areas, one directly west from the Capitol along the "Grand Avenue"—now the Mall—to the site of "the Monument," a proposed equestrian statue of General Washington, authorized by the Congress in 1783, and from there on a cross-axis directly north through the President's park and his mansion to H Street, extending east and west from 15th to 17th Streets. So here, at its northern limits, lies Lafayette Square, now as always a part of the President's park, its present dimensions determined by required traffic lanes and desired building areas, a beautiful foreground to the President's home and grounds.

The importance of the square in the city plan is emphasized by broad avenues extending from it to the northeast and northwest. Its north axis on broad 16th Street, extending out to Meridian Hill, is almost the exact north-south axis of the corners of the original "10 miles square." The President's House—the White House, as it has been called from the first years of its building—was placed on a direct line with the Capitol down broad Pennsylvania Avenue, a vista carefully preserved until the reputed impact of President Jackson's cane and his words "Build it here." Now we see the Treasury instead. Neither the L'Enfant nor the Ellicott plan shows the square separated by a street from the White House, but connection between New York and Pennsylvania Avenues early became necessary, so now the south boundary of the square is determined by the extension of Pennsylvania Avenue. The east and west boundaries were indicated by Ellicott and have become established highways very important in the square's history—Madison Place on the east and Jackson Place on the west. The land had long been the farmstead of the Pierce family from whom it had been purchased, and there were still some orchard trees and the remains of the family graveyard there when the ground was graded after 1800.

L'Enfant had envisioned this as an area of residences fit to adjoin that of the President, and James Hoban's fine Georgian mansion has given good reason for great care to be taken to surround the square with buildings of proper scale and character. The area was slow in development, and when John and Abigail Adams, the first residents of the President's House, looked out over the square when they moved in during November 1800, it was not a thing of beauty. Fortunately its surrounding buildings lots were in no way suitable for development

by the speculative syndicates building quite creditable groups of buildings during the 1790's, on Capitol Hill, on Greenleaf Point near the old Arsenal, and on Pennsylvania Avenue out toward Georgetown. Even in 1814, when President and Mrs. Madison had to find shelter while their home was being rebuilt after the fire, the unfortunate incident of August of that year, the White House was still the only building on the square.

By the time President and Mrs. Monroe moved into the refurbished mansion in 1817, building had begun on the square and before the end of his administration it was well underway. Happily, the first was a church, St. John's Episcopal Church, built north of the square on the corner of H and 16th Streets in 1816. It was planned as a Greek cross, by Benjamin H. Latrobe, and by 1820 the nave had been extended to form the present Latin cross with portico. After the church, residences gradually filled all three sides of the square and up adjacent streets and avenues, and until the end of the century and beyond, the square lived a life of glorious historical record not matched by any other American community and few abroad. As an architectural heritage it offered a picture of development from the Georgian, the Early Federal, the Classic and Greek Revivals, up through the post-Civil War period, the early and late Victorian and at the last, an example of H. H. Richardson's best in residential design.

The "Diagram of Lafayette Park and Its Surroundings," from Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly of April 1891 (from the Library of Congress), is a valuable document, for every one of the buildings shown was in place and occupied at that time, except those absorbed by the construction of the Arlington Hotel after 1869. The "Key to the Diagram" reads like a biographical index of those prominent in this formative period. It also shows the fluid quality of American political life as changing administrations brought new residents, anxious to be near the home and office of their Chief.

Before outlining briefly the history of some of the important buildings, it is well to remember that Washington was really a Southern city, lying between two slave States, many of its residents slaveholders, with sentiment strongly divided and loyalties finally brought to a real test. From the very first it was a city of political and sometimes social antagonisms and these were nowhere more intense than around the square. Here there was no lack of drama nor of tragedy. The old houses had their share in these.

The buildings are listed below in approximate order of their age:

St. John's Church, 1816, often called the court church, as it was the parish church of the first Presidents, Madison to Buchanan, and frequently attended on special occasions by all the Presidents regardless of their denominational connections.

The Decatur House, 1819, the first residence. Built by Commodore Stephen Decatur on his return from his brilliant victories in the Barbary wars. This fine house, Latrobe its architect, with garden and dependencies, has been preserved almost intact. But Decatur and his lovely wife had not long to enjoy it, for in 1820 he returned to die here after his duel at Bladensburg with Commodore Barron—the square's first tragedy. Later came Henry Clay while Secretary of State to the second Adams. The year before he moved into the house a second duel occurred when he called his neighbor, the picturesque John Randolph of Roanoke, out to the Virginia hills, but this time with no physical injury. Later it was from here that Mrs. Clay and Mrs. Calhoun carried on their social vendetta against brilliant Peggy O'Neal Eaton, an innkeeper's daughter and wife of Senator John Henry Eaton, a special protegee of Gen. Andrew Jackson, which almost disrupted his presidential administration. In 1836 John Gadsby, an Alexandria tavern keeper, took over the house and auctioned slaves in the high-walled garden. During the Civil War it was commandeered by the Government and later was bought by Gen. Edward Beale, under whose grandfather Decatur once served as ensign. Its last owner, Mrs. Truxtun Beale, restored it and deeded it to the Nation under the aegis of the National Trust for Historic Preservation. Many of Latrobe's original drawings were available for the restoration. Some years previously, in a wise move to save it from threatened destruction by Government intrusion, Mrs. Beale provided for the use of the carriage house area by the Truxtun-Decatur Naval Museum.

The Dolly Madison House, 1820, was the second residence on the square. Built by Richard Cutts, brother-in-law of Dolly Payne Madison, a simple colonial-type townhouse, given to Mr. Madison in payment of a debt. It was never occupied by him but was the scene of Dolly's triumphant widowhood. From 1837 to her death in 1849 this was a center of the social and political life of the Capital. The house was then taken over by Commodore Wilkes who added a

third story to it and moved the entrance to H Street. It was occupied during the war by General McClellan while Wilkes was on sea duty. A dramatic incident illustrating the wide range of loyalties on the square was the arrest by Captain Wilkes of his neighbor, Senator John Slidell of Louisiana, who naturally had joined the Confederacy and had been appointed Minister to France. On his way he was taken off the British steamer *Trent* by Captain Wilkes, causing the famous Trent affair and a violent controversy with Great Britain. From 1887 to 1952 the house was the home of the Cosmos Club, involving more alterations. Still intact, it is now the property of the Government, and faces early destruction.

[From the Congressional Record, Mar. 6, 1961]

IT IS A BRASH GENERATION INDEED WHICH WILL DESTROY ALL PHYSICAL EVIDENCES OF ITS GREAT HERITAGE

Extension of Remarks of Hon. Carroll D. Kearns, of Pennsylvania, in the House of Representatives, Monday, March 6, 1961

MR. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished editor of the Journal of the American Institute of Architects, Joseph Watterson, has written me that: "It is a brash generation indeed which will destroy all physical evidences of its great heritage."

Mr. Watterson mentions the well-known interest of President John F. Kennedy in the preservation of the buildings fronting on Lafayette Square, an interest demonstrated in the most forceful and significant way when, on March 24, 1960, he introduced S. 3280 and, in a speech on the floor of the Senate at that time, declared that: "There is pending before the Public Works Committee a plan to locate the Court of Claims in Lafayette Square. This means that many of the historic buildings now fronting that square will be torn down. The Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater have long served as an inspiration to generations of Americans who have visited their Capital City. Certainly before any irrevocable action is taken to destroy these buildings to provide a site for a courthouse, other sites should be investigated."

In his letter to me Mr. Watterson says that: "With the interest displayed in the square by the President, and by the introduction of bills in the Congress, new hope has been aroused that perhaps the square is not doomed after all."

Mr. Watterson ended his fine letter by saying that support for the bills which Senators John Sherman Cooper and Wayne Morse have introduced in the other House, and which I have introduced in this one, that is, S. 1020 and H.R. 3982, "will be forthcoming from the AIA and its 13,850 members all over the country."

This is very encouraging news indeed. Only the other day the 600,000 member National Federation of Music Clubs advised me that it has launched a national drive in the 50 States to mobilize support for saving the buildings on Lafayette Square.

In a memorandum to its national officers, its board of directors, its State presidents, and its State legislative chairmen, it is pointed out that:

"It is even more important from the standpoint of history, culture, and economy that similar protection to that given historic buildings elsewhere throughout the United States, such as Philadelphia's Independence National Historical Park, and New York's Carnegie Hall, be given the historic buildings on Lafayette Square."

The fine old buildings on Lafayette Square give the Nation's Capital its distinct flavor and charm, and they teach significant lessons in patriotism to the youth of the Nation.

Tourists who come to the Nation's Capital from all over the world as members of conventions, or to attend national meetings, or as families intent on seeing the buildings and the sites where so much history has been made, spend, I have been informed, \$300 million a year.

How many will take the trouble to visit the Nation's Capital if all of its buildings, which are such an intimate part of our Nation's history, are destroyed for the convenience of a few individuals? Not many, I am sure.

Only last year the Congress authorized the spending of up to \$33 million, or one-third of the cost, to save the ancient treasures of the Nile Valley.

Perhaps the people of ancient Egypt will now reciprocate, and help us save our own buildings in this time when our young people feel so restless and so rootless, and when they so badly need to have the history of our Nation emphasized in every possible way.

I include as part of my remarks an excerpt from an article on Lafayette Square written by L. Morris Leisenring. The article appeared in the February 1961 issue of the *Journal of the American Institute of Architects*:

"The Ewell house, about 1820, built by Thomas Ewell of the Navy, father of the famous Confederate general, Richard S. Ewell. From 1824 to 1834 it was occupied by three successive Secretaries of the Navy, but it is best known as the home of Dan Sickles, Representative from New York, who on Sunday afternoon, February 27, 1859, crossed the square and shot the brilliant young attorney, Phillip Barton Key (son of Francis Scott Key) whose affair with Sickles' young wife had long been a scandal. Key was carried into the John Rodgers House, then the Washington Club, where he died. Sickles' wife confessed; her husband was acquitted and forgave her. A few years later he was the famous Union General Sickles of Chancellorsville and Gettysburg. With one leg gone, he was a familiar sight on the square when he returned from the war to stump around his old neighborhood.

"The Benjamin Ogle Tayloe house, built in 1828 by the son of the Col. John Tayloe who had built the Octagon in 1798-1800. This charming house, a distinguished design of the period, with garden and dependencies, had as a frequent visitor, William Henry Harrison, the owner's warm friend. Later it came to be called the Tayloe-Cameron house due to its long occupancy by Senator Don Cameron during the years of his greatest influence, then again the Little White House, as the home of Senator Mark Hanna during President McKinley's administration. It still stands but will soon be lost.

"The John Rodgers house built in 1830 by the commodore, one of the heroes of Tripoli. This site is said to have been secured by him from Henry Clay in exchange for a blooded Andalusian jackass, brought by Rodgers from Spain. This commodious square brick building was the scene of many events. While used as Washington's first important club it was here that Phillip Barton Key died. While the home of William H. Seward, Secretary of State, on the night of April 14, 1865, a near tragedy occurred when Lewis Payne, one of the conspirators of the Lincoln assassination plot, stabbed and dangerously wounded Secretary Seward. The Lafayette Square Opera House, later the Belasco Theater, was built on this site in 1895.

"Another building on the east of the square facing the avenue, not shown on the diagram, the Gunnell house, was built in 1836 by Dr. Thomas Gunnell, a prominent dentist. This was the only framehouse on the square. It was a typical Maryland small-town house with a long two-story gallery on the square side and a fine garden. The incident most often told of this old place is that once the doctor, having received a hurry call from President Van Buren, his neighbor then in the White House, hastened there with the tools of his trade, expecting an emergency. Instead he returned with the appointment as postmaster of the city. The house has been gone for years, and its site is now occupied by the massive Treasury Annex of 1919 vintage.

"It would be well to note that neither Madison nor Jackson Place was named or paved until several years after the Madisons had owned their house on the corner and General Jackson's statue had graced the square's center. Before then they had been gravel drives without names.

"The Daniel Webster house, later known as the Corcoran house. Built by Thomas Swann, of Alexandria, the records say in 1822, though this seems very early for a design of Italian villa type such as this. Presented to Daniel Webster by admirers when he became Secretary of State in 1841, it was famous for his lavish entertainments. Webster sold the house to W. W. Corcoran, the philanthropist, who occupied it until his death in 1888, except for a short period during the war when, because of his strong Southern sympathies he leased it to the French Ambassador to avoid its confiscation by the Government. With its beautiful garden reaching back to I Street, and with its next door neighbor, the dignified Greek Revival house built by Commander Stockton and the home of Senator Slidell, of the 'Trent affair,' it survived until destroyed for the construction of the monumental building of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

"Ashburton house, built by Matthew St. Clair Clarke in 1835, some say earlier. This very English, broad and high brick house, later brown stuccoed, was the British Legation and the scene, in 1845, of the signing of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty establishing our Canadian boundaries and other matters of mutual in-

terest. In 1849 it was again the British Legation under Sir Henry Bulwer, brother of the novelist Bulwer-Lytton. Sir Henry's secretary was his nephew, Robert Bulwer, who wrote "Lucille," some maintain while stationed here. This fine old house still stands as the parish house of St. John's Church.

"George Bancroft, patriot and historian, Minister to England during the war, took up his residence in this simple classic revival house with its extensive garden. Here he completed his monumental history of the United States, was the literary lion of his day, and gained fame with agriculturists by developing the American Beauty rose.

"The Hay and Adams houses, built in 1884, designed by H. H. Richardson, for the two friends, John Hay and Henry Adams. Surely no two more famous men could have joined forces in adopting the square for their homes. Hay had come to Washington during the war as a secretary to Mr. Lincoln. Adams was the grandson of John Quincy Adams, a historian and writer of the first magnitude. Here for 20 years was centered the social and literary life of Washington. Hay died in 1905 after serving as Secretary of State for William McKinley and Theodore Roosevelt. Adams was the oldest of all the old square residents when he died there in 1918. The site of their houses is now occupied by a hotel, the Hay-Adams. Some might question the compatibility of the two Richardson houses and the White House. At least they were in scale, residential in character and fine examples of the development of architecture in the United States.

"The Blair-Lee houses, just off the square on Pennsylvania Avenue, examples of the Federal period, were built in the 1820's. Both considerably altered, they now serve to house the official guests of the Nation and are to be preserved as such in the coming demolition of all but the Decatur House in this block. Both are historic, particularly Blair House. Here, at the request of Montgomery Blair, President Lincoln's Postmaster General, came Col. Robert E. Lee, from his beloved Arlington high above the Virginia shore of the Potomac, to be questioned as to his stand in the coming conflict. Colonel Lee returned to Arlington and his Virginia and determined that his loyalty was with his State. It has been well established that the President's intention would have been to place the colonel in command of all the Union armies. A few years ago a faithful guard was killed by a wild group bent on entering the Blair House to assassinate President Truman, who with his family had temporary quarters there during the recent reconstruction work at the White House.

"At the square's center is the remarkable statue of Gen. Andrew Jackson, rampant in every sense of the word, dedicated with ceremony in 1853. His rearing steed balances on two hind legs by the help of a full-flowing heavily vermiculated tail. The work of Clark Mills, our first native American sculptor, it was cast in nearby Bladensburg of bronze cannon captured by the general in the War of 1812. The statues at the four corners came much later, Lafayette in 1891, Rochambeau in 1902, and Steuben and Kosciuzsko in 1910, all men who came from their home countries to aid in the Revolutionary Army. The square's name did not come from the statue. It had been given long before by the people, after the ceremonies attending the visit of General Lafayette in 1824 and not officially adopted until 1852 as Lafayette Park, later Lafayette Square.

"Born as a part of the President's Park before the end of the 18th century, with its first house occupied by the President in the first year of the 19th, the square lived its first century with a glorious historic record and with a growing exhibit of our architectural development fully as worthy of preservation as a Boston or Philadelphia square. Too bad that the AIA was not then preservation minded or that the National Trust was not yet organized or that Congress had not yet enacted the Historic Sites Act of 1935, giving to the Secretary of the Interior great responsibility for the preservation of historic buildings and places—or that no civic organization saw and acted to save what it was about to lose.

"For now came the McMillan Commission and the plan of 1901. It was and still is considered by many rank heresy to question any part of this plan devised by the foremost architects and planners in the country. In restoring the principles of the L'Enfant plan they swept away railroads, cherished departmental English gardens and the violently expressed opinions that L'Enfant's straight line was anathema and that 'curved is the line of beauty.' They recreated the Mall and established its architectural character and boundaries, a wonderful achievement. But when they turned north they changed the President's House and home and established it as the Executive Mansion, and in their thirst for sites for the executive department they swept the square of every

historic element and assigned to its every side executive department buildings only.

"It is hard to believe it, but this was approved. More difficult of belief was the advocacy of the design shown to surround the three sides of the square with the columns of the Treasury. This was actually begun in 1919 with the construction of the Treasury Annex, the first section of a proposed single building the length of Madison Place. The deed was done. Goodby to the Benjamin Tayloe and Dolly Madison houses, St. John's Church, Daniel Webster and George Bancroft, the Decatur and all other buildings on the west. With its mind on planning alone the AIA approved the plan and soon did the National Commission of Fine Arts. No little plan had been made here—nor one with even a little consideration for historic values.

"In line with this pronouncement the Government soon bought all remaining property on Madison Place. The occupants were allowed to remain on short notice to vacate. More recently the Government has completed purchase of all property in the block between Jackson Place and 17th Street, except the Decatur House and the National Grange—an organization politically too difficult to move except to a site around the corner where it has built itself a new office building. On Jackson Place the Grange, the Brookings Institution, and others had built so as to change much of the old character. On H Street, the Government has done nothing and all ideas as to maintaining residential character have been lost, commerce has taken over and it is no longer a real part of the square. The first offender was the 10-story Veterans' Administration building that in 1919 took over the site of the Arlington Hotel. Little of the old will remain—St. John's Church, saved by the grace of God, and the adjoining Ashburton House, by the militant ownership of two elderly gentlewomen who wished to live in their ancestral home and more recently by its acquisition by the church. The Decatur House was saved by the same militant ownership and resistance to Government pressure and now by its ownership by the National Trust. Finally, we shall apparently always have the White House, by grace of the efforts of the Institute's resident Secretary Glenn Brown and his influence with President Theodore Roosevelt, as well as the talents of Charles Follen McKim, when during that administration the building was threatened by designs of a Government agency with many extended wings and columns. That is not all the danger it has faced. In the McMillan Commission report of 1902, three methods were considered for its greatest use: First, additions at the east and west ends (not advised). Second, to give it up entirely to public business and build a residence for the President 'on one of the commanding hills overlooking the city' (not recommended as being unpopular). Third, remove all Executive Office and devote the President's house entirely to residence purposes. ('Favored by the present Chief Executive; and to the Commission it seems to be the best solution of the problem possible at this time.')

"But the square was treated roughly: 'The location of the building to contain the Executive Office is a more difficult matter; but the Commission is of the opinion that while temporary quarters may well be constructed in the grounds of the White House, a building sufficient in size to accommodate those offices may best be located in the center of Lafayette Square. This suggestion must be taken in connection with the full development of the plan outlined below.'

"Here in a long paragraph is a statement of departments that needed quarters, ending, 'The proper solution of the grouping of the executive departments undoubtedly is to be found in the construction of a series of edifices facing Lafayette Square.' It had been previously written that these should be convenient to the White House, 'which is their common center.'

"The die has been cast. Since the plan of 1901 there apparently has been no hope of preserving the old square, so now it must be seen to that the buildings facing it on the east and west complement in every way the President's House, so that the square remains as its beautiful foreground and visual approach. Some very bad designs have been proposed for these areas and wisely abandoned. Under the present program, much better results can be expected. Recent acts of Congress have directed that on the complete block west, there be a building for the Executive Offices of the President, and on the east, a building for U.S. courts. Franklin Floete, former Administrator of the General Services Administration, the Government agency responsible for nonmilitary Federal building, with two Washington members of the institute, Leonard L. Hunter and J. Rowland Snyder, in charge of architectural design, engaged two well-known

firms to collaborate on the designs for both buildings. He made known a letter he received from President Eisenhower expressing his desires as to these buildings. In his letter he said, 'It is extremely important that the architectural plans for these buildings be carried out with the greatest of thought and with attention to the present and future dignity and beauty of Lafayette Square and its historic past.' In it he requested that all plans be approved by the Capital Planning Commission and the Commission of Fine Arts. Mr. Floete has named the architectural firms which will collaborate in these important designs. They are: Perry, Shaw, Hepburn & Dean; and Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson & Abbott, both of Boston.

"There was a recent controversy over the proposed building for the courts on the east of the square, in which the author, as preservation officer for the Washington chapter, joined, partly to save for a time at least the remaining historic buildings, but largely to advocate the legislation proposed by three Senate bills introduced separately by Senators Kennedy, Morse, and Humphrey. These advocated the construction of a group of U.S. court buildings near the Supreme Court.

"This grouping of the national judiciary was such a forward look that, invited to a hearing before the Senate Subcommittee on Public Housing, the author joined many civic groups in warmly endorsing the temporary saving of the old buildings and grouping the courts elsewhere. Furthermore, three courts needed quarters and there is room for only two on Madison Place. But the honorable judge of the Court of Claims appeared. He had been dispossessed from the old Corcoran Gallery near the square and he intended to stay in the area. The Senate sided with him. The House had already done so without a hearing. Though a good judge of claims, he was not a good judge of city planning, but he had been a Representative in the House—and he came from Texas.

"A word as to the President as Chief Executive. In his house the early occupants did much homework. Most of the diminutive departments found rented quarters after their move from Philadelphia. Just east toward 15th Street there was a small two-story building for the Treasury almost ready when Mr. Adams moved in, and soon after, one to the west for the War Office, later the Navy. After the War of 1812, larger buildings were built in front of these facing the avenue, on the east, the State Department, on the west of the War and other departments, separated from the White House grounds by what became the East and West Executive Avenues. Robert Mills' neoclassic Treasury was begun in 1836 and gradually completed. Then in 1869, by act of Congress as to location and dimensions, came the State, War, and Navy Buildings, designed under direction of a commission headed by A. B. Mullett, supervising architect of the Treasury. It is interesting to compare the dates of design of these three buildings and the architectural thought of the Nation from the English Georgian White House, 1798, to the neoclassic Treasury, 36 years later, to the French Mansard 33 years after that—a historic sequence that should be preserved.

"We may be thankful that the massive buildings proposed by the plan of 1901 did not immediately surround the square, but that the departments found the triangle to the east and the rectangle to the west. We may be grateful also that GSA is progressing as now planned and that we can leave the square as a park in the care of the National Capital Parks and the National Park Service."

[From Harper's Magazine, November, 1960]

TEXAS PUTS ITS BRAND ON WASHINGTON

(By Karl E. Meyer)

"I found Rome built of sun-dried brick; I leave her clothed in marble."—*Emperor Augustus*

If Lyndon Baines Johnson should take the oath of Vice President next January, the inaugural tableau ought to afford him Augustan satisfaction. The ceremonies will take place against the backdrop of the new east front of the Capitol, a kind of wide-screen reproduction of the original done in aseptic white marble.

If the Texan's eyes should wander, about two blocks to his left he could note a new Senate Office Building, a marble temple that befits the seat of authority. Roughly the same distance to his right, a massive new Office Building for the

House of Representatives (its third) will be rising from a Texas-size crater. If he should cock his ear, Senator Johnson might hear the wrecker's ball crunching against buildings on Capitol Hill and Lafayette Square, just across from the White House, to clear the way for still more projects dear to his native State.

Mr. Johnson would be forgiven a grateful glance at the Speaker of the House Sam Rayburn, his fellow proconsul from Texas. During their joint rule over Congress since 1955, the grandiose taste of Texas has been firmly (and expensively) imprinted on the face of Washington. Ultimately, their plans for dressing the Capitol in a new wardrobe of marble and providing new comforts for the harassed servants of the people may cost us taxpayers up to \$200 million.

The scale of the construction program would impress any Caesar. The Third House Office Building alone will cost more to build than the Capitol and the three older office buildings combined. According to the General Services Administration inventory, the total cost of the four earlier structures was \$51 million—or \$22 million less than the overall cost of the splendid new House Office Building.

As always, the critics are voicing sour objections. Costly, flashy, huge—these are their favorite words. None of the projects has received adequate hearings, they contend. Ancient landmarks, they say, are being vandalized, and the program is being supervised by a Capitol Architect who is not an architect, but a cloakroom crony of Mr. Rayburn's. They predict that Washington will soon look like Houston on the half shell.

But these present objections are lost in the sound of bulldozers and pneumatic drills. For the benefit of future archeologists, therefore, here is an inventory of projects undertaken in the Rayburn-Johnson proconsulate—perhaps the most marble-minded since the days of Augustus.

EARLY RAYBURN: THE EAST FRONT

The first project began with the demolition of the old east front of the Capitol. Since the days of John Quincy Adams, the Nation's Presidents have been sworn in on the portico of the east front. But Speaker Rayburn found the old sandstone facade wanting, and used his gavel to put through the \$10 million renovation job.

In 1956 an obscure rider to the Legislative Appropriations Act authorized the extension of the east front by 32½ feet, thus reviving from limbo an old scheme—once thankfully forgotten—for "improving" the Capitol. These reasons have been put forth for the change: (1) a supposed flaw in the building would be corrected by extending the facade and thus putting the dome in better perspective; (2) the old sandstone entrance was unsightly and unsafe; and (3) more office space was needed in the Capitol.

Architects, informed laymen, and patriotic societies were overwhelmingly in accord in replying (1) that the alleged "flaw" was a cherished feature of the building and that correcting it was akin to mending the crack in the Liberty Bell; (2) that repair and restoration were not only feasible but less costly than the extension plan, since a Bureau of Standards study showed that the original sandstone was sound enough to be resurfaced; and (3) that while it was true, the extension would yield extra offices, the added floor space would cost about \$200 a square foot, compared with \$20 a square foot in the average office building. The new space would be the most expensive, observed one architect, "since they paved the lobby of the Teller Hotel in Central City, Colo., with gold."

Three times, in annual convention assembled, the American Institute of Architects deplored the change. The editors of the three major architectural magazines expressed scorn. Frank Lloyd Wright called it absolutely incredible. Leading newspapers across the country were dismayed. And frequent thunderclaps emanated from the Daughters of the American Revolution: "Shall we destroy the evidence of the good taste of the Founding Fathers?"

But Speaker Rayburn did not budge. He was Chairman of the Commission for the Extension of the Capitol, and his fellow members—including Vice President Nixon and former minority leader of the Senate William F. Knowland—did not feel inclined to quarrel. Matters of taste were the department of J. George Stewart, Architect of the Capitol, who, notwithstanding his title, is not an architect. Additional esthetic support came from Roscoe P. DeWitt, an architect from Dallas, Tex., who was a major adviser to Mr. Stewart. Mr. DeWitt's portfolio of buildings in his home State includes the Sam Rayburn Library in Bonham and a suburban store for the Neiman-Marcus Co. in Dallas.

A few mavericks in the Senate, however, heeded the dissenters, and a bill to block the project was introduced. The hearings on this bill were the first and only held on the east front extension. At one session, on February 17, 1958, the Capitol Architect informed his critics that plans for the extension "do not belong to the public" and "are not for publication." Douglas Haskell, editor of *Architectural Forum*, said he was perhaps naive but he always thought the Capitol "belonged to the people of the United States." No secrecy was involved, Mr. Stewart maintained, "It is the way things are done on the Hill."

A piquant example of the "way things are done" came the following May 27, when Mr. Rayburn made his first appearance as a speaker at the National Press Club in 21 years, expressly to defend his project. The Speaker said that bids would be let on the project "as soon as the noise settles down on the Hill." He contended that the extension had already been authorized and "I don't see any use to chew that old cud again." Even if the Senate tried to halt the project Mr. Sam added, "I am going to hold we have already passed it."

Speaker Rayburn's prescience was uncanny. The noise settled; the Senate defeated the delaying bill; and on August 20, 1958, the Safeway Steel Scaffold Co. of Bladensburg, Md., placed the low bid for the preliminary surgery on the Capitol. The new east front, a shiny marble replica of the old, will be ready for the next inaugural, just as Mr. Rayburn promised.

ARCHAIC JOHNSON-CHAVEZ: THE NEW SOB

While Speaker Rayburn was making his stand on the east front, the Senate was already busy with its own building campaign. Under the aegis of Majority Leader Johnson and the Senate Office Building Commission, ground was broken on January 26, 1955, for the structure that later became known as the Great White Goof on Capitol Hill.

In what became a familiar pattern, Capitol Architect Stewart returned again and again for additional funds. This provoked Senator Allen J. Ellender of Louisiana to say at one point, "I have served here for 22 years, and have never seen an architect who found more things to do than Mr. Stewart. It is unending."

Mr. Stewart, startled, asked, "Is that in the way of a commendation?" The Senator drawled back, "You can take it that way if you want to. Whether it is right or wrong I don't know, but we are spending by the millions."

First there was the \$2.8 million needed for the new Senate subway system, then there was a request for \$9.5 million to remodel the old SOB (as the office is known), next came a \$1 million bill for new furniture for the new SOB, then came \$965,000 to buy adjoining property to provide parking space for 285 cars, and then \$625,000 to buy up remaining space near the new building. All requests were approved except the \$9.5 million which was whittled to a pin-money \$250,000 for remodeling old SOB suites.

However, costs have a way of rising, and as work went along it was necessary to return to the coffers for more than another million. As a final fillip \$5,000 was spent on two monster bronze plaques to immortalize the officials responsible for the new SOB.

When the new building made its debut in January 1959, it proved to be an excellent example of what \$26 million can buy. The exterior is chaste white Vermont marble, but within there is an uneasy coexistence of some 20 varieties of stone, ranging from Ozark Rouge to Radio Black. Colors like peacock green, rosy pink, and tangerine dance from the walls of the suites, committee rooms, TV studios, and ladies' lounges, and in each suite as a *tache de couleur* there is one cherry-red armchair amid sofas in nutty brown. Besides an auditorium for 500 and twin cafeterias seating 350 apiece, the building contains 36 public restrooms, 46 marble drinking fountains, 19 shower stalls, 32 service sinks, 129 public washbasins, and 205 senatorial washbasins—it has, one newspaperman observed, "more pipes than a Chinese opium joint."

But no sooner had the Senators moved in than oaths began to blacken the air. Nothing seemed to work—except the things that worked too well. Clocks halted, stuck at 9:45 because the hands were too heavy. Ghostly wails issued from what appeared to be loudspeakers. Mail chutes sucked letters from the sender's hand and sent them plummeting at such speed that they caromed off the fancy mail conveyors in the basement. Elevators were as capricious as constituents; ramps on the underground garage had to be rebuilt because 1959 king-sized cars scraped their chassis. Because one contractor evidently forgot to leave a hole for the

new subway, another contractor had to chop open a thick, tiled wall. The gadget-laden intercom system boomed like a foghorn or croaked feebly and went dead. "You can hear a beep sound from 350,000 miles in space," grumbled Senator Warren Magnuson, of Washington, "but you can't make yourself heard over a microphone 6 inches from your face."

All this culminated in the scandal of The Carpet. Some Senators said that the elegant tile floor, costing \$100,000, was too slippery, and requested carpeting. This would have cost \$150,000 more and would have entailed unhinging 600 doors in order to shave off a half-inch of walnut from the bottom. But the more frugal-minded, led by Senator Paul Douglas, of Illinois, won a compromise: carpets would be optional for those who wanted them. Fifteen Senators did; the bill to taxpayers is a mere \$53,550.

In addition, Senators still quartered in other parts of the Capitol were generously compensated. Majority Leader Johnson wound up with a total of six suites scattered in the Capitol and old and new SOB's. The Senate also voted to spend \$40,000, originally assigned for "rusty plumbing," on a new swimming pool in the basement of the old SOB. The white-tile pool will be a handsome complement to the existing health suite which employs three masseurs.

Thus the Senate has become a citadel of comfort as well as rectitude, a place where members of the inner club can grump in snug surrounding about the decline of Republican virtue. Full credit for this goes to Mr. Johnson—and to Senator Dennis Chavez, chairman of the Senate Building Commission.

MIDDLE RAYBURN: THE THIRD HOB

Among Mr. Rayburn's many 10-gallon hats is the chairmanship of the House Building Commission, and in this capacity the Speaker kept a watchful eye on the upper Chamber's steam shovels. Only a few months after the new SOB was underway, Mr. Rayburn found that his Chamber's office buildings were cramped and inadequate. He advised the House Appropriations Committee that a \$2 million starter was needed on a new building, and 4 days later, the House as a whole approved his plan. Mr. Rayburn personally took the floor to urge swift passage. Phase two quickly followed as Architect Stewart announced plans for a \$18.5 million program to remodel the two existing House Office Buildings.

By the time the numbed House got around to debating the project, the foundation for the third HOB was already being dug. Nonetheless, an attempt was made on May 21, 1957, to strike out a \$7.5 million appropriation for the new building. Mr. Rayburn again took to the floor and patiently explained that it would be "false economy" to eliminate the funds, because excavations had begun.

Meanwhile, curiosity was expressed about what the new building would look like—and it was discovered in August 1959, that no plans had yet been presented. By then, some \$16 million had been spent on digging the biggest hole in town. Mr. Stewart's office reported that drawings were not available, but that Harbeson, Hough, Livingston & Larson, of Philadelphia, had prepared sketches which might be released some day. The Architect's aides did confide that the new building would be H-shaped, 4 stories high, and would contain 170 suites, 15 subcommittee rooms, and parking for 1,638 cars. As to cost, one breakdown includes \$64 million for construction and nearly \$8.5 million for related costs including \$1.4 million for a sewer to carry a creek beneath the building. But prices are going up, and Representative H. R. Gross, of Iowa, may yet be right in predicting that the total cost will ultimately reach \$82 million.

On October 15, 1959, a sketch was finally published. Critics said the new building was in conventional Federalese, i.e., without any discernible style. But whatever the harsh contemporary judgment, when the third HOB is completed by 1962, it will surely be a vintage example of middle Rayburn, a suitable monument to the builder from Bonham.

JUDICIAL RAYBURN: THE COURTHOUSE

Lafayette Square, a small public park in front of the White House, still possesses something of the sleepy charm of the Capital's buggy and gaslight era. But, lamentably, not for long. Some of the old buildings surrounding the square have already been doomed as the site for a monster Executive Office Building. Most of the rest are about to be torn down to make way for a courthouse occupied by two Federal benches headed by judges from Texas.

Both the Court of Claims and the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals need more space. On this point there is no dissent. But Chief Judge Marvin Jones and Chief Judge Eugene Worley have evidently determined that the only suitable site for their courthouse is on Lafayette Square, and on the side occupied by the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the old Belasco Theater.

When this plan was announced a few months ago, the wholly expected outrage of the public forced the Senate to hold hearings, with wholly predictable results. A host of civic organizations appealed to the conscience and sentiments of the Senate, and urged that the Belasco Theater be rehabilitated as a functioning opera house—something that the District of Columbia now lacks.

The citizens had the arguments; the judges had the proper birth certificates. Both judges are former Texas Congressmen, and Judge Jones also happens to be Sam Rayburn's brother-in-law. Congress approved the courthouse plan, and sent it along to the White House, whose present tenant—as some noted in near paranoid desperation—was born in Denison, Tex.

The yen to build, to "improve," to marbelize is insatiable. And there is a perverse logic in Congress' building boom. Watching the mushroom growth of new executive buildings around Washington, the frustrated legislators find relief through high-handed imperialism in the one area that is indisputably beyond the President's control. Like a householder furious with his more successful neighbor, Congress can still smash up the dishes in the kitchen.

A choice piece of crockery in the Capitol kitchen is the west front. In a report dated August 1957, Architect Stewart listed the extension of the west front of the Capitol in a table of things to do. While the plan is now dormant, it is sure to be revived because it envisages, as a sugarplum, yet another restaurant for Members of Congress.

Then there is the proposal to extend the House and Senate wings on the Capitol's east front in order to match the extension of the central portico. This plan has been urged by John F. Harbeson and Gilmore D. Clarke, both architectural consultants to Mr. Rayburn. Presumably the purpose of the new extensions will be to correct the "flaw" caused by the present prominence of the main portico.

Finally, there is the proposed new annex to the Library of Congress—a building which will contain more shelfspace than the present Library and annex combined. This summer Mr. Rayburn moved with characteristic alacrity to acquire two blocks near the Capitol. With a lack of debate the Supreme Soviet might envy, Congress quickly approved a \$5 million appropriation—pausing only long enough to hear Representative John Rooney, of New York, term the property "ptomaine row" because the restaurants on the two blocks do not meet Mr. Rooney's exacting culinary standards.

Come Kennedy, come Nixon, come Johnson, come Lodge, the game of growth-manship on Capitol Hill has only begun.

[From the New York Times, Sunday, May 22, 1960]

WASHINGTON'S LAFAYETTE SQUARE UNDER SIEGE

(By Alvin Shuster)

WASHINGTON.—To most residents of the Nation's Capital, the construction of a new Federal building ordinarily makes about as much of an impression as the arrival of another politician in town. There are so many of them here already, nobody minds one or two more.

This traditional apathy has not prevailed, however, in connection with plans to construct new Federal offices along historic Lafayette Square, the tree-shaded "President's Park" just across Pennsylvania Avenue from the White House and one of the capital's most pleasant tourist retreats.

Quite a few Washingtonians are vigorously protesting the proposed construction and the cry "Save Lafayette Square" has been raised. Legislation has even been introduced in Congress to preserve what remains of the square's postcolonial atmosphere by designating the area a national historic site similar to Philadelphia's Independence National Historical Park and other shrines across the country.

The protests have gathered such momentum to date that the Senate Public Works Committee, reversing an earlier position, has now decided to hold hearings on the preservation proposals. These are aimed specifically at saving three edifices on the east side of the square—the old Belasco Theater, a house built by Dolly Madison about 150 years ago, and another built by Benjamin Tayloe around the same time.

PARK'S GREATEST PERIOD

Opponents of the proposed construction say the office buildings now in the planning stage would remove from the Washington scene all the reminders of the park's greatest period, the century starting with the end of the War of 1812. Around the square in this era revolved the city's most brilliant political, literary, diplomatic, and social life, and in its surrounding old homes lived such notables as James Madison, Daniel Webster, William H. Seward, John Hay, James G. Blaine, Henry Clay, Roger B. Taney, and John Randolph of Roanoke.

The park itself, where many tourists and residents have strolled, is not in jeopardy today. The equestrian statue of General Andrew Jackson will continue its static ride in the middle of the park, and the General's colleagues on the four corners of the park will also remain untouched. Represented are Gen. Thaddeus Kosciuszko, Baron Von Steuben, Count De Rochambeau, and Marquis De Lafayette himself, all Europeans and all soldiers who helped the American struggle for liberty.

At stake, however, is the "atmosphere" of the park, the citizens' committee claims. Plans call for razing historic buildings on both the east and west sides of the square and replacing them with the new office buildings. On the west side of the park, on Jackson Place, would rise a new building for the Executive Offices of the President. On the east side, on Madison Place, would rise a new structure for the Court of Claims and the Court of Customs and Patent Appeals.

The plans for the west side are already set and no one seriously hopes to upset them. Down will come all the buildings except one on that side of the park. The exception is the Decatur House, built in 1819 when the naval hero, Stephen Decatur, returned from the Barbary Coast campaigns. The first private dwelling built on the square, it is now held by the nongovernmental National Trust for Historic Preservation.

The pressures involved in all the construction planning have been substantial, to say the least. One illustration of the behind-the-scenes maneuvering for space around the park involves the National Grange.

EMBATTLED FARMERS

The national farm organization had its offices on Jackson Place facing the square and, according to the original plans, the only two buildings that would have remained on that entire block would have been the Decatur House, facing the square, and Blair House, the President's guest house, around the corner on Pennsylvania Avenue.

The Grange fought back, however, and won permission to construct a new building around the corner from its present site. The building, just completed, does not face the square, but it nevertheless is on the same historic block. The new Executive Offices will be built around it.

Another illustration of the maneuvering involves the Court of Claims which had been planning to have its offices in the new Executive Offices Building. There were some second thoughts, however, and the General Services Administration, the Government's housekeeping agency, and the court's Chief Judge Marvin Jones, a former Texas Congressman and long-time friend of House Speaker Sam Rayburn, started looking around for another site.

They did not look very far before they decided the best place for the court would be just across Lafayette Square on the east side, and subsequently plans were submitted to Congress to tear down Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theater, now used by the United Service Organizations (USO).

This latest move has stirred up the campaign to preserve the square. Democratic Representatives Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey, and Harris B. McDowell, of Delaware, both leaders in the fight, claim it would be an "act of supreme folly" to destroy buildings "which give the White House park an early American distinction and charm." Democratic Senators John F. Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, and Wayne Morse, all announced candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination, have also introduced bills to save the structures.

The oldest of the three historic buildings is the Madison House, built around 1820. After the death of the fourth President, his widow devoted the proceeds of the sale of the Madison papers to restoring the mansion and she occupied it until her death in 1849. During the Civil War it was used as one of the headquarters of the Army of the Potomac under Gen. George McClellan and Union soldiers camped right in the park. Today the building is occupied by one of the Government's newest agencies, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The other historic residence on the block was built in 1828 by Benjamin Ogle Tayloe and later owned by a succession of high-ranking capital leaders. When Senator Mark Hanna, the celebrated power behind the throne of the McKinley administration, lived there it was known as the Little White House.

Tayloe, whose father was a wealthy Virginia planter and a close friend of George Washington, collected antiques from throughout the world for his home and during his lifetime the house was frequented by the leading diplomats and political figures of the day.

PROPOSED RESTORATION

The Belasco Theater was opened in 1895 as the Lafayette Square Opera House, and Lillian Russell, Sarah Bernhardt, Julia Marlowe, and Maude Adams, among others, performed there. One proposal aimed at preserving the historic atmosphere of the square calls for the restoration of the Belasco for use as a repertory theater.

Whether the efforts to save the square will succeed remains to be seen, but as the Washington Post and Times Herald pointed out in a recent editorial, the decision should have been made long ago to preserve the residential character which predominated around the square until World War I.

"With a little more foresight, the square could have remained a pleasant patch of the past," the paper noted. "Our grandchildren may well reproach us for failing as guardians of a heritage worth saving."

[From the Washington Post, Friday, July 1, 1960]

THE TEXANS VERSUS LAFAYETTE SQUARE

(By Drew Pearson)

It isn't Senator Lyndon Johnson's fault, but some of his fellow Texans aren't building up any good will for Texas in the Nation's Capital. This includes Speaker Sam Rayburn, Lyndon's campaign manager.

Two Texans have just maneuvered to disrupt the colonial architecture of the most historic square in America with a modern new brick and glass court building, chiefly because one of them wants to walk to work.

The Texan who wants to walk to work is Judge Marvin Jones, of Amarillo. Sam Rayburn's brother-in-law, who wants a new Court of Claims building erected in place of the historic Dolly Madison Mansion, the Benjamin D. Tayloe House, and the old Belasco Theater on Lafayette Square, diagonally opposite the White House.

The Dolly Madison Mansion, where the wife of the fourth President gave some of her gayest parties, is one of the oldest colonial houses in Washington. The Belasco Theater is being proposed as a small-scale opera house in the one major capital of the world which has no opera house at all.

However, Judge Jones lives at the University Club, a few blocks away, on 16th Street. And it obviously was more convenient for him to have his new court building within walking distance.

The judge can also walk across the square to the Metropolitan Club for lunch, then back to the University Club to play bridge.

TEXANS AND REPUBLICANS

Another Texan close to Sam Rayburn is Eugene Worley, judge of the Customs and Patent Appeals Court. He, too, wants to tear down the Dolly Madison Mansion, et al., in favor of a modern court edifice.

These two Texans, who have influence with the Democrats, were joined by Republican Judge I. Jack Martin, also of the Customs and Patent Appeals Court. Martin was Senator Taft's assistant and former White House contact man with

Congress, so has influence with both the White House and congressional Republicans.

So, although every civic-minded organization in the Nation's Capital went to bat for the preservation of Lafayette Square, these two Texans plus one Taft Republican proceeded to get their way.

At first, however, the White House balked. Conscientious Franklin Floete, head of General Services and in charge of public building, testified that he had an alternate site in Southwest Washington. Furthermore, Floete said the new site would hold three courts instead of two. At Lafayette Square site it would mean an uncomfortable squeeze to include the U.S. Tax Court, which has to move anyway. The two Texas judges aren't interested in it, however. The head of the Tax Court, Judge Edgar Murlock, isn't from Texas; has no political pull.

Immediately after Floete urged another site, the two Texas judges got panicky. Judge Jones phoned Carl Levin, head of the Citizens' Committee To Save Lafayette Square, offered to make a deal.

"You can keep the Belasco Theater," he proposed, "but let us take the Dolly Madison House and the Benjamin Tayloe House." Levin rejected the deal.

"The people of Washington aren't interested in a barter deal," Levin replied. "We're interested in preserving the most historic square in America." Levin later explained to friends.

At this point the Republican judge, Jack Martin, began pulling wires with old friends in the White House. Suddenly Floete found the ground being cut from under him.

"You'll have to get a lot of support to make my proposal stick," he confided to civic leaders.

They got a lot of support—from 30 top civic organizations. But Judge Martin got more from the White House. Floete, a Republican, was told to reverse himself. Ike, he was told, favored the demolition of the historic buildings on Lafayette Square.

MORE TEXANS

Last week another Texan, Sam Rayburn, pushed a \$5 million appropriation through the House to buy up two city blocks to make room for an expansion of congressional buildings. Simultaneously the House Appropriations Committee told the District of Columbia, in effect, to jump in the Potomac when it came to building four badly needed schools. On the same day, Senator Dennis Chavez, of New Mexico, put through an appropriation of \$40,000 to build a new swimming pool for Senators. Chavez is the chairman of the Public Works Committee, who is helping his neighbors from Texas to raze the historic buildings on Lafayette Square. On the same day, another Texan, charming Albert Thomas, of Houston, knocked \$2.8 million off the cost of building a sewer from the new Dulles Airport. At the same time, the same Congressman Thomas was angling with the Interior Department to turn part of Normanstone Park, which is National Capital Parks land opposite the British Embassy, over to the ladies of Congress and their Congressional Club. These wives of Congressmen would not have to pay for the Government land.

[From the Washington Post, Washington, D.C., Sunday, June 12, 1960]

THE BEAUTIFUL BELASCO RATES PROMPT ATTENTION

(By Paul Hume)

Although it has been known as the Belasco Theater for many years, there are letters carved in stone over the door of the building that stands on the east side of Lafayette Square that read "Lafayette Square Opera House."

One of the extremely rare errors I have ever found in my favorite reference book, Oscar Thompson's edition of the "International Cyclopaedia of Music and Musicians," the Belasco Theater is named as the scene of the first American performance of an opera you have all heard of, "Madam Butterfly." Actually that premiere took place over on F Street, in the Columbia Theater.

Quite possibly the reason for the error can be found in the review which appeared in the Washington Post of October 16, 1906, the day after the premiere. In the first paragraph of the review the writer correctly locates the opera in

the Columbia. Some paragraphs later she refers to the beautifully dressed audience that gathered to hear the Puccini work for the first time in the Belasco Theater.

No matter. What is important to us today is that in the same week that the first American audiences were hearing Puccini's opera, an event that preceded its Metropolitan Opera debut by nearly 4 months, the Belasco Theater was being advertised in the Washington Post as the home of a series of concerts to be given by the Boston Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Karl Muck. The same year was to see the Philadelphia Orchestra in its annual series, given in the National Theater.

Solo artists appearing that year included Schumann-Heink, Moriz Rosenthal, Nordica, and dozens more. Many of these artists and many of the largest visiting ensembles that came to Washington appeared in the Belasco Theater.

It is a building with a unique location. Imagine a beautiful lyric theater, fully capable of housing opera, ballet, and concerts, facing one of the loveliest squares in Washington, a theater to which the President of the United States could walk in 2 minutes, and to which he could take his guests for a rich evening's entertainment.

This theater is standing. It is not waiting to be built. To remodel it completely and put it into absolutely first-class condition, ready for the world's great artists and performing ensembles would cost not any millions of dollars. Not even \$5 or \$3 or even \$1 million. Architects, designers, opera and theater planners have gone over the Belasco and have stated that it could be completely restored for around three-quarters of a million dollars.

In the meantime the White House has asked Congress to appropriate \$12 million for half of the cost of a Freedom Wall. And we are wondering how and where to begin raising the \$75 million that is set as the cost of a national center for the performing arts. Other millions have been suggested as the cost of memorials for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and for the still living Herbert Hoover.

It now appears that New York City will be fortunate enough to enjoy life in its new Lincoln Center, and also providently to retain Carnegie Hall as well. Washington, which at present has none of the theater and concert facilities that were available to this city in 1906, will never reach a point where a restored Belasco Theater will not be a great asset, even when the National Cultural Center is completed.

In the meantime, how is it possible that anything can long obstruct the necessary authority and financing of what could be one of our country's finest theaters, and one that is so sorely needed day after day? A nod from the White House, and we could look forward to concerts, operas, and ballets in a beautiful setting, in time for the beginning of the season of 1961-62. Here's to the reopening of the Lafayette Square Opera House, attended by the next President of the United States.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Star, May 8, 1960]

OUR BELASCO THEATER DESERVES A BREAK

(By Day Thorpe)

At the first meeting of the Citizens Committee To Save Lafayette Square last week, 30 or 40 people gathered together to effect their common purpose of forestalling the destruction of the buildings on the east side of the front yard of the White House. They were motivated by sundry sentiments—nostalgia, distaste for Government gothic, the sense of history, and a desire for a new operating theater in the near future. Bills are now before Congress to save the Lafayette Square Opera House (later called the Belasco Theater) and to restore it to the condition it was in when purchased by the Government in 1940.

To have strength, such a movement should enjoy singleness of purpose inspired by a variety of incentives. Fortunately, everybody wanted to save the old block of buildings and there was no common reason advanced why the rescue is necessary, nor any universal attestation to the beauty of the street. Some found the Belasco only potentially utilitarian, while to me it also is beautiful, although obviously not to be classed with our temporary buildings on the Mall, presently under no sentence of destruction.

DOUBTS AS TO HISTORY

What was most curious to me, however, was the doubt whether the Belasco could be rebuilt into a first-rate theater—whether in fact it had ever been one. There was a general impression that the theater, built in 1895, became an oddity, a durable relic, in 1896, or shortly thereafter. When I remembered Barrymore as Hamlet in the Belasco in the early 1920's, it was suggested that I was thinking of the Poli's.

I am no antiquarian, but I was certain that I recalled scores if not hundreds of shows I had seen at the Belasco in my youth. Opera, Broadway shows, and even a resident company dedicated to weekly productions of musical comedy. Three or four of the yellowest clippings in a fat file on the theater here at the Star extended my memory backward two-decades. Whatever the Belasco may not have, it has a history.

The Lafayette Square Opera House opened on September 30, 1895, with a production of the opera "La Tzigane," written by Reginald de Koven for Lillian Russell. The show was warmly received and the theater greatly admired, though the Star critic notes that Miss Russell's first solo "is not so satisfying as it should be." The cant of criticism is not new.

A HOST OF THE GREAT

Francesca Lawson, who was at last week's meeting, remarked that she had sung Micaela in "Carmen" at the Belasco, and that she had heard Tetrazzini there. The Star files confirm her memory—not only Tetrazzini, but Caruso. Schumann-Heink, Jenny Lind, and Amato sang there. It was the Washington home of the Metropolitan Opera, the "swankiest place in all Washington," according to John J. Daly, in an article in the Star published in 1940. Helen Hayes and Ruth Chatterton both made their debuts at the Belasco. Ina Claire was often there; also David Warfield, Mae West, Weber and Fields, Walter Hampden, De Wolfe Hopper, John Drew, Maude Adams, Edna Wallace Hopper (from whom all proper young boys of my generation hoped we could learn about sex—a misconception curiously based on the fact that her shows were advertised "for women only"), Will Rogers, Al Jolson, and probably many others.

Ziegfeld first saw Will Rogers at the Belasco, and signed him immediately in his dressing room for the Follies. A story about Rogers of that time shows that all his jokes were not wildly funny and also that Eisenhower is not the first to find that many Americans believe a President on a golf course to be somehow incongruous with proper decorum.

WILL ROGERS VERSUS HARDING

"Will Rogers that week," recounts the old Star clipping, "encountered the first and only objection to his humor, which was registered from the White House. Among his drolleries was this: 'The American public will never get much accomplished until they get a President who gets seasick and who can't play golf.' * * *

"A Secret Service man called at the Belasco and conveyed word that the White House would appreciate it if Mr. Rogers would eliminate the joke. As it was an important part of his routine and got appreciative audience response, Rogers refused."

Several months later when Rogers was in town in another Ziegfeld show he tried to get an invitation to a White House reception and "was politely informed none was available." Whereupon, Rogers added a few lines not in the script to his next performance. "All my life I have been making humorous observations and comments about the great and the near-great. Invariably, they have accepted it in a spirit of fun and with an appreciation that no malice was intended. I regret that I have offended President Harding, but I can also say he is the first prominent man to publicly object to my stage liberties. I am sorry he can't take a joke."

Later in his career, I suspect, Rogers would either have left it out or tightened it up, but nevertheless the incident is perhaps an indication that our Presidents, among whom Harding, Wilson, Coolidge, and Hoover were fans of the Belasco, do not invariably find a theater at the front door of the White House an unmitigated blessing. I, for one, devoutly hope that future Presidents will have an opportunity to give the Belasco another chance.

[From the Washington Post, Tuesday, May 24, 1960]

CONCERTED EFFORT MAY SAVE SQUARE

Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., Democrat of New Jersey, warned yesterday that "highway builders are charging through Washington's historic sections to build more offices for bureaucrats." He said that "there will have to be a concerted effort to save Lafayette Square."

Thompson spoke at a meeting at which Mrs. El. Morgan Pryse, a member of the District of Columbia bar, was elected president of the District of Columbia Federation of Women's Clubs.

Thompson, one of the prime movers for the National Cultural Center, also suggested that should its cost of \$75 million delay complete construction in the near future, a plan to go ahead and build it a unit at a time, for immediate use, might be an answer to the problem.

Mrs. Pryse, currently the federation's parliamentarian, is a former president of the Marietta Women's Club and also serves as second vice president of the Entre Nous Club.

Mrs. Pryse was the choice of the federation's nominating committee and was unopposed when the committee presented her name as presidential candidate a month ago.

All women whom Mrs. Pryse selected for her cabinet were in turn endorsed by the clubs of which they are members, preceding the nominating committee's report.

This group, elected yesterday with Mrs. Pryse, at a meeting at the Willard Hotel are:

Mrs. Leonard W. Thomas, first vice president; Woodbridge Book Club.

Mrs. Paul W. Burke, second vice president; Takoma Park Women's Club.

Mrs. Andrew G. Weaver, Sr., recording secretary; Petworth Women's Club.

Mrs. Robert Eugene Bell, assistant recording secretary; Association of Philippine-American Women.

Mrs. Jerry Ness, corresponding secretary; Sportsettes Club.

Mrs. George H. Foster, assistant corresponding secretary; Entre Nous Club.

Mrs. Francis Irving Brook, treasurer; Pro Bonata Club.

Mrs. James G. Stephanson, assistant treasurer; Southeast Women's Club.

Officers will be installed on June 27.

The Navy Mothers Club reported on its history through the years; and it was also announced that the family of Mrs. Stephan Wasile, a member of the Southeast Women's Club, has been selected as the District of Columbia All America Family of the Year. They will fly to Florida on Tuesday for the national competition.

[From the Washington Post, Sunday, Dec. 25, 1960]

CHEERS ARE DUE CAPITAL'S THEATERS

(By Richard L. Coe)

Christmas greetings—and especially to our town's theaters. They have personalities, too.

Historically there's Ford's. Senator Milton Young (Republican, of North Dakota), has been giving it his special care and in time, thanks to the initial push of Melvin D. Hildreth this will get back to its old look of that historic 1865 night.

Not much has changed since 1865 in the way of getting theater tickets. That Good Friday afternoon the Lincolns planned to go that night to see Adah Mencken in "Mazeppa," but someone piously recognized that a bareback riding queen was hardly the thing for that evening. So a messenger was dispatched to change the tickets of the White House party from the National to 10th Street. If you want to buy theater tickets now it's much the same kind of effort though the phone has been invented since.

But queen of our lot remains the National haunted backstage with the ghost of a murdered minor actor, the National's been rolling along on this spot (in five different buildings) since 1835 and all players in America look forward to playing there. Ultimately there may be confusion between the National and the National Cultural Center but change the name of the National? That wouldn't sit well with true Washingtonians—or our savvy taxi drivers. Next year let's find a new word for culture. That one's a self-conscious dog.

When you pass the Belasco and its USO sign, wish it a merry Christmas, not just for its past but a future. Some folks are pulling hard that the new administration will reverse the decision to tear it down for a Federal court building. Tireless George Frain, of Capitol Hill, is working on this and so is William A. Grant, of the Young Democratic Club. They point out that early in 1960 Senator Kennedy was among those trying to save Lafayette Square's historic buildings and that, as President a year later, he might accomplish this.

It would be an expense to restore and the seating capacity might prove too small for some attractions. But a score of other events could here find a sorely needed home. So a toast in eggnog to this hopeful urge.

There's Loew's Palace, oldest of our film houses and still F Street's flagship. It's big, it's friendly, and for some 47 years it's been the town's favorite location-wise and productwise, even in this day of unpredictable bookings. So, a proud Christmas to the Palace and all its people.

You can't help mentioning the Capitol in the same breath since it is the Capital City's headquarters of Loew's lasting empire. Originally the Fox, it was built by Roxy and has outlasted his mightier Gotham cathedral. It's always a luxurious feeling to wonder into its spacious lobbies and though it's an admitted makeshift for such visitors as international ballets and opera, it never fails to put out the red carpet for our classiest visitors who wouldn't be in town without its big auditorium, compromisable stage. If you're an old Washington hand you've seen a lot of names on its big, yet intimate, stage.

The Capitol's nearly 35-year history now faces an iffy period. With the lease due to expire in 1962 both Loew's, Inc., and the National Press Club which owns the building, are jockeying over new terms inevitable in our economy. But with the National Cultural Center no more than the shadow of a mirage on a distant horizon, it's inconceivable to think that the global-minded press boys would turn this space—the theater has as much cubic footage as the Ring Building—into a parking garage, a bowling alley, or office space. That would leave us with no stage, even a limited one, to be commandeered by a state visitor for a performance honoring the Nation's first family. This will be a worrisome question until it is settled.

There's Keith's the face-lifted dowager of 15th Street. Its past is nothing short of fabulous. Here Mrs. Woodrow Wilson used to lure her harried wartime President-husband for vaudeville, "to give him an atmosphere in which he could laugh." The boxes where the Wilsons used to sit are gone now and the still beautiful Edith Bolling Wilson has no regrets over that disappearance. "The worst seats in the house in any house," she'll recall to you, "but that is where the Secret Service had to put us. Still those performances were wonderful escape valves for him." Now Morris Cafritz owns the building and what his plans are for the theater when the present RKO lease expires next year he is keeping to himself.

There's the Warner, once the Earle, named for a Governor of Pennsylvania, who once was a theater man. (Interesting how theater moguls drift into political life.) There's the Metropolitan, narrow because that's how they made the early ones, specially built for film theaters. Oldtimers still miss the newsreels at the Trans-Lux, named because its projection scheme was from behind the screen. They changed all that a decade ago, but the house still goes by the Latin term for "through the light," though the light's now reversed.

Greetings, too, to that adaptable little building in the heart of our financial 15th Street. Or did you realize that the Playhouse once was a bank, then a restaurant till that gallant pioneer of the art houses, Louise Noonan Miller, shot a wad on yet another conversion?

Spray some holly, please, around the MacArthur. It occupies a rare position in local movie history. Until the K-B chain took it over for first runs, downtown ruled the film roost. It had been allowed to sink into thrice-weekly showings with lazy minded traditional bookings, until Marvin Goldman and Fred Burka decided a lot of potential moviegoers lived out that way and were entitled to something other than stale second runs. Its success revolutionized Washington movie habits and its cannily chosen films gather the faithful even on blizzard nights.

Some red ribbon, too, for the Dupont, which set a pace with the best imports it could find, coffee in the lounge, display space for local painters, and a policy of "no popcorn, please," making it the shiniest theater in town under the guidance of our only female manager, genial Jean Imhoff.

Roll out keg for Arena Space, our "Old Vat," which got that nickname because its 500 seats are in what once was the hospitality hall (or beer-tasting center) of the Heurich Brewing Co. The new Potomac Bridge will demolish this, but we'll always be grateful to the Heurich family for giving a continuing base to the proud company which next fall will have its new home in our town's newest-oldest area, the southwest redevelopment section.

A sprig of holly too, for our town's most elegant, exclusive theater, the Acadamia. Never heard of it? It's got 75 seats, was opened by President Truman and is at 1600 I Street NW., headquarters of the Motion Picture Association of America, popularly the Eric Johnson office. Under Bob Crisp's tireless direction, this works morning, noon, afternoon, and night, for special groups which reflect, as no other audiences do, the infinite variety of American life.

In its invited audiences you find children and Supreme Court Justices, club ladies, and the minute group which proves that in miniature the U.N. can work: the town's professional moviegoers—whose greatest pleasure and a shock to those exposed to them for the first time, is a good sharp fight—the Messrs. Carmady O'Neill, MacArthur, Sullivan, Donnelly, and Coe, whose viewpoints converge only on the point that each of the others is crazy as a bedbug, loony as a bin, squirrelly—yet nice. Especially mornings. Particularly Christmas mornings.

[From the Saturday Review, May 1961]

THE CANADA COUNCIL

(By Eric McLean)

Not long ago a number of Canadian painters, musicians, and writers met in Toronto to discuss their problems under the rather grand title of the Canadian Conference of the Arts. Each paid his own way, but there are always organizational expenses in such matters. In this case, they amounted to \$10,000. The writers and others couldn't afford the expense, but somebody picked up the tab.

During the summer months, visitors from the United States and many parts of Canada will converge on Stratford, Ontario, for its ninth annual Shakespearean festival. For a good many more in Canada, where distances are vast and the small population is scattered, Stratford is as remote as Tristan da Cunha. But during July a trainload of 150 high school students chosen by school boards in various locations will descend on Stratford for a few days of concentrated listening and looking. Cost—\$21,000.

On the west coast, Vancouver has been trying to crash the international festival market since 1958, but while there has been bold talk of deficit financing, the costs of the project have been heavier than expected, and the response from the public, especially in the neighboring areas of Seattle and Portland, has been disappointing. Nevertheless, this summer the festival will present the first North American performances of Benjamin Britten's version of "A Midsummer Night's Dream."

In every case it is the Canada Council that has extended a helping hand, not alone in encouragement, but also in cash underwriting. By comparison with the grants from foundations and funds in the United States, such sums (even the basic \$35,000 for the Vancouver festival, plus a bonus of \$10,000 for the Britten project) are small. What gives them importance, however, is this: the Council is the creation of the Canadian Government—which inclines some people to feel that it represents a sinister shift toward a socialistic Ministry of Culture. However, even the staunchest Tories have come to realize that the existence of the country is dependent on Government subsidies of one sort and another—rail and air communications, radio, etc.

Even more important, the existence of Canadians as individuals with a culture of their own may be just as dependent on the Council's mission. One of its main purposes is to explain the difference between a Canadian and an American, although it would never be described officially in that way. A large part of its time and efforts has been devoted to the search for a Canadian image, not in the spirit of an information service and not with the purpose of clarifying things for Americans or Europeans, but rather to help the Canadian understand himself a little better.

To have the Englishman comment on the insignificance of the things that make the Canadian different is small comfort to the Canadian nowadays. He isn't looking for a way to return to the British fold. Nor is he cheered by the American's assertion that the Canadian is his double. That sort of anonymity, in which individuality is related to a mountie or a bad joke about prohibition, is not enough. The Canadians are too rich now, and too much aware of an important future to accept such patronage. As Lester B. Pearson, leader of the Liberal Party, put it, we love the United States but we don't want to marry the brute.

The problem was brought into focus shortly after World War II. It hadn't come to marriage yet, but the love affair was apparent even to the least perceptive. American magazines, American radio, American movies, and eventually American TV were flowing across the border. No one seemed to mind that they virtually eliminated competition from the smaller, less well-heeled Canadian ventures in these fields. The Canadian Broadcasting Corp. attempted to combat this influence by controlling the ratio of American and Canadian content on its programs, as well as the ratio of live to canned broadcasts. Its efforts were under constant fire from the Government opposition and from a large percentage of newspapers, which regarded such control as an invasion of private rights.

The tide began to turn 12 years ago, when the Prime Minister of the then Liberal government, Louis St. Laurent, called for the appointment of a royal commission "to study national development in the arts, letters, and sciences." In one direction lay total absorption by the United States—a long, slow swallow that hardly anyone would notice and that even the victim would not resent. Or if "victim" presents a misleading image (because no blame attaches to America) let us say that Canada would simply smother itself on Columbia's ample breast. In the other direction lay Canadianism. It would be a little synthetic for a while, perhaps; it would mean nurturing regional characteristics that might be considered outmoded in these less isolated times. But if it worked, the Canadians would be able to go back to loving Americans again.

Out of the studies that followed, the 2 years spent in holding hearings across the country, reading documents solicited from organizations and individuals, emerged a 500-page document that came to be known as the Massey report (a tribute to the commission's head, the Right Honorable Vincent Massey, later to become Governor General of Canada). It was a bestseller among Government documents in 1951.

The recommendation of the commission that attracted the widest attention read like this: "We therefore recommend 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 function of a national commission for UNESCO, and to devise and administer a system of scholarships."

No one has thought of a satisfactory explanation for the 6-year delay between the appearance of the report and the implementation of its most important recommendations. Part of it was due to the objection of Maurice Duplessis, Premier of the predominantly French-speaking (and Roman Catholic) Province of Quebec, to the university capital grants fund. He claimed, with some justice, that it would represent Federal interference in education, a purely provincial field and one that in Quebec is dominated by the Catholic School Commission. To date, no grant has been made from the fund to a Quebec institution. (The Ottawa Government was reluctant to oppose Duplessis, who had been put in power by the Province that contains approximately a third of the voting population of Canada.)

The council was discussed through each session of Parliament, and in 1956 the Liberals managed to delay action for another 7 months with the excuse that qualified members for the council, who had already been selected, were too busy at the time to give their services.

When the act creating the council was finally passed on March 28, 1957, the news reports gave first importance to the method of financing the council. Its funds came from the succession duties on the estates of two millionaires from the Maritime Provinces: Sir James Dunn, who died in his summer home at St. Andrews, New Brunswick, on January 1, 1956, leaving an estate of \$70 million; and Isaac Walton Killam, who had died 5 months before at his fishing camp at Cascapedia Quél, leaving an estate of \$100 million.

Duties on the two estates came to an even \$100 million, which was immediately earmarked for the council. Ironically, the arts and letters had not been among the favorite charities of either tycoon in his lifetime.

The amount of money in the council's hands places it seventh in order of importance among the trusts and foundations of the United States and Canada. But even this comparison exaggerates the council's wealth. Only half is a permanent fund. The other \$50 million was earmarked as a university capital grants fund, to be given away—capital and interest—on a 10-year schedule to help Canadian universities in long-overdue building assistance.

This means that by 1967 the Canada Council's total capital will be reduced to \$50 million, unless it receives more in the meantime. The council is so constituted that gifts may be sent to it tax free, a privilege few Canadians have exercised. They seem to take the attitude that, once the council was created, the finger was in the dike, the crisis averted. If the council couldn't cure whatever was wrong with Canadian culture with its present funds, at least it had enough to produce a good definition of the trouble.

Although the largest grants, at present, are being made from the university capital grants fund, the council activity that has attracted the most attention has been the assistance to artists, artistic organizations, and scholars, fields in which there are no fixed standards. The decision to support the work of a particular composer or painter must be made on much more subjective grounds than a grant of x million dollars to a university for a new library or auditorium. The test relates to the search for an identity previously remarked.

To this end, the council has disbursed something in the neighborhood of \$4 million in fellowships to composers, painters, and writers, in direct gifts to artistic organizations, and in financing the transportation of audiences from small towns and rural communities into nearby population centers to give them an idea of what Canadians are doing in the way of expressing themselves.

Such priming of the artistic pump is only one of several functions of the council, and the one expending the smallest amount of their funds. Other responsibilities relate to allotment of scholarships in social sciences and the humanities, and the operation of the Canadian National Commission for UNESCO. Among these, after administrative costs have been deducted from the endowment fund, 55 percent of the remainder goes to the arts. Grants from these funds, in the last budget, include such things as \$206,500 to symphony orchestras; \$7,400 to commission orchestral works; \$162,500 to festivals; \$85,000 to permanent theater companies; \$36,000 for touring theater companies; \$145,000 for ballet; \$72,000 for opera, and so on.

In the minds of most people, benevolent foundations deal largely in fat, round sums, giving comfort to the student in Paris or sustenance to the archaeologist in the Cyclades, sums with a ring to them—sums in six figures, or \$10,000, certainly nothing less than \$2,000.

For this reason, it might surprise some to find listed in the Canada Council reports such entries as the following: \$120 to Maria Pellegrini, of Ottawa, to enable her to go to Toronto for an audition; \$50 to Dr. James Reaney, of Winnipeg, a travel grant to go to Toronto to assist in the production of his play "The Killdeer" (this would take Dr. Reaney only halfway, and he would have to pay the rest himself); \$300 to Mrs. Dorothy MacPherson, a travel grant to participate at the fifth annual Robert Flaherty film seminar at the University of California.

These small sums must not be taken as an indication that the council's eye is on the sparrow. It means, rather, that it is slicing carefully a very small budget for a very big job. When you consider the handful of Canadian people rattling around in the third largest country in the world (larger than the continental United States but with only about a tenth of the population) it is difficult to talk about culture. If the population of Canada were spread evenly over its territory (momentarily ignoring the fact that many of them would have to be amphibious), they would not be within sight of each other, let alone talking or spitting distance. The actual distribution is a little different, though almost as curious. Seventy percent of Canadians live within 100 miles of the U.S. border, almost as though this strip of towns and cities were snuggling up to an imaginary wall for warmth.

The council's job might be described as trying to persuade the Canadians that south is not the only direction in which to face, or that they have been left "outside." An important aspect of the problem was well defined in a recent article by one of its officers: "While contemporary creative activity abroad is

the product of centuries of interchange between artist and audience, here the council is being charged with the difficult task of helping to bring forth the chicken and the egg simultaneously. Finding and encouraging creative artists is not enough. To insure the final independence and even survival of these artists, an important part of the council's function must be to help enlarge the demand for their talents."

In other words, creating an audience. After 4 years' experience, this aspect of the problem has earned more and more of the council's attention. Creation and re-creation is very well, but getting the audience and the performers together is of crucial importance. To this end, the Canadian Players (a company employing many of the Stratford actors during the winter months) were sponsored by the council on a tour of 60 towns from coast to coast last year. At the same time, 6,000 high school students were shipped from rural districts into the towns on the company's itinerary.

Subsidies for a theater troupe rarely amount to more than a fraction of their touring costs. The council pares down its assistance to the crucial point where the company would decide to give up the tour, then adds a smidgen more.

Two years ago the Canadian Opera Company, operating out of Toronto, gave a 2-week season with three works (including Prokofiev's "Love for Three Oranges"), then went on a cross-country tour of 40 performances. The resulting deficit of \$137,000 was met by private donations of \$77,000, and a \$60,000 grant from the council.

There have been critics of the council, but most of them have objected to the way in which assistance is meted out rather than to the principle of assistance itself. Some feel that the system of piecemeal grants is pernicious. Others have contended that if the arts were really respected, they would be supported by a Ministry of Culture with a large budget. Probably the most common criticism of all is that a council is a long-haired outfit, somewhere up on cloud 9, and that it should take steps to get in touch with the common man, or consult the average taxpayer on how this money should be spent in the cultural fields.

To paraphrase the council's attitude, the council has been charged with the job of making the common man less common, and they have no intention of consulting him on methods.

The council has only six salaried officers, none of them identified with political parties: a director, Dr. A. W. Trueman; an associate director, Eugene Bussiere; a treasurer, Douglas Fullerton; a supervisor of the arts program, Peter M. Dwyer; a supervisor of the scholarship program, Henri Charbonneau; and a secretary, Lillian Breen. The chairman, Dr. Claude T. Bissell, replied recently to charges against the 19-member council (voluntary and noncompensated) by pointing out that at present it relies on informed groups and individuals for its decision, with applications for grants from the endowment fund sifted by, for the arts, 150 adjudicators. He admitted that information is often marked by "cults, petty jealousies, and prejudices. But the alternative is to shift our sources of advice to those people who, to coin a phrase, know nothing about art but know what they like. Ultimately this is to substitute the most terrible of all tyrannies: the tyranny of the uninformed."

Russia, observes Dr. Bissell, had tried this pseudodemocratic method of promoting culture, and the result was "picture postcard painting and propaganda fiction. You will notice that the U.S.S.R. has not adopted the same method in the sciences. That is why its conquest of outer space is more significant than its conquest of inner space."

No one has attempted to assess the result of the Canada Council's work. Four years is hardly time enough to allow such a "first growth" to bear ripe fruit.

But the council itself is sure enough of its importance to the country and of the direction in which it is going to ask the Government for another \$10 million to help it along.

SUBSIDY MAKES SENSE

A description of the present plight of music and the musicians in the United States and a look at Federal Subsidy as a means of improving the situation.

By Hope Stoddard

Associate Editor

International Musician

The American Federation of Musicians, in its campaign for Federal subsidy of music, has published a series of articles in its journal, "International Musician," explaining the need for speedy action in this matter. These articles are herewith reprinted, together with a final chapter on industry's aid to music, in itself a form of subsidy.

Foreword

SUBSIDY — The very word sends shivers up the spine.

It is Socialism!

It is **THE END!!**

But wait. Is Franco's Spain, with its subsidies of the arts, socialistic? Was Peron's Argentina — one of the most heavily subsidized of states — socialistic?

Subsidy — government aid to certain enterprises — has long been a normal, accepted practice in the United States. Anyone who receives a letter by post, drives a car along a public highway, sends his child to school, or calls the fire department when his house is on fire, is making use of subsidy.

Government aid to the arts is already part of our system — witness ANTA tours and our artists-exchange agreements. But we are far behind other civilized nations in our skill in using this means toward developing our cultural life. It is for us to widen the scope of subsidy, bring it to practical application, save musicians and music, before it is too late.



Let's get it straight first of all what government subsidy of music means. First, though, let's look at what it does *not* mean. It does *not* mean the government "taking over" symphony orchestras and chamber music ensembles and bands from Maine to California. It does *not* mean having a government functionary designate what programs symphony orchestras are to present throughout the country. It does *not* mean that conductor so-and-so will stand with baton poised waiting for orders from Washington to start his concert.

What it *does* mean is that orchestras and bands and chamber music ensembles and opera companies will go on giving their concerts, staging their performances, much as they have done before. Tickets will be sold at the ticket offices, and managements will pray for sellouts as they have always done. Annual fund-raising campaigns will be held. Citizens and corporations will be solicited by ladies' auxiliaries and societies of "friends of music," while the giant fund-registering thermometer at Market and Main streets rises sluggishly toward its goal. Boards of Directors will sit around their tables and plot the next season's activities, with money and the muses holding about even places in the deliberations.

Orchestras will have the same struggles and the same triumphs. Yet there will be a difference, apparent to every music lover in the United States. Orchestras will get out of the red and maintain normal financing, not by bleeding the orchestra members themselves—lowering salaries of musicians, curtailing paid rehearsal periods (and lengthening unpaid ones), shortening seasons—but by getting just that emergency lift that subsidies, federal, state, and municipal, can supply.

Let us look at the picture of our orchestras today, sans subsidy. Aside from about eight of our major symphony orchestras which are subsidized—excuse me, sponsored—by foundations, by corporations and by philanthropists—there are hundreds eking out a precarious existence by ticket sales, by occasional handouts of private individuals and—as the most usual source of financing—by the musicians themselves. We boast in innumerable magazine articles, campaign speeches and publicity brochures of—what is it, 2,600 orchestras in our land? Yet most of these exist only because of the free services, free time, free performances of their members. Free to the public, that is, but costly to the musicians. Our orchestras, by and large, are subsidized down to the last fiddler by the musicians themselves, who pay in hours taken

from their own private study and from their recreation time; in money saved from workaday jobs; in service culled from their infinite patience and goodwill. What federal subsidies would amount to is that fewer orchestras would be victimizing their own musicians in their struggle for survival.

And the composers? One and all, composers complain that they have no chance to be heard. Orchestras, even the best, curtail their premieres to one or two a year. Just too expensive in rehearsal time and in rental price, and, with the whole weight of the orchestra dependent on the audience's immediate approval, also too risky.

But music representative of any country should be music including the best of recent output rehearsed to the point of highest perfection. The concert hall should be the place of inspiring performance and challenging experiments. It should be freed from the necessity of making ends meet, in the sense of a business project or a manufactured gadget—altering the product to suit the whims of the customer, developing gimmicks if the thing itself does not sell, booming up trade under false pretenses.

Most music lovers are convinced of this fact.

But what would determine the United States government to institute a system of subsidies of music? Obviously it must come to the conclusion that music is a good thing for the nation. ("Subsidy—a government grant to assist a private enterprise *deemed advantageous to the public*"—Webster's Collegiate Dictionary.)

Obviously, too, it must decide that the projects aided must be projects which private enterprise and local governments cannot handle adequately themselves, projects which, if left to the vagaries of private enterprise, would be gravely hampered or actually destroyed.

Our government came to this conclusion about United States shipping in 1850, about agriculture in 1862, about education even before this. Today we should be quite used both to the word "subsidy" and the process, what with free libraries, free highways for motorists and free schools for our children. About this latter: we have a completely government-subsidized educational system, with the choice, of course, kept open for children to be sent to private or parochial schools. Naturally, there is some talk that the government sometimes exercises an undue amount of control—now suggests a scientific-weighted curriculum, now exerts undue

pressure on the opinions of teachers. But citizens never for a moment consider abolishing public education because of such strictures. Instead they put pressure on the government to keep hands off when it shows signs of tampering.

Music, like education, is a thing of national concern. We don't have to be told that Van Cliburn's achievements abroad—which incidentally cost American people nothing—have brought more prestige to America than all our space rockets put together. Nor that the New York Philharmonic playing at the Berlin Festival on September 22 and 23, 1960, was of such propaganda value as to warrant the hard-headed Ford Motor Company paying \$150,000 to fly the 106 musicians over specially. What helps Americans abroad would, it is plain, help her to a like extent at home. Yet we are content to leave the nurture of this great cultural field to occasional philanthropists, whimsical in their favors and all too mortal in their life-spans, and to the loyal but much-put-upon "friends of music" working overtime to edge the indicators of those campaign thermometers to the top. To depend on such spasmodic giving in the field of music, which of all professions needs continuity and consistency of support, is to court defeat.

For it is clear that, to become professional, musical artists of symphonic calibre require longer growth and steadier nourishment than even the professions of doctors, lawyers and scientists. Nor are symphony orchestras organizations mushrooming overnight either. These need years and years of quiet and careful adjustments, years and years of accustoming players to each other, to their repertoires, to their conductors.

Under the circumstances, it is errant nonsense to say a government assist to our musical enterprises would hamper them or circumscribe them in their aims.

The recipients of grants from foundations and private philanthropies are decided on by the grantees and individuals according to principles evolved in their own private conclaves. No public pressure can be brought to bear on these organizations in making their decisions or in changing them after they are made. With government sponsorship, on the other hand, citizens would at least be able to insist on publication of the decisions and the reasons which brought them about. Public-minded individuals could set up a hue and cry if the government began overstepping its authority. In a word, government subsidy could be made subject to realign-

ment and reallocations. But there it would none the less be, to be defended and fought for.

To fritter away time in pros and cons *re* subsidy, while young musicians shelve their instruments and our symphonic and operatic organizations struggle along on next to nothing, is little short of criminal. Rudolph Bing, Director of the Metropolitan Opera Company, summed up the situation exactly when he said, "What we need and need badly, is a Marshall Plan for the Metropolitan."

In saying that young graduates from our best conservatories have today insuperable obstacles to face is not citing exceptional cases. If you are interrupted someday by a doorbell ringing, when you are reading an article in one of the soft-soaping journals, boasting that we are a country "devoted to a furtherance of music in a degree unmatched in any other country at any time in the world," and, opening the door, are appealed to frantically by some nervous young man trying to sell a new type dishwasher, don't slam the door in his face. He may well be the same young man you spotted at the recent commencement exercises of your town's conservatory, then looking confident and alight with enthusiasm, but now spewed out into a world which believes automobiles and fur coats must be purchased but music is to be had for free.

The only solution is an immediate right-about-face, one which will make us recognize that music and the musician, as entities "advantageous to the public," must be given stable financial backing, and that the government must do its part in bringing this about.

STATE SUPPORT OF MUSIC

an old tradition in europe

Subsidy of music is no new thing in Europe. Italy was pouring money into opera when the tower of Pisa took on its famous slant in the fourteenth century. France's *Opéra*, along with the Louvre, has been that country's pampered pet since long before world wars were even thought of. Sweden's Stockholm Opera came into being in 1773 through the royal decree of King Gustav III, who himself wrote some of the operas' texts. Frederick the Great gave Berlin its first opera house in 1740. October 18, 1746, he issued the order: "Having received many complaints of the decline of the art of singing, and the neglect of it in our gymnasiums and schools, His Majesty commands that the young people in all public schools and gymnasiums shall be exercised more diligently therein, and to that end shall have singing lessons three times a week."

Still today opera seems to be the favored goal for subsidies in Europe. Practically every city in Germany has an opera company complete with orchestra and staff, not to speak of a fine building to house it and full equipment to facilitate it—all stabilized through grants from the federal, state and local governments. These "Staatsoper" service the entire region, with performances held in many cases nightly eleven months of the year. Though federal and state governments help subsidize such companies, the running policy is usually decided at the municipal level. Just now East and West Berlin authorities are competing fiercely for operatic prestige, each placing lavish resources at the disposal of the home company—the sort of cold war that even pacifists can revel in.

In France the *Opéra* and the *Opéra Comique* receive from the federal government (which holds the price cheap considering the returns) the equivalent of four million dollars annually. This amount, set by parliament, is renewed each year almost without debate. A special subsidy for premieres of contemporary operas goes to a recently established opera company, *La Décentralisation Lyric*, which tours as well as gives opera in the home town.

Austria pays off the annual deficits of the three "stages" of the Vienna State Opera: the *Staatsoper*, the *Volksooper* and the *Redoutensaal*. The Danish government meets the annual deficits of the Royal Theatre, including its ballet and opera. Three Swedish opera companies (in Stockholm, Goteborg and Malmo) receive annual grants from the State. This money, together with that given to the provincial orchestras and smaller provincial theatres in Halsingborg, Norrköping, Uppsala and Borås, is collected mainly from government-sponsored lotteries. The government of Greece covers the annual deficits of the National Opera of Athens. The Portuguese government subsidizes its opera, as do the governments of Belgium, Holland, Turkey and others.

Opera subsidy has been a comparatively late arrival in the Netherlands. In 1945 the Dutch authorities (state, municipal) decided to lend their financial support to an opera company which was based in Amsterdam and called the *Nederlandse Opera*. Today the company performs on an average of twenty-two different operas a year with 190 performances.

In Great Britain, the government through its Arts Council gives the equivalent of a million dollars annually toward the support of the opera at Covent Garden, the Royal Ballet at Sadler's Wells, the Old Vic Theatre and the Carl Rosa Opera. In 1957-58 the British Parliament voted these three organizations, all in London, \$1,500,000 at the current rate of exchange.

In Italy, probably the most opera-minded country in Europe, subsidized opera houses are as thick as canals in Venice and as enthusiastically patronized. La Scala of Milan is the nation's pride, and, of course, supported accordingly; but even small towns have subsidized opera. These are also happy to stand host to opera companies originating from outside. Spoleto, for instance, gives its whole heart and money realized through sacrifices in other directions to a festival organized largely from the United States. And everyone has heard of the astonishing gesture of the Italian government

in 1958 of granting a subsidy of \$16,000 to Chicago's Lyric Opera Company—a company, incidentally, which our own government had left strictly to its own resources.

The USSR boasts thirty opera companies, but these do not come under our present discussion. Subsidy, by dictionary definition, is "a government grant to a *private* enterprise." In Russia, government subsidy has been replaced by government ownership, and that is a horse of an entirely different color.

Symphony orchestras in Europe get under the wire of subsidy in many cases through their alliance with opera. The Vienna Philharmonic, for instance, benefits from the subsidy to the Vienna State Opera, since it functions as house orchestra to the opera.

Many countries, however, support symphony orchestras for their own sake. The Greek government covers the deficits of the State Orchestra of Athens. In Belgium the principal symphony orchestras receive both municipal and state subsidies. The municipal orchestras in Denmark are subsidized from 20 per cent to near total from municipal-national sources. The Stockholm Philharmonic has the Swedish State as one of its sponsors. The Portuguese government subsidizes symphony orchestras in both Lisbon and Porto, and bolstered up the latter orchestra when it was in danger of disbanding in 1956. Ireland's government extended grants to the Limerick Symphony Concerts Society and the Cork Orchestral Society for the 1960-61 season. The salaries of the instrumentalists of the Presidential Philharmonic of Ankara are provided by the State.

In Norway grants from the State help the Oslo Philharmonic Society to the extent of 200,000 kroner. Other sources of its support are: 330,000 kroner from the municipal authorities; 880,000 from the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation; 150,000 from the sale of tickets, and the remainder from bequests and other sources of income.

In contrast to its largesse in supporting opera, France seems a bit close-handed in respect to symphony orchestras. In Paris, four privately-run orchestras are supplied with small governmental subsidies in return for playing a number of first performances. Radio France pays one of these orchestras to broadcast a concert each Sunday.

Great Britain dispenses 20,000 pounds annually to the Liverpool Symphony, 20,000 to the Bournemouth Symphony, 17,000 to the Birmingham Symphony and 12,000 to the Lon-

don Philharmonia. It allocates 35,000 pounds for music in Scotland, 25,000 of which goes to the Scottish National Orchestra.

The Netherlands shows up particularly well in its symphony orchestra subsidies. The federal government divides the equivalent of about \$1,000,000 yearly among its thirteen orchestras, including the famous Concertgebouw of Amsterdam. Municipalities are also generous in their support. As early as 1911 the Mayor of Amsterdam proposed granting a subsidy to the Concertgebouw Orchestra and the City Council accepted the proposal unanimously. Other cities shortly followed suit. Today all municipal authorities support in one way or another, either regularly or at intervals, musical life at the local level.

Not a country but realizes that by investing in its youth it invests in its own future. Thus in Belgium and in Ireland a number of promising young composers are given grants or scholarships which enable them to spend a year or more in study in foreign cities. Belgium's bi-annual *Prix de Rome* for musical composition gives the recipient the equivalent of \$1,200. One of the conditions of the contest is that such recipient must pursue his musical studies abroad. Belgium's *Prix de Virtuosite* opens performance doors to the winner. The Netherlands offers awards and commissions for composers, and facilitates recitals of gifted artists.

Another means of serving youth is the grant to conservatories. The Greek government subsidizes all its conservatories, the Portuguese government, its principal ones—i.e., those in Lisbon and Porto. Great Britain gives 15,000 pounds annually to the Royal Ballet School. The Netherlands gives 1,629,300 guilder (approximately \$349,911) annually to music education, including payment of personnel of the Royal Conservatory of Music at The Hague and grants to prospective music teachers. Austrian schillings to the amount of \$23,000 are disbursed to students at the two federal music academies (the Vienna Academy of Music and Dramatic Art and the Academy of Music and Dramatic Art Mozarteum in Salzburg). A number of distinguished older musicians and composers receive *Ehrengaben* in the form of monthly rent payments.

It is natural that much governmental largesse should be aimed at gaining prestige abroad. (Our government-sponsored ANTA tours are a case in point.) In Belgium, the Queen Elisabeth International Musical Competition which

carries prizes to the amount of approximately \$12,000, has brought acclaim to that country, since it is open to artists in every part of the world.

An interesting item in the expense accounts of several countries is the allotments for the copying of scores. The Federal Government of Germany distributes to foreign critics collections of scores and recordings of contemporary works. The Irish government finances a Music Copying Scheme, through which the compositions of contemporary Irish composers are made known to foreign organizations. The Netherlands provides subsidies to the "National Society for Promotion of Music" and "Documentation of Netherlands Music."

Subsidy of music, as often as not, swims in over the air waves. Government-owned radio and television stations often become sponsors of musical organizations. The Australian Broadcasting Commission, established by the Federal Government in 1932, relays nation-wide programs from the capital cities. Since its Broadcasting Company was from the start specifically charged with catering to and developing the best cultural tastes of the public, it was found necessary to hire good studio orchestras. These, in turn, became the nucleus of larger units giving public recitals. Under the Federal Broadcasting Act, the ABC may give outside performances only if part of the program is broadcast. The presenting of these public concerts enables the ABC to recover, from box-office returns, some of the large costs involved in maintaining the orchestras. The revenue also makes it possible to bring a number of international celebrities to Australia each season. Today every State capital in Australia has its own full-time orchestra, all with resident conductors, all virtually under the control of the ABC.

In 1954-55 the Australian Broadcasting Commission was responsible for 718 concerts throughout the Commonwealth. Of this number 152 were given in country districts, 152 were free school matinees, sixty-three, youth concerts, and thirteen, open-air concerts.

These Australian broadcasting orchestras lead to still another form of subsidy. From time to time the ABC offers scholarships to promising students in the woodwind and horn sections, enabling them to complete their studies under professional teachers with the prospect of entering symphony orchestras later.

In Paris, three radio orchestras are maintained through national subsidy: Radio National; Orchestra Philharmonique; and Radio Lyrique, the latter for stage works. There is a radio orchestra in the larger provincial cities. In Marseilles and in some other cities this radio orchestra doubles as a municipal orchestra, has practically the same personnel, though the conductors may be different.

The British Broadcasting Company is financed by direct parliamentary grant through the Post Office Department. In 1959 six million pounds were spent for music and the spoken word on the BBC.

The Danish State Radio, a national cooperative, is also heavily subsidized.

How is the matter of allocation of subsidies decided? The methods differ as widely as the goals. The fund set aside for the field of music in Austria is administered by the Austrian Ministry of Education, with the whole weight of decision in its hands. In Holland, the Ministry of Education, Arts and Sciences controls the budget. Great Britain has an Arts Council, a body of distinguished private citizens with a knowledge of and appreciation of the arts. They determine largely which individuals and which projects are to receive support.

Here, then, in outline, is a picture of music subsidy as it exists in countries overseas. It is to be noted that musical organizations favored differ among the countries, and that the methods of administering the funds also vary. Main thing is that the matter be kept in the hands of responsible men and women who have both a thorough knowledge of musical activities in their respective countries and a recognition of the importance of musical developments within their borders.

CANADA

We have given a separate place to music subsidy in Canada since it is a system especially workable along the lines of the policies of the United States. It might well be examined as a possible pattern for this country.

Canada subsidizes orchestras, opera companies, chamber groups, solo artists, music students and composers.

The Canada Council was appointed in 1957 to administer the funds. It was given a good start. As a result of a windfall of large death duties paid by the estates of two Canadian millionaires, the government was presented with

\$100,000,000, which it divided into two \$50,000,000 funds. One fund was to be used through a period of about ten years in capital grants to universities for new buildings where the arts, humanities and social sciences were to be taught. The other fund—the one which closely concerns us here—was made a source of permanent benefit by being used only as it accumulated interest. It thus realizes \$2.8 million in interest annually, of which the Council earmarks \$1.25 million for aid to the arts. Of this money a large part is used to aid musical projects and individuals.

The Council determines which musical projects and which individuals are to receive grants and scholarships by on-the-spot observations by authorities and experts across the country.

The Council creates a healthful state in the communities it assists by requiring that the organizations receiving aid show evidence of continued local backing. Also, in order that a check-up may be obtained regarding the use of funds, grants are normally made for a period of one year only. Financial statements from all organizations are required at the end of the season to show that the Council money has been used for the purpose for which it was allotted.

Among its many grants, the Canada Council gives \$200,000 annually for the support of symphony orchestras. In 1959 ten Canadian orchestras—the Toronto, Montreal, Vancouver, Winnipeg, Ottawa, Halifax, Calgary, Edmonton, Quebec and Victoria—each received grants ranging from \$12,000 to \$30,000.

The orchestras which have been assisted are either fully professional or have a professional nucleus which audience support may make it possible to enlarge. The Council stimulates growth by providing for projects which in themselves are audience-widening. For instance, it allots money for tours. It also has made trial grants to enable small groups of players to provide summer concerts in seven cities having no summer music: Ottawa, Edmonton, Calgary, Winnipeg, Victoria, Quebec and Halifax.

Grants of the Canada Council also go for extra rehearsal time, for children's concerts and for commissions to composers, offered by the orchestras themselves. For instance, a few years ago grants of \$1,000 each were made to five of Canada's large orchestras—Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver—to enable them to commission new pieces of music written especially for them by composers of their own choosing.

That these multiple benefits result in the improvement of the orchestras is evident. In three years of the Council's operation, attendance at these orchestras' concerts almost doubled.

Opera and chamber groups have been similarly assisted.

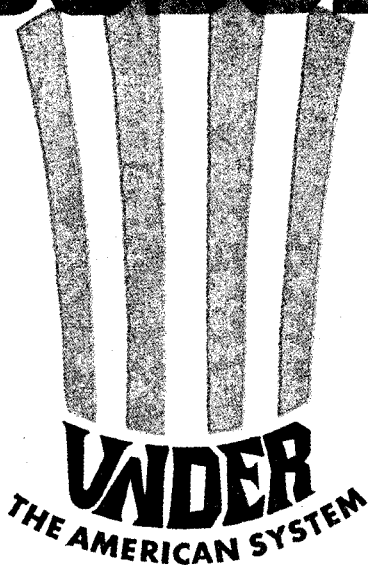
Another form of grant is to the individual. Scholarships are offered to permit composers or performing artists to pursue a definite course of study in this country or abroad, for a period of one year or less. Grants are made to individuals for specified projects such as representation at international festivals, competitions or other special occasions.

A Canadian Music Centre has been established in Toronto, its primary object to collect, catalogue and make available for performance the works of Canadian composers. In the case of major works, it is hoped to have not only complete scores but also recordings, so that a conductor in, say, Vancouver, may hear the work as well as read the score.

The Council does not in any way interfere with the artistic policies of the organizations to which it gives assistance. It acts instead as an impartial body whose job it is to balance opposing (regional) interests and reconcile the conflicting demands of experts.



SUBSIDY



In practically all of the civilized nations of the world, the United States excepted, symphony orchestras and opera companies are given government support, and this is a tradition of hundreds of years standing. If the United States has no such direct subsidy of music, it does engage in indirect subsidy. That is, through financing tours of musical organizations and individuals abroad, it helps to pay for the upkeep of such organizations and individuals.

These facts, promising as they are in themselves, have so far had little effect on the policy of the United States *within* its borders. It is time we began to think about what we as a people should do for musicians here at home, those citizens who, like other citizens—plumbers and auto mechanics, teachers and preachers, doctors and lawyers—cue up at cafeterias, ride buses, dig out of snowstorms and put their chil-

dren through school, but who, unlike most other citizens, are distinguishable not only by the instruments they carry but also by the lines on their foreheads and the harried look in their eyes.

It is the aim of every government to be acutely conscious of the groups making up its population, to be fully aware of the functions of each and their contributions to the general good, and to produce and sustain employment in so far as is possible. Not a government but helps those groups which it believes further the nation's goals.

Our government, for instance, holds farmers to be especially worth looking after. Between 1951 and 1960 annual farm subsidies rose from \$905,000,000 to \$3,568,000,000. Another group the government helps prodigiously is businessmen. The \$525,000,000 deficit in handling business mail sustained by the post office in fiscal 1960 was made up by the government in its aid-to-business program. Other groups coming in for government aid are those engaged in air navigation and in maritime navigation—the air transportation industry to the extent of \$228,000,000 last year and the water transportation, to the extent of \$165,000,000. War veterans and victims of sudden disasters—hurricanes, earthquakes, floods—receive special grants.

Why are these groups singled out for largesse? Because the life-blood of the nation must be kept circulating healthily—crops growing in its fields, goods transported coast to coast and abroad, business running on oiled wheels—no group a drag on the others.

It is a curious paradox that our government, so sensibly-minded in matters of growing corn, disposing of farm surpluses, distributing low-priced lunches to school children, improving roads, sidewalks and postal service, and dispatching speedy aid to hurricane sufferers, should remain blind to that group which gives cultural significance to the nation.

For it is obvious that a nation whose citizens are not kept in living association with the best in music is not in a healthy state. Public concerts of the hundreds of amateur orchestras from coast to coast do not give such contact. For these do not come under the head of good music professionally performed. How can they, played as they are by organizations whose members support themselves precariously by doing unsuitable work during much of the year, in order to keep themselves available for a three-month orchestra season? Nor do the dozen or so major symphony orchestras located

in key cities suffice to uphold the musicality of the nation. On such fare musicians as a nation-wide group cannot thrive; citizens cannot be roused to proper pride in their musical organizations; a sense of musical life cannot be sustained.

The trend, moreover, is downward. More and more orchestras are switching to evening rehearsals, since the players must hold daytime jobs outside of the music field; more and more of our young singers are flocking abroad for experience and job security. According to recent trade reports, 350 American singers are now employed full season in Central European opera houses, and their numbers are increasing.

This represents a curious paradox. For the United States government has shown again and again that it is aware of the persuasive powers of music and the responsibilities of a country to stimulate music making. The Voice of America continually beams musical programs overseas (with no payment to musicians responsible for it, however). Musical scores, sheet music and recordings of American music are made available at one hundred and seventy United States information centers abroad. A sum of about \$2,000,000 is appropriated each year for the President's Special International Cultural Exchange Program. Annual Congressional appropriations allow for sending abroad specialists in music, among them, during recent years, Thor Johnson, Virgil Thomson, Allen Hughes, Howard Mitchell, Paul Creston, Jesus Maria Sanromá, Malcolm Frager and Seymour Bernstein.

American dollars have helped restore a number of old European opera houses and music halls which had been damaged by bombings in World War II. At the time we were allotting half a billion dollars of military aid to Turkey, that country established annual appropriations of \$350,000 for the Turkish Philharmonic, \$750,000 for operas performed, and approximately \$3,300,000 to build an opera house in Istanbul.

The inconsistency of this generosity abroad compared with our niggardliness at home was pointed out in a letter to *The New York Times* by George Szell, Conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra. Commenting on an article stating that "With the financial assistance of the United States, Germany is reconstructing the Berlin Philharmonic Building," he comments, "Surely if the money of the United States taxpayers is being used to rebuild the home of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, there cannot be any valid argument against this kind of money being used to help and support our own organizations."

There are evidences that the United States government is becoming aware of its own inconsistencies. It is beginning to realize that musicians who are fanfared abroad also deserve to be cared for at home. The WPA initiating a Federal Music Project in 1935 was the first faint sign of this, even though this project was instituted as an emergency measure, tiding over musicians together with other segments of the jobless for the sake of the nation's economy.

In 1951 came the first real murmurings of concern for musicians for their own sake, with the passage of a bill allowing tax relief to non-profit symphony orchestras and opera companies. Then, in 1956, legislation was passed granting a Congressional Charter to the National Music Council, which was at the time an organization of forty-five nationally active musical associations that had a combined individual membership of some 800,000. It had been founded in 1940 for the following purposes: to provide a forum for the free discussion of problems affecting the musical life of the country; to speak with one voice for music; to provide for the interchange of information between the member organizations, and to encourage coordination of effort among these organizations; to organize surveys of fact-finding commissions whenever deemed necessary; to encourage the advancement and appreciation of the art of music; and to foster the highest ethical standards in the musical professions and industries. There are now fifty-three member organizations (of which the A. F. of M. is one), which have a total individual membership of over 1,228,000. General meetings are held twice annually, and the Council's Executive Committee meets six times a year. The Council is the only national musical organization to hold a Congressional Charter.

Then, on September 2, 1958, Congress authorized the National Cultural Center and set aside nine acres along the Potomac for its construction. The law directed President Eisenhower to appoint a Board of thirty Trustees and an Advisory Committee on the Arts. The American Federation of Musicians' President Kenin, one of the members of this board, stated, on receiving the appointment, "I welcome this opportunity to aid in building a national home for the American living arts, and commend the President and the Congress for taking this long-needed action. The United States has been the only major country in the world which does not recognize and support its native arts and artists in any organized degree. There is much to be done in this field,

and I believe we must work overtime to correct the previous indifference toward one of America's greatest resources, namely, its musicians, artists, writers, actors, dancers and poets. By helping them we also help our symphonies, theaters, universities and cultural foundations."

It may be sensibly argued that a mere building or group of buildings in Washington, even if dedicated to the arts, can do but little to spark the idea of general subsidy, especially since the Federal government takes a part in the project only by making the ground available, while the money for the construction of the facilities must be raised by voluntary contributions.

Still, this act brings with it a new concept of the nation's capital as a patron, defender and stimulator of the Performing Arts. It implies recognition of music and musicians as a significant aspect of our society.

It is a beginning.





The Outlook for Subsidy of Music

We realize that fine music performance is expensive, that it requires a concert hall with good acoustics and with a large staff to keep it going, instruments to play, players well-fed, well-housed, and, since they are human, well-respected. And we realize that these last, what with the long years of study they must undergo and the hours daily they

must spend to keep in practice, are the most expensive items of all.

We realize that music, unlike plumbing, well-kept lawns and roofing, requires more than installation like an electric refrigerator or pruning like a hedge. It is a community affair.

Expensive and communal as it is, who then pays for music?

We have found that in towns from California to Maine, from Florida to Montana, this is being decided in about as many ways as there are communities to decide. The wealthy sponsor, the pooled resources, industry's contributions, ticket sales—these have all been resorted to in varying blends. But, because of the haphazard and sporadic quality of such means, orchestras, we have found, have fallen into some sorry practices: conductors chosen as much for their way with words as for their skill with batons; musicians become adept at living incognito as insurance agents, clerks and office workers; and music lovers resigning themselves to waiting for the millenium when music, instead of being a hanger-on "on the town," will be cherished and supported as its true love.

Lately, we have had reason to hope that the millenium might be within sighting distance. Newspaper readers have been getting used to seeing that word, "subsidy," in headlines, in business reports and in editorials. In February, 1961, periodicals from coast to coast carried the news that Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey, and Senator Jacob K. Javits of New York State had introduced a bill calling for the establishment of a United States Department of the Arts. At about the same time word got around that Representative Carroll D. Kearns of Pennsylvania had introduced legislation to provide Federal aid for the fine arts through allocations to be administered by the various States. Among the bill's aims are: assistance to the States in making inventories of already existing musical organizations; help in establishing new ones, including symphony orchestras; aid toward the construction of cultural centers; and encouragement of educational institutions in the development of their musical programs.

Federal support of the Arts was debated on the NBC-TV network on February 11, 1961, before a nation-wide audience. J. Kenneth Galbraith, special consultant to President John F. Kennedy and Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, who took the affirmative in the debate, scattered a few hopeful hints that President Kennedy's administration may do something for the Arts.

On March 3, 1961, *The New York Times* headlined on its front page, "Cultural Subsidy Is Asked of (New York) State—\$400,000 Urged in Aid for Areas Lacking Art." Though this was a state rather than a national effort, still the essentials were there for all to see. "The State Council on the Arts," the article read, "urged today (March 2) that

the state underwrite a share of the cost of presenting theatre, ballet, classical music and art to the public in areas lacking such activities."

Here are three of the seven projects outlined by the New York State Council (formed in 1960 in an exploratory capacity):

"A three-week state tour of a leading opera company, with the state guaranteeing to cover losses up to \$70,000.

"A three-week state tour by a leading non-profit ballet company, with a repertory including at least one new work. The state would be prepared to meet up to \$65,000 in losses from the ballet tour. In addition, \$5,000 was asked to increase the dance program at the Empire State Summer Arts Festival.

"Extended tours in the state by leading symphony orchestras, with the state guaranteeing a total of \$110,000."

As of February 1, 1961, an appropriation of \$450,000 has been made available to the Council so that it might carry forward its program: \$70,000 has been earmarked for opera and \$110,000 for orchestra.

State subsidy of music in the United States is no new thing. Twenty-three states have enabling legislation for band and orchestra support. North Carolina, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Kentucky are states which have long allocated funds for orchestral enterprise. Among cities providing for such activity in one way or another are Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Salt Lake City, New Orleans, Houston, Baltimore, Atlanta, Birmingham, Buffalo, San Francisco, Detroit and Denver.

This not only shows which way the wind is blowing but also shows that the American people believe in subsidy for music. Moreover, there are evidences that they make expert use of it when they do get it. Detroit earmarks \$25,000.00 in the music budget for the purchase of tickets to sixteen concerts for school children. The City of Chicago allocates a budget of approximately \$135,000.00 for Grant Park summer concerts, thus providing music in an otherwise dull period of the year. Since with regular municipal or state allocations for music, activities may be scheduled far ahead and be planned in terms of benefit to the whole people, orchestras in the cities offering subsidies are usually stable, well-manned and thoroughly integrated in the community.

If state subsidies serve the purpose, one might ask, "Why institute Federal subsidies?" Because our great musical organizations are hampered when geographical limits are imposed on them. In the case of the New York State Bill, for instance, one can see the New York Philharmonic presenting a state-sponsored concert to citizens in Olean, New York; then, on being eagerly approached by Bradford citizens just across the Pennsylvania border—"While you are in the vicinity can't you arrange to give us a concert, too?"—having to refuse. So long as New York remains New York and Pennsylvania remains Pennsylvania, governmental subsidy in America, to fulfill its whole function, must include Federal grants. This boundary business comes into proper focus in government-sponsored trips of musical organizations abroad. When a great American orchestra plays in Berlin, Bangkok or Burma, no one bothers even to inquire about its state derivation.

Moreover, some musical projects, by their very nature, must be dealt with on a national scale: a national cultural center built in Washington, D. C.; a national conservatory, such as America almost built in the 1890's; a national orchestra. As things stand, the "National" Symphony of Washington, D. C., not only does not receive Federal aid, but, since it is situated in no state, cannot derive benefit from state subsidies. One promising note: in the Washington, D. C., budget of 1961 was a recommendation by the District of Columbia Commissioner for an extra \$25,000 with which to further cultural activities, among which figures the National Symphony, the Washington Opera Company and the Washington Ballet.

Probably a combination of state and national subsidies would serve music best, as such a combination already serves education. Witness the 1957-58 allocations to our education system: \$1.2 billion from the state and local governments and \$701 million from the Federal Government. (Figures for 1960 show a proportionately greater increase of Federal contributions.)

The mention of Federal subsidies brings up that bugaboo of Federal control. A straight look at the matter will lay this ghost once and for all.

It is understood that there must be close attention to allocation *goals*. The government must consider carefully the end purpose of every taxpayers' dollar, see that each cent contributes to the cultural well-being of the whole society.

Control of this sort, however, is a quite different matter from tampering with the internal structure of musical organizations. What is the danger of our government being guilty of that?

To judge from its record, none. Under the President's Program, by which many leading orchestras and artists have been sent abroad via our International Cultural Exchange Service, the government, although footing the bill—a sum of about \$2,000,000 each year—has left the selection of artists to qualified professionals who serve without pay as part of the ANTA management arrangement. Institutions of long standing which are supported by the government—the Library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institute, the Geological Survey, the Fulbright Grants—are impeccably run, and not by political party appointees. It seems we have already taken to heart the lesson of government sponsorship in Europe where every country has established a system which removes the specific allotment of funds from the sponsoring agency and gives these decisions to competent leaders in the arts.

Safeguards would of course be provided from the start. An Arts Council would be appointed to examine the field thoroughly; consider ways of administering the funds; lay before citizens of the United States a comprehensive picture of the musical situation; point out enterprises most worthy of assistance. For the special boost they would give to musical endeavor, without interrupting the general scheduling of events, the following projects would no doubt stand high on the list: special tours, summer series, children's concerts, scholarships to young artists, commissions to composers.

Once one concedes that fine musical performance is necessary to the cultural health of the nation and that institutions like symphony orchestras, opera companies and schools of music must by definition be run at a deficit, then everything falls into its proper place. As our nation requires scientists to keep us abreast of modern devices, engineers to build our facilities, librarians to service us with books, and judges to dispense justice, so it requires musicians to give meaning to our daily lives. These must be helped not only as one lavishes money on Olympic sportsmen, as propaganda, but also as one provides for those members of society—poets and painters, sculptors and architects—who give identity to the nation and spirit to each of its inhabitants.

INDUSTRY'S AID TO MUSIC

Industry is increasingly prominent as a sponsor of music. Conditions calling forth this generosity are discussed in the present chapter.

The Ford Motor Company paid the entire cost—around \$150,000—of flying the one hundred and six musicians of the New York Philharmonic to Berlin to give two concerts at the Berlin Festival.

The Monsanto Chemical Company sponsored a concert by the St. Louis Symphony, featuring Van Cliburn.

The Union Pacific Railroad gave a \$5,000 grant to the Omaha Symphony.

In Montreal, four concerts take place each summer on the top of Montreal's Mount Royal. Texaco sponsors the first two and the Dominion Store the last two.

The 1960 summer series of the Worcester (Massachusetts) Orchestra was sponsored by six major Worcester companies.

The Starlight Series of the Honolulu Symphony is sponsored by the Dairymen's Association, Ltd. (Leis, courtesy of the Hawaiian Flower Distributors, and the guest artists' hotel accommodations, courtesy of the Hawaiian Village Hotel.)

These isolated examples of industry giving represent a relatively new development in music's sponsorship. Only within the past twenty years has business become a significant factor in the artistic life of the United States and Canada. But if it is a sudden shift, it is also a spectacular one. It is estimated that in 1959, corporate giving in all fields of endeavor in the United States amounted to \$500,000,000.

Grants earmarked for musical enterprises are less measurable. We have been able, however, to get a record of corporations' support of some twenty major symphony orchestras. The figures are illuminating.

The 1959-60 fund drives of the various symphonies showed the following percentages contributed by industries: more than a fifth of the total amount raised by the San Francisco Symphony; almost one-fourth of the total raised by the

Philadelphia Orchestra; 24.2 per cent of the total brought in by the Buffalo Philharmonic; approximately one-fourth of the total realized by the Los Angeles Philharmonic; about one-third of the amount raised by the Minneapolis Symphony; 45 per cent of the total of the Kansas City Philharmonic; almost one-half of the sum realized by the San Antonio Symphony; one-half of the Atlanta Symphony's total; 60 per cent of the total realized by the Houston Symphony.

In Cincinnati and Louisville (Kentucky) where orchestras receive monies from united arts funds—"cultural community chests"—the percentages are "over a third" for the Louisville Orchestra and "more than a half" for the Cincinnati Symphony.

Some major orchestras, chary of percentage statements, yet reveal huge sums derived from industries. The Birmingham Symphony gets almost \$30,000 in contributions from two hundred businesses and industries annually; the St. Louis Symphony, during the 1959-60 season, received gifts to the amount of \$100,000 from six hundred industries; this year Rochester industrial banking and retail concerns corporately pledged in one form or another more than \$77,000 toward the support of the Rochester Philharmonic.

Astonishing figures are reported by the Detroit Symphony. The very reemergence of this orchestra in the 1940's from a period of total eclipse, was dependent on "The Detroit Plan" by which industries figured not only as sponsors but as actual founders. Today, the Detroit Symphony boasts at least sixteen industries and businesses which contribute \$10,000 each a year; six which contribute between \$5,000 and \$10,000; two which contribute between \$2,500 and \$5,000; and nine which contribute between \$1,000 and \$2,500.

Aside from annual maintenance drives, there are innumerable ways by which orchestras are aided outside the pattern. The fashion shows held annually by the Birmingham Symphony, to which seven department stores contribute to the amount of \$5,000; the young peoples' concert programs paid for by the Atlanta Coca-Cola Bottling Company; the nineteen pop concerts presented by the Buffalo Philharmonic; the summer series in Detroit underwritten in part by Detroit Edison Company and the National Bank of Detroit are cases in point.

Then there are the sponsored radio and television programs such as the New York Philharmonic by CBS, and, in 1959-60 by Shell Oil; four live telecasts with radio AM-FM

broadcasts of the Hartford (Connecticut) symphony, by Aetna Life Affiliated Companies; children's concerts by the New Orleans Philharmonic broadcast under sponsorship of various businesses of that city.

Sometimes it is an area or hall, rather than actual money, that is donated. The Mondawmin Merchants Association of Baltimore provides space for summer concerts, namely the parking lot. J. P. Allen (ladies' wear) gives the Atlanta Symphony box office space.

Why this sudden emergence of industry as contributor in the field of art? Confessedly it is not from a heady desire to illustrate the fine points of a fugue or a Messianic urge to spread the message of Beethoven's Ninth. Industry and business are founded on the law of supply and demand and depart from it at their peril. The irrevocability of this law is ingrained in every executive who sits behind the glass-topped desk in the executive office. Industry and business put on pop concerts, finance music on television and contribute to symphony drives because such activities bring solid returns. There is no shilly-shallying about this. Hear what Morton D. May, president of the May Department Stores, Inc., in St. Louis, told a general session of the American Symphony Orchestra League at its convention in that city, in June, 1960.

"Business learned that to survive," he said, "it must contribute to the well-being of free men in a free society. This emphasis upon the connection between private interest and the public interest . . . between the profit responsibility of management and its social responsibility, differentiates between today's business and that of a generation ago.

"The idea of investing time, skill and money in research to improve products and tools, reduce costs, advance marketing methods and develop superior administrative techniques, has long been accepted as vital to maintaining a competitive position in industry. More recently, investments in community welfare, designed to make the environment of the enterprise more conducive to operating efficiently, have been considered desirable.

"In essence, business has learned that it can grow and prosper only in a community that is growing and prospering—not only in numbers and monetary worth but in the broad cultural sense as well. It must be the kind of community that knows and appreciates the better things in life . . . that is constantly striving to uplift itself . . . to stand for leadership, including cultural achievement."

Later in his speech, Mr. May advised the symphony orchestra representatives how to solicit the aid of industry: "You must demonstrate to them," he said, "how a cultural environment is a valuable asset to their business, and appeal to their civic pride and responsibility. Another helpful selling tool is employee relations and the benefits to be achieved in this area by support of the arts."

For instance, the management of the Mondawmin Merchants Association of Baltimore was quite clear on the point that the center wanted a promotion event which would not only bring people from all over the city to see the center and to be "exposed physically" to the stores, but which would also serve an unfulfilled need of the community. Incidentally, *Redbook Magazine* conducted a contest among the shopping centers in the United States to select the center with the best public relations and promotional ideas. The Mondawmin Shopping Center won a tie for first place in this contest, and the summer concerts were given credit for this billing.

No doubt of it, business and industry have gained through their support of the arts. One wonders why they delayed so long to begin the support. The principal reason could have been the belief, held almost universally at one time, of industries not having the legal right to share in community activities. However, this doubt was erased when, in 1940, a decision in the courts of New Jersey gave full scope to industry's giving. Today corporations are allowed to donate up to 5 per cent of their taxable income, tax free, to qualified organizations.

Musical enterprises on their part profit from industry's largesse, and their spokesmen are not loath to say so. "There is no question," writes Boris Sokoloff, general manager of the Minneapolis Symphony, "that in Minneapolis and St. Paul the assistance of industries is vital to the maintenance of the Minneapolis Symphony."

Wrote Thomas Archer in the *Montreal Gazette*, "the recent blessing given to fine music by business and industry is one of the most pregnant developments in the history of music in this city. It means that music, which never pays in terms of box office receipts, is being recognized by hard-headed men as something a little more than just the luxurious pastime of an evening."

So much for the beneficial effects of industry's newfound interest in the arts.

In every positive development—even in donations to good causes—there is always a negative aspect. Industry's aid, for one thing, is often localized. In some communities musical organizations receive almost no aid from industry, because the businesses located there are only branches of large corporations. Though some nation-wide corporations, such as Ford, are educated to the idea of their branch cities as well as their main centers being due for cultivation, many forget this important fact. New Orleans, for instance, is the headquarters of but a few large corporations. National companies maintaining offices in the area usually resist appeals for contributions for orchestral maintenance on the grounds that they will thus lay themselves open to being solicited for similar donations in all the sections in which they are represented. That such solicitations are entirely in order does not seem to occur to them. The plain fact is that, just as all branches are expected to produce, so they should be equally solicitous of the artistic life of their communities.

Then here again the spectre is raised, as it is raised in every case of outside help, be it individuals, governments or industries: Do the givers unnecessarily influence the policies of the musical organizations to which they contribute?

In short, there is the situation of industrial executives becoming members of symphonic boards.

It is true that in many cases of large donations, by an industry to a symphony orchestra, the corporation has a representative on the board of directors of the orchestra. But there are also checks and balances. The Louisville Orchestra management maintains that "board membership is not tied up with the personal gift," and the Los Angeles Philharmonic's general director puts it, "Executives of some of the contributing organizations are members of the orchestra's board, but this is not a 'quid pro quo' arrangement."

In the Detroit Symphony annual gifts of \$10,000 by corporations automatically carry with them symphony board membership. However, great care is taken that the voting power of each remains equal, "so that there can be no criticisms of any one organization dominating the policy of the orchestra."

In general, therefore, it seems to be a policy for the big givers to have posts on the board, *with proper restraints and balances.*

Whatever abuses may creep in are to be righted, in any case, by diligence and a sense of integrity. But certainly the

mode of giving by industry is in itself a permanent part of our musical scene. The very future of our orchestras, in fact, has become dependent on corporate support. In this era of the vanishing philanthropist and the reluctant governmental body, business and industrial support form the solid financial understructure of musical enterprise.



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

HON. STEWART L. UDALL,
Secretary, Department of the Interior,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: Along with many other Members of Congress I have consistently supported measures to advance the educational and cultural life of the Nation's Capital and make our Capital City ever safer and more attractive to live in. As a member of the District of Columbia Committee, it has, in fact, been my duty to do this because of the historic intent of the Congress that this great Federal City must represent the best of American life and reflect the deepest educational and cultural aspirations of the people of this Nation.

The Nation's Capital in 1950 observed and celebrated the sesquicentennial of its establishment as the seat of government. In connection with and as part of this occasion the Congress authorized the erection of the Carter Barron Amphitheater and appropriated nearly \$1 million to build it. The purpose of the Congress in creating this great cultural and artistic facility was—as the records clearly reveal—to advance the cultural, educational, and artistic growth of the Nation's Capital. The Congress lodged the management of this amphitheater in the Department of the Interior. For the full development of the aims of the Congress had in mind, it would perhaps have been wiser to have placed the management within the Smithsonian Institution, a Federal agency concerned more directly with the diffusion of knowledge.

I think the time has come if it is not, indeed, long overdue—to make a study of the Carter Barron Amphitheater operation which would take into account the major summer cultural programs in other U.S. cities and in leading European cities. The State Department, and our ambassadors abroad in other countries, would be delighted to cooperate, and their reports on summer cultural programs in Europe should be an important part of such a study. The Department of the Interior's stewardship of the Carter Barron Amphitheater as a cultural facility over the years should be subjected to a critical and searching analysis and no attempt to justify sins of omission or commission should be permitted. Nor should any bureaucratic whitewash be attempted. Perhaps a special advisory committee made up of educational, cultural, and fine arts experts and leaders should be set up to help you carry out the study. This would assure the public of its impartiality and the soundness of its conclusions.

The major purpose of the study I propose, which I urge you to undertake, should be to find ways to make the Carter Barron Amphitheater a far greater and much more significant educational, cultural, and artistic force in the Nation's Capital than it has ever been. Such a study should certainly show conclusively what other major cities here and abroad do toward encouraging and developing and assisting in the growth of their own local artistic groups, their own talented artists, their own young artists; how much "commercial talent" they import; the role of civic, nonprofit groups similar to the National Symphony Orchestra and the Washington Opera Society; and whether they import all the talent presented on their summer programs from other cities as the Department of the Interior does in its programs at the Carter Barron Amphitheater.

No doubt professional, commercial entertainment of the kind which the Department of the Interior presents at the Carter Barron Amphitheater, including at times, I am told, sick jokes and a burlesque-hall-type of humor which would not be permitted on the family television set (which is significant, I think, at a time when broadcasting is being blamed by irate parents for some of the rising tide of juvenile delinquency), has its place. However, whether that place is in this great cultural facility to the utter exclusion of the National Symphony Orchestra and other civic, nonprofit educational and cultural programs, activities, and groups, would be thoroughly explored by the kind of a study I have proposed. It might well be that it would be found during the course of the proposed study that some of these programs which are presented at the Carter Barron Amphitheater should be presented in a privately owned theater or night club under commercial auspices for private profit and not be given the endorsement of the Federal Government which presentation at the Carter Barron Amphitheater implies.

I shall now suggest some additional matters which the proposed study should cover. For instance, I find it shocking that the Department of the Interior has no place in its Carter Barron Amphitheater programs for the National

Symphony Orchestra and other nonprofit cultural groups of the Nation's Capital. The National Symphony Orchestra is the only major symphony orchestra in the United States without a summer season. At the present time, the highly talented musicians of the National Symphony Orchestra must turn to other forms of employment to eke out a livelihood. Their resourcefulness in this regard is little short of amazing, though it does little to advance the cultural life of the Nation's Capital. Some of these musicians are summer salesmen, and summer guards carrying guns in Federal buildings including the Library of Congress. This situation persists year after year in the Nation's Capital without any sign that top officials of the Federal Government, who are sensitive to the cultural aspirations of people abroad in other nations, are aware of, or understand, its full implications in a world in which the United States in this cold war period has assumed leadership of the free world.

New York City, with the solid backing of the city administration and the mayor, has its summer music programs and its free Shakespeare in Central Park. Other U.S. cities have summer programs in all of the arts, many of them free to the public or available at nominal sums. Philadelphia's Robin Hood Dell concerts are world famous, and the city of Philadelphia contributes \$75,000 annually to make them possible.

The St. Louis Municipal Opera, the Hollywood Bowl concerts, the Boston Symphony Orchestra concerts at Tanglewood in Lenox, Mass., these and a hundred other famous summer music programs are in the mainstream of the tradition established by the free band concerts on the common or the courthouse square—one of the oldest and most universal of American cultural institutions.

You may rest assured, Mr. Secretary, that any step you may take to broaden, deepen, and to raise the educational and cultural, and artistic level of the fare offered at the Carter Barron Amphitheater will meet with powerful and respectable support from all sections of our country from people in all walks of life who are fed up with the tawdry, the cheap, and the spurious cultural values and fare which are so easily available to them and their children. They want something better, something nobler than the art factories of New York's Broadway, and Hollywood, and radio and television offer in such massive doses. They want something vital, alive, and close to the American dream and the American promise.

The sweep of history has made the United States the leader of the free world, and we must compete with the Soviet union for the minds and the hearts of men everywhere in the world. The Nation's Capital must take its rightful place beside other capital cities of the world in cultural matters if we are successfully to carry forward our high mission.

That the Department of the Interior, in its management of the Carter Barron Amphitheater, has not been able to accommodate the National Symphony Orchestra—or even the Washington Civic Opera Association—is nothing short of preposterous. It is high time that a study was made of how such groups could use this great cultural facility in view of the statements made repeatedly by national publications that the Nation's Capital is a "hick town" behind even such a provincial capital as Tiflis, U.S.S.R., in the fine arts.

A second step which you could take would be to create immediately an advisory panel of civic, educational, cultural, and fine arts leaders to help to develop a challenging and significant cultural and artistic program at the Carter Barron Amphitheater which would rise to the level of some of the world-famous cultural festivals in this country and in Europe. The Pablo Casals festival in Puerto Rico should be an inspiration and a guide to you in developing a major cultural program for the Nation's Capital at the Carter Barron Amphitheater and in the other facilities controlled by the Department of the Interior.

Sincerely yours,

CARROLL D. KEARNS.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
Washington, D.C.

HON. STEWART L. UDALL,
Secretary, Department of the Interior,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY: It is always instructive to us "old hands" in the Congress to have replies shot from the hip at us by minor officials in Federal departments and agencies which hit the front pages of the newspapers whenever we write to the heads of those agencies; and even before we get an official answer.

I wrote to you on June 1 pointing out, among other things, that Puerto Rico, in the Pablo Casals festival, had a much higher cultural content to that program than the Capital City of the richest Nation in the world had in the Carter Barron Amphitheater program run by the Department of the Interior. So far, I have had no reply to my letter.

You are advised that my letter was hand-delivered to your office on May 31. This morning I have had a reply of a kind to my complaint that the Department of the Interior "has no place in its Carter Barron Amphitheater programs for the National Symphony Orchestra and other nonprofit cultural groups of the Nation's Capital. The National Symphony Orchestra is the only major symphony orchestra in the United States without a summer season."

In a front-page article in the Washington Post of June 5, 1961, we find the following information:

"We would love to have them there," T. Sutton Jett, Superintendent of the National Capital Parks charged with administration of the amphitheater said, referring to the National Symphony, "but we can't afford them."

A study made by the Library of Congress in 1959 and inserted in the Congressional Record by both Senator Hubert H. Humphrey and Representative Harris B. McDowell, Jr., showed that the Nation's Capital spends annually on the arts the fantastic sum of \$16,000. This is the lowest amount of any city in the United States except Hagerstown, Md., which spends \$12,500 on the fine arts, according to the study.

In the 86th Congress bills were introduced by Senator Humphrey, Senator Morse, Representative Harris B. McDowell, Jr., and Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., setting aside 1 mill, or one-thousandth of a dollar, out of local taxes for cultural programs. It was estimated at the time that this would raise \$185,000 at a minimum for cultural programs.

This year, Senator Clark, of Pennsylvania, Congressman Frank Thompson, Congressman Powell, of New York, Congressman Chelf, of Kentucky, and Congressman Celler, of New York, have introduced legislation providing a Federal-State grant-in-aid program to help the fine arts. I have cosponsored this legislation and I am happy to advise you that \$100,000 would be provided annually for the District of Columbia art programs, including those at the Carter Barron Amphitheater.

However, since the Department of the Interior has the largest cultural facility in the Nation's Capital in its charge it should have come to the Congress for the funds necessary to properly present the National Symphony Orchestra and other nonprofit cultural programs such as the Washington Civic Opera Co., the Children's Theater of Washington, the Washington Ballet Co., and other groups at the Carter Barron Amphitheater.

The present appropriation of \$16,000 for the fine arts won't be raised unless the Congress, which is in charge of the purse strings regarding local appropriations of the city of Washington, raises it. It won't raise it to anywhere near the sums spent on the arts by other cities until you, Mr. Secretary, and others, including the District of Columbia Recreation Department—which is charged by the Congress with carrying on cultural programs in the Nation's Capital together with the Department of the Interior—seriously get down to the business of developing the kind of cultural program which the Congress authorized in the Carter Barron Amphitheater Act, and the act establishing the District of Columbia Recreation Department.

It was with this in mind, Mr. Secretary, that I suggested in my letter that a special advisory committee made up of educational, cultural, and fine arts experts and leaders should be set up to make a study of how the Carter Barron Amphitheater could be made a major cultural force. I said that the Department of the Interior's stewardship of the Carter Barron Amphitheater "as a cultural facility" over the years should be subjected to a critical and searching analysis, and no attempt to justify sins of omission or commission should be permitted. Nor should any bureaucratic "whitewash" be attempted.

In view of the evident feeling at the Department of the Interior that the richest Nation in the world can't afford a worthy cultural program in the Carter Barron Amphitheater which was the gift of the people of this Nation to the Nation's Capital for such programs, the special advisory committee should undertake a study of how such programs are financed in other major cities of the United States and Europe.

The Federal Government cannot continue any longer to occupy its present anomalous position which, by its control of the purse strings, denies to the people

of Washington, D.C., the right to appropriate their own tax funds for the support of cultural activities, and by its control of the major summer cultural facility denies its use for the National Symphony Orchestra, the Washington Ballet Co., the Washington Civic Opera, the Children's Theater, and other local cultural groups.

You must know, Mr. Secretary, that the Watergate is no longer suitable for cultural programs due to the fact that at least one great 4-engine airplane flies immediately overhead every minute as the landing field at the National Airport is approached.

The Federal Government shows not the slightest concern for this situation, and has consistently supported the airplanes over culture. Having made the Watergate unsuitable by the airflight landing patterns, it now says that it cannot afford to use the Carter Barron Amphitheater for major cultural programs.

If this situation doesn't cry for a broad-based inquiry then nothing does.

No doubt sick jokes and burlesque hall humor pays its way. This is the way with things in our society where educational and cultural programs are crowded out of the television programs by soap operas, westerns, and a myriad other items which are able to find wealthy sponsors, who can write their cost off as business expenses.

As I said in my letter of June 1, which I hope you will soon find time to answer even though it might keep you from a hike up the canal in this beautiful weather, the American people want something better than is so easily available to them and their children in the Carter Barron Amphitheater and over the television stations. They want something vital, alive, and close to the American dream and the American promise. I wrote you, too, that "the sweep of history has made the United States the leader of the free world, and we must compete with the Soviet Union for the minds and the hearts of men everywhere in the world." The United States, and its National Capital "must take its place" beside other nations and other capital cities in support of cultural matters. That the Nation's Capital is behind, even such a provincial capital city as Tiflis, U.S.S.R. should and must be a matter of concern to you, Mr. Secretary, just as it is to me if only because of the cold war and the competition of the Soviet Union.

I shall look forward to hearing from you personally on this matter, Mr. Secretary. I enclose herewith a copy of the Library of Congress study to which I have referred.

Sincerely yours,

CARROLL D. KEARNS,
Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, May 12, 1961.

Hon. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
U.S. Senate.

DEAR SENATOR HUMPHREY: In Mr. Coombs' absence, I am replying to your letter of April 25 in which you ask for his views concerning Harold Weston's proposal for a national conference on the arts and government.

We have studied the outline of the proposed conference as well as the suggestion as set forth in Mr. Weston's letter to Pierre Salinger that such a conference be held under White House auspices.

We believe that a conference which would help to define and clarify the appropriate role of Government in the arts is very much to be desired and agree with you that Mr. Weston's particular suggestion has a great deal of merit.

The conference itself appears to be well conceived. Its objective statement of the issues invites impartial consideration and the broad participation for it appears to include all interests concerned.

Mr. Weston's proposal that the conference be sponsored by the White House is also fitting. That President and Mrs. Kennedy have already identified themselves so closely with the arts has had an exhilarating influence on American cultural life. Their association with such a conference would visibly confirm this personal interest and would symbolize at the highest level of the Government's recognition that this is a national problem in which it must carry a share of responsibility.

You will be interested to know, I believe, that considerable attention has been given to the question of the Government's relationship to the arts by the Department's Advisory Committee on the Arts which is aware of and endorses Mr. Weston's efforts.

Sincerely,

MAX ISENBERGH,

Acting Assistant Secretary for Educational and Cultural Affairs.

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE ARTS AND GOVERNMENT,
New York, N.Y., April 13, 1961.

PIERRE SALINGER,
*Press Secretary to the President,
The White House, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. SALINGER: Thank you indeed for your letter of March 24. We shall be keenly interested in the decisions about the proposals you made for music and art prizes.

In view of your professional interest in the arts and in government, your opinion would be of great value to our council about another matter. Due to the increase of public interest in the arts, the relationship of government, both State and Federal, to the arts is being widely debated. But there is little clarification about what that relationship should be in our country and opinions are widely divided.

Last year our organization applied to seven major foundations for grants to enable a national conference to be held and the findings published. All of the foundations recognized the need for such a conference, but the required funds were not forthcoming. We are reluctantly giving up this proposal.

The refreshing enthusiasm of President and Mrs. Kennedy for the arts and their conviction about the value of the arts raise hopes that a national conference on methods of cooperation between government and private initiative to forward the arts might be held under White House auspices. Such a White House Conference would give impetus to the creation of a bipartisan National Committee of the Arts suggested by Congressman Carroll D. Kearns.

We do not know what assurances of organizational support or financial backing would be required before a White House Conference could be formally suggested. I am authorized to convey to you the deep interest of our council in this proposal. We shall be glad, if requested, to promote the idea, but we are not in a position to undertake any major responsibilities.

The next meeting of our council is on April 27. It would be particularly appreciated if I might receive by that date some indication of your reactions to this letter. We fully realize that such a conference calls for a great deal of advance planning.

Sincerely,

HAROLD WESTON, *Chairman.*

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE ARTS AND GOVERNMENT, NEW YORK, N.Y.

ANNUAL REPORT, 1961

Due to delays in the organization of the standing committees of the 87th Congress, and in order to be able to include the numbers and sponsors of the major art bills that were anticipated, this report was not issued as usual in January.

NEW FRONTIERS FOR GOVERNMENT AND THE ARTS

The climate in Washington, in spite of snows, chill winds of a threatened recession, and storm clouds over Africa, has most noticeably improved for the arts. This change made an impact across the country on the day that President Kennedy invited a number of distinguished artists and scientists to attend his inauguration. A good augury had been the appointment of Gov. Abraham A. Ribicoff as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. If pending legislation is enacted, he will be in a key position in cultural matters for the new administration. Governor Ribicoff has a real interest in art, particularly painting and sculpture, and we have reason to believe that he will be quite sympathetic to constructive measures for the arts. A forward step was taken for the arts last week when President Kennedy appointed Mr. Philip H. Coombs Assistant Secre-

tary of State for Education and Cultural Affairs. This is a higher rank than the position of assistant to the Secretary held by his predecessor, and, since it is established by Executive order, no legislative confirmation is required.

The choice of Mr. Edward R. Murrow as Director of the U.S. Information Agency is another development encouraging for the arts. The international cultural exchange program managed by ANTA for the Department of State has fortunately not been subject to any serious attempts to impose censorship by Congress. The USIA, which manages the visual arts portion of that program, has come under concerted attack for its liberal attitude, specifically in connection with the paintings and sculpture sent to the Moscow Fair in 1959 but also several times previously. Mr. Murrow can be trusted to defend to the utmost any attempts to censor the arts in any unwarranted manner. Precedents must not be established for governmental censorship of the arts.

We are very happy to be permitted to draw attention to the most recent evidence of the President's and Mrs. Kennedy's concern for the arts—specifically for legislation to promote the arts in America. This is due to the initiative of Congressman Carroll D. Kearns who recently wrote to Mrs. Kennedy about Federal legislation for the arts during the past 8 years, stressing that several major proposals had not been enacted. "If the fine arts are to advance in our country as they should," he wrote, "it is my firm conviction that a bipartisan national committee for the arts must be created to work for the passage of the legislative measures which have been introduced in this and previous Congresses." Mr. Kearns expressed confidence that if Mrs. Kennedy and former President Eisenhower were willing to serve as cohonorary chairmen "of this highly important national committee—it could be organized quickly and become firmly established, and the cultural, civic, and political leaders of the 50 States (including the Governors) would consider it an honor and privilege to serve with you."

Mrs. Kennedy replied on February 8:

"DEAR CONGRESSMAN KEARNS: Thank you for your letter of February 3 with its most stimulating contents. Both the President and I were interested in your exposition of the past and present status of Executive participation in cultural affairs. We are in complete agreement with you 'the unfinished cultural business' is most important.

"I would like to study your letter in relation to current projects. I will be in touch with you at a future date on the whole subject.

"Again, thank you for bringing this matter to our attention.

"With very best wishes,

"Sincerely,

"JACQUELINE KENNEDY."

The NCAG most heartily supports Mr. Kearns' admirable suggestion. As Howard Lindsay stated in our annual report, 1960: "The slowness of the Federal Government in recognizing the role of the arts in our national welfare is largely due to the failure of American artists and the public to impress upon Members of Congress their support for measures concerning the arts." The arts clearly need a powerful national committee to speak for them in a voice loud enough to be heard.

ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE 86TH CONGRESS, 2D SESSION

Pathetically little was accomplished for the arts. Legislation to create a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts was not enacted before the Rules Committee did not permit the House to vote on it. The "Florence agreement" to reduce tariffs on educational, scientific, and cultural materials, which had been initiated by the United States in 1950, was ratified. However, this is an empty gesture until legislation is enacted to alter current tariff regulations which legislation was not even introduced. Our country's tardiness in joining the 33 nations participating in this cultural treaty seems inexcusable. (See below, H.R. 2537 in No. 6.) The so-called cabaret tax was reduced from 20 to 10 percent as the direct result of a most effective campaign initiated by the American Federation of Musicians. This achievement demonstrates the value of an organized campaign. Similar results can be accomplished if enough people care enough to take the time and trouble to express their views to Congress.

LEGISLATION RELATING TO THE ARTS, 87TH CONGRESS

For each new Congress all legislative proposals are given new numbers. These numbers are valid for both sessions of that Congress. Where identical

bills have been introduced in the House, priority in this report is generally given to sponsors who have supported a similar measure in the past or else who are members of the committee to which the bill has been referred and are therefore in a better position to forward it. In any case, the NCAG has no intention of implying favoritism of persons or party. It frankly supports some proposals far more than others but it endorses equally all identical bills. This report evaluates all major art bills introduced in both Houses to mid-February and also other bills definitely anticipated; 36 cultural bills and 3 joint resolutions have been submitted in the House by 19 Congressmen. In the Senate, where co-sponsorship is permitted and where legislation concerning taxes is not initiated, nine bills have been introduced sponsored by 34 Senators.

The chairman of the committee or subcommittee to which each major bill has been referred is named. It is of primary importance that resolutions by organizations and letters from individuals about a bill should be addressed to him. Identical messages or postcards are distinctly worthwhile but less effective than a citizen's own statement, however brief. It is also very important for individuals to write to their own Congressmen and Senators, particularly the former. In such cases, the same communication may urge support for several different measures before House or Senate, preferably mentioned by the number of each bill. Address all Congressmen: House Office Building, Washington 25, D.C.; address all Senators: Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D.C.

1. Federal Advisory Council on the Arts

This basic legislation, which would establish a consultative body of specialists in the arts to advise Congress and the administration, is the only measure for the arts specifically endorsed by both candidates for President. The proposal, first made made by former President Eisenhower in 1955, was included in the Democratic Party platform last year. In view of the changed situation in the Rules Committee of the House, it has every expectation of enactment. The new chairman of the Committee on Education and Labor, to which this legislation has been referred, is Congressman Adam C. Powell, who has indicated his position toward the arts by introducing three cultural measures himself. Furthermore, he has appointed Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr., chairman of a new Subcommittee on Cultural Activities, which is good news indeed. Heretofore, art legislation was invariably delayed until after highly controversial legislation for education had been given lengthy attention. In view of this situation, the most effective way to advance this legislation is to write your own Congressman urging him to vote for it.

H.R. 4172 introduced by Representative Thompson (Democrat, New Jersey) is the only House bill to date identical to the Senate measure. Other House bills are H.R. 413 by Representative Kearns (Republican, Pennsylvania), H.R. 3510 by Representative Celler (Democrat, New York), H.R. 3640 by Representative Bolton (Republican, Ohio), and H.R. 3250 by Representative Daniels (Democrat, New Jersey). In the Senate, S. 741 was introduced by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (Democrat, Minnesota), and is cosponsored by Senators Clark (Democrat, Pennsylvania), Cooper (Republican, Kentucky), Douglas (Democrat, Illinois), Javits (Republican, New York), Long (Democrat, Missouri), Morse (Democrat, Oregon), Neuberger (Democrat, Oregon) and Williams (Democrat, New Jersey).

If or when hearings are held on this legislation the NCAG hopes to call the attention of the respective committees or subcommittees to certain aspects of the bill that might be strengthened by committee action. However, the NCAG has no reservation about endorsing this measure as it stands. Senator Lister Hill is the chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare to which S. 741 will be referred (erroneously originally assigned to the Committee on Rules and Administration as marked on bill). Senator Wayne Morse is chairman of the Subcommittee on Education. Since the Senate in 1956 unanimously approved Senator Lehman's bill for the same purposes, Senate confirmation would seem reasonably assured. However, it would be well to express your views to your own Senators.

2. National Cultural Development Act

When Senator Joseph S. Clark (Democrat, Pennsylvania) introduced S. 785, cosponsored by Senators Humphrey (Democrat, Minnesota) and Pell (Democrat, Rhode Island), he said: "In this century the United States has ceased to be a backward child in the arts and has become a leader. Our artists are in the first

rank of creative and performing ability. Not only do we not need to apologize for their quality: they have given impetus to many fresh directions in which the arts all over the world are moving today. But, though we may boast of topflight performers and creative artists, we are still confronted by the fact that cultural projects constantly run into economic difficulties which threaten their lives or make it impossible for them to reach fruition. Gifted students often do not have local artistic horizons which are sufficiently rich in opportunity for advanced training and performance. Compare what we spend nationally on scientific programs with what we spend nationally on the arts. Compare our concern with seeing to it that scientists are trained with the haphazard way in which we force artists to scramble for their training, and indeed for their careers. Compare the support we give to ongoing scientific projects to the always shaky future of artistic projects."

This legislation would authorize the yearly allotment of not more than \$100,000 to any State having a suitable art agency and proposing specific projects in any field of art for which the State will provide not less than 50 percent of the required funds. Such assistance would be limited to nonprofit undertakings which could include: inventory of existing programs, survey of need for additional facilities or projects, assist in construction of public and other nonprofit centers for performance, teaching, or exhibition, protection of historic sites, etc., training leadership, and conducting research and demonstrations in the various art fields. The Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare will determine whether projects proposed carry out one or more purposes of this act and the allotment within the limits of available appropriations. This plan would stimulate State and local initiative and participation in development of the arts. It would also double (at least) whatever is made available by the Federal Government to encourage the arts and public enjoyment of them in any State. This plan would not grant subsidies to individual artists except insofar as they might be employed or commissioned in relation to a State project or program. It would establish a coherent and continuing outlook and policy toward the arts while leaving to the States the initiative as to what specific projects and programs would be jointly assisted. The amount of Federal money involved is infinitesimal in relation to the stimulus this assistance would give to the arts throughout our country.

Congressman Emanuel Celler (Democrat, New York) introduced a similar proposal in the 86th Congress 2 years ago. The NCAG felt it was premature at that time but expressed in our report the hope that it would be resubmitted. By now this system seems timely and perhaps the best way to accomplish the most for the arts at least expense to the Federal Government. There is one objection that will almost certainly be raised: that this legislation would grant too much power to the Secretary of HEW. The NCAG, therefore, intends to suggest an amendment to the effect that the Secretary, before reaching decisions insofar as these concern projects or programs or policies for the development of the arts in any State with the exception of financial matters, shall request the advice of the Federal Advisory Council on the Arts and ask it to establish whatever special committees may be necessary for this purpose.

We consider this legislation which includes all the arts second only to the Federal Advisory Council on the Arts in importance (see section on "State Aid to the Arts" below). It is essential that both Senators and Congressmen should be sent evidence of vigorous support for it. S. 785 has been referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senator Lister Hill, chairman. Communications should also be addressed to Senator Wayne Morse, chairman of its Subcommittee on Education. If they are typed, copies should be mailed to your own Senators.

Five identical bills have been introduced in the House: H.R. 4174 by Representative Thompson (Democrat, New Jersey), H.R. 1942 by Representative Kearns (Republican, Pennsylvania), H.R. 2227 by Representative Chelf (Democrat, Kentucky), H.R. 2275 by Representative Powell (Democrat, New York), and H.R. 3509 by Representative Celler (Democrat, New York). In priority Congressman Celler deserves to be the major sponsor (although Thompson had a similar bill in the 84th Cong.). Both Representatives Powell and Thompson are in the best position to forward this important legislation, and Representative Kearns is minority leader of the Committee on Education and Labor to which these bills are referred. Communications should be sent to Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., Chairman, Subcommittee on Cultural Activities, as well as to your own Congressman.

3. *U.S. Arts Foundation*

S. 936 introduced by Senator Jacob K. Javits (Republican, New York) would authorize the appropriation of \$5 million the first year and \$10 million annually thereafter to a U.S. Arts Foundation to consist of a Director and 12 trustees appointed by the President. Grants from the funds at the disposal of the Foundation would be made available only to nonprofit undertakings in the performing arts fields. There is no question that in large areas of our country the public rarely has the opportunity of experiencing live performances of high caliber theater and dance. As Howard Taubman wrote in the *New York Times* February 5: "Isn't it ironic that money can be found to send our theater to foreign lands while similar efforts for home consumption are regarded with suspicion, as if they might subvert the Republic? How many Americans have never seen the living theater with first-rate actors in fine performance?" There is also no question that it will take several years after the National Cultural Development Act has been authorized before Federal aid from this source will affect appreciably this situation and the need is pressing. As mentioned in previous NOAG reports, there are some who believe this purpose could be carried out through the two existing organizations with charters from Congress in the performing arts fields: the American National Theater and Academy and the National Music Council. Both might need to be somewhat revised for such responsibilities and it has been suggested that the Federal Advisory Council on the Arts should study this matter and recommend the best procedure. Senator Javits has claimed that his plan is akin to that of the Arts Council of Great Britain (by mistake called in United States "British Arts Council" which is comparable to our USIA), but its funds are applicable to all the arts. In any case, it is high time that the United States, like all other highly developed countries, should assist the arts, particularly the performing arts. Therefore, the NCAG, with some reservations as to method, warmly supports the purposes of the proposed U.S. Arts Foundation as a very valuable supplement to the proposed National Cultural Development Act. S. 936 has been referred to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, Senator Lister Hill, chairman.

4. *Expansion of the international cultural exchange program*

As indicated in our 1960 annual report, the international cultural exchange program has been broadened by administrative order to include tours by performing groups developed at American educational institutions. These reach university towns and smaller cities abroad to which our professional performing artists are rarely sent due to the costs of such tours. ANTA has established panels to certify the standard of excellence of such groups and the results have been most favorable. In the United States we are apt to overlook the strong impact on the international attitude of a nation as a result of student opinions. The NCAG has most heartily endorsed this development but protests loudly that this should not be done at the expense of the tours of our professionals. Their performances have enormously increased the status of American culture overseas. They are the most valuable asset in the continuing cold war and directly reach the hearts and minds of millions. Mr. Howard Lindsay sent last June letters to every member of the Senate Appropriations Committee urging that the total appropriation should be increased if student tours were to be included since the House appropriation was based on tours by professionals only. In spite of favorable response by most of the members of that committee, appropriations were not increased and all our student tours during the current fiscal year are at the expense of tours by professionals. This should not happen again. It is really stupid policy to silence your most effective and biggest guns in the cultural war in order to supply light artillery. When we spend such vast sums on equipment for defense, surely our country can afford considerably more for the peaceful purposes of international cultural exchanges which are the best method to counteract the many millions of dollars spent annually by the Soviet Union for anti-American propaganda. Letters and resolutions on this point should be addressed to the chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, Representative Clarence Cannon, chairman, and to Senator Carl Hayden, chairman of the Appropriations Committee of the Senate.

A considerable increase in appropriations for the international cultural exchange program is all the more essential if Congress approves the bills submitted in House and Senate to broaden this program to make it in fact and not just in name an exchange program. S. 743, introduced by Senator Humphrey (Democrat, Minnesota) and cosponsored by Senators Williams (Democrat, New Jersey) and Long (Democrat, Missouri) would amend the International Cultural

Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act of 1956 to authorize the President to provide for participation by foreign governments and citizens of other countries in artistic and cultural activities in the United States. While this is a commendable proposal and of considerable cultural value to our citizens, is this also to be carried out at the expense of our professional performing artists? S. 743 is technically an amendment to an enabling act and cannot appropriately propose appropriations. It would seem that some reference could be inserted requiring separate appropriations or augmented appropriations for this purpose, or else that the amount that the President may designate for foreign artists coming to the United States should be limited to a small percentage of the total appropriations available during any one year. If this proposed expansion of the program which in itself is worthy of support, is adopted, then all the stronger pressure should be exerted to increase the total appropriations for the international cultural exchange program. S. 743 has been referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations of which Senator J. W. Fulbright is chairman.

An identical bill, H.R. 4173 has been introduced in the House by Representative Thompson (Democrat, New Jersey). It has been referred to the House Committee on Foreign Affairs, Representative Thomas E. Morgan (Democrat, Pennsylvania), chairman.

5. Architectural design and works of art for Federal buildings

In the 86th Congress a bill was introduced by Senator Clark (Democrat, Pennsylvania) to provide high standards of design and decoration of Federal public buildings. The bill included admirable provisions which would have enlarged the Commission of Fine Arts, required rotation of its members and their selection from nominations submitted by leading national organizations in the fields concerned, and broadened the area of its responsibilities. In the opinion of the NCAG, if the Commission of Fine Arts is to be given a share of advisory authority throughout the country, it is essential that sooner or later and the sooner the better, this Commission should be revised. Established primarily to be the "guardian of the L'Enfant plan" for the District of Columbia in 1910, it has had only three Chairmen, serving respectively 27, 13, and 21 years. The spirit of "new frontiers" has not yet penetrated the pillared bastions of the Commission of Fine Arts.

H.R. 4175, introduced by Representative Thompson (Democrat, New Jersey), proposes a new approach which would retain administrative controls under the General Services Administration with the Director of the National Collection of Fine Arts and the Federal Advisory Council on the Arts in addition to the Commission of Fine Arts, serving in advisory capacity. The inclusion of the Federal Advisory Council, which undoubtedly would establish a special subcommittee or subcommittees for that purpose, is in our opinion an admirable proposal. The purposes of this legislation also include preservation of historic buildings and sites throughout the country, restoration of works of art owned by the Government, commissioning of new works of art, as well as design of new Federal public buildings. We are glad to report that the new Administrator of the General Services, Mr. John L. Moore, is said to favor a new and more vital approach to architectural design and decoration. This bodes well for the advancement of architecture and its allied arts in America. The enactment of this measure will be greatly expedited if it receives strong support from organizations and individuals in the fields of art concerned. H.R. 4175 has been referred to the Committee on Public Works, Representative Charles A. Buckley (Democrat, New York), chairman. It will be considered first by its Subcommittee on Public Buildings of which Representative Robert E. Jones (Democrat, Alabama) is chairman and to whom communications about this important legislation should be addressed.

Senator John Sherman Cooper with Senator Clark and possibly others as cosponsors will introduce an identical bill in the Senate shortly. It will be referred to the Senate Committee on Public Works, Senator Dennis Chavez (Democrat, New Mexico), chairman.

H.R. 3940, introduced by Representative Thomas L. Ashley (Democrat, Ohio), proposes for the same general purposes a far less satisfactory solution in our opinion. The program would be under the Secretary of Interior and advisory opinions would be obtained from five Government officials, which seems inadequate. It has been referred to the Committee on Public Works.

Another measure, H.R. 3939, which concerns Federal buildings and works of art in the District of Columbia, has been introduced by Representative Ashley (Democrat, Ohio). The important feature of this bill is that it would set aside

an amount not to exceed 1 percent of the total sum appropriated during the same fiscal year for the design and construction of public buildings within the National Capital region, which amount would be expendable for suitable works of art for such buildings. The Administrator of General Services would be responsible for the selections with the advice of the Commission of Fine Arts. Some cities have these or similar provisions but often do not carry them out. H.R. 3939 has been referred to the Committee on Public Works, Representative Charles A. Buckley (Democrat, New York), chairman.

6. *Importation of education, scientific, and cultural materials*

H.R. 2537 has been introduced by Representative Daniels (Democrat, New Jersey) to amend the Tariff Act of 1930 so as to exempt from any import tax: books, publications, documents, music (manuscript or reproduced), architectural designs, works of art, films of certain categories, scientific instruments, articles for the blind, materials for exhibition, etc., provided they come within the scope of the Florence Agreement ratified by the United States last year. This legislation has been referred to the Committee on Ways and Means, Representative Wilbur D. Mills (Democrat, Arkansas), chairman. Interested persons should urge prompt and favorable action.

7. *Tax legislation of concern to the arts or artists*

(a) *Special tax provisions for self-employed persons (artists included).*—In the 86th Congress a bill sponsored by Representative Keogh (Democrat, New York) for this purpose passed the House, ran into a threatened filibuster by Senator Long (Democrat, Louisiana) and was dropped. A considerably revised version, H.R. 10 (the same number as in 86th Cong.) has been submitted by Representative Eugene J. Keogh and is titled "Self-Employed Individuals Retirement Act." This 55-page measure is far too complex to outline or even for the ordinary person to understand. Copies may be requested from Representative Keogh. This legislation is actually of very considerable importance to artists who are apt to have drastically fluctuating incomes. It would permit them to set aside voluntarily portions of their income any year when these exceed their usual tax bracket and invest such funds for their retirement either in restricted trusts, insurance or annuity policies, or in custodial accounts, U.S. bonds, etc., within certain limits and stated provisions. The artist does not have to "retire" to benefit from this arrangement since he can withdraw such funds, within certain limits, at his discretion (presumably during a low-income year) which will be taxed as ordinary income when received. This legislation would substantially correct the flagrant unfairness of the present income tax regulations as they apply to artists, writers, and other self-employed persons of all professions with highly irregular incomes. Support for this proposal should be addressed to Representative Wilbur D. Mills, chairman of the Ways and Means Committee to which it has been referred.

(b) *Admission taxes.*—Three bills have been introduced to remove taxes on admissions as follows: H.R. 2043 by Representative Lindsay (Republican, New York) for any live dramatic performance (whether musical or not). The same measure has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Javits, S. 924. H.R. 746 by Representative McDonough (Republican, California) for certain benefits for religious, educational, and charitable organizations. H.R. 3557 by Representative McDonough for moving picture theaters. In our judgment, whatever the merits of the case, the above bills are not apt to be approved. They have been referred to the Committee on Ways and Means.

(c) *Excise taxes.*—H.R. 635 by Representative Boggs (Democrat, Louisiana) to remove excise tax on musical instruments. H.R. 4236 by Representative Davis (Democrat, Tennessee) to exempt musical program services from excise tax on communications. These bills also sent to Ways and Means.

8. *Preservation of historic sites, buildings, works of art, etc.*

S. 742 sponsored by Senator Humphrey (Democrat, Minnesota) and cosponsored by Senator Long (Democrat, Missouri) would amend the Historic Sites Act of 1935 to preserve sites, areas, buildings, and objects of national, regional, or local historical significance which are threatened by federally financed programs. The Secretary of the Interior would act upon petition from a State, community, or certain national organizations concerned with this field. This worthy bill has been referred to the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Senator Clinton P. Anderson (Democrat, New Mexico), chairman.

H.R. 175 introduced by Representative Curtin (Republican, Pennsylvania) would prevent the use of Federal funds for highway purposes if such con-

struction would damage or destroy national historical sites, buildings, or other objects. It has been referred to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, Representative Wayne N. Aspinall (Democrat, Colorado), chairman.

H.R. 2276 introduced by Representative Adam C. Powell (Democrat, New York) would amend the Public Buildings Act of 1959 to authorize study of locating three court buildings near the Supreme Court Building. The 86th Congress failed to take steps requested by many bills to prevent a large building for these courts from being located on Lafayette Square, which would necessitate the destruction of the Belasco Theater, the Dolly Madison House and other historic buildings. For this new bill to be effective, an Executive order will be necessary to preserve Lafayette Square to give the 87th Congress time to act. H.R. 2276 has been referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, of which Representative Wayne N. Aspinall (Democrat, Colorado) is chairman, although this matter would seem to concern more directly the House Committee for the District of Columbia.

Representative Adam C. Powell also introduced House Joint Resolution 147 to establish the former dwelling house of Alexander Hamilton in New York City as a national monument. This bill has also been referred to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs.

H.R. 1145 by Representative Harold R. Collier (Republican, Illinois) would provide for the preservation in the Library of Congress of audio recordings of historical importance. This seems a fine proposal and authorized \$200,000 in a revolving fund. It has been referred to the Committee on House Administration, Representative Omar Burleson (Democrat, Texas), chairman.

9. Promotion of foreign travel in the United States

Legislation to establish within the Department of Commerce of an Office of International Travel and a Travel Advisory Board might seem to have little to do with the arts. However, one of its major objectives is to increase by this means international understanding and appreciation of our cultural accomplishments and study of our arts at first hand. Most foreign governments expend large amounts to promote knowledge of their cultural assets. The result has been an appreciable factor in the drain on our gold reserves. In any case, the adoption of a comprehensive program, removal of travel barriers, information services for study, culture, recreation, business and other activities would be conducive to better knowledge overseas of our country. S. 610, which would authorize \$5 million for the above purposes, is sponsored by Senator Warren S. Magnuson (Democrat, Washington) and cosponsored by Senators Pastore (Democrat, Rhode Island), Monroney (Democrat, Oklahoma), Smathers (Democrat, Florida), Thurmond (Democrat, South Carolina), Yarborough (Democrat, Texas), Engle (Democrat, California), Bartlett (Democrat, Alaska), Hartke (Democrat, Indiana), McGee (Democrat, Wyoming), Schoeppel (Republican, Kansas), Butler (Republican, Maryland), Cotton (Republican, New Hampshire), Case (Republican, New Jersey), Scott (Republican, Pennsylvania), Javits (Republican, New York), Fong (Republican, Hawaii), Carroll (Democrat, Colorado), Cannon (Democrat, Nevada), Byrd (Democrat, West Virginia), Randolph (Democrat, West Virginia), Holland (Democrat, Florida), and Keating (Republican, New York). This legislation has been referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Senator Magnuson, chairman.

An identical bill, H.R. 3781, has been introduced in the House by Representative Harris B. McDowell, Jr. (Democrat, Delaware) and has been referred to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, Representative Oren Harris (Democrat, Arkansas), chairman.

10. National Portrait Gallery and National Collection of Fine Arts

Another item of "unfinished cultural business" from the 86th Congress is legislation to establish under the Smithsonian Institution a bureau to be known as the National Portrait Gallery and to be administered by an Advisory Board. The collection of portraits owned by the Government is now scattered but would be assembled and housed together with the National Collection of Fine Arts as previously authorized in the fine Old Patent Office Building when that is vacated by the Civil Service. S. 744 has been introduced by Senator Humphrey, with Senators Williams of New Jersey and Long of Missouri as cosponsors, and referred to the Committee on Rules and Administration, Senator Carl Hayden (Democrat, Arizona), chairman.

11. *Proposed National Academy of Culture*

In the NCAG interim report of May 10, 1960, we stated: "Aside from the merits of this proposal, the NCAG cannot endorse legislation far too loosely drafted and without very essential safeguards to reduce the likelihood of politically motivated appointments to the Academy." These views were presented at a hearing. Senator Francis Case (Republican, of South Dakota) has introduced S. 535 which is identical to the bill to which we objected. Representative Kearns (Republican, of Pennsylvania) introduced H.R. 414 which is also identical. If these proposals are to be seriously considered the maximum membership of the Academy, and the maximum number that may be elected each year should be specified; membership on the proposed Advisory Commission on Cultural Awards, which would select the life members of the Academy, should be on a rotating basis, and the members should be appointed from nominations submitted by recognized national organizations in the fields of art concerned rather than "from among officers and employees of appropriate instrumentalities of the Government" or "from persons in private life" whom any administration may consider qualified. The above bills were referred respectively to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare and to the Committee on Education and Labor. The NCAG does not support these bills.

12. *Commission on Cultural Resources in the Nation's Capital*

The NCAG interim report of May 1960 outlined several similar bills in both Senate and House which sought to earmark 1 mill out of each \$1 of tax revenue in the District of Columbia for cultural purposes. In the 87th Congress, at least up to mid-February, none of these have been reintroduced. Support is being given by the major sponsors of those bills to the National Cultural Development Act under which the District would qualify for a State allotment. Representative Carroll D. Kearns (Republican, of Pennsylvania) has introduced H.R. 3982 which would establish a Commission on the Cultural Resources in the Nation's Capital and become the equivalent of a State art council. Representative Powell (Democrat, of New York) has just introduced (February 15) H.R. 4348 identical to Mr. Kearns' measure. This is an admirable proposal and we are informed that Senator Cooper will shortly introduce a similar measure in the Senate. These bills will be considered by the Public Works Committees of both House and Senate, of which the Chairmen are respectively Representative Charles A. Buckley (Democrat, of New York) and Senator Dennis Chavez (Democrat, of New Mexico) to whom communications should be addressed.

13. *Other proposals in the House*

H.R. 988 (Representative Kearns) would amend the National Cultural Center Act to provide additional land for the proposed center. H.R. 2587 (Representative Wallhauser) would extend book postage rates to films for educational use. H.R. 2889 (Representative Dulski) would enlarge the American Battle Monuments Commission by three House and three Senate Members. H.R. 3020 (Representative Celler) would prohibit the charging of a fee to view telecasts in the home. H.R. 4279 (Representative Haley) would grant per diem payment to members of the Indian Arts and Crafts Board. Two House joint resolutions (Representative Celler 149 and Representative Halpern 157) would designate a National American Guild of Variety Artists Week.

14. *Proposed International Youth Festivals in the Nation's Capital*

The NCAG criticized rather severely last year bills for an International Olympiad of the Arts and Sciences and drafted alternative proposals. Such legislation would authorize the holding of an International Youth Festival of the Arts and an International Youth Exposition of the Sciences on alternate years on a biennial basis in the District of Columbia. The Commissioner of Education would generally direct these biennials. American educational institutions would act as channeling agencies. The Secretary of State would extend invitations to foreign educational institutions and organizations and facilitate participation. Existing facilities in the District would be used. It is hoped that these undertakings could be financed largely by tax-deductible donations to the U.S. Treasury. Although authorization as biennials has been proposed, they could be held less frequently if that proved more feasible.

With the accent on youth in the present administration, these biennials would seem to provide a practical way not only to encourage young American artists and scientists but also to demonstrate to the youth of other lands our interest in their achievements in the arts and sciences. The NCAG believes that it is

through such steps as these that solid foundations can be laid for a durable peace.

Senator Wayne Morse (Democrat, of Oregon) has agreed to introduce such a bill soon in the Senate and there is reason to believe that this will also be done shortly in the House. The NCAG does not expect to issue an interim report this year since the annual report is issued far later than usual. It is suggested that persons, organizations or educational institutions interested in this proposal should communicate with Senator Morse.

STATE AID TO THE ARTS AND STATE ART AGENCIES

There seems to be a strong trend in Washington to channel Federal aid to the arts through State art agencies. In European countries, where very substantial financial support is given to the arts by the national Government, the fine arts officials are generally within the framework of the Ministry of Education. In West Germany each of the States is responsible for its own educational system and for its aid to the arts. In England the Arts Council of Great Britain receives a grant from Parliament and is responsible to the Minister of the Exchequer rather than Parliament for its distribution. This system would perhaps not seem the most suitable for the United States as long as every Member of Congress feels it is his own prerogative to raise an outcry or start an investigation as to the use of Federal funds for any purpose he may not approve. Furthermore, the roots of an artist extend back to the soil from which he has sprung. Therefore, the growth and flourishing of the arts in a country depend not only "upon freedom, imagination, and individual initiative" but also upon the cultural climate of the community and its attitude toward the arts. The process of solid growth is from the ground up rather than from the top down. The need to take steps to stimulate State interest in the arts is all the more evident as a result of a recent survey made by the Library of Congress.

Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., who has been an outstanding leader in forwarding Federal legislation for the arts, requested the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress to make a nationwide survey of aid given to the arts by each State. Requests for information were mailed to 50 Governors in February 1960. Replies, extremely varied as to thoroughness, were received from 47 Governors, which is quite remarkable. Only Colorado, Oregon, and South Dakota did not answer. Senator Joseph S. Clark inserted this survey in the Congressional Record on February 2, 1961, pages 1547 to 1554. It is far too lengthy to summarize. Copies could be obtained through your congressional representative. A few observations might be pertinent.

(1) Only 14 States reported the existence of a State art council, commission, or similar agency. Few of these seem to be at that time effectively organized. However, this refers to about a year ago. Michigan, for example, stated "The State of Michigan does not directly support any State, local or private organizations relating to the fine arts and cultural activities, as such." In contrast note below the development in Michigan during the past few months.

(2) State expenditures vary from Nebraska's "No such support" to a reported over \$4 million by Illinois. The latter includes, however, county fairs (from revenue from tax on horseracing bets) and is misleading.

(3) The major support in many States is for historical or library purposes. The report points out that State support for art education in schools and universities is not included since it is not separately recorded and probably is the largest item.

(4) Very few States support the kind of projects and programs envisaged by the National Cultural Development Act. In this connection see current plans for New York State below.

Space permits only two examples of progress since last year by States:

1. A Michigan Cultural Commission was established in November 1960 by Gov. G. Mennen Williams to survey the State resources in all the arts, to recommend measures for encouraging their growth, and to define the role of the State government in this process. The commission consists of about 70 representatives of the arts. Special committees operate in the various fields. Four eminent consultants from outside the State have also been appointed. The commission is at present formulating a report based on the recommendations of the individual committees. This development is enormously encouraging.

2. New York State established last year a New York State Council on the Arts to assess the status of the arts in the State and appropriated \$50,000 for administrative expenses. The council has appointed six panels of specialists in

certain areas of the arts. Gov. Nelson Rockefeller has requested the legislature to appropriate this year \$450,000 for its use. If granted, the council would no longer be merely an advisory body. Most of the projects proposed would benefit residents upstate, as they should. All grants would be to nonprofit undertakings. The performing arts would receive about 90 percent of the total. The vote on appropriations will be taken toward the end of March. Citizens of New York State are urged to write at once in support of this appropriation to Assemblyman Fred W. Preller, chairman, assembly ways and means committee, and to Senator Austin W. Erwin, chairman, senate ways and means committee. Address both State Capitol, Albany 1, N.Y.

FEDERAL AND STATE POLICIES RE THE ARTS

As a result of our observations during the past 6 years of the selection and the administration of governmental art advisory bodies, attention should be drawn to a few conclusions. Members of such bodies should be persons of professional competence in the field they represent and willing to devote a fair amount of time to the task. The temptation to select persons for "window dressing" or for political affiliations should be resisted. The carrying out of decisions should not be left to the staff director, particularly if those decisions run counter to current administration policy in any way. Recommendations of a governmental advisory body should be "in the public domain" and made available to interested organizations or citizens. All forms of direct or indirect censorship of the arts should be resolutely opposed.

One form of governmental controls is, for other reasons than censorship, being fairly widely discussed, particularly in the dance field. Therefore, the NCAG unanimously adopted the following resolution on February 16, 1961:

"Resolution re licensing teachers of the arts.

"Recognizing the desirability of spreading greater knowledge about higher standards of teaching of the arts and to prevent immature or incompetent persons from teaching any field of art, the National Council on the Arts and Government nevertheless is emphatically opposed to obligatory licensing of teachers and of the arts, with the exception of teachers who are a part of a State's public school or college educational system. The licensing of private or independent artists in any field is an unwarranted infringement upon the essential freedom of the arts. To set State-regulated standards to qualify private or independent teachers of the arts, even under the most favorable system, would involve governmental controls over esthetic matters which should not be tolerated in a free country. Such requirements would tend to enforce mediocrity and inevitably become a serious threat to the development of the arts in our country. Furthermore, licensing per se would in no way prevent fraudulent advertising or misleading promises, or protect the public. There are existing laws for such abuses. Therefore, the National Council urges all professional organizations concerned with the arts to take a strong stand against legislation which would require the licensing of private or independent teachers in any field of the arts."

CONCLUSION

New frontiers in the relationship of government to the arts in the United States seem to be close at hand. Will this tardy dawn become a new day or fade away like a mirage? Now more than ever is the time to act individually and collectively, promptly, and vigorously. A similarly favorable situation may not recur in a decade. This report is issued by the NCAG to provide the necessary accurate, up-to-date information for immediate and effective action.

Respectfully submitted.

HAROLD WESTON, *Chairman.*

The substance of this report was unanimously approved by the NCAG on February 16, 1961.

The contents of this report may be used as desired, with or without reference to source. A limited number of copies (not over 50 per request) may be obtained at 15 cents per copy (in stamps or checks).

The NCAG depends upon voluntary contributions from organizations and individuals. It pays no salaries. Our reports have been mailed free to anyone requesting a copy and we hope to continue that policy. The demand is increasing beyond the limits of our slim budget. If you have found this report useful to you or to your organization, a contribution will be very much appreciated. Checks (not tax deductible) should be made out to the National Council on the Arts and Government, 22 West 54th Street, New York 19, N.Y.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE NCAG

The National Council on the Arts and Government, established in 1954, is the first national organization in the United States to include representatives of all major art fields and to be concerned primarily with governmental activities and legislation related to the arts. The NCAG is entirely nonpolitical and non-partisan. Members (limited to 50) are elected for their knowledge of one or more fields of art and may also represent organizations.

The Council's purposes are to consider governmental activities, both legislative and administrative, concerned with the arts on the Federal, State or municipal levels, to assist in strengthening and improving such activities and legislation therefor, and to act to the fullest extent of its limited facilities as a source for information about such matters for organizations and individuals interested in the arts.

REQUEST FOR GRANT FOR PROPOSED NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE ARTS AND GOVERNMENT

Applicant.—The National Council on the Arts and Government, 22 West 54th Street, New York 19, N.Y.

Recipient of grant.—Columbia University has generously offered to be host to a National Conference on the Arts and Government, provided it receives the necessary funds in sufficient time for this conference to be properly organized.

Date of conference.—June 1962 after commencement and before summer school begins.

Need for conference.—There is increasing recognition in the United States that Government has a responsibility toward the development and appreciation of the arts. Demonstrations overseas under Federal sponsorship of our artistic achievements, which have enhanced the cultural status of our country abroad, have led to a growing awareness that the arts are a vital factor in the welfare of our own Nation. Assessment of the relationship of Government to the arts in the United States and suggestions leading to sound future policy have become a matter of urgency. The proposed conference and subsequent publication of a comprehensive report would stimulate interest and discussion throughout the country among those with firm opinions—favorable or unfavorable to Government aid for the arts—as well as those who are uncommitted. As workdays shorten and life expectancy lengthens the arts will play an ever more important role in the lives of our citizens. It is not excessive therefore to suggest that this conference could well become a turning point in American cultural life.

Purpose of conference.—The broad purposes of the conference will be—

1. To clarify the issues concerning the arts and Government at the Federal, State, and community levels;
2. To examine various undertakings by Government for the arts both here and abroad, together with their successes, shortcomings, and dangers;
3. To present and discuss proposals for augmented cooperation between Government and private initiative to advance the arts and their appreciation in the United States;
4. To inform and involve professionals in the arts, individuals generally interested in the arts, Government officials in positions of responsibility relative to the arts, and legislators, to the end that intelligent and constructive direction will be taken for the benefit of the artists and the public.

While opposing points of view will be represented and specific legislation discussed or promoted by some individuals, it does not seem appropriate for this conference to reach any collective decisions and certainly not to advance any particular legislative measures. The study sessions should lead to assessment of the situation in various art fields and stimulate proposals leading to improved conditions whether with or without governmental cooperation. The subject is a complex one which needs precisely the kind of public forum which this conference would provide.

Program of conference.—The tentative program for the conference is outlined on attached document A. The speakers at major sessions should be national figures drawn from the fields of the arts, Government, education, and industry. Leaders in the discussions should include outstanding artists, Government administrators, legislators, experts in political science and other disciplines related to art and Government. Effort will be made to secure geographical representation in the selection of participants.

Registrants.—Attendance at the entire conference will be by invitation only, although four plenary sessions will be open to the public. There are several hundred organizations, National, State, or local, interested in the arts. These vary in size from the National Federation of Music Clubs (with 600,000 members and chapters in every State) to small professional art societies and community art centers, many of them very active. It may be best to handle the selection of registrants largely through organizations, educational institutions, and governmental bodies. Place will be reserved for artists, patrons of the arts, and other interested individuals who may not be associated with organizations or institutions. Officials of Federal departments or agencies, who have duties connected with the arts but who are not asked to take an active part in the conference, will be invited to attend as guests of the NCAG.

Direction of conference.—The conference will be sponsored by the National Council on the Arts and Government. A brief summary of its organization and principles is submitted on attached document B. A list of its present members, with notation of the field of art or the organization they represent, is on attached document C. The NCAG will create a National Conference Planning Committee, composed of members of the NCAG, representatives from Columbia University, and other individuals who, by their accomplishments, stature, or connections with national organizations or educational institutions, will contribute to the effectiveness of the conference. This committee will be responsible for planning and conducting the conference, and will engage a conference coordinator. The coordinator, with the advice and consent of the committee, will employ secretarial assistance and make all arrangements for the conference, exclusive of the subsequent publication. An honorary committee for the conference is planned composed of distinguished citizens and officials.

Publicity.—Advance information will be distributed to potential registrants primarily through organizations, institutions, and branches of government. General public knowledge of the conference will be through magazine and press articles, TV and radio networks, etc. National and local coverage during the conference will be encouraged. Paid advertising is not anticipated.

Subsequent publication.—The publication of a comprehensive report is considered an integral part of this conference. A conference editorial committee will be appointed by the NCAG. This committee will engage a conference report editor and an assistant. The editor, in consultation with the committee, will select the material, condense major addresses where necessary, edit study session reports, and carry out all tasks preliminary to publication. The president and director of the Columbia University Press has expressed "strong interest in the publication possibilities of the symposium on the arts and Government which the National Council on the Arts and Government plans to hold here at Columbia next June. I hope that we may be able to work with you." The budget figures for this publication and other printing in preparation for the conference were reached in consultation with Columbia University Press. The purchase cost of 1,500 copies includes distribution to all registrants, participants invited by the NCAG, prominent Government officials, and review copies. Columbia University Press will handle sale of the report to the public, libraries, etc.

Financing conference.—Columbia University, upon receipt of the necessary funds, will authorize the National Council on the Arts and Government to act as administering agency for the conference. Columbia has offered to provide auditoriums, meeting rooms, office space, and accounting services without charge, and also to make available rooms in residence halls at very reasonable rates for registrants. This generous offer will not only reduce the amount required, but also will encourage attendance from other parts of the country. The budget (see attached document D) has been prepared as realistically and prudently as possible. Grants to Columbia University totaling \$30,500 by June 1961 are required to enable this conference to be held in June 1962.

The NCAG will be glad, if so requested, to supply any further information that may be desired.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE ARTS AND GOVERNMENT,
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, JUNE 1961

TENTATIVE PROGRAM

FIRST DAY

9-11 a.m.: Registration.

11 a.m.-1 p.m.: Plenary session open to the public (recorded for network):

"The Place of the Arts in Government"

Opening address by representative of Columbia University.

Contrast of European and British systems of support for the arts.

The traditional American system of private initiative.

Federal and State responsibilities relative to the arts in the United States.

2:30-5 p.m.: Plenary session not open to the public:

"Common Interests of the Arts in Relation to Government"

Prominent speakers will cover the following:

- (a) Philosophic and esthetic principles.
- (b) Cooperation at the national level.
- (c) Practical experience in a community.

6-7 p.m.: Reception at the Mens' Faculty Club. NCAG Hospitality Committee will arrange for eminent persons in the arts to be present.

8:30-10:45 p.m.: Plenary session open to the public (national network):

"The Arts and the Public Interest"

Titles of addresses are merely suggestive:

"The Place of the Arts in a Culture."

"Artists, Scientists, and Freedom."

"Public Participation in the Arts."

"The Arts and International Relations."

SECOND DAY

10 a.m.-12:30 p.m.: Study sessions not open to public.

A committee is to be formed for each study group. It will select a chairman, recording secretary, and panel of three or four persons to lead initial discussions. It will prepare for circulation in advance major issues to be considered with reference list of legislative measures enacted or pending. Registrants will be asked to sign up for field of interest.

1. Architecture and allied arts (as related to architecture).
2. Dance.
3. Drama.
3. Literature.
5. Mass media.
6. Music.
7. Painting, sculpture, graphic arts, and crafts.
8. Community art centers and arts councils.

2:30-5:30 p.m.: Continuation of study group sessions not open to public:

Afternoon sessions will be largely free discussions of those areas of greatest interest to that group with some effort by chairman to obtain consensus of opinion on controversial issues but no attempt to endorse specific legislation.

THIRD DAY

10 a.m.-12:30 p.m.: Plenary session not open to public:

"Reports of study sessions, recommendations and discussion"

Reports by the eight chairmen might be divided into sections which cover:

- (a) Overall specific needs of that art field or subject.
- (b) Areas in which Federal cooperation is needed.
- (c) Areas in which State cooperation is desirable.
- (d) Areas in which municipal or local government could be helpful, stressing methods that have proved most successful which could provide a pattern of procedure.

Questions from the floor in writing will be answered after conclusion of reports and priority will be given to those of broadest interest to the registrants.

2:30-5:30 p.m.: Plenary session open to the public (recorded for network):

"Federal legislation relative to the arts"

Sponsors of major Federal legislation from both parties will discuss the responsibility of Congress in cooperation with private initiative to increase public participation in and appreciation of the arts. The last hour will be reserved for questions from the floor in writing.

8:30-10:45 p.m.: Plenary session open to the public (national network):

"The future of Government and the arts in the United States"

Two speakers of national stature, one to summarize the work of the conference relating to the future particularly, the other to make the closing address of the conference.

DOCUMENT B

INFORMATION ABOUT THE NCAG

The National Council on the Arts and Government, established in 1954, is the first national organization in the United States to include representatives of the seven major fields of art and to be concerned primarily with governmental activities and legislation related to the arts. It is entirely nonpolitical and nonpartisan. Members (limited to 50) are elected for their knowledge of one of more fields of art and may also represent organizations.

The Council's purposes are to consider governmental activities, both legislative and administrative, concerned with the arts on the Federal, State, or municipal levels, to assist in strengthening and improving such activities, and to promote sound legislation affecting the arts.

Some of the Council's governing principles are:

"In view of the increasing importance of the arts in our national life, we believe that they deserve adequate recognition by the Federal Government of the United States, by the States, and by municipalities."

"Since the arts are universal languages leading to greater understanding among nations, we believe that they should be fully utilized in international cultural exchanges."

"We believe that all governmental art activities should respect and uphold freedom of artistic expression."

"We believe that the Federal Government, the States and the municipalities, in their activities connected with the arts, should draw upon the best professional knowledge and judgment; that any advisory bodies for the arts should be professional rather than political; and that the various fields of the arts should be represented on such bodies relating to their field and should have a voice in nominating the members of such bodies."

NATIONAL COUNCIL ON THE ARTS AND GOVERNMENT

Membership, June 1960

Richard F. Bach, representative of American Institute of Design.

Pietro Belluschi, architect, dean, School of Architecture, MIT.

Mrs. C. Arthur Bullock, president, National Federal of Music Clubs.

Dr. Osgard J. Campbell, educator, former administrator arts center program of Columbia University.

Henry Seidel Canby, author, editor.

Charles Collingwood, commentator.

Norman Dello Joio, composer.

Rene d'Harnoncourt, director, Museum of Modern Art, New York.

Lamar Dodd, painter, head, Department of Art, University of Georgia.

Henry Dreyfuss, industrial designer.
 Quaintance Eaton, executive secretary, National Commission for the Musical Arts.
 Hy Faine, national executive secretary, American Guild of Musical Artists.
 Dave Garroway, TV personality.
 Lillian Gish, star of film and stage.
 Lloyd Goodrich, director, Whitney Museum of American Art, author.
 Dr. Alice Griffin, head, Department of Theater Arts, Hunter College, representative of American Educational Theater Association.
 Dr. Howard Hanson, composed, conductor, president, National Music Council.
 Alfred Harding, former assistant to president, Actors Equity Association.
 Edwin Hughes, pianist, executive secretary, National Music Council.
 Theodate Johnson, publisher, Musical America.
 Herman Kenin, president, American Federation of Musicians.
 Dan Kiley, landscape architect.
 Billie Kirpich, representative, Dance Teachers Guild.
 Mrs. Serge Koussevitsky, patron of musical arts.
 Leon Kroll, painter, president, U.S. Commission of International Association of Plastic Arts.
 William Lescaze, architect.
 Dorothy Liebes, textile designer.
 Howard Lindsay, playwright, actor, producer.
 Gertrude Macy, general manager, International Cultural Exchange Services, ANTA.
 Dick Moore, actor, representative, Actors Equity Association.
 Joseph Allen Patterson, representative, American Association of Museums.
 Andrew Ritchie, director, Yale University Gallery of Art.
 Theodore J. Roszak, sculptor.
 Robert C. Schnitzer, general manager, ANTA International Exchange Program.
 Gilbert Seldes, author, editor, educator.
 Seymour N. Siegel, director, Municipal Broadcasting System, New York.
 Dr. Carleton S. Smith, musicologist.
 W. Eugene Smith, photograph.
 Eleanor Steber, opera, concert artist.
 Edward D. Stone, architect.
 Rex Stout, author, former president, Author's League of America.
 Mrs. Helen Thompson, executive secretary, American Symphony Orchestra League.
 Lucia Victor, stage manager, representative Actors Equity Association.
 Ralph Walker, architect, former president, American Institute of Architects.
 Mrs. Vanderbilt Webb, president, American Craftsmen's Council.
 Harold Weston, painter, past president, Federation Modern Painters & Sculptors.
 Elihu Winer, playwright, representative Writers Guild of America.
 William W. Wurster, architect, dean, Department of Architecture, UCLA.
 Dr. Edwin Ziegfeld, educator, Department of Art, Teachers College, representative National Art Education Associates.
 William Zorach, sculptor.

DOCUMENT D

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON THE ARTS AND GOVERNMENT

Columbia University—June 1962

Tentative budget

Expenses:

Speakers, chairmen of study groups, discussion leaders, per diem and travel costs	\$4,000
Salary of conference coordinator (about $\frac{1}{4}$ year of time spread over 9 months)	4,000
Salary of executive secretary (9 months)	4,500
Typist (part time)	1,000
Supplementary staff for 3 days of conference	500
Office supplies, telephone and telegraph, stamps, etc. (office space and accounting service provided by Columbia University)	3,500
Printing and mimeographing: announcements describing conference; brochures; invitations; registrant cards; identification cards; etc.	4,000
Stenotypists for plenary sessions	1,000
Report of conference:	
(a) Compensation for editor and his assistant (To condense speeches, coordinate study group reports, preface, introduction estimated with index, etc. 300 pages)	4,000
(b) 1,500 copies report for free distribution (purchased by NCAG from Columbia University)	6,000
Miscellaneous	1,000
Total	33,500

Income:

Registration fee of \$10 including free copy subsequent report, minimum estimate 300	3,000
Grant required by Columbia University to enable conference to be held	30,500

STATEMENT OF DAN LACY, MANAGING DIRECTOR, AMERICAN BOOK PUBLISHERS COUNCIL

Mr. LACY. I appreciate this opportunity to appear in these hearings to present our views on the various bills before this subcommittee, bills which have as their purpose, by one means or another, the encouragement of literature and the arts by the Federal Government.

The American Book Publishers Council is the trade and professional organization of the general book publishing industry in this country. Our 166 members include practically all the general commercial book publishing firms whose names are familiar to all of you—such houses as Doubleday, Harpers, Macmillan, Knopf, Viking, Harcourt Brace, Little Brown, and Bobbs-Merrill—about half of the university presses and several book clubs and publishers of popular priced paperbound editions.

Rather than proceeding immediately into a discussion of the individual bills under consideration, I think it might be helpful to begin with a general statement of our views regarding the problem of the relationship of the Federal Government to the arts, and more particularly literature and the printed word generally. It is from this general philosophy that our views have developed on the individual measures under consideration. Let me say that these remarks do not apply to the separate subject of the relationship of State and local governments to the arts, which in some ways presents quite a different problem.

There are in general two ways in which the activities of the Federal Government may affect literature and the arts. The first is what might be called the direct way—deliberate measures of encouragement or discouragement. Examples may be found in the practice of many European countries: a ministry or bureau of fine arts; prizes, medals, awards and honors; financial encouragement in the form of stipends or pensions; Government financial support for theaters, opera companies and orchestras. The second is what might be called the indirect method—the shaping of legislation, governmental policy and administrative activities which are directed to other major purposes so as to help or to hinder the development of literature and the arts. Examples are the tax laws, the postal system, foreign trade regulations, and copyright. These indirect influences are frequently overlooked in discussions of Government and the arts, but they are very important in their total effect.

In the United States our historical philosophy and practice has been to keep the Federal Government out of the field of direct influences on the arts. So far as indirect influences are concerned, there has been a general disposition and willingness to shape legislation and administrative action so as to help rather than hinder the development and enjoyment of the arts, and in many ways our record has been better in this respect than that of many other countries. This record has not been entirely consistent, although it has by and large been more favorable in recent years than in some earlier periods. A few specific examples may help to illustrate this point.

In the area of copyright, which is basic to the development of literature, the theater and music, the Constitution itself provided that Congress should have the power to enact legislation "to promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for a limited time to authors and inventors the exclusive right to all respective writings and discoveries." Despite this constitutional provision, throughout most of our national life we tended to lag somewhat behind European governments in our copyright legislation, especially in the important area of securing protection of the copyrighted works of Americans abroad by means of reciprocal international arrangements. Fortunately this era came to a close with the ratification of the Universal Copyright Convention by the United States in 1954. A number of important domestic copyright problems are, however, still outstanding. On postal laws—and the postal system is an indispensable means of distributing books, periodicals, and music—we have in some ways provided more encouragement within our boundaries than many European countries. Our international postal rates on published materials, including music, have on the other hand been distinctly less favorable; but this discrepancy, too, is in process of being reduced.

Our import and export regulations have on the whole been liberal and have promoted the interchange of literature and artistic materials, although we have yet to implement the "Florence Agreement" approved by the Senate in February 1960. Protected by the first amendment, we have been reasonably free of Federal censorship of the printed word. Our income tax laws on the other hand have been distinctly more burdensome on the income from literature and artistic creation—income from copyrighted materials—than on income received from technical creation represented by patented inventions.

I think that these examples, which by no means constitute a complete list, will suffice to illustrate that our national record on these indirect measures has been spotty but by no means bad on the whole and has been improving. Nevertheless, one of the bills before you, H.R. 4172, the proposed Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, would, we believe, be very helpful in improving the situation still further; and there are a number of important problems still outstanding. Such an advisory group would be able to identify and to point out those numerous areas in which Federal legislation and administrative action, often designed for quite different purposes, impinge unfavorably on literature and the arts. There is at present no Federal agency with an overall responsibility in this area, although in some respects existing agencies such as the Office of Education and the Library of Congress may be able to perform this function to some extent. But there is no specific watchdog for the arts comparable to the Department of Labor, the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce and many other departments and agencies which in a sense "represent" various industries and professions in the Federal Government.

With respect to direct measures to encourage the arts, various of which are incorporated in some of the bills under consideration which have been introduced in this and earlier sessions, we would have serious reservations about taking any major steps in this direction without very careful further study and consideration. I can do no better in stating these reservations than to quote from a book which appeared a few years ago, "The Literary Situation," by Malcolm Cowley, the well-known poet, literary critic, teacher, editor, and lecturer. In a chapter on the relationship of the Federal Government to the arts Mr. Cowley sums up the pros and cons of direct Federal support as follows:

That Congress should establish a bureau of fine arts, with money to spend for literary prizes and fellowships, is a much more tempting notion, but there are a few serious arguments against it. One is that such a bureau would be involved in politics, with its prizes going to writers whose opinions were politically correct at the time, and to another group of writers in the next administration. Another argument is the increased danger of Federal censorship; if Congress were spending money for literature, it would try to encourage some types of literature and might soon decide that other types should be penalized. Still another argument against such a bureau is that it might lead—the more influential it became, the more surely it would lead—to an official school of art and an official theory of writing that all Americans would be expected to follow, as all Russian writers are expected to be socialist realists.

I am a pluralist in questions of literary doctrine as in theories of government. I don't like to see too much power concentrated in one man or place or party or institution. The Federal Government is our greatest institution, but I should like to see its power counterbalanced by that of smaller institutions, not only State and local governments, but also the churches, the schools, the universities,

the newspapers, the magazines, the arts, and the different professions, each with its feeling of separate life, each with customs and standards that have the force of law in its separate domain. The literary profession is one of those domains, and I should like to see it enforce its own standards. In one sense the critics are its courts of law, but it is even more important for them to honor good writing than to condemn cheap and careless writing; also the standards they enforce should be those of quality, not those of method or doctrine or political opinion. There should be many theories of literature and many centers of literary activity. If writers need financial help to do their best work—and many of them do need such help, because the rewards for distinguished writing are not always enough to support them, and also because it takes a long time for a writer to become established—then the help should come from privately endowed institutions, at at present, rather than from the Federal Government. All that the writers can fairly ask of the Government is that it shouldn't discriminate against them. Notably, it shouldn't interfere with the institutions that have been helping them, nor should it try, as some congressional committees have been doing, to force universities and foundations into a great coordinated—gleichgeschaltet was Hitler's word—system of correct mass opinion.

We would in general subscribe to these views of Mr. Cowley and specifically we would recommend that the several plans for direct encouragement of the arts incorporated in other bills be turned over for study and recommendation by the Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, which we believe should be established.

In conclusion, our views may be briefly summarized as advocating the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts with a large measure of independence, and the referral of other proposals for direct support of the arts to such a commission for study and recommendation as a first priority in its work.

STATEMENT OF MRS. HORTENSE AMRAM, WEAVER, WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. AMRAM. Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee on Special Education, my name is Hortense Amram. I am a practicing weaver and I live at 431 New Jersey Avenue SE., Washington, D.C. It is there, in my home, that I have my looms and weave the cloth and various other items that provide a part of my income.

As a practitioner of one of the handicrafts, I have a deep interest in Congressman Thompson's H.R. 4172, to provide for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare as recommended by President Eisenhower in several messages to the Congress in recent years. I wish to address myself to that portion of Congressman Thompson's bill which seeks to provide for recognition and encouragement of our American craft movement. I wish to commend Mr. Thompson for his insistence that the crafts be listed in the bill now before this committee.

My own interest in this bill lies in its ability to increase the interest in, and recognition of, the importance of craft work among all our people. Creative work is well within the capacity of everyone, from kindergarten to old age. Witness the countless manifestations of this in the growing number of those practicing the many crafts now flourishing across the country.

The strength of this urge to creativity is not only the deeply human one, but in our country it stems from a rich and varied tradition. The early Americans expressed their feeling for beauty in the crafts

they produced for their daily needs. For them a chair became a work of art. Their handwoven coverlets, their decorated marriage contracts, their cooking utensils, these and a hundred other simple objects were made with such loving care that today we recognize them for the masterpieces they are and we cherish them in our greatest museums. The famous Index of American Design in the National Gallery of Art has, I think, something like 20,000 items representing the American crafts.

The magnitude of our current interest in the craft arts is evidenced by the fact that approximately \$135 million was spent in 1956 for materials used in craftwork. Manufacturers are anticipating an increase in this amount for 1957. This figure refers only to materials used and does not include the vast sums spent on tools and associated items necessary to weave, to make ceramics, and so on, to provide which a billion-dollar industry has been established. In addition, the publication of books and articles dealing largely with instruction in the techniques of the crafts has also become a large industry employing many people. Some of the books on the crafts have actually become best sellers. Craft magazines are forging ahead steadily both in number of subscribers and in the actual number of magazines published. Outstanding among these are *Craft Horizons*, *Handweaver & Craftsman*, *Ceramics*, the *Cross-Country Craftsman*, and *Design*. There are, too, such publications as *School Arts* and *Arts and Activities*, which are primarily directed to the teachers of these subjects. The teachers have their national organizations, the principal one being the National Art Education Association, a department of the National Education Association.

In addition to education, the craftwork today shows three distinct manifestations: vocational, recreational, and therapeutic. For instance, in the vocational field there has recently been noted a tremendous increase in the sale of handmade articles for use in homes, as well as wearing apparel. In many shops, such items make up quite a large part of their stock. An increasing number of craft workers are either supporting themselves or adding to their income by their productions. Quite a number have established important businesses, hiring other craftsmen. Craft groups working together are to be found across the country. But the largest and most important professional groups in this work consists of the regular teachers of craft subjects in the schools, colleges, universities, and specialized groups.

The summer 1957 issue of *Handweaver & Craftsman* lists the Fourth Annual Handweaving Conference held at the University of Kansas, in April; the League of New Hampshire Arts and Crafts and such related activities as the annual Craftsman's Fair at the Belknap Mountain Recreation Area, at Guilford, in August, which now attracts thousands of visitors each year and results in five-figure sales; the handweaving course at Mills College, Oakland, Calif., established in 1944; the Northwest Conference of Handweavers jointly sponsored by the Seattle, Wash., Weavers Guild and the University of Washington's School of Art and Home Economics at the university in Seattle, to which come more than 400 weavers from all over the country; the Craftsman's Fair of the Southern Highlands at Asheville, N.C.; the Museum of International Folk Art at Santa Fe, N. Mex.; the Virginia Highlands Festival at Abingdon, Va.; the

Fourth Ozark Arts and Crafts Fair at War Eagle, and many others, including ceramics and other crafts.

In the recreational field lies the largest group numerically of craft workers. So large is this group that it certainly merits the help and attention of such a commission as Congressman Thompson's measure would establish. Notable in this field are the retired elderly people. Craftwork for this group is contributing one of the outstanding solutions for their social and psychological problems. Witness the success of the Sunshine University, in Florida, established originally for a few retired individuals, but which already has an enrollment in the thousands, although they have been specializing in weaving and ceramics only.

National social and recreational groups whose programs emphasize the various crafts include the Boy Scouts, the Girl Scouts, Camp Fire, Boys and Girls Clubs, YMCA, YWCA, YMHA, YWHA, American Red Cross, American Craftsmen's Council which includes 70-odd National, State, regional, and local groups; the 4-H Clubs; and others. The morale and welfare services of the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Marine Corps provide arts and crafts as an integral part of the off-duty recreation services provided enlisted men, officer personnel, and their families.

Occupational therapy has demonstrated the value of creative craftwork in the treatment and cure of physical and mental illness. All homes for the aged, Veterans' Administration hospitals, industrial hospitals and other hospitals, and hospitals for the Armed Forces now have established craft centers and hobby shops.

One other activity in the field of craft art must be mentioned: that of exhibitions. The impressive list of these and the great number of those who attend them are indicative of the importance this work is assuming in our daily life. Not only are these exhibitions making fine work known to our people, but the U.S. Information Agency has sent quite a number of important exhibitions of American craftwork abroad. These shows have been developed by the Smithsonian Institution and private organizations for the U.S. Information Agency. Early in June, craftsmen, educators, and other leaders in this field from all over the country attended the First Annual Conference of American Craftsmen, in Asilomar, Calif. The conference was held under the sponsorship of the American Craftsmen's Council which last year opened a great Museum of Contemporary Crafts in New York City at 29 West 53d Street. This is a permanent year-round museum devoted solely to the craft arts.

It seems evident to me, therefore, that this extraordinary growth of interest in this form of art calls for the recognition and encouragement that a Federal commission could give. Such an agency would not only strengthen this ground swell of interest, but provide a foundation for a tremendous renaissance and flowering of the craft arts in our country.

I thank you for the courtesy you have shown me in hearing my statement.

STATEMENT OF DR. FREDERICK FALL, FORMER DIRECTOR, U.S. DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE SYMPHONY ORCHESTRA; DIRECTOR AND CONDUCTOR OF OPERA ACTIVITIES OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA RECREATION DEPARTMENT; FORMER MUSIC DIRECTOR FOR U.S. ARMY OF OCCUPATION IN AUSTRIA

Dr. FALL. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am Dr. Frederick Fall, of 1771 Church Street NW., Washington, D.C. I was born in Vienna, Austria, where I studied music and was graduated from the State Academy of Music and Fine Arts.

Before coming to the United States I was conductor of various major opera companies in Germany, Czechoslovakia, and finally conductor in chief of the Vienna Volksoper. I also conducted symphony concerts with practically all of the major European symphony orchestras. In this country I have conducted concerts in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, New Orleans, and Dallas. After the Second World War I was music officer for the Austrian Occupation Zone under Gen. Mark Clark.

For 10 years I conducted the Agriculture Symphony Orchestra of the U.S. Department of Agriculture here in the Nation's Capital. I reorganized this orchestra in 1949, and it is now considered by many to be one of the country's outstanding amateur orchestras.

Also, I am director and producer, as well as conductor, of the opera productions of the District of Columbia Recreation Department. We have annually produced a major opera for the last several years; the Medium and the Telephone; Madame Butterfly; the Merry Widow; Hansel and Gretel; Tales of Hoffman; the Student Prince; the Bartered Bride; and the Gypsy Baron. If anyone thinks these productions, involving in some instances 120 people, do not require a vast amount of hard work and discipline, then they don't know anything about opera production.

Both the Agriculture Department's symphony orchestra and the District of Columbia Recreation Department's opera productions use preponderantly musicians, singers, stagecraft workers, production helpers, and so on who do not make their living with music, singing, acting, or in the theater, but who use these media to give meaning to their leisure time. Such activities are splendid examples of the creative and constructive use of leisure time. There are too many people to whom leisure time is synonymous with time spent aimlessly—this, in my opinion, is one of the major reasons for delinquency, both juvenile and adult. A fine example of the constructive use of leisure time follows:

I conducted a homegrown, grassroots, locally produced opera, with local singers, at the Watergate to an audience of 10,000 avid listeners. This was one of the largest audiences of the Watergate season. Sponsors of this event were the District of Columbia Recreation Depart-

ment and the music performance trust fund of the American Federation of Musicians, Local 161, of Washington, D.C. The singers were what are called amateurs. That does not mean that the music achievements are not of the highest standards. It shows good use of leisure time, and I am sure all those singers enjoyed the experience and did not mind the many hours they put in the production.

My experience leads me to conclude that one of the important things that the Federal Advisory Council on the Arts must do, when it is established, is to advise on how to use the arts practically to give meaning and direction to the vast amount of leisure time that our highly productive economy is making available. It can recommend ways to encourage the making of great music and the other arts by the people themselves.

The level of a culture is determined not alone by the great concerts in the concert halls. It is determined quite as much by the music the young people love; it is determined by the music the people sing, by the music they whistle, the music they hum. It is determined by the houses they live in, the books they read, the paintings and the sculpture with which they surround themselves. It is determined by the depths of their regard for creative artists. It is determined by the extent of their patronage of the arts. A Federal Advisory Council on the Arts in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare can recommend and advise ways of aiding and guiding the public to a full awareness of the vast riches of their cultural heritage, and thus help in the development of a wiser, healthier, better-balanced, and a maturer people.

Music and other arts are increasingly appreciated and practiced in our country. It has been noted by Reader's Digest, the Saturday Evening Post, Time and Life magazines, and other national publications that Americans are turning to the arts in constantly greater numbers. Paid admissions to concerts in this country are greater by \$5 millions than paid admissions to baseball. Over 30 million people pay to hear good music every year. The sales of classical records is about \$60 million a year.

More people hear the Boston Symphony Orchestra in a single concert on the radio than could hear it in Carnegie Hall in 110 years of concert going. Radio and television bring great drama, music, ballet, opera to many millions of our people each week. The great art movies of Hollywood, such as "An American in Paris," and "Invitation to the Dance," play to audiences of 50 millions and their box-office appeal is as great or greater than those productions of lower quality such as "Forever Amber." These figures speak eloquently for the increasingly greater interest in the arts, but it isn't enough.

In Europe the governments of our times have assumed the patronage of the arts from the courts, the princes, and the church. The high development of music, drama, ballet, and of the Beethovens, the Goethes, the Dantes, the Shakespeares, the Michelangelos, the Da Vincis, the Hans Christian Andersons—these did not spring untended from a hostile soil.

They were the product of an education and an environment that was sympathetic, that was constantly helpful, that honored the industrious and able youngster, the budding painter, the coming poet, the developing musician, dancer, weaver, and sculptor. Many young people tried, and many failed but the talented young people found patrons, they found encouragement, they were prodded, they were driven, rewarded, and they kept on trying. The great artists that developed out of this rich soil lifted mankind on wings of song, and mankind was enobled when beauty was created such as was never known before, with the new songs, the new paintings, the ever extending vision of the artists.

The greatest single thing the Federal Advisory Council on the Arts can do, in my opinion, is to give new stature to the arts, and increased status to the artists.

It can give art and the artist the recognition they need when they are young, when they need it most. It can recommend ways to encourage the artist to forge ahead, to be creative.

It can advise us on ways to enrich the soil, to nurture the young, to help them to go forward.

The arts ennoble, they uplift, they give the people vision, and a people without vision will surely perish.

The Federal Advisory Council which Congressman Thompson's bill, H.R. 4172, would establish can show the way to a maturer and happier people, a people which will make the United States the cultural center of the world.

MR. THOMPSON. We will now hear from Congressman Harris B. McDowell of Delaware.

STATEMENT OF HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR., A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF DELAWARE

MR. McDOWELL. Mr. Thompson and members of the subcommittee, I appear in support of the bill offered by Congressman Frank Thompson, Jr., and several other Members of Congress from both parties to establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts.

In his 1955 message on the State of the Union to the Congress the then President of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower, called for the establishment of such a Federal arts agency and he declared that—

In the advancement of the various activities which will make our civilization endure and flourish, the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities.

In June 1960, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Arthur S. Flemming, one of the Nation's top educators, told the House Education Committee that—

there is inadequate recognition of the fundamental importance of artistic endeavor in our national life.

He declared that—

The development of cultural and artistic interests serves a dual purpose, in that it contributes to the well-being of the individual by developing his creative abilities, and at the same time, it enables the individual to further enrich our civilization.

Then Secretary Flemming made this significant point:

I feel that if the Congress did act favorably on this proposal (to establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts), it would do a great deal in the direction of strengthening education in the arts, both at the secondary level and at the level of higher education. That is, it would give added encouragement to the efforts which are being made along this line.

Personally, growing out of my own experience in the field of education, I think we should put added emphasis on education in the arts. I think of it not only from the standpoint of the contribution which educational programs will make to the arts, but I emphasize it because I feel when people have the opportunity of participating in educational programs in the arts, it tends to stimulate the development of their creative abilities, and that those creative abilities will then show themselves and reflect themselves not only in the arts but in everything they do.

Secretary Flemming made it clear to the committee that while he continued to favor an emphasis on science in the curriculum he also felt that "we need to put emphasis in other areas" such as the fine arts. The point was made by him, as well as by other witnesses, that many of our engineering and scientific schools, for instance, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 30 percent of each student's activities are devoted to the fine arts and literature. Our scientists must be able to communicate, and they must have a grasp of the culture and civilization of the Nation which they are working to advance, enlarge, and preserve.

Here are Secretary Flemming's exact words:

Certainly, as we think in terms of stimulating and strengthening education in such areas as the sciences and engineering, which we certainly do, I do not think we should overlook the importance of strengthening educational programs in areas such as this (the arts) because, as I have indicated, I believe if we do it will pay dividends in terms of what happens in the sciences, in engineering, and so on.

The school of arts and science at the University of Delaware has shown a special awareness of the importance of educating the whole man. I am proud of its work, and I wish to take this occasion to commend Dr. G. Bruce Dearing, dean, school of arts and science and his colleagues for their contributions in building one of the more significant universities in our country. The work of Prof. Charles Robert Kase, head of the drama department, Prof. Anthony J. Loudis, head of the music department, Profs. Augustine Henry Able, II, and Ned Bliss Allen of the English department, and Prof. Alan Gowans of the art department, is well-known far beyond the borders of the first State.

The need of the arts by the one-third of our Nation which is economically underprivileged is strikingly illustrated by the following excerpt from a memorandum submitted on July 22, 1960, by Bernard W. Scholz, Chief, Public Assistance Division to the Director of the District of Columbia Department of Public Welfare in connection with the "second precinct rehabilitation project" in the heart of the Nation's Capital:

(Excerpt from a memorandum submitted on July 22, 1960, by Bernard W. Scholz, Chief, Public Assistance Division to the Director of the District of Columbia Department of Public Welfare, in connection with the "second precinct rehabilitation project")

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While this program is underway for the second precinct's youth, what about the adults whose actions and example will continue to influence the young, even while every effort is being made to orient these children in a positive direction?

What can be done to reorient the adults from an emptiness wrought of exhaustion, defeat, and resentment that finds release only in dope, alcohol, vice, and lawlessness, to an attitude of hope, a will to achieve, and acceptance of community standards, a willingness to conform and a sense of belonging?

As in the case of the younger people, the older ones are vitally affected by what they perceive the community's attitude concerning them to be.

Just as the auto dump on Sixth Street, established in the midst of a residential section by their city's government (one act that did not take congressional approval) is a clear demonstration of what the community thinks of them as citizens and homeowners, so is the flight of business and the blight on Seventh Street clear evidence that economically they do not rate, as contrasted to their white neighbors in the suburbs.

The community may provide many free services to the general population, but to these underprivileged ones, the descamisados of Washington, they are out of reach: They don't have the shoes, the clothes, the manners—that would make them comfortable and give them a "sense of belonging" in these community facilities.

The free city library is right in the second precinct, but people of this neighborhood would hardly be found within its austere walls. Yet most of them can read—and many would read, if only reading was brought within easy reach of them. There should be small, informal branch libraries scattered throughout the second precinct where people can quietly sit, smoke, and read the paperback editions of good literature.

If such books get soiled, torn, taken home—what would it matter? The main thing is that some refuge would be established from the drabness of their own homes—that through these books a door might be opened to a new world. Could lectures be added—films—discussions? Here could be the beginning of a very informal, rudimentary adult education process—but it must be taken to the people and offered wide open, without registration, without fees, without formality.

The National Gallery is right at the foot of Sixth Street, just a few blocks from the second precinct, but hardly would its shabby citizens venture into those pretentious marble halls. Yet this museum is stuffed with surplus paintings that are considered minor works of the great masters whose masterpieces are on exhibit. How easy it would be to bring good art to the people up the street—to hang in the branch libraries just half a dozen pieces of good art, to keep changing them on a rotating basis—to let these people who have never been touched by beauty realize that there is something beyond the Sunday supplement and the dirty sketches scrawled on the walls of tenement hallways.

A large number of the citizens of the second precinct readily enjoy music. Yet they would not be the ones to sit on the free steps of the Watergate or listen in crowded silence to the band concerts on the Capitol Plaza. Again, it would have to be the community that shows them that it cares by bringing the chance for community music to them. Just as with the Welsh Miners, the German Turners and many other groups of no high pretensions, such as our own Barber Shop Quartet Singers, the people of the second precinct could be guided to make their own music, to do their own singing, and playing, to find beauty and relaxation and an emotional outlet in something they themselves create.

Finally, there is a terrible spiritual void in the lives of these people who have drifted away from the large denominations in whose stately churches and dressed-up Sunday crowds they felt unwanted and out of place. The many store-front churches and the gaudy House of Worship for all the people of Sweet Daddy Grace in the heart of the second precinct, all testify to the groping spiritual need of the people in this area. They would seem to be more than ready for home-missionary work by the large denominational churches which, in addition to bringing these people a message of hope and a moral yardstick for their daily lives, would thereby offer concrete proof that the community cares.

I include as part of my remarks a speech on the arts which was delivered to the 36th annual meeting of the National Association of Schools of Music at the Palmer House, Chicago, Ill., on November 26, 1960.

I also include a study by the Library of Congress of support for the arts by some 50 cities in the United States, and several items from the Congressional Record on the arts.

(The matter referred to follows:)

[From the Congressional Record Appendix, Sept. 14, 1959]

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
Washington, D.C., July 30, 1959.

To: Hon. HARRIS B. McDOWELL (attention Mr. Frain.)

From: Education and Public Welfare Division.

Subject: Municipal financial support of certain artistic and cultural activities in selected U.S. cities.

This is in reply to your request of June 23, 1959, for information concerning municipal support of artistic endeavors and cultural activities and to describe the mechanics of this type of support. Your request also states that you are especially interested in determining what cities, if any, earmark a certain portion of their taxes for use in supporting artistic and cultural endeavors and how the amounts set aside by the larger cities compare with the \$16,000 for cultural and art purposes in the D.C. Recreation Department budget.

The following table represents a brief summary of answers to letters, which we recently sent to chief finance officers in selected U.S. cities, requesting certain information about municipal financial support of artistic and cultural activities. The 56 cities selected to receive copies of our letter were chosen on the basis of their population size (as indicated in the 1950 Bureau of the Census report) or because they were known to give municipal financial support to certain artistic or cultural activities.

Number of letters sent.....	56
Number of replies to date (July 30, 1959).....	38
Number of cities which indicated current support of artistic and cultural activities.....	34
Number of cities which indicated the lack of any current support of this type.....	4
Number of cities which indicated that a certain portion of taxes are set aside for such support (Evansville, Ind., and St. Louis, Mo.).....	2

For the most part, letters received from the cities deal with: (1) sources of funds (i.e., general revenues, taxes earmarked for such purposes, etc.); (2) the artistic and cultural activities, organizations, institutions, buildings, etc., which receive municipal funds; (3) the amount of municipal funds expended for such purposes; and (4) how such funds are allocated to the various municipally supported fine arts and other cultural programs. With respect to your inquiry concerning Washington, D.C.'s \$16,000 recreation budget appropriation for cultural and art purposes, the enclosed chart indicates considerably higher appropriations by most other large cities.

In preparing the enclosed chart we have attempted to limit the facts and figures included to those which seem most pertinent to the nature of your request. Information contained in the responses from the cities has been presented as we received it. Due to the lack of uniformity of methods of answering our questions, no attempt has been made to interpret the facts contained in the letters.

Furthermore, since a definition of the phrase "cultural activities" was not included in our letter to the cities, some of the information received and also listed on the enclosed chart may be extraneous to your purposes, depending on how one defines "cultural activities." In general, we have omitted the following types of activity from inclusion in this chart: Libraries and certain library fine arts programs (unless the latter were specifically mentioned), historical societies, academies of sciences, institutes (unless specifically called "art institute"), certain arts and crafts programs of recreation departments, planetariums, aquariums, zoological parks, botanical gardens, etc., societies of natural sciences, spring fiestas, and certain types of indirect assistance given by city, such as use of staff, office space, etc. (unless specifically mentioned in letters).

We hope that this information and the accompanying chart will be helpful.

HELEN A. MILLER,
ANNE M. FINNEGAN.

EXHIBIT A

Municipal financial support of certain artistic and cultural activities in selected U.S. cities, a compilation of answers to a questionnaire

City	Amount of municipal financial support	Source of municipal financial support	Type of activity supported
Akron, Ohio.....	\$36,000.....	General fund (indirect support in lieu of tax for facility).....	Art museum.
	\$5,000,000.....	Direct tax construction cost.....	Plans for the construction of a municipal auditorium and "cultural grouping for arts, library and arena."
Atlanta, Ga.....	1 or 3 parts of a \$100,000 recreation program.....	General fund (part of "recreation program").....	Band concerts.
	\$7,500.....	General fund.....	Atlanta Symphony Guild.
	\$6,000.....	do.....	Atlanta Pops Concert.
	\$5,000.....	do.....	Municipal Theater Under-the-Stars.
	\$10,000.....	do.....	Atlanta Art Association for Benefit High Museum and School of Art.
Baltimore, Md.....	1939 appropriations:	do.....	Municipal Museum.
	\$25,994.....	do.....	Bureau of Music.
	\$119,994.....	Endowment funds (estimated income).....	Walters Art Gallery.
	\$288,000.....	General funds (pensions).....	Birmingham Museum of Art.
	\$15,000.....	General funds.....	Albright Art Gallery.
Birmingham, Ala.....	\$80,000 (this year's appropriation).....	Real estate tax and other current revenues.....	Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra Society, Inc.
Buffalo, N.Y.....	Appropriated in 1938-39:	do.....	Kleinhaus Music Hall.
	\$73,430.....	do.....	Art Institute of Chicago.
	\$30,000.....	do.....	Museum of Science and Industry.
	\$27,300.....	do.....	Chicago Natural History Museum (Field Museum).
Chicago, Ill.....	Calendar year 1938:	Payments from Chicago Park District, an independent municipal corporation in the city of Chicago.....	Fine Arts Museum.
	\$232,405.87.....	do.....	Arts Commission.
	\$232,369.11.....	General revenues, "the major part of which is ad valorem tax,".....	Evansville Museum of Arts and Sciences.
	\$232,405.92.....	Local taxes, grants and gifts, and revenues.....	Do.
Dallas, Tex.....	\$80,000.....	Civil City of Evansville.....	Washington County Museum of Fine Arts.
Detroit, Mich.....	1959-60 gross appropriation, \$543,081.....	School City of Evansville.....	Museum of Natural History.
Evansville, Ind.....	1959 contribution, \$9,200.....	General revenues.....	Museum of Fine Arts.
	Proposed budget for 1960, \$18,400.....	do.....	Civic Theatre.
	1959 contribution, \$9,200.....	do.....	Houston Symphony.
	Proposed budget for 1960, \$18,400.....	do.....	
	\$12,500 (provided for in annual budget).....	do.....	
Hagerstown, Md.....	\$19,500.....	do.....	
Houston, Tex.....	\$20,000.....	do.....	
	\$3,000.....	do.....	
	\$25,000.....	do.....	

Kansas City, Mo.	For fiscal year ended Apr. 30, 1959: \$21,211	General fund; park funds.....	Nelson Art Gallery (buildings and ground maintenance).
	\$9,925	General fund.....	Philharmonic Orchestra (free rent).
	\$42,830	General debt and interest fund.....	Starlight Theater (debt service for facility developed by park department).
	\$48,231	General fund.....	Museum (buildings and ground maintenance).
Los Angeles, Calif.	\$33,592	do.....	Liberty Memorial (operation and maintenance).
Newark, N.J.	Appropriation for fiscal 1959-60: \$196,998.	General revenues.....	Department of municipal art: bureau of music.
New Orleans, La.	1959 appropriation: \$525,426.	Tax and general revenues.....	Newark Museum.
	\$40,000 annually.	Appropriated by city.....	Delgado Museum of Art.
	Appropriated "this year":	do.....	New Orleans Philharmonic Society.
	\$5,000	do.....	New Orleans Opera House Association.
	\$2,500	do.....	Graceland City Concerts.
	\$875	Tax levy and general fund revenues.....	Metropolitan Museum of Art.
New York, N.Y.	\$944,225 (operating budget, July 1, 1959, to June 30, 1960)	Capital allocations.....	Do.
	\$904,989 (capital budget, Jan. 1, 1959, to Dec. 31, 1959)	Tax levy and general fund revenues.....	American Museum of Natural History.
	\$1,329,559 (operating budget, July 1, 1959, to June 30, 1960)	Capital allocations.....	Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Children's Museum.
	\$1,071,985 (capital budget, Jan. 1, 1959, to Dec. 31, 1959)	Tax levy and general fund revenues.....	Brooklyn Institute of Brooklyn Academy of Music.
	\$123,140 (operating budget, July 1, 1959, to June 30, 1960)	do.....	Do.
	\$95,866 (operating budget, July 1, 1959, to June 30, 1960)	Capital allocations.....	Museum of the City of New York.
	\$69,510 (capital budget, Jan. 1, 1959, to Dec. 31, 1959)	Tax levy and general fund revenues.....	Norfolk Symphony Orchestra.
	\$127,000 (operating budget, July 1, 1959, to June 30, 1960)	Capital allocations.....	Norfolk Museum of Arts and Sciences.
	\$50,250 (capital budget, Jan. 1, 1959, to Dec. 31, 1959)	General revenue.....	Art and pictures department of main library.
Norfolk, Va.	\$2,000	do.....	Oakland Public Museum.
Oakland, Calif.	\$69,083	do.....	Art Museum.
	1958-59:	Annual appropriations by city council to library department from which library and museums commission adopts an operating budget.	Snow Museum.
	\$70,377	do.....	Academy of Fine Arts.
	\$7,212	do.....	Robin Hood Dell.
	\$31,577	General revenues.....	Philadelphia Grand Opera.
Philadelphia, Pa.	\$25,000	do.....	Philadelphia Art Museum and Rodin Museum.
	\$75,000	do.....	Johnson paintings.
	\$25,000	do.....	Philadelphia Art Festival (every 2 years).
	\$624,760	do.....	
	\$30,000	do.....	
	\$10,000	do.....	

See footnotes at end of table.

EXHIBIT A—Continued

Municipal financial support of certain artistic and cultural activities in selected U.S. cities, a compilation of answers to a questionnaire—Con.

City	Amount of municipal financial support	Source of municipal financial support	Type of activity supported
Pittsburgh, Pa.	\$35,000 (1959)	General revenues (through specific appropriations each year).	Pittsburgh Symphony.
	\$20,000 to \$30,000 (annually)	do.	Free summer band concerts.
Providence, R.I.	\$25,000 (approximate cost to city annually).	do.	Arts and Crafts Center.
	Current appropriations:		
	\$24,877	General revenue.	Museum in Roger Williams Park.
	\$1,500	do.	Band concerts.
Reading, Pa.	\$140,000 (approximate expenditures for 1959).	General revenues (budgeted annually according to estimated needs).	Recreation Bureau (sponsors orchestra, Nature Museum, etc.).
	\$3,028 (1959)	do.	Bureau of parks weekly band concerts.
Richmond, Va.	\$5,000	Direct appropriation.	Valentine Museum.
Rochester, N.Y.	1959-60 expenditures:		
	\$10,000	General revenues or real estate taxes.	Civic Music Association.
	\$20,000	do.	"Opera Under the Stars."
	Not indicated.	Not indicated.	Museum.
	1959-60 budget amounts:		
	\$4,500	General ad valorem taxes.	Philharmonic Orchestra.
	\$4,000	do.	Park band concerts.
	\$66,868	do.	Crocker Art Gallery (city owned).
	\$17,000	do.	Children's art and dancing classes (city recreation department)
St. Louis, Mo.	1958 revenue: \$320,007.53	Permanent levy of \$0.02 per \$100 valuation on all real and personal property (established under State law in 1907).	St. Louis Art Museum.
St. Paul, Minn.	1959 city budget appropriations:		
	\$15,500	Appropriations "financed as part of the overall city budget."	St. Paul Gallery and School of Art.
	\$10,000	do.	St. Paul Civic Opera.
San Antonio, Tex.	\$81,000 (approximate budget for ensuing year).	Supported primarily by general fund.	Witte Museum.
	\$81,000	do.	
	\$1,500	do.	2 municipal auditoriums.
San Diego, Calif.	1959-60 city budget:		San Pedro Playhouse (auditorium devoted primarily to theatrical productions).
	\$57,159	General revenues	Fine Arts Gallery.
	\$10,289	do.	Serra Museum (local history).
	\$48,716	do.	Natural History Museum.
	\$45,949	do.	Museum of Man (anthropology).
	\$10,000	do.	San Diego Symphony.

San Francisco, Calif.	1938-39 budget: \$153,365 (taxes), \$120,665; other, \$37,700. \$35,493 (taxes). \$255,456 (taxes), \$254,856; other, \$600. \$367,942 (taxes), \$367,692; other, \$250. An average of about \$28,740 per annum over the past 10 years. \$233.37. \$34,097.55. \$18,000. \$62,743.57. \$33,127.93. \$31,092.45. \$18,161.40. \$1,267. Not indicated. \$25,000 appropriation annually.	Budget of the city and county of San Francisco. do. do. do. General funds. City's annual budget funds without regard to income source. do. do. do. General tax revenues. do. do. do. do. do. do. do. General tax levy.	Art Commission. War Memorial Art Museum. California Palace of the Legion of Honor (art museum). De Young (art) Museum. Everhart Museum. Art Commission. Art Museum. Public Music. Art division of the library department. Museum of Natural History. George Walter Vincent Smith Museum. William Pynchon Memorial (Connecticut Val- ley Historical Museum). Springfield Museum of Fine Arts. Fine arts department of library. Syracuse Museum of Fine Arts (privately char- tered institution).
Seranton, Pa.			
Seattle, Wash.			
Springfield, Mass. ²			
Syracuse, N. Y.			

¹ City budget for 1939 based on 1 cent per \$100 valuation of the city. Funds provided by taxes earmarked for this specific purpose.

² Included in the library budget is the position of musical adviser, which is the way in which the city contributes to the salary of the conductor of the Springfield Symphony Orchestra.

Source: Compiled by Anne M. Finnegan and Helen A. Miller, Education and Public Welfare Division, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, July 29, 1939.

[From the Congressional Record—Appendix, Feb. 15, 1960]

THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF WASHINGTON, D.C., STARVES THE FINE ARTS AT THE VERY TIME THE SOVIET UNION IS SPENDING VAST SUMS TO PROVE AMERICANS ARE CULTURELESS BARBARIANS

(Extension of remarks of Hon. Harris B. McDowell, Jr., of Delaware, in the House of Representatives, Monday, February 15, 1960)

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, a distinguished citizen of Delaware, and one of the country's leading architects, Samuel E. Homsey, has written me to say that Communist countries are spending vast sums of propaganda to prove that Americans are cultureless barbarians.

It is important to note, in this connection, that a study made at my request by the Library of Congress shows that the municipal government of Washington, D.C., spends less money on the fine arts than any other major U.S. city. The Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia seems content to let the Federal Government or private benefactors support the arts. Such a course would be unthinkable in any European capital city or, indeed, even in any large provincial city in Europe or the U.S.S.R.

The Library of Congress reported on the financial support given the fine arts by 38 U.S. cities: Baltimore, for instance, gives \$448,588; Philadelphia \$789,760; St. Louis, \$320,007; Los Angeles, \$196,998; Kansas City \$155,789; San Francisco \$817,256; and New York City \$4,718,824. The study showed Washington, D.C., which is considerably larger—and richer per capita—than San Francisco, gives only \$16,000 to the fine arts. This sum compares favorably only with the \$12,500 which Hagerstown, Md., gives to the fine arts.

In a provocative article entitled "In Culture, Is Washington a Hick Town?" by its distinguished music critic, Howard Taubman, the New York Times said on December 27, 1959:

"Compare Washington with a small capital like Brussels, which has opera, ballet, orchestra, theaters and a highly cultivated population, and the outcome is to our discredit. Compare Washington with a provincial town like Tiflis, more than a thousand miles from Moscow. The Soviet city beyond the Caucasus has an opera house, a ballet, four professional theaters, several children's theaters and a proud cultural tradition."

I have cosponsored with Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, of Minnesota, a bill to provide that 1 mill out of each \$1 of tax revenue of the government of the District of Columbia be set aside in a special fund to defray in part the expenses of the National Symphony Orchestra, the Corcoran Gallery of Art, the Washington Opera Society, and other nonprofit art and cultural programs of the Nation's Capital.

In introducing a companion measure to my bill in the Senate, which has been cosponsored in the House by our able colleague, the gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. Thompson], and others, Senator Humphrey said:

"Throughout my service in the Senate, I have consistently supported measures to improve the city of Washington and to make it an even more beautiful and pleasant city in which to live. I shall continue to support such programs because I believe it is in the best interest not only of the city of Washington but the United States itself. After all, Washington is a picture window through which the people of other nations look and draw their judgments about America. Washington should represent the artistic and cultural aspirations of the American people. Unfortunately, all too little has been done to promote the arts in the Nation's Capital."

I include as part of my remarks the New York Times article entitled "In Culture, Is Washington a Hick Town?"

"IN CULTURE, IS WASHINGTON A HICK TOWN?—AS THE NATION'S CAPITAL AND A WORLD CAPITAL, WITH VISITORS FROM EVERY LAND, IT MUST, IT IS ARGUED, BECOME A SHOWPLACE OF THE BEST WE HAVE TO OFFER

(By Howard Taubman)

"WASHINGTON.—The indictment is often made: Washington is a hick town culturally. Residents of the Capital and its environs respond indignantly that this is a canard invented by supercilious New Yorkers and envious foreigners. They marshal evidence and arguments in defense. Their voices rise, their emotions become involved. Are they sensitive about the charge? You bet they are.

If they weren't, they add, would Washington have made the cultural advances scored in recent years?

"What is the truth? Is Washington a hick town or a world capital when it comes to culture? No one can seriously assert that the city exercises any influence in the arts that compares even remotely with the shadow it casts in politics and economics. No one can dispute the thesis that compared with capitals like London, Paris, and Moscow, the American Capital is a provincial community in the arts.

"It is unjust, Washingtonians protest, to equate their city with such capitals as London, Paris, and Moscow, because they are world metropolitan centers comparable with New York. But it is not that easy to clear Washington of cultural responsibility. At home and abroad it bulks as a great international center.

"Throughout the year hordes of sightseers invade Washington. They come from every part of the country, in family groups, in fraternal and civic delegations, in school units. They make the stations of the national monuments. They gape at the buildings, for the greater part, so unvaried, ponderous, and official. Nevertheless, they bring respect and affection. They are moved by the city's closeness to the history that is their heritage. They even poke into the museums. Watch them in the National Gallery—groups of plain Americans standing before some of the great masterpieces the Western World has produced. They may not grasp the nuances of achievement, but they are stirred by the works of art. For many it is a first encounter with an original of Raphael or Rembrandt.

"As the Nation's Capitol, Washington has another mission besides being a tourist center. It is the city to which the diplomats of nations around the globe are sent. It is the city to which heads of foreign states, great and small, come to visit and negotiate, and so do their ministers, parliamentary leaders, military men, and other principal government servants. It is the city which provides foreigners with an official image of the United States.

"There is awareness of this truth in the effort of Government leaders, residents of Washington and interested citizens elsewhere to obtain a national culture center for the Capital. Congress has authorized such a development, the architectural plans were made public recently, and a nationwide campaign for \$61 million will soon be launched.

"Everyone agrees that Washington is no longer a village, set implausibly on a dank flatland beside a tidal river to make sure that local interests would not exert too great a pull on the Federal Government. It has grown not only into the central seat of a world power but also into a big city. Metropolitan Washington, which includes the city proper and the bedroom communities in Maryland and Virginia, has a population of about 2 million and is expanding so rapidly that it is expected almost to double its size within the next two decades. It is big enough to have its own major league baseball and football teams. What has it to show in a cultural balance sheet?

"In the plastic and graphic arts it has cause for satisfaction. Its public museums and its privately run galleries provide a lively representation of the classics and the contemporary scene. Institutions like the National Gallery, with its splendid collection; the Corcoran Gallery, the Phillips Gallery and the Institute of Contemporary Art have varied services that cover not only painting and sculpture but also music, lectures, and films.

"In music the rating is variable. The National Symphony is a vigorous, ambitious ensemble, not yet first rate but steadily improving. The opera society is capable and aims high as far as it goes, but it is merely a brave beginning. Chamber music is abundant and of high quality, thanks to endowments entrusted to the Library of Congress. There are concerts by touring attractions, programs in the churches and schools, amateur events in town and out in the suburbs.

"In the dance there is very little. The Washington Ballet, which was begun a couple of years ago, is still in the formative stages and ventures on an occasional performance. Otherwise, dependence is largely on visiting companies.

"In the theater the record is poor. If it were not for the Arena stage, it would be miserable. There is only one other home for professional theater, the National, which plays host to tryouts and road companies. The Arena stage, with its sense of adventure and continuity, has developed a faithful audience and looks at last to be secure. But it has had a struggle, and even today its public represents a tiny fraction of the audience that the National Capital should assure. There are amateur efforts scattered throughout the area, and the work of the colleges, particularly Catholic University, has been unusual in years gone by.

"Reading, of course, is one of the prime pursuits in Washington, which is essentially a white-collar city. There is the inevitable concern with studies and reports, and presumably someone reads the Congressional Record, though no one has ever accused it of having much literary quality. Books on government and politics and foreign affairs, whether philosophical or gossipy, have a higher currency than in most cities. But genuine literature is a minority preoccupation.

"Probably the leading indoor sport is conversation. People don't dine out at glamorous eating places. They meet in social gatherings in the home. Here the life of the mind and spirit is cultivated, if it is cultivated seriously, through books, records, and good talk. There are, of course, many thoughtful, sensitive people in Washington, and their conversation is capable of ranging widely over the gamut of human concerns. In this respect the Capital is like a college town with an impressive intellectual elite. But how often does conversation go beyond the immediate events and personalities of the day's news?

"How does Washington compare as a cultural center with other capitals. Let us agree not to judge the city by the criteria of London, Paris, and Moscow, which are their nations' largest urban communities. Let us even skip Rome, which is not Italy's principal economic center, but which offers the grandeur of antiquity and the renaissance as well as opera house, ballets, theaters, orchestra, conservatory, and art in abundance.

"Compare Washington with a small capital like Brussels, which has opera, ballet, orchestra, theaters, and a highly cultivated population, and the outcome is to our discredit. Compare Washington with a provincial town like Tiflis, more than a thousand miles from Moscow. The Soviet city beyond the Caucasus has an opera house, a ballet, four professional theaters, several children's theaters, and a proud cultural tradition.

"What is the explanation for Washington's shortcomings. You hear a variety of excuses:

"The city is not an industrial center, has no big business, and not enough huge fortunes, and these are the sources which nowadays supply the sinews of artistic activity.

"The city has a large transient population dependent on the whims of the national electorate every 4 years. As proof of what this means culturally, it is pointed out that patronage for plays and concerts in 1953, the changeover year in administrations, dropped sharply.

"Like it or not, the city's business, after all, is politics and government, and, while its residents embrace a substantial percentage of intelligent, cultivated men and women, they have no choice but to concentrate on affairs of state rather than on artistic trends.

"Washington's high society, with honorable exceptions, does not find satisfaction in supporting the arts as extensively as in other great capitals because it is absorbed in a social whirl involving bigwigs in the Government and the diplomatic corps, not forgetting visiting potentates. It has become more glamorous to be a persistently successful hostess than a devoted supporter of the arts.

"There is merit in these reasons, though the cause lies deeper. Washington is what it is culturally because it reflects, more truly than it knows or perhaps would like, attitudes prevalent in many parts of the land. But that is not a compelling excuse. For the Capital should set the tone—it should lead. It is not good enough to let Washington off by saying that standards in the things of the mind and spirit are ordinary in many parts of the country.

"Granted that the most popular entertainments on television, the successful films, and many bestselling books do not meet lofty criteria; granted that in this great prosperous country professional theaters outside of New York are scarce; granted that only a small percentage of our people listen to great music and look at great paintings; granted that the sales figures of the most dazzling bestsellers are a small percentage of the potential reading public—these things do not absolve the Capital City of responsibility; on the contrary, they increase it. Washington should be in the vanguard. It should be a proud national showplace in the arts.

"The thousands of American visitors who stream through the city each year should be encouraged not simply to go sightseeing, but to expose themselves to fresh experiences in the arts. The National Symphony, thanks to Mrs. Herbert May, a woman of wealth, devotes a number of weeks in the spring to free concerts for visiting school boys and girls. But these youngsters should also encounter an eye-opening diversity of theater, opera, and dance. Their fathers, mothers, elder sisters, cousins, and aunts should also find in the Capital a choice and inspiring invitation to cultural adventure.

"Thanks to the pressure of the cold war and the competition with the Soviet Union, we have assumed the duty of sending our cultural emissaries abroad to prove that our aspirations touch the mind and spirit as well as the body's comforts. The Congress has appropriated about \$2,500,000 each year to help defray the cost of these expeditions of orchestras, soloists, dance troupes, lecturers, and jazz units. And the program has won wide approval.

"But think how impressive would be a far-ranging and penetrating cultural life in Washington itself. The Ambassadors and Ministers and their staffs would relish it and report back home accordingly. The foreign visitors, who come in increasing numbers in the era of the jet plane, would not have to be sold a bill of propaganda goods; they could see and hear for themselves.

"In the long run, societies and nations are esteemed for their humanity and humanism, not their wealth or might. Their values are revealed most searchingly in the caliber of their learning, science, and culture. Washington should be the steadfast showcase of our values. And in the arts this showcase should be large, diverse, and vivid. It should embrace what is established and indisputably great, and it should encourage a ferment of new creative ideas. To take the theater as one example: If New York is the sharpest testing ground of commercial productions, why shouldn't Washington set the Nation an example of how exciting a chain of permanent repertory that could be?

"But how are such enormous goals to be encompassed?

"In the first place, the energy in Washington itself must be released. In a city where policy is made by a few top officials, the habit of initiative has been lulled in many able and imaginative people. The permanent residents, and they are preponderant, must bestir themselves. They must support their institutions and help to create new ones. They should fight hard to prevent the image of the Capital being formed by innocents and know-nothings whom the voters continue to elect and who play a part in making policy for us all.

"Seasoned observers in Washington insist that the caliber of our public servants, elected and appointed, has risen markedly. The old Washingtonians and the new who believe in the destiny of the Capital must join hands to promote it.

"Secondly, there must be an awareness in the highest echelons of leadership that lip-service in the arts is not enough. The men with informed tastes in the arts in executive, legislative, and judicial positions of importance should propound large-visioned ideals and programs. They must be active and unremitting supporters of all that adorns and ennobles life. When they take action they should be sure that they are acting knowledgeably and wisely.

"The National Culture Center, whose noted architect, Edward Durell Stone, recently made public his designs, is a spectacular case in point. The drawings and blueprints suggest that Washington will get another stately mansion, a vast, domed temple devoted to the performing arts. Congress has voted an attractive 10-acre site near the Potomac. There are detailed reports on how the setting will be beautified. One hears that the multipurpose structure will contain an opera house, a concert hall, a theater, auditoriums, a grand salon useful as a ballroom, restaurants, and outdoor terraces.

"One discovers that the center will be employed for elaborate state occasions like inaugural balls and the reception of distinguished foreigners. One is cheered by the news that it will become a tourist attraction for Americans not even interested in the arts. One reads that a Cabinet member thinks that the center will give the coup de grace to the scornful criticism 'that America is culturally a primitive nation.'

"Unhappily, there is little or no discussion as to what will be performed or who will perform it in the various performance areas. Presumably the National Symphony and various touring attractions will have a new forum. But there is no mention of anything else that is indigenous to Washington, of anything that has been created out of the Capital's own ingenuity and enthusiasm. The Arena Stage and Opera Society, both homegrown and worth while, have scarcely been consulted.

"Thirdly, there must be an adequate financial basis for progress. Consider the case of the National Culture Center again. The hope is that it will be financed by contributions from individuals and institutions all over the United States. But will ceaseless money-raising campaigns be required to fill it the year round and year after year with vital presentations? The boxoffice, we know, will not turn the trick. Is the answer some sort of Government subsidy?

"Strong men blanch when such a suggestion is made in Washington. But some congressional voices have been raised in favor of a national instrumentality for promoting and aiding the arts. The problems are manifold, and the touchiest would be the danger of political interference. But if the alternative is to let nature take its course, which means a moderate, instead of a brilliant cultural position for the Nation's Capital, possibly enlightened Government help can be worked out by men of good will. There is no hue and cry against a Government subsidy of \$44 million for an ocean liner like the *United States*. If the Culture Center needs something more than the Government's moral support, let it be made available.

"A New Yorker does not wish to be misunderstood. He does not criticize the National Culture Center because he is jealous that another city may come close to matching the forthcoming Lincoln Center of the Performing Arts. As a loyal American he welcomes Washington's cultural center and hopes that in time it will be duplicated in other cities throughout the land.

"However, neither plans for a building nor the grand and beautiful new edifice itself should be the ultimate goal. A cultural center justifies itself by the artistic life it generates. A new cultural center in Washington can be useful and creative, but it must be conceived with a vision of what it will create.

"This vision must be part of a larger one that encompasses the noble role the Capital should play in the Nation's cultural life. For all the progress Washington has made in recent years, gigantic strides remain to be taken, and the best efforts of all of the city's elements, including the Government, will be needed to make the Capital a proud showplace of a humane people's artistic concerns and achievements."

IS WASHINGTON, D.C., REALLY A HICK TOWN?

[From the Congressional Record Appendix, May 23, 1960]

(Extension of remarks of Hon. Harris B. McDowell, Jr., of Delaware, in the House of Representatives, Monday, May 23, 1960)

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, the New York Times Magazine, December 27, 1959, in a provocative article by its music critic, Howard Taubman, titled "In Culture, Is Washington a Hick Town?" said any comparison with other world capital cities such as London, Paris, and Moscow, as well as Brussels and Rome, "is to our discredit." Washington, D.C., the Capital City of the richest Nation in history, was, in the judgment of the New York Times, even behind Tiflis, U.S.S.R., in cultural matters.

Recently a more balanced article was written for the New York Times by one of the ablest members of its Washington bureau, Alvin Shuster, who makes his home in the metropolitan area of the Nation's Capital and is free of much of the cant and provincialism which is the hallmark of the art critics of the New York Times.

The article by Mr. Shuster is a hopeful article, and reports factually on the many proposals in the Congress and elsewhere designed to make it possible for the Nation's Capital to assume its proper role in the fine arts which, in the moving words of President Eisenhower, "make our civilization endure and flourish."

Unfortunately, the New York Times, which carries on its masthead the powerful phrase, "All the News That's Fit To Print," failed to print Mr. Shuster's fine article.

Feeling, as I do, that the thousands of loyal subscribers to the New York Times who live in or near the Nation's Capital will be deeply interested in a balanced appraisal of its cultural life—including Members of the Congress—I include part of the text of Mr. Shuster's article as part of my remarks:

"In his article, 'In Culture, Is Washington a Hick Town?' Howard Taubman, Times music critic, felt the cultural pulse of the city and concluded it beat much too slowly.

"I get annoyed at the too-ready attitude of everybody to take a crack at Washington. They like to compare its cultural life to that of Vienna. What's there in Austria but Vienna? No wonder it emanates culture throughout its country. And the same goes for Brussels"—David B. Karrick, a District of Columbia Commissioner.

"I feel almost ashamed every time I see the Italian Ambassador attending an opera in this town."—A Washington operagoer who's seen a few in Italy, too.

"I've been a resident of Washington off and on for 32 years and I take offense at implications this is a hick town. It is wide open with cultural opportunities and this community takes advantage of everything it has to offer. I don't think any community reaches the optimum of culture."—Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Arthur S. Flemming.

"The sad fact is that the Capital is laggard in its provisions for the arts, and its backwardness invites criticism, however annoying."—The Washington Post and Times Herald.

"And so it went. In summary there is agreement that much has to be done to erase the international image that this town suffers from cultural poverty. But there is nevertheless some indignation—often among the same Washingtonians—that what has been done, what is being done, and what is being planned are too easily and conveniently overlooked by critics. The general consensus briefly is that while this city may be no great national showcase of culture, it is no cultural backwater either. Somewhere in between lies the real cultural Washington.

"Washingtonians like to illustrate their cultural life by pointing with pride to their improving National Symphony; to the art galleries like the National, the Corcoran, and the Phillips; to their opera society, considered by many as first-rate though hampered like most operas by lack of funds; to its infant Washington Ballet, which has just acquired Frederic Franklin as its codirector and should show steady improvement; to the excellent chamber music at the Library of Congress and its crowded music calendar of many other events; to the Arena Stage, the local professional theater, and to the elaborate plans for the National Cultural Center with its opera, symphony, ballet and theater halls.

"At the same time, of course, they do acknowledge a very serious lack of good facilities. Constitution Hall is the convention hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution and was built just for that. Yet it serves as the home of the National Symphony and is viewed by many as an acoustical horror. To put on an opera or ballet at George Washington University's Lisner Auditorium, where most are performed, half the musicians have to sit outside the orchestra pit on many occasions. The National Theater is the only place in town for Broadway shows. The Arena Stage operates in an old brewery, soon to be torn down. And the Metropolitan Opera has decided to hold off on all future appearances here because of the difficulties of operating out of the Capitol Theater where it has performed—a large movie house with a too-small stage and a too-high rent.

"Also acknowledged is the fact that the auditoriums in our Government buildings here are inadequate. In many ways they are some of the finest halls in the city, but there seems to be one major fault. Their stages can't sustain the weight of a piano. Nadia Boulanger, one of France's most famous musicians, found her piano in the aisle at the Interior Department's auditorium.

"Mr. Karrick, one of the three city Commissioners, thinks that any consideration of the adequacy of the culture here cannot rule out the beauties of Washington's architecture.

"These are dismissed often as consisting of building after building. Anyone who can so casually dismiss the Lincoln Memorial, the Jefferson Memorial, the Archives Building, the Library of Congress, among others, is so obviously unable to discriminate and appreciate architectural beauty that little can be said to convince him. The Folger Shakespearean Library is often overlooked. It is unique in the world, for in all probability nowhere outside of Stratford-on-Avon, if there, is there as fine a collection of Shakespeareana and works on the Elizabethan theater.

"Admittedly we do not have everything, but we have such an abundance of cultural opportunity and such good attendance that it is ridiculous to contend that we are not a cultural city. A part of the contention seems to be based upon the fact that the expenditure by the municipal government is small. This is irrelevant. The opportunities are here, Washingtonians enjoy them. If visitors do not, that does not justify deprecating Washington's cultural standards.

"Many of the people who sit around and moan at the lack of culture in Washington have never bothered to go to an art gallery or to a concert. They would rather sit home and gripe about the fact that there is no such opportunity in the city."

"This may be true, but there are certainly many, many other Washingtonians who do not sit home and gripe. One day recently, the writer tried to get tickets to four Washington events only to find all four sold out: the Boston Symphony, the National Theater's presentation of the Lunts in 'The Visit,' Chekhov's 'Cherry Orchard' at the Arena Stage, and Catholic University's production of 'Romeo and Juliet.' National Symphony attendance is at an alltime high. And Washington's music calendar for March is most impressive with an event of some kind every night except two, including concerts at the National Gallery and the Phillips Gallery, string quartets and chamber music at the Library, chamber music at American University, and much more. Even the Natural Museum of History came up with a musical program the other day—early baroque music played on early baroque keyboard instruments.

"There is then little evidence of native insouciance when the public contributions to the symphony total \$250,000, to the opera, \$50,000, and to the local ballet, \$25,000, all in addition to the sums given to sustain the private galleries and other cultural efforts.

"Indeed, Washingtonians retort, much of what is done here is often overlooked by others. For example, Glenn Gould, the Canadian pianist and one of the hottest properties today, gave his American debut at the National Gallery. Violinist Christian Ferras made his American debut in a small auditorium in nearby Silver Spring, Md. Yet, music critics here point out, when both these artists went to New York several days later, their performances were described as their 'American debuts' and New York, in effect, took credit for the achievement.

"What needs to be done? Washington's real hopes are resting on the elaborate plans for the National Cultural Center. The Government has provided some 10 acres of good waterfront property, but the more than \$70 million needed for construction must be raised from private sources. This may not prove to be an easy task.

"I feel ashamed about this sometimes,' one Member of Congress commented. Look at what we're building on Capitol Hill here. We're spending nearly \$200 million extending the east front and portico, building a new House Office Building and a new Senate Office Building. We should and can afford to do more to advance culture here by providing additional funds.'

"Is Congress really the answer to the enhancement of Washington's cultural life? Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., New Jersey Democrat, who has been in the forefront of congressional efforts to encourage the arts, thinks it may well be.

"It is up to Congress as the City Council of Washington, a city lacking home rule, to end these charges that the city is a hick town,' he says.

"But I sometimes get the feeling that jockeying for political position and party giving help substitute for culture here. And in Congress there often seems to be a massive apathy toward anything cultural. If it is not a pork barrel issue or a bread and butter issue, they seem to be against it. We've got a few guys up here who call ballerinas toe dancers, and that kind of thing. There simply are no votes in promoting culture in Washington.'

"If this is true, and from what hasn't been done in Congress all these years indicates that it is true, then looking to Congress to help elevate substantially the cultural life here may well be in vain. To some this would not necessarily be a disappointment.

"For there is among that group of residents who have the civic pride and the money to actively support cultural activities here some real division over whether Government support would be wise. Those who are for it say that without it Washington's status as a center of culture may never be achieved. But there are others fearful of possible political interference and control over programs and activities once the door is opened. To illustrate their argument they like to tell the reported story of the city controller who, because the city helped finance the symphony there, signed the paychecks along with a symphony representative. Some years ago the symphony played Beethoven's Ninth which called at one point for four very able soloists. When it came time to pay them the controller balked, saying: 'Those four only stepped out of the chorus and sang a little.'

"Those who favor Government financial help, however, hear few complaints stemming from agriculture, aviation, or shipping subsidies, or from the tax relief to business, or from the tax on fishing and hunting equipment that makes sure our sportsmen will have something to hunt and fish.

"But there is also a fear among supporters of the National Symphony, however, that any token Government support might well be worse than no support. They argue that a contribution of only \$25,000 might dry up much more than that in private funds from contributors who might tend to feel their money was no longer needed.

"Another less basic issue in the way of congressional financial support is the image many Members of Congress like to create back home of being just corn-fed, home-grown, log-cabin boys who don't know nothing about this here culture thing. 'All of us have been just a bit guilty of that,' says Representative James C. Wright, Jr., of Texas. 'But I think we have reached the state of maturity in this Nation when that kind of attitude no longer becomes us. Sooner or later we have to grow up and stop poking fun at things intellectual and cultural.'

"Nevertheless, there are those in Congress who agree with men like Representative H. R. Gross, Iowa Republican, who argued against the cultural center bill. He noted that we were being criticized by diplomats in some 80-odd embassies in Washington because of no such center.

"My answer is that if these people do not like our culture, they know what to do about it. I would say further that if we had just a few of the billions of dollars that we have given to foreign freeloaders over the years we could build a cultural center every 15 feet in the District of Columbia. I don't care how many cultural centers the people of Washington want to build on land they buy with their own money. I want them to get off the backs of my taxpayers.'

"Of course, Washingtonians have very little control over their own tax dollars, which go direct to the Federal Government. Each year the city's Commissioners have to go hat in hand at budget time to get congressional approval for every dollar they hope to spend. Here, too, because of other public needs, culture comes last. Only \$16,000 is being spent a year out of a local budget of around \$200 million. This compares with local cultural outlays in New York of about \$2.6 million; \$817,000 in San Francisco; \$790,000 in Chicago and \$543,000 in Detroit. Even Hagerstown, Md., spends almost as much as the Nation's Capital in municipal funds for the arts. And Evansville, Ind., spends more, setting aside almost \$37,000.

"The Commissioners tried 7 years ago to get Congress to authorize a subsidy of up to \$25,000 for the National Symphony, but the proposal bogged down.

"Accordingly, one of the ideas is to give the city—if not home rule at least some discretion over how it is to use its funds. Senator J. W. Fulbright, Democrat, of Arkansas, and chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, feels that 'control of its own affairs is definitely part of the answer.' The National Gallery of Art—now maintained by the Federal Government—might never have been built, he says, if it were not given by Andrew Mellon.

"In this connection, Representative Thompson and Representative Harris B. McDowell, Jr., of Delaware, Democrat, and another champion of Washington culture, are sponsoring along with others a bill to set aside one-tenth of 1 cent of every tax dollar in Washington for cultural work. At the current tax yield, this would come to about \$180,000, to be matched by Federal funds for a total of \$360,000.

"Other ideas from Members of Congress interested in cultural advancement here have included a 'national showcase program'; to creation of the Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, which has been before congress for years; the establishment of a national portrait gallery in the old Patent Office Building, and even the appointment of a 'master of the President's music.'

"The 'showcase' proposal—a similar bill was passed by the House several years ago—would encourage the development and growth of the arts in colleges and universities. One of the proposals in the bill now pending would be to present in Washington a series of international fine arts festivals and competitions.

"Through such a program,' Representative McDowell believes, 'an international music competition could be held in Washington annually with so impressive an international aggregation of judges that the winners would be launched in their professional careers as Van Cliburn was launched by Moscow.'

"As for the national portrait gallery of famous Americans, Senator Hubert Humphrey and Representative George W. Rhodes, who are sponsoring this plan, believe it would 'make a major contribution to our national life, foster patriotism, and educate the coming generations in the high ideals which distinguish us as a nation.'

"The administration had been planning to tear down the building, which was designed by Robert Mills, who also designed the Washington Monument and

the Treasury Building. And some here like to cite this, among other things, in complaining that Washington could use something more than a 'lackadaisical' attitude on culture on the part of the administration.

"A little strong leadership from the White House wouldn't hurt," one Democrat in Congress put it. "The President said back in 1955 that the 'Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities.'" But his recognition has been to come to only three concerts since taking office."

"In this connection, Representative McDowell is giving his support to the idea of a 'master of the President's music,' who would be consulted from time to time on the music to play at ceremonial occasions. It seems the proposal stems from the criticism of the selection of songs like Zippety-doo-dah—a wonderful ditty in its place—that was played at the White House dinner for Premier Khrushchev. The feeling was this was perhaps misleadingly illustrative of the city's cultural status.

"A National Conservatory of Music or a U.S. Academy of Music have also been proposed. Paul Hume, a music critic here, has urged this and suggested that the new cultural center might well serve as the residence of the conservatory.

"Just what is to go into that cultural center, when and if it is built, is also creating some discussion among those Washingtonians who are looking ahead. The emphasis has been on getting it built. But some basic questions are being raised. Should it be the home of the National Symphony, for example? Should it have resident companies like the Washington Opera and Ballet? The Arena Stage, which wasn't consulted by the center officials, has apparently been lost to it because it plans to go ahead with its own new building. Shouldn't there be intensified efforts now to strengthen existing performing companies and to create new ones of a truly first-rate, national character?

"Secretary Flemming, chairman of the center's board of trustees, believes that once the center is up, increased incentives will be provided for improving the city's cultural groups. And he believes it can be done through private contributions.

"I'm not at all convinced Federal funds are yet needed for any of this now," he says. "The curve is definitely up in Washington culture. It has made tremendous strides. Community support is increasing, not decreasing. I'm confident it will continue.

"Once the center has been built, we hope to attract groups of great caliber. I think what we have to keep in mind is that they will be performing before a national audience here in the Nation's Capital. People from all across the country will get the chance to see what we are doing. In this way, Washington will really begin to emanate culture."

"Washington, then, seems to be on its way. To many here its culture life in some respects is quite admirable. But there is no doubt about all these proposals including the cultural center generating artistic endeavor; a concert-going President, a contemporary art gallery are two, a significant series of international competitions, intensified community efforts, a ban on Zippety-doo-dah, some self-government, much more money, both private and Government—just these 'few' things—would do absolute wonders for our pulse rate."

[From the Congressional Record Appendix, Apr. 12, 1960]

THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE IS USING COLLEGE AND UNIVERSITY TALENT TO ENTERTAIN OUR TROOPS ABROAD AND SHOULD SCHEDULE THEM TO APPEAR BEFORE STUDENTS OF OTHER COUNTRIES—MANKIND WILL PROFIT WHEN YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN OF ALL NATIONS AND IN GREAT NUMBERS STUDY AND LEARN TOGETHER, PRESIDENT EISENHOWER SAYS

(Extension of remarks of Hon. Harris B. McDowell, Jr., of Delaware, in the House of Representatives, Tuesday, April 12, 1960)

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower gave top priority to a massive interchange of mutual understanding in his highly important speech at Delhi University in India last December. At that time the President said:

"More enduringly than from the deliberations of high councils, I believe mankind will profit when young men and women of all nations and in great numbers study and learn together. In so doing, they will concern themselves with the problems, possibilities, resources and rewards of their common destiny.

"Through the centuries nations have sent their youth armed for war to oppose their neighbors. Let us in this day look on our youth, eager for a larger and clearer knowledge, as forces for international understanding; and send them, one nation to another, on missions of peace."

The President's special international cultural exchange program has so far failed miserably to include young people from our colleges and universities in its program. Yet I am assured by Dr. Howard Hanson, president and chairman of the board of the National Music Council, that student groups "will contribute even more importantly to the cultural exchange program than the exchange of commercial professional groups."

I have introduced legislation to provide the massive interchange which President Eisenhower has called for, and this legislation has been cosponsored by my good friend and colleague from New Jersey, the Honorable Frank Thompson, Jr. At the same time, the Department of Defense—which sends college and university talent abroad to entertain our troops—could schedule them to appear before students of those countries where our troops are stationed. Such a step would be a highly significant addition to our Nation's foreign policy and would be the most important step to implement the President's suggestions at Delhi University which has been made to date.

At the same time, the administration should abandon its plans to destroy the historic buildings on Lafayette Square in the Nation's Capital just across the street from the White House. These buildings could be utilized for educational and cultural purposes in the expansion of the massive interchange the President has called for. Congressman Frank Thompson and I have sponsored legislation—H.R. 11678 and H.R. 11691—for this purpose, too. Similar legislation has been cosponsored by Senators Kennedy, Morse, Humphrey, Douglas, Hennings, Gruening, Mansfield, and Murray.

(I include as part of my remarks a speech on the subject of "The Arts and Sciences and International Understanding," which I made on April 11, 1960, to the members of the University Women's Club of Washington, D.C.):

THE ARTS AND SCIENCES AND INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING

I am happy to have this opportunity to discuss with you the Nation's need to further develop its creative resources. This country is richer than we know in artistic achievement. The Communists, however, are telling people around the world that Americans are hardhearted materialists interested only in making money. This is strange talk from the irreligious materialists of Moscow; but it is sometimes a convincing argument to people around the world who know little of our cultural achievements. This type of Communist propaganda makes it obvious that today the United States is involved on a new front in its struggle to win the support and understanding of the world for democracy. We face a committed, energetic, formidable competitor in the Soviet Union. The Communist cause is stretching out to reach millions of persons around the world. We must compete more actively if we are to reach the minds and hearts of the youth of other countries who are to be the leaders of tomorrow.

Experience has demonstrated that military, political, and economic diplomacy, although practiced so effectively in the past, are no longer enough to win peoples' understanding. In a world whose political and military geniuses are stalemated by the discoveries of scientists, we have learned that negotiations over the green baize tables of diplomacy are only one way for nations to try to reach an understanding. Direct contacts between our people and people of other nations are essential to help dispel some of the misconceptions they have concerning the philosophy and goals of the United States.

We must provide new avenues by which we can demonstrate the American imagination and its creative force to many more of our own citizens as well as to people throughout the world. An intensified encouragement of our participation in the arts would make it manifest that cultural endeavor is an integral part of this Nation's way of life. We need to establish a cultural breakthrough at both the national and international levels. A concerted effort must be made to better display America's cultural image.

In the field of music alone, how many people realize, for example, that Americans in a recent year spent more money at the box office for concerts than they spent for baseball games; that we support in this country 1,000 symphony orchestras and 450 opera-producing groups; that over 255 educational institutions offer degree courses in music and advanced level musical training. We have a plentiful reservoir of artistic talent in this country. We should place this talent in the spotlight.

If we are going to take significant steps toward making far-reaching contributions in the cultural field, the task before us is a great one. Today, I want to discuss some of the specific actions which should be taken to accomplish these ends. If the United States is to be able to establish a cultural and scientific breakthrough around the world, we have to take definite action.

President Eisenhower gave top priority to massive interchange of mutual understanding in his speech at Delhi University last December. At that time the President said:

"More enduringly than from the deliberations of high councils, I believe mankind will profit when young men and women of all nations and in great numbers study and learn together. In so doing, they will concern themselves with the problems, possibilities, resources and rewards of their common destiny.

"Through the centuries nations have sent their youth armed for war to oppose their neighbors. Let us in this day look on our youth, eager for a larger and clearer knowledge, as forces for international understanding; and send them, one nation to another, on missions of peace."

As a corollary to this idea we must make certain that many more of America's talented young artists are included in the President's special international cultural exchange program. To achieve this end I have proposed legislation to create an actual two-way exchange program since no such cultural exchange now exists. So far, the major, if not the entire, emphasis of the program has been restricted to large professional groups and individual professional artists. Moreover, the price of tickets of admission in many instances has been beyond the pocketbooks of most people in other countries. There is some doubt that the program as presently administered is as much of a success as some of its proponents would have us believe. Under the present program the large professional groups and distinguished American artists perform in opera houses and great halls and usually for only limited engagements because of the expense.

Why should we display only that portion of America's artistic talent which draws huge impersonal audiences? Why should we play only to a world of gilded mirrors and red plush? Truly these performances do not reach the man in the street, the university student with limited funds, and the student artists in the countries around the world. It is the individual whom we must reach. Our international cultural exchange program must include our students and their teachers, community groups, and university and conservatory groups. There is not only a vast audience abroad for every one of them, but also a vast reservoir of friendship for them to tap. In addition to the professional artists, we should be most certainly sending our talented young artists and art groups on a university circuit all over the globe.

My proposal envisages an actual two-way cultural exchange program. It would support the performances of individual artists, choral groups, youth orchestras, and drama groups from other countries on their tour of the university circuit in the United States. Thus, young artists from around the world would have a chance to see this country, to learn something of our way of life on university campuses and, what is most important, have a chance to talk with other young people who have similar interests and talent. The merits of this type of exchange are undeniable for, as Isaac Stern declared at the recent International Music Conference, the most effective penetration in cultural exchange is at the youth level, on both sides.

Recently I returned from an inspection tour of the operations of the mutual security program in some 20 countries in Asia, Africa, and southern Europe. I was impressed especially by the fact that the leaders in many of these nations are very young, under 30 years of age in many cases. It is my firm belief that we can best reach the young people in other countries through a cultural exchange program such as I have described.

Van Cliburn made the most significant cultural breakthrough in the last decade, yet he received absolutely no financial help at all from the President's special international cultural exchange program.

Van Cliburn's expenses were paid with funds raised by the Institute of International Education from the Martha Baird Rockefeller Fund. Many others of our highly talented young people who could help to carry the message of international goodwill have not been able to secure such distinguished private patronage. Furthermore, the door of the Government's cultural exchange program has been closed by administrators in the Department of State who seem surprisingly unaware of the tremendous potential of the young talent in our colleges and universities.

So far the President's special international cultural exchange program has devoted almost its entire congressional appropriations to sending major professional groups abroad. The State Department overlooks the opportunity of utilizing young talented American artists in this program. This shortsightedness must be corrected if we are going to effect a massive interchange of mutual understanding through student exchanges. The legislation which I have proposed would make permanent the inclusion of young American artists in our cultural exchange programs. No longer would this endeavor be subject to the whim of individual officials or of any political administration in Washington. The enactment of this legislation would insure that a specific provision for young artists has the support of the Congress which is vital if we are to enhance America's cultural image.

In addition to the need for the Federal Government to place a broader emphasis on the arts in direct connection with international cultural activities, we should provide a means to promote among more of our own citizens a knowledge of and interest in the creative arts. For example, I believe we should establish in Washington, D.C., a national showcase program to display the very excellent fine arts programs of our institutions of higher education. The primary purpose of the showcase would be to encourage the further development and growth of all the arts in colleges and universities. The time is right to establish a permanent program to encourage our young people with interest and talent in the arts, instead of leaving their discovery—as in the case of Van Cliburn—to the U.S.S.R.

As R. L. Bruckberger emphasized in his recent book "The Image of America," "America does not always give its own creative minds the recognition due them; indeed it sometimes ignores them altogether. This is so often the case that an observer as casual as the average European traveler in America finds it only too easy to assume that in certain fields there are no creative minds. * * * In their hearts, Americans do not believe that there could ever be found among them men of such stature as Stravinsky, Picasso, and Bergson."

It is my firm conviction that we do have talent which can be encouraged through the showcase program by giving national recognition and encouragement to young American artists. The bill I have introduced is sponsored also by Representative Carl Elliott, of Alabama; Representative Edith Green, of Oregon; Representative Frank Thompson, of New Jersey; and Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon. It would inaugurate an International Olympiad of the Arts and Sciences. This program, to be held every 2 years, would present high quality international exhibitions, productions, festivals, and programs in these fields. I am sure that such an enterprise would greatly strengthen the mutual understanding of the peoples of the world.

I have often been asked how I would expect the International Olympiad of the Arts and Sciences to be initiated, organized, and operated. Here are some answers to the questions that have been raised.

The President of the United States would communicate with the heads of all the nations in the world, inviting them to send representatives to Washington for a conference. This meeting could be under the chairmanship of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, who would be responsible for practical arrangements. The President would address this conference, calling upon the nations to join with the United States in competitions in the arts and sciences.

Following this conference I would expect that most of the nations would set up committees which would be responsible for arranging participation in the competitions. An American committee would work through the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, under appropriate guidance from the Department of State. Distinguished private citizens would be appointed by the President to serve on this committee.

As I mentioned before, my bill calls for an International Olympiad of the Arts and Sciences to be held every 2 years. I would hope that the first Olympiad might take place in the new Lincoln Center in New York, and that our proposed National Cultural Center in Washington would be completed in time for the second. If a cooperating nation extended an invitation for the Olympiad, I think that this invitation should be carefully considered and accepted if approved by a meeting of representatives of all participating countries. Pending the assurance that there would be facilities for the competitions overseas, I believe we should continue to hold them at 2-year intervals in the Nation's Capital.

As I see it, the Olympiad of the Arts and Sciences could include competitions in five main fields.

First, I should like to see an international folk festival, where the nations of the world would compete in dancing and folk singing, and in displaying native handicrafts including fabrics, woodcarving, and other traditional crafts. This would help to preserve the folk heritage of mankind, a heritage which is rapidly being dissipated around the world. The industrialization of the modern world is seriously diminishing the interest of many in the folk arts. It would be a tragedy if these noble traditions were to be lost. I believe that the International Olympiad program would be a strong influence in preserving this inheritance from man's past.

Secondly, there could be a festival of drama and the dance which would involve competition in the presentation of assigned classical plays, such as Shakespearean tragedy; competition in the presentation of original plays; competition in the presentation of national theatrical forms such as the Kabuki and plays of Japan; and finally, competition in classical dance forms such as the ballet. The difference between these dances and those which might be presented under the folk festival is that there are certain types of dances which are common to a variety of cultures and competition here would be on the basis of national interpretation of these classical dance forms.

There could be a music festival which would involve individual competition in all of the principal instruments in use today around the world. We should have competition in piano, the stringed instruments, the brasses, and the woodwinds. Special categories for national instruments which would make it possible for the world to become acquainted with the unique musical heritage of various cultures could be included.

There could also be a competition in painting and sculpture. Here an international body of critics might set up the appropriate categories, and select qualified judges. I hope there will be several categories, including both the classical and modern schools, and the traditional art of the world's civilizations.

The fifth competition might be in the sciences. A group of distinguished international scientists could decide upon the type of competitions to be held. It might be patterned after the science talent search and National Science Fair, which are sponsored by Science Service.

The International Olympiad could follow the tradition of the sports olympics: with the lighting of the traditional flame, the reciting of the Olympic oath, and the awarding of medals.

However, I believe that the winners in the Olympiad should receive additional prizes, such as opportunities for concert tours, gifts of musical instruments, and opportunities for additional exhibits of their artistic or scientific achievements.

Many benefits are to be derived from these contests. First, there would be an opportunity for young artists or scientists to win distinction. Secondly, people would have a chance to learn that Americans are not materialistic money-minded individuals. Finally, the world would be enriched by this exchange of artistic and scientific ideas.

Unquestionably an appropriation would be required from the Congress to initiate these contests. However, I think that there would be enough public interest after the first Olympiad to warrant reliance upon public subscription to finance future American participation. The revenue from admission to various events would be very substantial, and should go a long way toward financing the entire project.

The arts and the sciences are a universal language. We should use this language to become better acquainted with our friends around the world, and to enable them to understand us.

The millennium will have to be achieved by hard work. The alternative may be the destruction of mankind. I believe the International Olympiad of the Arts and Sciences and the two-way cultural exchange program of young artists would be gigantic steps toward more effectively promoting international stability and mutual understanding of the world's peoples.

As we go about living our busy lives today, we think of and pray for peace in our time. And as we ask for divine guidance, we should remember that it is not enough just to ask for peace—we must work for it.

NATIONAL LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE ARTS

(Remarks of Hon. Harris B. McDowell, Jr., Congressman at Large, Delaware, to the 36th annual meeting of the National Association of Schools of Music, Palmer House, Chicago, Ill., second general session, Nov. 26, 1960)

It is a distinct pleasure to be with you of the National Association of Schools of Music. This is a wonderful opportunity for us who share a special concern for America's cultural destiny. Together we can consider in what direction this Nation is heading in the field of the arts and your particular role in shaping this course. As members of a professional organization dedicated to strengthening the quality of higher education in music, I know that you have a deep interest in efforts to insure a widespread recognition of the arts in this country. Since my election to the Congress, I have introduced and supported measures to advance this purpose.

You are already aware, I am certain, that throughout the country we are experiencing a stimulating growth in the arts. And the picture is getting better every year—despite the still prevailing fiscal undernourishment which, in my opinion, the Federal Government should help to remedy in the immediate future. I want to discuss with you today some of the efforts being made to further the national recognition and encouragement of the arts and artists. In the Congress some of these efforts have already achieved success. Others, I sincerely believe, will be accorded more serious consideration under the new administration.

I am firmly convinced that the immediate future holds great promise for recognition of the arts on the national level. Both of the presidential candidates, for example, recently assured citizens that they were aware of many of the needs relating to the arts and the Nation at home and abroad. Both thought that the Federal Government had a role to play in meeting some of those needs. Both concurred on the desirability of expending the present cultural interchange program. The two candidates, however, opposed the establishment of a Secretary of Culture of Cabinet rank and with broad authority in this field. Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Nixon expressed concern for maintaining the freedom of the arts and favored instead the creation of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts. I am certain that such a council of experts would greatly assist in the evaluation, development, and expansion of the cultural resources of the United States. A bill (H.R. 7656) which would establish a Federal Advisory on the Arts was reported by the House Committee on Education and Labor during the past session of the 86th Congress. This Council would undertake studies and make recommendations relating to appropriate methods for encouraging creative activities, participation in and appreciation of the arts. It would be composed of 21 members appointed by the President from among private citizens who are widely recognized for their knowledge of, experience in, or their profound interest in one or more of the arts. The House committee reported that it—

“* * * visualizes the Council as a national clearinghouse for the consideration of methods by which the Federal Government might appropriately and effectively act to encourage and stimulate both artistic endeavor and appreciation on the part of our citizens.”¹

I am one of those who believe that the enactment of this legislation is long overdue.

In introducing one of the presentations of the candidate's views on the arts, which I mentioned previously, Irving Kolodin, music editor of the *Saturday Review*, makes the following observation:

“Among the subjects with which the next administration will have to deal is the claim of art and artists to Government recognition, encouragement, and assistance. Though not the gravest issue before the country, it is far from the least if our culture is to attain the growth of which it is capable * * *.”²

As President-elect Kennedy so ably states:

“The encouragement of art, in the broadest sense, is indeed a function of Government.

* * * * *

¹ H. Rept. No. 1660, 86th Cong., 2d sess.

² *Saturday Review*, Oct. 29, 1960, p. 42.

"The Government cannot order that culture exist, but the Government can and should provide the climate of freedom, deeper and wider education, and intellectual curiosity in which culture flourishes * * *."³

To the readers of Musical America, Senator Kennedy also points out:

"* * * We live in an era of impressive artistic achievement.

"American education has opened its curricula to the creative arts all across the country. No campus is now complete without a gallery, a drama and dance group, a resident poet and composer.

"And the American Government is even more dependent upon art. For art works direct; it speaks a language without words, and is thus a chief means for proclaiming America's message to the world over the heads of dictators, and beyond the reaches of officialdom."⁴

* * * * *

In line with this relationship between the arts and public affairs, two of the other major organizations in your field requested that cultural planks be included in the national party platforms—the National Federation of Music Clubs and the American Federation of Musicians. I assure you that it is only through the continued support of your own and other professional organizations that we in the Congress can hope for success in the promotion of the arts on a nationwide basis.

I heartily agree with the recent suggestion of Miss Marie Hurley, national legislation chairman of the National Federation of Music Clubs, that various committees for the arts in both political parties should be retained after the campaign. Moreover, as Miss Hurley points out, these committees "should be assigned appropriately and permanently as organizational components of the Democratic and Republican National Committees to work on a continuing bipartisan basis specifically, for the enactment of sound legislative proposals advanced by the presidential candidates, and overall, for cultural progress throughout the Nation."

I have mentioned in a general way the growth of the arts in recent years—as indicated both by the increased activity and by greater awareness of what still remains to be done to promote the arts nationally. Surely you have noted the surge of interest in your own field. Some of this enthusiasm certainly cannot be subjected to a mere economic measuring stick. Yet it is still true that the ways in which we as a people spend our money reflect, to some degree, our national sense of values. The American Music Conference and the National Association of Music Merchants recently reported that last year Americans spent a record of \$550 million for musical instruments. This amount represents more than double the 1949 sales of \$220 million and represents an increase of 78 percent greater than the growth rate in personal consumption spending during the same period.⁵

Moreover, a recent report to the trustees of the National Cultural Center included the following encouraging facts relating to the situation in music in the United States today. We are told, for example, that—

We now have 1,142 symphony orchestras (more than half of those in the world), as compared with fewer than 100 in 1920 and 10 in 1900;

Americans spend more at concert box offices than at baseball ticket gates and as much for recordings of concert music and high-fidelity equipment as on all spectator sports;

Since 1948 about 1,000 compositions of some 300 American composers of "serious music" have appeared on longplaying records;

There are over 75 national musical organizations in the United States with more than 900,000 members devoted to the cause of concert music and over 185 organizations dedicated to music;

Over 35 million Americans are actively interested in some form of concert music. During the 1958-59 season, the American Concert League reported more sold-out houses and the highest concert music ticket sales in history.⁶

Similar increases are also noted in the hours of concert music carried over the radio each week and in the number of municipal auditoriums and special con-

³ Ibid., pp. 43-44.

⁴ Musical America, October 1960, p. 11.

⁵ Wall Street Journal, Aug. 24, 1960.

⁶ The National Cultural Center; pt. 1, sec. I, "The Case," New York, G. A. Brokeley & Co., Inc., 1960, pp. 5-6.

cert halls in cities. It is no wonder that the situation today has been referred to as everything from a "cultural revolution" and a "cultural breakthrough" to a "cultural explosion" and a "cultural bender."

Yet the picture is still not entirely rosy, even in the music field. As Howard Mitchell, of the National Symphony, noted earlier this year, there is the problem of those for whom the "products" of the musicians are still "too exclusive."⁷ There are still the many economic difficulties involved in bringing more good music to more appreciative citizens. Although the price of symphony tickets has gone up in many cases, some of our finest orchestras still cannot keep up with rising costs. Thus, without additional aid, they face the same plight as the universities with their ever-increasing tuition fees. We know, for example, that concert ticket sales usually only cover from 40 to 50 percent of the year's expenses for our major orchestras.

Moreover, with standards of performance and the degree of competition on the upgrade, we are told also that there is a shortage of orchestral players and a great demand for full-time professional music teachers. Some of the orchestras, it is true, receive financial assistance from local governments. Most of the leading symphonies, however, must rely mainly on gifts from individuals and business firms.⁸

I do not suggest at this point, however, that the Federal Government merely step in and buy a solution to such problems facing music and the other arts. This is something neither you nor I want to see happen. Rather, I have chosen this close-to-home example as only one illustration of the many serious deficiencies which will continue to exist unless we can develop in citizens a greater appreciation of the significance of artistic endeavor in our national life. Our State and local governments play important parts in this task, but I believe that the impetus for a broad program of national cultural awareness must come from the national level. I am convinced that our democratic society must accept responsibility for preserving and promoting the arts as it has done in other areas of universal human need—in health, in welfare, and in education.

In this regard, I share the view expressed last year by a member of a family that has afforded substantial financial support to the arts. In emphasizing the concept of community responsibility for the arts at the dedication of the magnificent Lincoln Center for the performing arts in New York, John D. Rockefeller III stated that " * * * today creative fulfillment is as important to man's well-being and happiness as his need for better physical health was 50 years ago."⁹

Let us look now at some of the Federal legislation enacted during the 86th Congress. One bread-and-butter problem for many musicians was helped with the passage of a bill which reduces the cabaret tax from 20 percent to 10 percent (Public Law 86-422). As you know, the American Federation of Musicians had vigorously opposed this Federal tax for years on the grounds that it was confiscatory and discriminatory and that it greatly reduced the number of job opportunities for some musicians.

Another bill passed in 1959 would amend the National Cultural Center Act by permitting donors to the center to name an alternate recipient for tax deduction purposes if the total amount of donation in 5 years is insufficient for the construction of the center. As you are already aware, national cultural history was enhanced in 1958 when the Congress chartered a National Cultural Center to be located in the National's Capital and constructed with private funds on Government-donated land. The National Cultural Center Act, incidentally, received wholehearted, bipartisan support and can be an excellent example of co-operative public-private efforts to encourage cultural activities.

You in the music field will surely be pleased to know that the hall of this multi-million-dollar project scheduled for completion first is an opera house. Until the other projected facilities are constructed, symphonies and theatrical performances will probably also be held in this hall. Trustees recently announced plans to start building by 1963 a complete shell of the center and to finish a multipurpose hall by that date. A plan is now under consideration which proposes using the center as a showcase for the performing arts—presenting rather than producing shows, with a clearinghouse for art information, an arts museum, and a library.

⁷ Christian Science Monitor, Apr. 20, 1960.

⁸ Economist, July 24, 1957, p. 219.

⁹ New York Times, Oct. 7, 1959, p. 45.

Unlike the capital cities and even the larger provincial cities of Europe and the U.S.S.R., Washington has never enjoyed the distinction of such a monument to the performing arts. It is hoped that the proposed cultural center would not only be an inspiring, useful, and tangible project in which our own citizens could take pride but also an international meetingplace of world renown in the arts.

We have looked at some of the recent legislative enactments. Surely, the progress to date is notable. Yet much more remains to be done. Numerous other bills which would affect the cultural life of the Nation were left pending at the end of the last session. I call your attention particularly to a proposal which would provide for the preservation of the Dolly Madison House, Benjamin Tayloe House, Decatur House, and the famous old Belasco Theater—historic landmarks in the Nation's Capital. The Senate (Committee on Labor and Public Welfare) held hearings on such proposals this spring. And yet, despite the overwhelming evidence in favor of the preservation of the historic buildings, and despite the efforts of the General Services Administrator to recommend another site for the proposed court building, the Senate Public Works Committee voted to authorize new construction on Lafayette Square. The one final hope now is intervention by the new administration next year. Since GSA will not be ready to raze the buildings for about 2 years, the new President would be able to save these historic buildings by refusing to spend the money authorized for the new courthouse.

I am certain that Mr. Kennedy will fully support every effort to preserve these buildings which have such deep connections with America's cultural past. These efforts have the support of some 30 national and local organizations representing millions of Americans—among them several large music organizations. President-elect Kennedy introduced a splendid measure in March of this year to preserve and maintain buildings for historical, cultural, and civic purposes. In introducing this bill, he said:

“ * * * The Dolly Madison house, the Benjamin Tayloe house, and the Belasco Theater have long served as an inspiration to generations of Americans who have visited their Capital City. Certainly, before any irrevocable action is taken to destroy these buildings to provide a site for a courthouse, other sites should be investigated.”

The bill also authorizes that the National Park Service and the District of Columbia Recreation Department shall advise and assist the Administrator in the restoration and management of the Belasco Theater as a municipal art center. I also introduced a similar bill in the Congress this year.

In my opinion, it would be an act of folly to destroy these important symbols of our cultural heritage as a Nation. In this city of Chicago, the famed Garrick Theater, built in 1892, the same decade the Belasco Theater and Carnegie Hall were built, was recently saved through the efforts of a citizens' committee headed by Mayor Richard J. Daley. Concerted effort and the cooperative interest of professional organizations such as your own often lend important support to such projects.

Another significant piece of proposed legislation was that relating to a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, which I have already discussed. As I indicated, the bill was favorably reported in the House. In the Senate, it was left awaiting action by the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare.

I also sponsored, as did Senator Humphrey, a bill to provide that 1 mill out of each \$1 of tax revenue of the District of Columbia government be set aside in a special fund to be administered by the District Recreation Board in order to help defray the expenses of the National Symphony Orchestra, the Corcoran Gallery of Art, the Washington Opera Society, and other nonprofit art and cultural programs of the Nation's Capital. This is not a new idea in municipal support of culture, and it certainly could do wonders for Washington's artistic and cultural activities.

You may be surprised to learn that the municipal government of Washington spends for less on the fine arts than most other major U.S. cities. A survey conducted in 1959 by the Library of Congress at my request showed that the Nation's Capital gives only \$16,000 in municipal funds for cultural activities as compared with much larger amounts in other cities of comparable size and less per capita income. It is no wonder that, in culture, Washington has been called a “hick town.” Certainly our Capital does not compare favorably with the capital cities of other nations throughout the world where much higher

values are placed on artistic endeavors and where government support is a long-established practice. Unfortunately, the Congress failed to act on this bill in the last session.

Another measure, which I sponsored and upon which we hope to achieve action in the next Congress, would provide that many more of America's talented young artists are included in the President's special international cultural exchange program. I have proposed legislation which would create an actual two-way exchange. No such mutual exchange now exists for young artists under this program. In fact, the major emphasis of the current program to date has been restricted to large professional groups and individual professional artists.

Moreover, when these groups do go abroad, the price of admissions to performances in the fine arts has been beyond the pocketbooks of most people in other countries. Large professional groups and distinguished American artists perform in opera houses and great halls and usually for only limited engagements because of the expense.

Clearly, these performances do not reach the man in the street, the university student with limited funds, and student artists in countries around the world. I believe that our international cultural exchange program must be broadened to include students and their teachers, community groups, and university and conservatory groups—such as those from the schools represented here today. There is not only a vast audience abroad for them but also a vast reservoir of friendship for them to tap.

My proposal would support the performances of individual artists, choral groups, youth orchestras, and drama groups from other countries on their tour of the university circuit in the United States. Isaac Stern declared at a recent International Music Conference, that the most effective penetration in international cultural exchange is at the youth level.

In addition to the need for the Federal Government to place a broader emphasis on the arts in connection with international cultural activities, we must also provide a means to promote a knowledge of and interest in the arts among more of our own citizens. I believe we should establish in Washington a "National Showcase" program to display the very excellent productions of our institutions of higher education. The primary purpose of the showcase would be to encourage the further development of all the arts in colleges and universities. The time is upon us to establish a permanent program to encourage our young people with interest and talent in the arts, instead of leaving their discovery—as in the case of Van Cliburn—to the U.S.S.R.

This bill would also inaugurate an International Olympiad of the Arts and Sciences. This program, to be held every 2 years, would present high quality international exhibitions, productions, festivals, and programs in the arts and sciences—designed to strengthen the mutual understanding of the peoples of the world. As I see it, after communicating with the heads of all the nations of the world, our President would address their representatives at a conference in Washington inviting nations to join with the United States in competitions in the arts and sciences in five main fields.

In my opinion, we should have an international folk festival, a festival of drama and the dance, a music festival which would involve individual competitions in all of the principal instruments in use today throughout the world, a competition in painting and sculpture, and, a competition in the sciences. This Olympiad could provide many benefits. It would serve as an opportunity for young artists or scientists to win distinction. It would give other peoples a chance to learn that Americans are not simply materialistic, money-minded individuals. Finally, the world would be greatly enriched by this exchange of artistic and scientific ideas. I think that there would be enough public interest after the first Olympiad to warrant reliance upon subscriptions from individuals and organizations to finance future American participation.

Today we have seen only a few of the ways in which the Federal Government might further the cause of the arts in this country. We certainly already know that the principle of Government assistance to promote cultural activities is not a new one in the world's history. Indeed, it is very much in line with the philosophy of the Founding Fathers of our own country. Surely, Americans have matured enough as a people to recognize that we need no longer remain colonials in culture or continue to suffer from a national cultural inferiority complex.

In conclusion, may I leave you with this profound statement of the philosophy which I believe this Nation should perpetuate. As Mr. Howard Taubman, music critic for the New York Times, has so ably expressed it:

"* * * We must become convinced by cultivation and experience that the arts are a vital element of any civilized society. Only if we achieve this conviction and wisdom shall we go on to integrate the arts in the fabric of everyday living. Then we shall proceed to do the things that remain to be done.

"Our attitude toward the arts will undergo a change when we learn to admire wholeheartedly 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. Let us learn from Europe—and from our neighbors to the south as well—that some of our wealth and ingenuity should be employed to provide our people not only with the material comforts but also with the adventures of the heart and mind that bring compassion and exaltation into our lives."¹⁰

Mr. THOMPSON. At this time we shall hear from Congressman Emanuel Celler of New York.

STATEMENT OF HON. EMANUEL CELLER, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. CELLER. I am indeed pleased to have this opportunity to set before the members of this subcommittee the reasons for the introduction of my bills, H.R. 3509 to establish a program of grants to States for the development of programs and projects in the arts, and H.R. 3510 to provide for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts to assist in the growth and development of the fine arts in the United States.

An exciting note was struck by President Kennedy in his inaugural address, wherein he placed the development of the arts among the objectives to be sought for the common good. This is in line with the thinking of many Members who, for many years, have tried through legislative proposals to establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts and in addition, to provide for Federal aid for the fine arts at the State level. Again, as in the past, I have introduced these two bills which are designed to promote and encourage the cultural development within the United States.

I maintain that we in the United States are not bereft of development of the liberal and fine arts. Great contributions are being and can be made by the fine arts to the morale, health, and general welfare of the Nation. However, it is the very richness of our art flowing through the various strata of the various regions of our country that gives rise to the need for a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts. Such a council would undertake to make studies and recommendations, which would serve to clarify existing conditions in the light of existing needs in the field of art. In essence, it is the development and expansion of the arts that I believe to be of significance.

A Federal Advisory Council in and of itself is but doing half the job. What is needed is a broad and comprehensive program of assistance to the several States in developing projects and programs in the fine arts. This can best be done, I believe, by a program of grants to States. The bill I have introduced seeks to establish in the executive branch of the Government, specifically in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, the appropriate machinery whereby

¹⁰ New York Times magazine, Dec. 7, 1959, p. 69.

aid and counsel can be given to private and public agencies within the States whose purpose it is to stimulate the growth and appreciation of the liberal and fine arts.

There is abundant proof of an enormous hunger for all aspects of the fine arts. Little theaters, small orchestras, small art schools are all struggling to emerge from their chrysalis, and we can help them establish themselves with just the little encouragement that a grant to the States would be. Countries abroad have all known the need to sponsor and give aid so that the theaters and operas of their lands could get their initial support. Our own country, via the State Department's educational exchange and cultural exchange has done magnificent work in bringing to the attention of the world, our enormous cultural inheritance and development. The scale is still a small one, however, and our needs are great.

It is my hope that this Congress will act without delay on these proposals.

Mr. THOMPSON. Our next witness will be the Honorable Frank Chelf of Kentucky.

STATEMENT OF HON. FRANK CHELF, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF KENTUCKY

Mr. CHELF. Mr. Chairman, in his 1955 message on the state of the Union former President Dwight Eisenhower said that—

In the advancement of the various activities which will make our civilization endure and flourish, the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities.

At that time General Eisenhower recommended the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts.

This measure has been before this committee for the ensuring 6 years, and it will be appreciated if this measure, which Congressman Thompson and Senator Hubert H. Humphrey have continuously sponsored, is reported favorably to the floor for consideration by the House.

The budget was estimated by the previous administration to be \$50,-000 a year.

It passed the Senate in 1956 and reached the House floor from this committee last year.

It even got on the Consent Calendar at that time.

Another measure which should have the support of this subcommittee is the bill which Congressman Frank Thompson, Adam Clayton Powell, Carroll D. Kearns, Emanuel Celler, Senator Joseph Clark and I have cosponsored.

This is H.R. 2227 and H.R. 4174 and related bills.

This would provide a total sum of \$5 million and establish a Federal-State grant-in-aid plan to aid the arts.

This money would be used to help the several States inventory existing programs and assist those now underway and help develop new programs.

President Kennedy during last fall's campaign wrote in a statement printed in Equity magazine, which is published by the AFL-CIO Actors' Equity Association that—

I am in full sympathy with the proposal for a federally supported foundation to provide encouragement and opportunity to nonprofit, private and civic groups

in the performing arts. When so many other nations officially recognize and support the performing arts as part of their national cultural heritage, it seems to me unfortunate that the United States has been so slow in coming to a similar recognition.

The United States is almost the only nation in the world today which does not support the fine arts as a national policy.

Every nation and people aids those things which it honors, and certainly it is time that we here in our country gave some concrete evidence that we believed in the importance of those activities which make our civilization endure and flourish.

It is ironic that many of the countries around the world which have been assisted in their economic recovery by the \$80 billion which we have contributed through the mutual security program and the Marshall plan have been enabled thereby to aid the fine arts.

I include as part of my remarks a letter I have received from Mrs. Thomas D. Winstead, chairman, Fine Arts Department, Kentucky Federation of Womens Clubs. I include some items bearing on my bill to make the National Cultural Center Act permanent.

(The matters referred to follow:)

RINEYVILLE, KY., January 13, 1961.

HON. FRANK CHELF,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. CHELF: I was most interested to read about the bill you recently introduced in Congress which would enable each State to receive up to \$100,000 of Federal funds for supporting cultural activities.

This is a wonderful, worthwhile action you have undertaken and this department wishes to commend you highly for such a far-reaching project. It is all too true that in a nation abounding in all of the necessities and a good many of the luxuries of the good life, we are sadly lacking in resources for the advancement of sustained cultural programs. Would that we had more Congressmen with the insight and courage to do something about it.

I am sure I speak for all of the 15,000 members of the Kentucky Federation of Women's Clubs when I say we are back of this all the way and most willing to do anything we can to assure the passage of this bill.

Sincerely,

Mrs. T. D. WINSTEAD,
Chairman, Fine Arts Department, Kentucky Federation of Womens Clubs.

[H.R. 5617, 87th Cong., 1st sess.]

A BILL To amend the National Cultural Center Act so as to make it permanent and to provide for a living memorial to past Presidents of the United States, including Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Theodore Roosevelt

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That section 3 of the National Cultural Center Act (72 Stat. 1699) is amended to read as follows:

"Sec. 3. The Board shall provide, by construction, alteration, or otherwise, for the establishment, on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution, of a National Center of the Performing Arts which shall be designated as such and dedicated as a living memorial to past Presidents of the United States including Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Theodore Roosevelt. Such center shall be located on a site or sites in the District of Columbia selected by the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution (hereafter in this section referred to as the 'Regents') and shall consist of such auditoriums, libraries, and art galleries as will encourage and assist in advancing and in raising the standards of the performing arts for children and adults, in the professional, educational, amateur, and recreational fields, in the Nation's Capital as well as throughout the Nation. Such facilities as may be suitable, or which can be made suitable, and which are owned by the Federal Government, or which are in private ownership and which may be offered the Regents or the Board on reasonable terms,

shall be utilized for the purposes of this Act. The Regents shall select such facilities and sites. The Board shall provide for the establishment of such center on such site or sites as may be selected by the Regents from among the following:

"(1) the area in the District of Columbia bounded by the Inner Loop Freeway on the east, the Theodore Roosevelt Bridge approaches on the south, Rock Creek Parkway on the west, New Hampshire Avenue and F Street on the north;

"(2) suitable sites at the Naval Gun Factory in the District of Columbia;

"(3) suitable sites in Potomac Park;

"(4) suitable sites fronting on, or near, the Mall;

"(5) real property (including existing improvements thereon) fronting on Lafayette Park in the District of Columbia;

"(6) any real property (including existing improvements thereon) in private ownership which may be offered the Regents on reasonable terms or which they may acquire on reasonable terms through solicitation or otherwise; and

"(7) other sites (including improvements thereon) in the District of Columbia determined by the Regents to be suitable.

The Board shall acquire by purchase or otherwise such real property as may be necessary to provide for the establishment of the National Cultural Center of the Performing Arts and related facilities."

SEC. 2. Such Act is further amended by striking out "National Cultural Center" each place it appears therein (except section 7) and inserting in lieu thereof "National Center of the Performing Arts."

SEC. 3. Section 7 of such Act is repealed.

[From the Congressional Record, Mar. 24, 1961]

CONGRESSMAN FRANK CHELF'S PLAN FOR A LIVING MEMORIAL TO PAST PRESIDENTS HAS GROWING SUPPORT

(Extension of remarks of Hon. Harris B. McDowell, Jr., of Delaware, in the House of Representatives, Friday, March 24, 1961)

MR. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, our distinguished colleague, the gentleman from Kentucky [Mr. Chelf], has introduced an extremely interesting bill, H.R. 5617, to provide for a living memorial to past Presidents of the United States, including Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and Theodore Roosevelt.

Congressman Chelf has said that "unless plans for a living memorial or memorials are vigorously pushed, the Nation's Capital will be overrun with statuary and resemble a graveyard."

It has been pointed out by such publications as the New York Times that there are nearly 200 statues to statesmen, many of them nearly forgotten, in the confines of the Federal City.

The major newspapers in the Nation's Capital have grown increasingly critical of the memorials proposed for our past Presidents, and the suggestion is being heard more and more frequently that living memorials for our past Presidents make a lot more sense than many of the plans for memorials currently being considered.

I include as part of my remarks a letter which was published in the always informative and readable "Letters to the Editor" column of the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star:

"LIVING MEMORIAL

"Representative Frank Chelf, Democrat, of Kentucky, deserves the thanks of a grateful and patriotic public for his significant new bill to make the National Cultural Center permanent. Such a step is long overdue. Haste makes waste, and if we have more time to examine the plans for the center, and to raise the money, everyone, including the donors, will be more satisfied and the results will be more enduring.

"At the same time, Chelf has taken steps to provide that the National Cultural Center shall, with its various facilities, such as auditoriums, libraries, and art galleries, be a living memorial to all past Presidents.

"His reasoning is sound. He points out that 'unless plans for a living memorial or memorials are vigorously pushed, the Nation's Capital will be overrun with statuary and resemble a graveyard.'

"The danger is real enough, heaven knows. Many people and publications have noted that, at last count, there were about 200 statues to statesmen, many of them forgotten, in the confines of the Federal City.

"It is hard to understand how anyone could object to making a great auditorium, library, or art gallery a memorial to one or more of our great Presidents. It may be predicted with certainty, however, that backers of the memorials to Woodrow Wilson, the two Roosevelts (FDR and Theodore) and to other Presidents will find persuasive reasons for not combining their memorials with others in truly great memorials to all past Presidents.

"The backers of the National Culture Center can reasonably counter, however, that the center is a concept big enough and important enough to honor all our Presidents.

"It is to be hoped that President Kennedy will support this new and significant plan by Mr. Chelf and that Congress will enact it into law. For the Chelf plan, if enacted, could really put some steam into the drive for the National Cultural Center.

"THOMAS A. WAGGONER."

[From the Congressional Record Appendix, Jan. 16, 1961]

A PLAN TO BRING TOGETHER MEMORIALS TO THEODORE ROOSEVELT, WOODROW WILSON, FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, AND OTHER PAST PRESIDENTS HAS GROWING SUPPORT

(Extension of remarks of Hon. Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey, in the House of Representatives, Monday, January 16, 1961)

Mr. Thompson of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the major newspapers in the Nation's Capital have grown increasingly critical of the memorials proposed for our past Presidents, and the suggestion is being heard more and more frequently that living memorials for our past Presidents make a lot more sense than many of the plans presently being considered.

In the Washington (D.C.) Daily News, January 10, 1961, Peter Edson, the widely syndicated columnist for the Newspaper Enterprise Association (NEA) wrote:

"A plan to bring together memorials to Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and other great Presidents as part of the proposed National Cultural Center is being talked up here.

"The idea has grown more or less spontaneously from general public criticism of the abstract art designs prepared for the two Roosevelt memorials in the last 6 months."

Then Mr. Edson goes on to say:

"With both of these examples of futuristic art on the pan, considerable feeling exists that something more living, more creative and more useful to more people, something which contributes more to their enjoyment of life, would better memorialize the spirits of the two great progressive Presidents."

Frederick Gutheim, in the Washington (D.C.) Post and Times Herald makes the following suggestion:

"Competition has, however, greatly clarified the complex issues posed by a modern memorial, but the Roosevelt Memorial Commission should regard this as an exploratory exercise on the basis of which it can recommend to Congress and not as the answer to its quest."

A leading New Jersey newspaper, the Trentonian, Trenton, N.J., inquires:

"May we respectfully urge that you use your good offices to help stay the infliction of such a garish monstrosity upon our Nation's beloved Capital and the memory of the man it would seek to honor? At the same time, most Americans, we feel sure, would welcome dedicated effort by you and other culturally minded people to impose upon bright-eyed planners and designers a proper respect for the traditional in a part of our country where tradition must be held sacred."

A writer in the Washington (D.C.) Evening Star, January 13, 1961, reports:

"Apropos of the new interest in making the monument to F. D. R. a living memorial by incorporating it in the National Cultural Center, Mrs. Biddle said that her husband originally had suggested making the memorial into a living one and had met with objections from some of the Congress.

"How anyone could object to making an auditorium in the Center a memorial to a President of the United States, with his greatest words engraved, not on some outdoor stones for a comparative few to see, but on the walls within where hundreds would see them at one time, is hard to understand.

"Each section of the Center could be devoted to a President's memorial. The beautiful outer terrace facing Roosevelt Island could be Theodore Roosevelt's memorial. The grand salon in the center of the building might be F. D. R.'s memorial. The concert hall could be Mr. Truman's. And one of the sweeping plazas Mr. Eisenhower's."

The Chairman of the Committee of 100 on the Federal City, Neill Phillips, in a recent letter to Horace M. Albright, a member of the Theodore Roosevelt Association, noted that living memorials are becoming more and more popular, and he pointed to the National Cultural Center as "a most important example of a living memorial" and suggested one of the Center's units be named in honor of President Theodore Roosevelt.

THE PARK OF THE PRESIDENTS

Mr. Speaker, it would be only fair to report here that there is a second proposal to commemorate our Presidents, and this plan would rename Lafayette Square "The Park of the Presidents."

The proponents of this plan are powerfully influenced by the tremendous financial support which the Federal Government has given and is giving to the famous Independence National Historical Park in downtown Philadelphia.

Over 100 bills were introduced in both the House and the Senate during the 85th Congress which would have preserved Lafayette Park.

During the 86th Congress, many distinguished Members of Congress also introduced bills to preserve the historic buildings on Lafayette Square.

President-elect John F. Kennedy introduced S. 3280 on March 24, 1960, and he was quickly joined by Senators Paul Douglas, Wayne Morse, Ernest Gruening, Michael J. Mansfield, Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., and Hubert H. Humphrey. Companion bills were introduced by a number of Members of the House of Representatives, and Senators Eugene J. McCarthy and John Sherman Cooper worked hard to save these buildings.

President-elect Kennedy said at that time that "the Dolly Madison House, the Benjamin Tayloe House, and the Belasco Theatre have long served as an inspiration to generations of Americans who have visited their Capital City."

If Lafayette Square were renamed "the Park of the Presidents," if it were extended the same protective care which the Federal Government has extended to Independence National Historical Park, if the buildings on Madison Place and Jackson Place were preserved for the benefit of future Americans, then, indeed, according to this plan's proponents, this would be a worthy memorial in perpetuity to all our past Presidents.

I include here as part of my remarks articles which indicate the lively interest of the major newsmen in the Nation's Capital in this subject of living memorials to our past Presidents:

[From the Trenton (N.J.) *Trentonian*, Jan. 6, 1961]

LETTER TO CONGRESSMAN THOMPSON

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Undoubtedly it has come to your attention, as it has to ours, that the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial Commission is considering plans to decorate an acre of precious Washington, D.C., land with a cluster of eight concrete slabs as a memorial to President Roosevelt. The slabs would serve to preserve, in a way, famous quotations from his speeches.

The respect you enjoy as a leading advocate of our country's cultural advancement has been well and justly earned. In view thereof, it is our conviction that your keen sensibilities may well be as offended as are those of others by this proposal, which already has been described as ridiculous and worse.

We feel sure that it is hardly necessary to point out to you that such pretentiousness is not in keeping with the late President's personality, nor with his humanitarian concern for those afflicted as he was, nor with the high place he holds as a great wartime leader of this Nation and the free world.

It may also have occurred to you that selection of an appropriate memorial to President Roosevelt might be tabled for a while in order to avoid having it become bogged down in controversy. With good reason, history usually does not pass judgment upon a man until he has been dead for at least 25 years.

For the moment, however, may we respectfully urge that you use your good offices to help stay the infliction of such a garish monstrosity upon our Nation's beloved capital and the memory of the man it would seek to honor? At the same time, most Americans, we feel sure, would welcome dedicated effort by you and other culturally minded people to impose upon bright-eyed planners and designers a proper respect for the traditional in a part of our country where tradition must be held sacred.

[From the Washington Daily News, Jan. 10, 1961]

NEW IDEA IS GETTING UP STEAM—THREE MEMORIALS IN ONE?

(By Peter Edson)

A plan to bring together memorials to Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and other great Presidents as parts of the proposed National Cultural Center is being talked up here.

The idea has grown more or less spontaneously from general public criticism of the abstract art designs prepared for the two Roosevelt memorials in the last 6 months.

Mrs. Alice Roosevelt Longworth, T. R.'s daughter, said the celestial sphere design prepared to honor her father would desecrate the memory of anyone.

Similarly, Representative JAMES ROOSEVELT, Democrat, of California, F.D.R.'s eldest son, declared in what will probably be the greatest understatement of his career, "I have a feeling father would have been for something a little less modernistic."

With both of these examples of futuristic art on the pan, considerable feeling exists that something more living, more creative, and more useful to more people, something which contributes more to their enjoyment of life, would better memorialize the spirits of the two great progressive Presidents.

The proposal to combine the two Roosevelt memorials and possibly others into the Cultural Center was a somewhat natural development. It has met with a generally favorable response.

MARVELOUS

"I think it is a marvelous idea," says Representative Frank Thompson, Democrat, of New Jersey, one of the principal sponsors of the Cultural Center authorization legislation. "I think it would provide much more appropriate memorials to these two great men."

Representative Thompson called the Theodore Roosevelt Celestial Sphere design a jungle gym when it was unveiled last summer. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., said the proposed memorial to his father was reminiscent of Stonehenge, the ancient Druid ruins in England.

Backers of these two separate projects object to incorporating the memorials to their heroes with others. They don't want the importance of the President they want to honor above all others subordinated by anything bigger.

They all seem to be trying to surpass the Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln Memorials, which would be difficult if not impossible.

CEMETERY ART?

One other criticism frequently given to Washington's "cemetery art," is that the city is already too full of monuments to the past and what it needs is more recognition of the future.

The answer to this offered by the new idea for the cultural center is that it is a concept big enough to honor a dozen Presidents—or all of them.

The idea of combining a number of memorials in the cultural center has not been placed before its Board of Trustees, which was appointed by President Eisenhower. Officials of the center decline to make any comment on the proposal because they don't want to be put in the position of trying to grab others' funds.

HOW MUCH?

Cost of the Franklin D. Roosevelt Memorial has been put at \$4.25 million, all to be raised by public subscription.

The Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association has already raised and spent over \$800,000 for purchase of what is now called Theodore Roosevelt Island in the Potomac and for design of the celestial sphere to be erected at one end.

Actual construction costs have been estimated at \$886,000. The Theodore Roosevelt Association wants Congress to appropriate this sum since the prospects for raising it by public subscription are dim. The House went along with this last year, but the Senate held it up until designs acceptable to T.R.'s family could be prepared.

Meanwhile, the National Cultural Center project is not in flourishing financial condition, either. Its total cost has been estimated at \$75 million, also to be raised by public subscription. It was authorized by Congress 2 years ago, with the condition that its funds be pledged and work started by 1963.

So far, the center has raised only \$1.5 million, \$500,000 of which came from the Hattie Strong Foundation. Mrs. Strong's son, L. Corrin Strong, is executive vice chairman of the cultural center.

The center plan has been criticized as too grandiose and costly. If broken down into a number of projects, as separate memorials, it might be more feasible.

Cost of the center's grand salon—big enough for all three of the inaugural balls now being planned in President-elect Kennedy's honor—has been put at \$5 million. The river front terraces, landing and open air amphitheater would cost another \$5 million.

The opera house, concert hall and playhouse—each seating 3,000—would cost up to \$6 million apiece. Two smaller auditoriums would cost \$3 million to \$4 million.

Plazas, corridors, approaches, underground parking garage for 2,000 cars, foundations, restaurants, rehearsal halls, studios, recording facilities, screening rooms and landscaping would cost more than \$30 million.

[From the Washington (D.C.) Post and Times Herald, Dec. 31, 1960]

LOOKING AT ARCHITECTURE—F.D.R. TRIBUTE LIKE BOOK ENDS OUT OF DEEP FREEZE

(By Frederick Gutheim)

The winning design in the Franklin D. Roosevelt competition is not architecture, but literature. It should not be built.

The skyline of reinforced concrete slabs, a vertiable San Giminano in its sculptural forms, is embellished with quotations from the late President.

However, it is the man who should be memorialized, not his rhetoric. This should be a memorial, not a legal brief.

Looked at in sculptural terms, one's first impression is of a set of book ends—just out of the deep freeze. Later, when the high-shouldered, stylized, abstract forms have been studied more carefully, and especially as they may be seen from the air, there is the suggestion one is looking at a committee.

There is even more the impression of pieces of paper, inscribed to be sure with lapidary words, but offering in esthetic satisfaction hardly more than a crick in the neck.

It will be asserted that as the visitor moves about the proposed memorial he will be thrilled by the dynamic movement of these white planes, coated with marble chips. Much will be made of the transparency of the design, through which the landscape can be seen.

These, however, are negative characteristics. It is not enough to say this plan is simple or meets requirements.

Roosevelt was anything but negative. Roosevelt does not have to stand on the record. He does not have to affirm or reaffirm. His monument should arouse in the hearts of men what Roosevelt at his greatest evoked—humanity, freedom, charity, growth.

The memorial design, like the majority of the entries that received mentions, achieves its effect by exploiting the sources of modern structural principles—in this case reinforced concrete. But it lacks the vigor and solidity of John Johansen's scheme, which it greatly resembles. As a sculptural form it is too bland compared with the vigorous and suggestive project offered by Percival Goodman or the faintly ruinous design entered by Davis, Brody, and Wisnierski.

Viewing the six entries and a couple of dozen others visited by the Roosevelt Memorial Commission, one has sympathy with the difficult problem faced by the jury. Competition has however greatly clarified the complex issues posed by a modern memorial, but the Roosevelt Memorial Commission should regard this as an exploratory exercise on the basis of which to continue its search for an appropriate memorial which it can recommend to Congress and not as the answer to its quest.

Congress this year will be asked to appropriate close to \$10 million to build the Jefferson National Expansion Memorial in St. Louis selected from a similar competition 12 years ago. It would be a mistake to think that the Roosevelt Memorial need be hastily authorized. The Commission would do well to recognize the real task put to it and continue its efforts.

One reason to urge this course of action is the genuine interest and promise of many of the more than 600 designs submitted. These designs argue that our architects and associated designers have the capacity to resolve the profound cultural and esthetic difficulties of the modern memorial.

Full opportunity should be provided for public study and analysis of as many entries as possible and the public exhibition of the winning designs is the first step in this direction.

An initial review shows the selected designs grouped in several categories. The largest number are exploiting structural form, with sculptural overtones. Three of the most interesting plans attempting to overcome the flat site with a mound from which visitors can view the landscape.

Only one entry attempted much in the way of a formal plaza and relatively few put emphasis upon conventional sculpture or mural painting. There were also but few solutions offered that treated the 66-acre site as a park. Two proposals of special interest were by Schweiker and Metcalf (the only Washington firm to place) and a team headed by Robert Venturi.

Among the winning six, the perceptive design created by Rolf Miller deserves particular mention. It may be suspected that its quiet and modest appearance in the presentation would be significantly overcome when seen in its final form, as the dramatic perspective from the Virginia shore of the Potomac indicates.

This is not the time, however, to attempt a measured evaluation of the results of the competition but to react sharply and instinctively to the winning solution. As a structural concept and a sculptural form it is cold and mute.

[From the Evening Star, Jan. 13, 1961]

F.D.R. MEMORIAL

(By Betty Beale)

F.D.R. memorial models on display at the opening of the Corcoran Biennial tonight will draw a flock of interested and maybe heated observers. Francis Biddle, a member of the commission that chose the now controversial bookend slabs, will be there with his wife and the guests they will entertain at dinner beforehand. Among their guests will be Senator and Mrs. Hubert Humphrey, Senator Neuberger, Mr. and Mrs. Sumner Welles, the David Finleys, and from the commission, Representative Katharine St. George, Edmund Bacon, city planner of Philadelphia, and Jim Rowe.

Apropos of the new interest in making the monument to F.D.R. a living memorial by incorporating it in the National Cultural Center, Mrs. Biddle said that her husband originally had suggested making the memorial into a living one and had met with objections from some of the Congress.

How anyone could object to making an auditorium in the center a memorial to a President of the United States, with his greatest words engraved, not on some outdoor stones for a comparative few to see, but on the walls within where hundreds would see them at one time is hard to understand.

Each section of the center could be devoted to a President's memorial. The beautiful outer terrace facing Roosevelt Island could be Theodore Roosevelt's memorial. The grand salon in the center of the building might be F.D.R.'s memorial. The concert hall could be Mr. Truman's. And one of the sweeping plazas Mr. Eisenhower's.

Some heads may roll on the cultural center board of trustees when Jack Kennedy becomes President. It is understood that he is interested in the center and prepared to give it the impetus it needs by getting rid of some of the dead wood chosen by his predecessor.

Mr. Eisenhower, a military man, has never been particularly interested in the arts, to put it mildly, and progress of the center has dragged because of lack of dynamic leadership at the top.

[From the Washington Post, Jan. 16, 1961]

**STILL FAVORS WILDLIFE SANCTUARY—CULTURAL CENTER AS MEMORIAL TO T.R.
REJECTED EMPHATICALLY BY DAUGHTER**

(By Constance Feeley)

A new proposal for a Theodore Roosevelt memorial came to light yesterday, but it got a shadowy reception from T.R.'s daughter, Alice Roosevelt Longworth.

The proposal was made by Neill Phillips, chairman of the influential Committee of One Hundred on the Federal City, who thinks part of Washington's planned \$75 million cultural center could be dedicated as a living memorial to the late President.

Informed of the idea, Mrs. Longworth, 76, indicated she has scant interest in massive cultural projects.

"The hell with the cultural center as a memorial," she said. "I flee from thinking about things like that. It has nothing to do with a memorial to my father."

By act of Congress, the surviving children of Theodore Roosevelt have the right to approve any design for a memorial.

The act was passed last year when Congress killed a proposal for a huge celestial sphere on Roosevelt Island in the Potomac. It died a day after Mrs. Longworth called it, with characteristic verve, a globular jungle gym.

She thinks Roosevelt Island should be preserved as a wildlife sanctuary, with only a modest type of memorial to her father.

Phillips, a retired rear admiral, agrees that parks and open spaces in Washington have reached the saturation point in monuments, and he said as much in a recent letter to conservationist Horace M. Albright, member of the Theodore Roosevelt Association which is considering designs for the memorial.

Noting that living memorials are becoming more and more popular, Phillips pointed to the cultural center as a most important example of a living memorial and suggested one of the center's units be named in honor of T.R.

In his letter, Phillips made passing reference to a proposed memorial for another Roosevelt, the late President Franklin D. That structure would consist of 8 concrete tablets ranging up to 165 feet in height. Phillips said it has caused widespread consternation.

Mrs. Longworth said she had nothing particular to say about the F.D.R. monument, because she is not involved in approving it.

"It's a strange and curious thing," she remarked. "Enormous, isn't it?"

[From the Sunday Star, Washington, D.C., May 14, 1961]

CITIES AND PEOPLE—MORE OR FEWER WORKS OF ART?

(By Robert J. Lewis)

Two thousand years ago, the debate over monuments and memorials was a hot one, too.

Long before Secretary Udall, the philosophers were wondering whether such reminders of men and events had any value.

Some of the loftiest commentators pretended to scorn the whole idea.

"I would rather have men ask, after I am dead, why I have no monument, than why I have one," said Marcus Cato.

A couple of hundred years later, Pliny the Younger called monuments "superfluous."

"If our lives deserve it, our memories will endure," said he.

Euripedes agreed.

"The monuments of noble men are their virtues," he said.

Such views have a plausible ring. But they all come from writers who hoped their works would live, be read, and serve as memorials, on paper, to their lives and thought.

"The most lasting monuments are the paper monuments," Thomas Fuller said. Writers, especially, seem to think this.

One writer who felt differently was William Shakespeare.

It was his opinion that a man should think about arranging his own memorial.

Otherwise, he said, "he shall live no longer than the bell rings and the widow weeps."

But the bard was a bit wrong, surely.

He did not reckon with mankind's gratitude. Nor with civilization's compulsion to pay its debt.

People do want reminders of men who have led them in thought and action. They do not want to forget.

This is where art comes in.

It is part of mankind's memory.

Life is short, but art is long, as the Latin phrase book says.

Art lasts. Civilized man can express deep convictions in this way and be long remembered.

"Art," said Aristotle, "is a higher type of knowledge than experience."

The issues Mr. Udall has raised about art and its place in cities are important.

The debate should help quell some of the confusion that has arisen over whether, in the future, we should confine ourselves only to "living memorials" for use, as against the art that can be used for nothing except to look at, be inspired by, and to symbolize goals for the good life.

The Lincoln Memorial is not a "living memorial."

It is art for art's sake.

It represents a man. But it does more than that. For within this sculpture are enshrined some of the most important ideas by which Americans organize their democratic behavior.

Could Washington ever be the same place without it?

Cities throughout the world are filled with monuments, sculpture, and paintings that help bind one age to another.

If art is desirable, as men in all centuries have seemed to believe it is, perhaps the problem is not that there is too much of it here but that what does exist appears to claim too much space.

One of the most understanding of all students of city design had a most perceptive comment on this.

He was Camillo Sitte, a Viennese who wrote a book called "The Art of Building Cities." It was translated from the German over 15 years ago by Charles T. Stewart, a Washingtonian, and is now, unfortunately, out of print.

On this point, Mr. Sitte wrote:

"The fundamental difference between the procedures of former times and those of today rests in the fact that we constantly seek the largest possible space for each little statue."

The early Greeks and Romans, Mr. Sitte explained, "erected their monuments by the sides of public places," instead of in the center.

Thus were ancient cities able to accommodate the many sculptured treasures that still testify to their everlasting glory.

Mr. THOMPSON. We will now hear from the Honorable Frances P. Bolton of Ohio.

STATEMENT BY HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF OHIO

Mrs. BOLTON. Mr. Chairman, thank you for giving me an opportunity to register my wholehearted support of the legislation to provide for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts to assist in the growth and development of the fine arts in the United States. My own bill toward this objective is H.R. 3640.

This legislation was originally proposed in the 1955 state of the Union message of President Eisenhower. He said at that time that: "In the advancement of the various activities which will make our civilization endure and flourish the Federal Government should do more to give official recognition to the importance of the arts and other cultural activities." He said at that time that he would recommend the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts "to advise the Federal Government on ways to encourage artistic

and cultural endeavor and appreciation." Since then bills to implement this proposal have been introduced in each Congress on a bipartisan basis.

The Council which is proposed would be established in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and would be composed of 21 outstanding private citizens widely recognized for their knowledge or experience or interest in one or more arts such as music, drama, dance, literature, et cetera. Members would be appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate for 6-year terms.

The function of the Council would be to act as a clearing house for ideas and recommendations and to make studies and proposals on methods to encourage private initiative in the arts and promote cooperation with local, State, and Federal departments or agencies to foster artistic and cultural endeavors. The creation of such a council would involve no expenditures save those of a modest per diem allowance for the Council Members and staff expenses. The Council would administer no subsidies. It would give away no funds, but it would provide a significant national impetus to the systematic exchange of views on artistic matters.

There is a profound national interest in the encouragement and development of both the practice and appreciation of the arts by our citizens. Not only does art enrich the lives of individual citizens, but our national life and the impact of our country abroad is enhanced by cultural development. In a variety of ways, activities of the Federal Government have an effect upon artistic and cultural development. However, there is today no means for coordinating these activities. The enactment of this proposal to establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts would therefore meet a long-recognized need.

I hope the Select Subcommittee on Education will act favorably on this legislation and that early action will follow in the House and Senate.

Mr. THOMPSON. Our next witness is the Honorable John V. Lindsay, a Congressman from the State of New York.

STATEMENT OF HON. JOHN V. LINDSAY, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

Mr. LINDSAY. Mr. Chairman, I am grateful to the subcommittee for allowing me this opportunity to speak on arts legislation in general and to register my wholehearted support of the bills to provide for the establishment of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts now before you for consideration. I have myself introduced H.R. 5408 to establish such a Council.

It is my privilege to represent the district in New York City which includes what is undoubtedly America's premier art center. The bounds of my congressional district include the Metropolitan Opera, the Broadway theaters, the Metropolitan Museum, the Museum of Modern Art, Frank Lloyd Wright's Guggenheim Museum, the New York City Ballet, most of Greenwich Village, Rockefeller Center, and Madison Avenue with their television and radio broadcasting systems.

The growth and development of the fine arts in the United States are certainly in the national interest. Beyond the preservation of our national freedom and of our constitutional rights, what greater con-

cern can we as individuals possibly have than to enhance and strengthen the cultural aspects of our civilization. We are engaged in a great effort to strengthen our security. Surely it is also in the national interest to strengthen the arts. A country is not strong if its culture is neglected while other areas of human endeavor advance.

The extent to which we advance culturally directly bears on our international posture. The universal language of the arts knows no national boundaries and cultural exchanges between countries can establish a very healthy rapport between peoples.

The underlying question before this subcommittee is to what extent should government be concerned with the cultural well-being of its citizenry? In the United States, if you search through the pages of the Congressional Record back through the decades, you will not find a ready answer to this question. Since the 1870's, thousands of pages of hearings and floor discussions have been printed, debating the question of direct Federal subsidies to the arts. In the process, little by little, without the guidance of any master plan or general philosophy, the Congress has put the Federal Government in the art business. It has been a perfectly natural development. But it has not been systematic. Let's see how it happened.

In 1910, Congress created the Commission of Fine Arts as guardian of the L'Enfant plan for development of the District of Columbia. It deals with specific construction and decorative proposals. Long before, in 1846, the Smithsonian Institution was created to take advantage of a bequest of James Smithson to the United States. The Institution has expanded over the years and now includes no less than 10 bureaus, 4 of which are directly concerned with the arts: The U.S. National Museum, the National Collection of Fine Arts, the Freer Gallery (which operates only partly on Federal funds), and the well-known National Gallery of Art. The operation of the National Gallery, which came into existence as the result of the private generosity of Andrew W. Mellon and others, now requires an annual expense from the Federal funds in excess of \$1,500,000.

The Department of State has engaged in cultural enterprises, particularly since World War II. One such enterprise is the foreign building program under the Foreign Service Building Act of 1926, as amended, pursuant to which \$185 million has been appropriated. Twenty major facilities are presently under construction. Two of the best known as the magnificent Embassies in India, designed by Edward D. Stone, and in London, designed by Eero Saarinen. The Department is currently obligated to pay in architectural fees more than \$1,400,000 to more than 30 different architectural firms.

Under the National Cultural Exchange and Trade Fair Participation Act, programs were established to send to remote corners of the world, such distinguished representatives of our culture as Marian Anderson, the Cleveland, Minneapolis, and Philadelphia Symphony Orchestras, Jose Limon, the cast of "Long Day's Journey Into Night," and the New York City Center Ballet Corps. Louis Armstrong, Benny Goodman, and other jazz greats have given renditions of unique Americana in areas where most of the population rarely hears the English language. Funds have been budgeted to the State Department for foreign information and exchange activities. Of this, more than \$23 million is being devoted to educational exchanges, of which a substantial part directly concerns the creative arts.

State is not the only agency of Government concerned, even modestly, with the arts. The Library of Congress operates a music division which not only collects material relating to music, but also conducts a performance program. While the program is financed by private gifts, the aegis of a Federal agency gives it a special impulse. The General Services Administration, a little known but vastly important branch of the Federal Government, is charged, among other things, with the responsibility of design and construction of all buildings of the Federal Government. Its annual payments to architects, muralists, sculptors, and painters are quoted in astronomical figures.

Strange as it may seem, the Department of Defense carries on its payroll more than 3,000 employees categorized by the Civil Service Commission as being concerned with the "fine and applied arts." This is more than one-half the total number of such employees in the entire Federal Government. One would not consciously select the Defense Department as a vehicle for stimulating the arts.

You will recall the surge of patronage of the arts—painting particularly—initiated during the depression by the Federal Government. These programs were intended primarily to provide jobs for unemployed artists.

The proposals now pending in the Senate and House have turned the eyes of Congress and the country squarely on the fundamental question: What should we do for the arts?

To such a question most of us respond with three more: What is the need? Can we do it? What will it cost?

There doesn't seem to be much doubt about the need to do something. Our Federal dealings with the arts are chaotic. Innumerable subdivisions of offices, of bureaus, of departments are struggling with problems of vast significance. They are operating programs dispensing millions annually, and they have done, all things considered, a remarkably good job.

But duplication, lack of direction, lack of integration have been the byproduct. There appears to be a crying need for coordination, for a study of objectives, for a systematic and informed review of results. The proposal of Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey, embodied in H.R. 4172, and my proposal embodied in H.R. 5408 are directed toward this need. The proposals would authorize the formation of a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts. The Council, to be a branch of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, would be composed of 21 members, all of whom would be private citizens appointed by the President. They would represent in approximate proportions the major art fields, which the bill describes as—

music, drama, dance, literature, architecture and allied arts, photography, graphic and craft arts, motion pictures, radio, and television.

The Council would have the power to undertake studies and make recommendations toward maintaining and increasing the cultural resources of the United States; to propose methods to encourage private initiative in the arts; and to foster artistic and cultural endeavors and the use of the arts both nationally and internationally in the best interests of our country.

In my opinion, this proposal is a sound and logical step which the Federal Government can and should take. A strong Council would make itself felt throughout Government. It would introduce an ele-

ment of purposeful, authoritative direction to Federal endeavors affecting the arts.

I have described the proposed Federal Advisory Council as a first step. What then should be the second, and third, and other steps? It may be premature at this point to formulate an answer to that. The recommendation of such steps would lie more properly in the hands of the Council. Certainly I believe the Congress should give serious and sympathetic consideration to legislation which would facilitate the international cultural exchange programs of the State Department. Another proposal would ease the burden of the Federal admissions tax imposed on the performing arts. Parenthetically, it might be noted that the admissions tax is a part of our tax structure which is foreign to other countries whose programs are carefully designed to stimulate artistic development. Writers on this subject have commented that, while other nations subsidize the performing arts specifically and unashamedly, we impose a special penalty on them.

A second step Congress should consider is the consolidation of the multitude of Federal activities now concerned with the arts under the jurisdiction of the Council.

If this could be accomplished, and it is far from certain that it can, it would be a healthy and praiseworthy advance. But what of a unified program of direct grants-in-aid for the improvement of the arts?

In weighing such a program for the future, let's take a look at the experience of kindred nations. In Great Britain there has been since the desperate early days of World War II, a systematic government assist to the arts. I can't help noting, in passing, that the greatest common turning of people to their cultural wellsprings seem to occur in periods of the greatest stress. Witness our Federal projects in the depression days of the thirties. In beleaguered England, the Government, determined that events would not cause the continuity of British culture to falter, created the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts. Its purpose was to maintain the highest possible standard in wartime arts. At the war's end the name was changed to the Arts Council of Great Britain, and it embarked on a program of direct subsidies. In 1955-56, the Council received an annual grant from the British Treasury of approximately \$2,400,000. The renaissance of British drama, music, ballet, and of its imaginative film industry, can be traced in large part to the efforts of the Council.

Three years ago our Canadian neighbors formed the Canada council to provide for Canada the same kind of assistance that the British Arts Council provided in Britain. There is a fundamental difference, however, between the two systems. The Canadian Government funded the council with two grants totaling \$150 million directing that the council was to use primarily the income from the fund for subsidies, encroaching on the fund directly only for certain limited types of projects. Thus, the Canada council is relatively unfettered by the need to seek an annual appropriation. The work of the Canadian council has gone forward with signal success. It has carried Canadian culture to the depths of each Province, and has been universally acclaimed.

Even broader, and far more deeply rooted, is the French program of state subsidies. The great performing societies of Paris, the Opera,

the Opera-Comique, the Comedie Francaise, and the Theatre National Populaire, are dependent on national grants. Lately, the French have undertaken a vast program to carry appreciation of the dramatic arts to the most rural communities in France by the establishment of regional theaters in each area. These groups, of which there are five, enjoy a total subsidy of about \$400,000 a year.

As a matter of fact, in our States a great deal has been done. Ten of our States have programs for the systematic improvement of the arts. These are Louisiana, Maine, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Utah, Virginia, and Wisconsin. All have established some organization to assist, by grants-in-aid and advice, their local arts enterprises. They have aided theaters, managed museums, supervised artistic improvement of State buildings, and arranged for exhibits. Their work is good, and, in my opinion, should be duplicated in the other 40.

But there are some problems confronting us which cannot be dealt with by city or State. One is the ceaseless challenge of the Iron Curtain countries seeking dominion over the uncommitted masses of the world. Another, less acute but equally fundamental problem and which only a national approach can reach, is that of establishing some common ground with all people, simply in the interest of living a little more expansively. What better ground can there be than the sharing of common cultural pursuits? In these areas, and for these reasons, the Federal Government must face up to the fact that it has a part to play in the future development of the arts in this country.

The approach must be step-by-step. It must be cautious; it must be made with due regard to the potential effectiveness of local government; and it must be undertaken with full appreciation of the possible pitfalls—and the expense—involved. Before Congress is to embark the Nation on a program of unified, purposeful art patronage, it must be confronted with the coincidence of a compelling need, a feasible plan, precise projections as to cost, and a clear and unmistakable call from the conscience of the people.

These bills, H.R. 4172 and H.R. 5408, under study by this subcommittee will provide the mechanism for continuous stimulation and for future action. In a modest way, the Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, by making studies and recommendations, could exert a unifying force upon the current diverse Federal cultural programs.

The Council these bills create would not administer subsidies. It would, nevertheless, provide a significant national impetus to the systematic exchange of views on cultural matters. It would give the arts a national spokesman and a national forum. Surely we owe the arts—and our people—that much.

Responsible policies to sustain and enhance the arts are essential to the general welfare and the national interest at home and abroad.

MR. THOMPSON. We will now hear from the Honorable Seymour Halpern, a Congressman from New York.

STATEMENT BY HON. SEYMOUR HALPERN, A REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS FROM THE STATE OF NEW YORK

MR. HALPERN. Mr. Chairman, and members of the subcommittee, may I preface my presentation with my sincere thanks for the opportunity you have given me to submit my views on the proposed legisla-

tion for a more intensive Federal program in support of the arts? It is most courteous of you to give me your attention and I appreciate it, not only on my own account but on behalf of the millions of American citizens who share my concern and for whom, in small measure, I shall try to speak.

I have already given earnest of my sincerity in this important matter by introducing appropriate legislation for Federal stimulation and responsibility in our cultural life.

On February 19 I introduced H.R. 4427—as companion legislation with U.S. Senator Javits, establishing a \$10-million-a-year U.S. Arts Foundation, to provide financial assistance to nonprofit groups engaged in the performing arts, including theatrical, musical, opera, dance, ballet, and choral recitals. I felt and still feel that if our Government can subsidize American artistic performances behind the Iron Curtain, it can also afford to subsidize first-rate American artistic performances in the many American communities which have never seen a first-class play or heard a first-class orchestra. In short, I think that culture—like charity—begins at home.

On April 19, I also introduced H.R. 6484, to establish a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. This Council would be composed of 21 outstanding private citizens widely recognized for their knowledge of, or experience and interest in, one or more of such arts as music, drama, dance, literature, architecture, painting and sculpture, as well as photography, graphic and craft arts, motion pictures, radio, and television. The members would be named by the President, by and with the consent of the Senate, and the President would designate one member of the Council to serve as its Chairman. Members would serve for 6 years and shall receive compensation not exceeding \$50 per diem, as well as appropriate travel and subsistence.

This second measure is not confined to the performing arts but extends to the creative arts as well. Such a bill provides long overdue and basic recognition of the role of the arts as a vital factor in our national life, and as a medium for correlating and drawing together in a continuing relationship the numerous separate efforts throughout the Nation in the development of the arts. The Council would help to promote creative activity and stimulate the creative forces of a free society. It would act as a potent weapon in our struggle against atheistic, materialistic communism. Through studies and recommendations, such a Council would propose methods to encourage private initiative in the arts, and promote cooperation with local, State, and Federal departments or agencies to foster artistic and cultural endeavors.

I would not pretend that these two bills cover the entire range of measures required to place a firm Federal policy behind the burgeoning growth of our Nation's vigorous cultural activity. Other bills have been introduced and are before your committee. They seek the same general objectives that I do and so I propose to use the time which you have graciously accorded to me to speak on the general purport of this proposed legislation.

Ours is almost the only great nation which has no national policy for the encouragement of the creative and performing arts. Many governments have long established Ministries of Fine Arts and in-

tensive cultural programs which have become a source of national strength and prestige. Italy and France spring to mind as nations whose cultural life has in a very real sense assured their national survival again and again. And we all recognize the highly effective use the Soviet Union makes of the Russian ballet and other traditional Russian art forms, as Communist propaganda. The British Government, so like our own in its traditional suspicion of anything artistic, since the war has extended direct subsidy and assistance to the performing arts, enabling us to enjoy the Old Vic and the Sadler's Wells Ballet, among other things.

Here in Washington we have the Fine Arts Commission, which passes on the esthetics of various purely Federal construction, and the National Cultural Center, which is heroically struggling to raise private funds to establish a center for the performing arts here in the Nation's Capital. During the depression, there were Federal work-relief projects for writers, theatrical performers, and artists and they were among the most popular programs of the entire New Deal. Frankly, as an amateur artist myself, I reserve judgment on some of the bulging Rivera-and-branchwater frescoes inflicted on various post offices and Federal courthouses in this period. Nevertheless, the 1930's were the only period in our history when creative and performing artists were regarded as a national asset and not a group of rather peculiar citizens who were neither necessary nor inevitable.

I would not ask this committee to believe that America is a howling desert when it comes to the arts. In the last two generations, there has been tremendous vitality, particularly in music and symphony orchestras, ballet and the so-called Little Theater movement. While in my judgment we have yet to equal the great surge of creative writing in the 1920's, our literary life continues to flourish and not all of our young writers are beatniks or pornographers, though they have yet to equal Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, or Stephen Vincent Benet.

In my judgment, the very vitality of the cultural upsurge which has followed the war calls for an equally vital awareness and a positive cultural program on the part of the Federal Government.

We spend hundreds of millions of dollars on scientific and technological training, research, and development, to a degree which threatens to make our entire cultural life somewhat mathematical and musclebound. The contribution of creative art to the spiritual side of our civilization can keep our society in balance. We do not want to breed a race of engineers and mechanics at the cost of depriving us of the sensitive and esthetic intelligence which can use our tremendous scientific powers with wisdom and humanity.

Moreover, since the war, certain blindspots have developed in our cultural progress. The theater in particular has been threatened by an unwholesome concentration on Broadway, with rising costs that today almost threatens the American theatrical tradition with extinction. The rising costs of book publication have narrowed the opportunities for new writers and are compelling smaller and adventurous publishers to combine with larger firms and play it safe. I will not discuss television or recent American films, except to point out that the most successful recent TV entertainment program was "The Age of Kings," prepared by British Broadcasting Co. and that English

films have measurably replaced the Hollywood product in our traditional field of high and low comedy.

It seems clear to me that instead of a hard-and-fast Federal program for the arts, we need the kind of selective approach to the various fields of art, in order to redress the balance where it has been artificially disturbed and to provide encouragement to rather than impose regimentation on the creative and performing artist. It also seems clear to me that the original purpose of our copyright laws, to assure to the individual artist an equity in the value of his own work, have been largely superceded by the progressive income tax. A writer, musician, artist, or performer may be successful for only a very few years, yet the income tax penalizes him just as though he possessed a talent—such as skill in medicine, engineering, or the law—which could last a lifetime. I do not propose to discuss this aspect of the problem, but I think this committee should be aware that it exists and is a real and serious one so far as the creative artist's career is concerned. This problem is in part responsible for the rising demand that the Federal Government embark on a program of subsidy for artists as well as for the arts. I suggest that in subsidizing the arts we shall also help to subsidize the artists on the basis of their achievement in this most competitive of all human activities.

Let me add one note of caution before I conclude this statement. One of the things to guard against in any such program as this is the danger that a group of artistic connivers and promoters shall bureaucratize the arts and set up cliques of insiders to the detriment of the entire artistic life of the Nation. This could happen here as well as it has in Moscow where the great Russian novel "Dr. Zhivago" was banned because it did not conform to the official cultural line of the Soviet Union. My proposals for an Advisory Council on the Arts include a provision that on the expiration of a member's 6-year term he shall not be eligible for renomination until after an interval of 2 years has passed. This would counteract the self-perpetuating impulse which, as we all know, is responsible for so much bureaucratic empire building and administrative cross-purposes in Washington. Nothing could be more fatal to American creativeness than to permit a group of Federal officials to dictate the form and content of our esthetic development in order to protect their own jobs.

This is a very real danger and I mention it because I submit that it is outweighed by these considerations which I have already outlined in my declaration of policy in H.R. 6484:

(1) That the growth and flourishing of the arts depend upon freedom, imagination, and individual initiative;

(2) That the encouragement of creative activity in the performance and practice of the arts, and of a widespread participation in and appreciation of the arts, is essential to the general welfare and the national interest;

(3) That as workdays shorten and life expectancy lengthens, the arts will play an evermore important role in the lives of our citizens; and

(4) That the encouragement of the arts, while primarily a matter for private and local initiative, is an appropriate matter of concern to the U.S. Government.

Mr. THOMPSON. The record will be kept open until Monday next for additional statements and for letters of support or opposition to the legislation.

The subcommittee will now adjourn.

(The following communications were received for the record:)

HUNTINGTON HARTFORD FOUNDATION,
Pacific Palisades, Calif., May 12, 1961.

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: I understand you are endeavoring to rectify our lack as a nation in respect to encouragement in the field of arts. This is commendable and timely.

On April 25, I wrote to Pierre Salinger, sending him information which I believe pertinent to any governmental consideration. Let me quote:

"May I suggest that efforts be expended toward all the creative arts, since the creative artist is the source of each production, and is on the tail end of any remuneration. I am in a special position to observe this, since I am a creative painter and printmaker myself, and since I am serving, and have served the last 7 years, as resident manager and assistant director of an art colony.

"Consider for a moment the effect on world thinking about our land when it is realized that we are the only civilized nation which does nothing for its creative persons. A feeble excuse is that "we are young"—for the sake of God and country, how long does it take to grow up?

"France has a 'Direction General des Arts et des Letters' which sends her art abroad to embassies over the world. Regular acquisitions are made to the tune of 100 million francs annually for her Museum of Modern Art. In 1951 a bill enabled 1 percent of the total sum spent on buildings such as schools and national institutions to be spent toward decorating those buildings. This amounts to 250 million francs annually. One hundred and forty million is devoted to the educational side of contemporary art, the state paying the salaries of art teachers and professors. France grants an annual prize of one-half million francs to an artist who has "honored" her. She has set up 3,600,000 francs to help artists stricken "dans la misere," and two parks are set aside for residence for older artists, so they may paint and make a contribution to France after age 65 for the rest of their lives. And in the face of this, what does the richest nation on earth do?

"Let's take another look at an aspect no one is facing up to. The cost to the artist has increased in dimensions that reach martyrdom. In 1958, the American Federation of Arts published statistics attesting that only a few artists in this great country are able to live on income from their creative works. This report further reveals an economically smitten member of our society to be shouldered with the subsidy of the culture for which he is held responsible. The artist contributes millions of dollars annually for minute returns and little thanks. Using a minor example, it is estimated that 2,000 printmakers mat pictures and ship to 10 shows at a cost to the artist of \$12 per show. Here is an outlay of \$240,000—add to this the average fee of \$4 and we have nearly one-quarter of a million dollars, simply to support printmaking as an art. Oil and sculpture exhibits would easily be \$3 million expense, not counting the time spent in crating, preparing the shipment, etc.

"Let us not allow this condition to persist. Let's do something about it. Mexico has demonstrated results, the Scandinavian countries care about their artist—so, too, the Russians. * * *

May I ask you to consider the creative artist for what he is, the source of all the arts, and to nurture this aspect of our culture?

Thanking you for the kind attention.

Very truly yours,

CHARLES B. ROGERS.

RUTGERS, THE STATE UNIVERSITY,
COLLEGE OF ARTS AND SCIENCES,
New Brunswick, N.J., May 14, 1961.

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: Thank you for your letter of April 28 and the enclosure from Mr. Marvin Cox in which the USIA says it can do nothing along the lines

of my proposal for the creation of a Government-sponsored publishing house to disseminate in English the works of Latin American writers. I cannot say that I did not expect this. But I also say that this will have to be done sooner than later. It is just as important to feed, clothe, shelter, and educate the Latin American masses as it is to do the same for the minorities who write, think, and create esthetic values. The Soviet Union has realized this and is already doing something about it; we cannot afford to be too far behind.

It was heartening, however, to know that the idea of a yearly prize in literature interested our correspondents. This is good because it will—would—have an immediate effect in stimulating writing and publication in English of the best in each genre produced every year in Latin America. I am sure that this would be a fine way to begin. I am wondering now if you could cause the wheels of the machinery that would bring this about to turn fast enough to make possible its most opportune and effective announcement? This would be at the 10th Congress of the International Institute of Ibero-American Literature. The congress will hold its biennial meeting under the auspices of the National University of Mexico and the University of Oaxaca next August 30, 31, and September 1. The most important writers, critics, and professors in the Americas are members, and many of them will be present at those meetings. The announcement would be, I am sure, a singular coup.

Dr. Francisco Monterde, president of the institute and president of the Mexican Academy of the Language, is my personal friend. Moreover, he is one of the few pro-Yankee intellectuals still left there. I feel sure that he would be happy to invite anyone authorized to make the announcement to do so, you for instance. I am, of course, getting ahead of the story through sheer optimism. I do think that the prize is a natural during Mr. Kennedy's administration since he is a man of letters himself and a recipient of the Pulitzer.

Sincerely yours,

JOSÉ VÁZQUEZ AMARAL.

NEW YORK, N.Y., May 15, 1961.

Congressman FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
House Education and Labor Committee,
Old House Office Building, Washington, D.C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN THOMPSON: I regret that the scheduled hearings for Tuesday, May 16, at which I was scheduled to testify, have now been canceled, and therefore I won't be able to testify in person on H.R. 4172 and H.R. 4174. The American Guild of Musical Artists (AFL-CIO), which represents solo singers, choirs, stage directors, stage managers, choreographers, and dancers in the field of opera, concert, and the dance, is wholeheartedly in support of these two bills and the purposes of the legislation. We believe that H.R. 4172 is an important beginning toward a greater role on the part of the U.S. Government in the growth and development of all the arts in our country and that H.R. 4174 is a practical implementation toward this development and toward giving assistance in this field. It is becoming more and more obvious that the arts will not flower and realize the great potentialities which have thus far been shown by the American artists unless the Federal Government takes positive and concrete steps to aid and assist them.

Sincerely,

HY FAINE,
National Executive Secretary, American Guild of Musical Artists.

NEW YORK, N.Y., May 15, 1961.

Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
Chairman, Subcommittee on Cultural Activities,
House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.:

On behalf of the 15,000 members of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists, representing performers in the fields of radio, television, phonograph recordings, and transcriptions, we heartily endorse H.R. 4172, which would establish a consultative body of specialists in the arts to advise Congress and the administration.

DONALD F. CONAWAY,
National Executive Secretary, American Federation of Television and
Radio Artists.

SARAH LAWRENCE COLLEGE,
Bronxville, N.Y., May 15, 1961.

HON. FRANK THOMPSON JR.,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: On behalf of the National Council on the Arts and Government I wish to submit the following statement in support of legislation H.R. 4174 to establish a program of grants to States for the development of programs and projects in the arts.

I do so, not only because of the interest in the legislation which I share with thousands of citizens concerned for the cultural and spiritual welfare of the United States, but because of my deep conviction that our schools, colleges, and universities have within themselves a magnificent opportunity to raise the level of the arts and of cultural achievements for the entire population of the country.

During the 22 years in which I have been closely associated with American colleges and universities as a faculty member and a college president, I have seen a remarkable growth of the creative arts in our educational system. Twenty years ago the first resident painter was appointed to a major university, the University of Wisconsin; the Pro Arte Quartet became a resident group there, to play for the citizens of Madison and in towns and villages all over the State where previously no chamber music concerts had ever been heard. Since then the movement in the universities toward bringing the arts directly to the citizens has grown enormously, with music and arts festivals in dozens of institutions, writers' workshops in more than a hundred colleges, art exhibits, plays, poetry centers, and opera sponsored by the universities themselves.

H.R. 4174 is a dramatic proposal at exactly the time when we now have the intellectual and cultural resources to make use of its provisions, and when the stimulation of the Federal Government to the work of the States would have direct and immediate results in giving the arts a central place in the lives of Americans.

It is clear that the communities of the country and the educational institutions are not able to finance the creative arts by themselves. The universities are so hard pressed for funds of all kinds and for the arts in particular that they are unable to go further on their own, at a time when we are in serious danger of overwhelming our culture with the accumulation of scientific research and scientific enterprises. The huge Government budget now being spent for science must be matched by an appropriate budget for the arts if we are to have a society which retains its spiritual health and achieves the necessary balance between technique and idea.

It is also true that the present costs of theater, dance, opera, and of musical organizations is so great that only rarely is it possible for communities to sustain first-rate work in the arts themselves unless supported by foundation grants or unusual private gifts. Instead, the arts become commercialized, and accordingly fail to provide the conditions for genuine creative development by the country's most serious artists.

In addition, there is no place to go for those who are young and talented in the arts, no outlet for their gifts except in commercial enterprise where the esthetic standards become unavoidably debased.

Through the universities and the community organizations of the country we have the instruments for developing a citizenry which will not only find richness and satisfaction in the cultural opportunities H.R. 4174 would provide, but would elevate the taste and judgment of the country as a whole, making demands on television and the mass media which would in turn force their standards to rise. A cycle of growth would then begin which would surpass in speed and range anything which we or any other country has ever seen.

I support strongly your efforts in this cause, and I know I speak for the majority of serious American educators in support of H.R. 4174 now before your Subcommittee on Education.

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD TAYLOR,
President, Sarah Lawrence College, 1945-1959.

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND
CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS,
Washington, D.C., May 17, 1961.

Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, Jr.,
*Chairman, Select Subcommittee on Education of Committee on Education and
Labor, House Office Building, Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CHAIRMAN THOMPSON: It is with pleasure that the AFL-CIO adds its support to H.R. 4172, providing for a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, and H.R. 4174, authorizing funds for the development of programs and projects in the arts. We urge your committee to seek speedy enactment of these measures.

I am sure you are aware that the labor movement is deeply concerned in the development of cultural pursuits. Many members of the AFL-CIO are performing artists whose lives have been given to music and drama. Many others have participated in union-sponsored programs in choral singing, ceramics, drama, and other artistic pursuits during nonworking hours.

The need for the Federal programs envisioned in H.R. 4172 and H.R. 4174 will become greater with the passage of time. Our Nation is already in the midst of a second great technological revolution brought on by automation. This new skill—the substitution of machines for the human mind in the production of goods and services—has already sparked a reduction in the workweek for many American workers.

As automation spreads to new industries and new plants, we may expect the 40-hour week to become a thing of the past, supplanted by a 35-hour or a 30-hour week. Several of our unions have already established a less-than-40-hour week through collective bargaining, and more will do so in the future.

Much of this new-found leisure will be channeled into recreational pursuits, including outdoor activities and academic education. Cultural activities and education in the arts should expand and grow with these other pursuits.

Establishment of the proposed Advisory Council would give a needed and salutary public focus on cultural development. It is noteworthy that the Advisory Council would not be limited to those in "classical" art fields, but would include the newer art forms. This is a proper recognition of the broad interest of our people.

H.R. 4174 would, through its encouragement of activity in the several States, insure important local impetus to development programs. Such interest on the part of local groups throughout the country is essential to any real broadening of our cultural base.

May I again congratulate you and your committee on your interest in this legislation. I hope you will include this letter in the record of the hearings.

Sincerely yours,

ANDREW J. BIEMILLER,
Director, Department of Legislation.

THE LEAGUE OF NEW YORK THEATRES, INC.,
New York, N.Y., May 17, 1961.

Hon. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.,
*Chairman, Subcommittee on Cultural Activities,
House Office Building,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR CONGRESSMAN THOMPSON: In telephone conversation with Mr. Frain we advised him of our support of legislation establishing a Federal Advisory Council on the Arts and enactment of a national cultural development program.

We take this opportunity to reaffirm to you our support for such legislation and would like to request from you what further action might be required from our organization to sponsor such urgently needed programs.

We appreciate your interest on our behalf.

Sincerely yours

IRVING W. CHESKIN, *Executive Director.*

NEW YORK, N.Y., May 19, 1961.

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.,
*Chairman, Select Subcommittee on Education,
Committee on Education and Labor,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. THOMPSON: Thank you very much for your letter of May 10, in which you informed me of the hearings to be held on May 15 on H.R. 4172. I appreciate your suggesting that the committee would be interested in my views as an individual and as the chairman of the board of Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts.

I regret very much that I was not able to be present at the hearings but I had a longstanding commitment which required that I be in New York on the day proposed. Under the circumstances, you suggested that I set forth my views in writing.

The role of the arts in American life has increased with each passing year so that today participation, support, and enjoyment of the arts is no longer the prerogative of the few. They have become a part of the daily lives of a vast majority of our population in all walks of life. A very tangible indication of this development is the substantial increase in the number of local symphony orchestras, amateur dramatic groups, museums, and cultural centers. These have come about through the interest, initiative, and support of individual citizens through out the land.

This has been a wholesome development and one which is almost inevitable in the light of the industrial advancement of the country. Increasingly our people have had a desire and have felt a need for some form of self-realization, some means of creative fulfillment. In less complicated times most of our citizens could find this in their daily labors—in the quite visible products of their hands. But today society is more complex and mechanized and it is difficult for most of our citizens to gain from their labor alone the satisfactions they desire. Accordingly, they are turning more and more to the arts as one means—and as a very important means—for gaining such satisfactions.

While this development has come about primarily as a result of individual initiative and local interest, the arts have become such a significant part of our national life that it does seem to me that recognition of their importance, as well as their encouragement, are matters of appropriate concern for the Federal Government. It is also highly desirable that there be a focal point for such concern within the executive branch of the Government.

The Federal Advisory Council on the Arts, as proposed in H.R. 4172, is well designed to achieve this result. The very existence of the Council will give recognition to the importance of the arts. The bill provides a vehicle through which those interested in the arts may appropriately bring matters of significance to the attention of the Federal Government—matters which are appropriate for the consideration and concern of the Federal Government. In addition, the Council is not vested with such executive powers as will enable it to interfere with the healthy, normal development of our culture through individual initiative. For these reasons I sincerely hope that H.R. 4172 will be favorably considered by the House of Representatives.

If there is anything I can do to further this legislation either individually or in my capacity as chairman of the board of Lincoln Center, I hope very much that you will not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely,

JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER 3d.

NEW YORK, N.Y., May 22, 1961.

HON. FRANK THOMPSON,
House Office Building, Washington, D.C.:

Your bills H.R. 4172 and H.R. 4174 are important step toward American recognition of art. Our Government had fallen behind all others in cherishing our arts. American artists barely survive and function in spite of native climate; conditions must be changed quickly if we are to keep pace with rest of world.

AGNES DEMILLE.

(Whereupon, at 12:05 p.m., the subcommittee adjourned, subject to the call of the Chair.)

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