RECORD
OF
PROGRAM OPERATION AND ACCOMPLISHMENT
THE FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT
1935 TO 1939
THE WPA MUSIC PROGRAM
1939 TO 1943

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FOREWORD

The objectives of the Record of Program Operation and Accomplishment of the Federal Music Project and the WPA Music Program are two-fold. The prime objective is to provide musicians, historians, political scientists, sociologists, and tax-payers with a record of the operations and accomplishments of an extensive cultural and social experiment. The second objective is to provide the planners of a future work program with "blue-print" materials for the operation of a music program. In attempting to reach this second objective there is recorded in this report the experience of eight years of program operation. In an honest attempt to render available the benefits of this operating experience, there has been a conscientious effort on the part of the writer to stress both the strength and the weaknesses of the Music Program organization.

Although not so indicated in each case, it will be found that most chapters of this Report are divided into two sections; the period of the Federal Music Project (1935-1939), and the period of the WPA Music Program (1939-1943). This division is necessary since two entirely different organizational structures are represented. It will be observed that there were advantages as well as flaws in both structures and the writer has attempted to extract the advantages of both in making recommendations for future operation.
With the inception of the Works Progress Administration in 1935, the fertile mind of a great humanitarian brought about a revolution in the administration of work relief. The urgency of relieving want was recognized but a broader realization of the consequences of unemployment was brought to the attention of America. The nation faced the responsibility not only to care for un-fed millions but, further, to avert the waste of human resources occasioned by millions of idle hands. Why should the nation be deprived of the contributions of artisans, educators, skilled mechanics and painters simply because private industry was unable to utilize their services at the moment? No American with a whit of economic sense or frugality would permit delicate machinery worth millions of dollars to rust in the open air without protest. Yet America was permitting skills of untold value to waste away through idleness. The great humanitarian set forth the theory that idle skills should be employed to enrich the material and cultural wealth of our nation, and that by so doing, these skills would be preserved. So it was that Harry L. Hopkins made possible the cultural programs of the Works Progress Administration.

To many within the Administration it was inconceivable that artists, musicians, and writers could be employed on force accounts to produce valuable work under the same procedures and policies as were developed to regulate the construction of airports, garbage disposal plants, water works, and sanitary privies. The "long-haired" professions were supposed to be hard to handle, full of temperament and generally non-conformist. The artist and the writer had always worked as an individual and the traditional musician was thought to
be as difficult to manage as a thoroughbred fighting cock. The skill with which Harry Hopkins fitted the cultural projects into the scheme of a great work relief program is a monument to his exceptional administrative ability. In the first place, they were born suddenly and were operating before many of the more reluctant administrative officials realized their existence. Furthermore, sufficient responsibility was placed in the hands of the national directors of these projects as to insure quick action and the establishment of technical standards. Secondly, Mr. Hopkins placed their projects under the national administrative control of officials who were sympathetic to the needs of cultural services and who worked tirelessly to make these projects effective. Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward and Mrs. Florence Kerr were admirable choices for their posts and the cultural programs of the WPA always will be indebted to these distinguished women who have contributed so greatly to American life.

Third, Mr. Hopkins was particularly fortunate in his choice of leaders for the new programs. Although only one of the national directors remained throughout the entire history of WPA, the men and women who were chosen to build the projects in 1935 were for the most part exceptionally able. E. Holger Cahill, who served as Director of the Federal Art Project and remained until the liquidation as Director of the WPA Art Program, was tireless in pioneering for the broader social uses of art and it was his constant initiative which developed new techniques adaptable to relief labor. It was his foresight and determination which gave to this nation one of its richest cultural treasures, the "Index of American Design".
Dr. Nikolai Sokoloff, who served as Director throughout the life of the Federal Music Project, was another example of a man with boundless energy coupled with vision and unusual organizational ability. He gave to the Federal Music Project the impetus which was necessary for rapid organization and his impeccable musical standards gave the program a prestige which it carried throughout its existence.

The development of the Federal Music Project was further enhanced by an energetic group of State and district supervisors who gave of themselves without stint in the early days of organization. These men and women worked with a professional fervor which was reflected in the thoroughness with which their projects were organized and developed. Hours meant nothing. Evenings and Sundays were given up without hesitation in their enthusiasm for making the most of this cultural experiment. Salaries were poor and administrative difficulties were complex, but no leader of a great musical enterprise ever worked harder than did those local officials of the Federal Music Project in 1935 and '36.

Perhaps the basic factor underlying the broad achievements of the Federal Music Project and the WPA Music Program was the esprit de corps of the musician personnel. These men and women, drawn from the relief rolls of the nation, were the real producers of the Program. It was by their efforts that the Program had to stand or fall. It was natural to expect enthusiasm and energy in the supervisory personnel. They were not hungry and they were privileged to be in at the beginning of a great musical adventure. But to
obtain productive response from men and women who were embittered from six years of economic depression, who were hungry, and who had seen their government applaud Prohibition as a "noble experiment" while reluctant to experiment with feeding hungry mouths, was almost too much to expect. The writer had the opportunity to sit behind a table in the bare storeroom of a music publishing house in New York City in January, 1934, as the first musicians came to register for jobs. That picture will never be forgotten. There were long lines of men and women—despair written in every face. There were men on the verge of suicide. There were women who had sold everything but themselves and who did not know where the next meal would come from. The last meal had come some days ago. There were old men who had given up hope of ever working again. Make no mistake, these people were not the musicians who had never seen steady jobs. There were men from the Festspielhaus at Bayreuth. There were men from La Scala, Milan. The Metropolitan Opera and ever major symphony orchestra in the nation was represented in that miserable line. There were teachers who had studied with Liszt. There were singers who had come over with Diaghileff and Chaliapin. There were bandmen who had played with Sousa and Pryor. There were composers whose songs are regularly represented on Carnegie Hall programs. Looking over that line of hungry, desperate people it was hard to realize that in that cold bare room was assembled as much musical talent and reputation as had ever been gathered in one room in New York City. It was this talent which Harry L. Hopkins sought to preserve and direct toward the betterment of America.
Within a year the picture was a different one. Symphony orchestras were performing, operas were being rehearsed, choruses were preparing the great oratorios, and children who had never dared to hope for the privilege of music lessons and who could not afford to pay for them, were receiving first class instruction in any subject of their choosing. It was the attitude of the workers which amazed the visitor. The orchestra rehearsals had about them all of the dignity and decor of the Boston Symphony. Grey-haired violinists adjusted their bows and reminisced on how Strauss had done the same piece in rehearsal. Valuable instruments were withdrawn from pawn shops to serve the purpose for which they were built. It would have been impossible for the visitor to distinguish between the atmosphere of the New York City WPA Symphony Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic. Sometimes the workers grumbled about over-zealous time-keepers and sometimes they murmured about young, inexperienced conductors, but when the time came to perform these musicians gave of their best and their best was good.

The arts projects never had an easy time. From their inception to their liquidation there was never a period when they were not under attack from some quarter. The close of the fiscal year was always a period of suspense during which the cultural programs were on the defensive. The Federal Theatre Project which was legislated out of existence in 1939 was the major casualty. But when that action was taken, many believed that Congress had made the operation of the remaining cultural projects impossible. During the early years those projects owed their existence to the
courageous defense put up each year by Mr. Hopkins, the late Col. F. C. Harrington, Mrs. Woodward, and Mrs. Kerr. It would have been easy for these Commissioners and Assistant Commissioners to have appeased the opposition by dropping the arts projects in order to win support for the other programs, but at no time did the responsible officials of the WPA defend the arts projects one bit less than the more readily accepted types of activities.

In 1939 when Congress ended the lives of the Federal projects, as such, it would have been easy for Col. Harrington and Mrs. Kerr to have interpreted this action as prohibiting the continuation of the subject activities. But instead their energies were devoted to making art, music, and writing activities possible under the new legislation with the result that many activities in these programs were actually expanded and improved. Again in 1941 the effects of the attack upon Pearl Harbor could have swept these projects out of existence immediately and there were many in favor of such action. It was easy to complain that music and art were frills which could not be tolerated while the nation was at war. But again, instead of yielding to short-sighted pressure, Commissioner Hunter and Mrs. Kerr insisted upon maintaining these programs with the result that they were able to make real contributions to the war effort which were applauded by high ranking officers of every branch of the armed forces.

It is believed that the years 1935-1943 will form an important epoch in the musical history of America. The writer is duly grateful for having had a very small part in the unprecedented developments of that period. Never in our musical history has there been a
period when music was brought to as many new audiences. Never before had our country realized that an unemployed musician is a wasted resource. Since it is probable that the Federal Music Project and the WPA Music Program will be the objects of considerable research in years to come, it is particularly important that the fine art accomplishments of the program do not become the sole criterion by which the program is evaluated. The high technical standards of performance which many orchestras achieved were actually by-products of the fulfillment of legislative requirements.

If, after needy persons had been employed at work which was of public benefit, the standards of performance were sufficiently high to attract the attention of professional music critics, then additional honor accrued to the administration of the program. However, if the standards of performance did not rise above those standards usually accepted in the community, and the project fulfilled its mission of employing needy musicians at useful work, then the project had complied with the letter and the spirit of the Act.

In most cases, the Music Program employed as many musicians as were allowed under constantly restricted quotas. Therefore, the chief criterion to be employed is the usefulness of the work which the Music Program performed. Did the orchestras, bands, choruses, and teachers contribute to the educational or cultural resources of the communities in which they operated. The evaluation must be made by localities. Naturally, the orchestra which toured New Hampshire with such success and public appreciation would not have contributed anything to community culture if it had been transplanted to New York City. The small bands on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan would not have attracted favorable notice in Chicago. The rural
music teacher in Mississippi might not have been able to hold the attention of a group of students in Los Angeles. These are not points to be considered. The true test is whether, community by community, the local units of the WPA Music Program performed useful work which was of public benefit and which left an imprint upon the culture of those communities. In this respect the work performed in rural areas and small cities is easiest to evaluate. It is not difficult to see the contributions which were made by the WPA Music Program in Mississippi, New Mexico, North Carolina, and Arkansas. It is more difficult to evaluate the work of the Program in Los Angeles, Chicago, and New York City. These cities were well supplied with musical advantages before the Federal Music Project came into being. In such cases, the most effective test is to determine whether or not the WPA supplied something which was lacking in the musical lives of these communities. In Chicago, the unusual programs performed by the Illinois WPA Symphony Orchestra provides a musical fare which appeared to be lacking in the more conservative programs of the Chicago Symphony Orchestra. In New York City, it is believed that the popular priced concerts of the New York City Music Project developed new audiences which have already supplemented the regular audiences of the New York Philharmonic.

Another test which the critic may apply to the accomplishments of the WPA Music Program is the extent to which work initiated by the Program has been continued. This test is difficult to apply fairly since the WPA Music Program liquidated while a great world war was in progress. Culture always suffers during such times and, therefore, it is difficult to determine in every case how much would have
continued if there had not been a war in 1943. Certainly many musical enterprises which never operated under WPA have disappeared during the past two years. At the time of the preparation of this Record of Program Operation and Accomplishment there was little evidence at hand to elaborate on this point. The Buffalo, Oklahoma City, and Salt Lake City Orchestras are still operating which is nothing short of miraculous in these times. The United Service Organizations have absorbed much of the work which WPA music units were conducting in the military camps and many WPA musicians have been employed for this purpose. There is reason to believe that many school districts in the South have added regular music teachers to their payrolls to continue the work formerly done by WPA instructors. Beyond these bare details it is impossible to go at the present time.

The WPA Music Program can stand the test of scrutiny. It is requested only that the critic acquire a complete understanding of the successive Emergency Relief Appropriations Acts from 1935 to 1943, inclusive, and the procedures of the Work Projects Administration. There will be plenty to criticize if only the operations of the Music Program are surveyed, but behind many practices were procedures and legislative quirks which regulated program operation and which do not appear in any of the Music Program procedures. For example, the critic may take the Program to task for not moving needy musicians out of New York City into communities where a need for their services might have been developed. The Music Program always was aware of this problem. However, the critic must have an understanding of relief legislation and county relief policies to understand that
musicians employed by the Program had to be certified as to need by a local relief agency and that the county relief agencies never would certify persons from outside the State, and in many cases, from outside the county. The WPA Music Program was a creature of government and was a very small segment of a great work relief agency dealing mainly with construction projects. In order to exist, the Program had to adapt its policies and operations to legislation written for construction projects and to an organisational structure developed for handling unskilled labor. The better the critic understands the WPA as an agency and the legislation which created it, the better he will understand the WPA Music Program.

The writer wishes to express his gratitude for the distinct privilege of having served as a part of the administration of a great President, for the opportunity of having been an employee of the agency which was created through the foresight and rare humanitarianism of Harry L. Hopkins, for having had the gracious guidance of Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward, and for having enjoyed the personal friendship, the administrative tutelage and the progressive leadership of Mrs. Florence Kerr.

George Foster
June 30, 1943
Washington, D.C.
RECORD
OF
PROGRAM OPERATION AND ACCOMPLISHMENT

THE FEDERAL MUSIC PROJECT
1935 TO 1939

THE WPA MUSIC PROGRAM
1939 TO 1943

Identification

During eight years of operation the music activities conducted by the Works Progress Administration and the Work Projects Administration (both referred to as the WPA) were known by several inclusive titles which are listed in chronological order.

Federal Music Project - 1935 to 1939
WPA Music Program - 1939 to 1942
Music Section of the War Services Program - 1942
Music Section, Division of Program Operations - 1943

In the States during part of 1942 and 1943 music services were included in the Music Phase of State-wide War Services Projects. The term "Division of Program Operations" was not used at the State level. In order to avoid confusion in names and dates, this report will use only two titles: The Federal Music Project and the WPA Music Program.
The major Division of the WPA under which music projects were administered was known by several names throughout its existence. These names in chronological order were the Division of Professional and Service Projects, the Division of Women's and Professional Projects, again the Division of Professional and Service Projects, the Division of Community Service Programs, and the Division of Service Projects. This Division, under its several titles, administered projects in the white-collar and service categories. It included all projects which employed women and professional persons. From 1935 to 1936 the Division of Professional and Service Projects was under Jacob Baker. From 1936 to 1938 Mrs. Ellen S. Woodward was Assistant Commissioner in charge of this Division. Mrs. Woodward was succeeded by Mrs. Florence S. Kerr.

Under the Federal Music Project the person in charge of FMP activities in the State was given the title State Director. Within the WPA Music Program the same person became the State Supervisor.
CHAPTER I

Description and History

The Federal Music Project was established under the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1935 (Public Resolution No. 11 - 74th Congress) which appropriated $1,880,000,000 for relief purposes and which authorized the Works Progress Administration. Of this amount $300,000,000 was earmarked for projects employing educational, professional, and clerical persons. This Act was approved and became law on April 5, 1935 at 4:00 p.m.

Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator of the Works Progress Administration, allocated $7,126,862 to the Federal Music Project which came into being during the month of July 1935. Thereafter followed the necessity for creating a national organization overnight and the obligation to employ a maximum number of needy musicians within the shortest possible time.

The Federal Music Project was designed to give employment to professional musicians registered on the relief rolls. The project employed these musicians as instrumentalists, singers, concert performers, and as teachers of music. See Exhibit "#1"

Description of Projects Operating Under WPA Sponsored Federal Projects Nos. 1 to 6 inclusive. The general purpose of the Music Project was to establish high standards of musicianship, to rehabilitate musicians by assisting them to become self-supporting, to retrain musicians, and to educate the public in the appreciation

Component activities of the Federal Music Project were symphony orchestras, small orchestral ensembles, string quartets, chamber ensembles, dance orchestras, bands, theatre orchestras, music teaching, music copying, maintenance of music libraries, piano tuning, vocal ensembles, vocal soloists, operatic and light opera ensembles, vocal quartets, grand opera, opera comique and chamber opera.

Dr. Nikolai Sokoloff, former conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra, was appointed Director of the Federal Music Project. Dr. Sokoloff had earned a reputation as an organizer as well as a musician. In building the Cleveland Orchestra he had started from the ground. His task had been not only that of welding a musical body but also, of creating an organization for financial support. (See International Cyclopedia of Music and Musicians, Oscar Thompson; Who is Who in Music - 1941 Edition)

Dr. Sokoloff immediately surrounded himself with a strong administrative staff including Dorothy R. Fredenhagen, former municipal carillonneuse of Albany, New York; A. Sandra Munsell, formerly an executive of the Musicians Emergency Fund, New York City; Ruth Haller Ottaway, President of the National Federation of Music Clubs and President of the National Women's Council; Harry L. Hewes, art and music critic, and foreign correspondent; and Elizabeth Calhoun.
Within the year William C. Mayfarth was appointed Assistant to the Director. Mr. Mayfarth had been Dean of Music at Converse College, South Carolina and came to Washington from the Federal Music Project staff in Pennsylvania.

In the field five Regional Directors were appointed by Dr. Sokoloff. These included Lee Pattison, Region II (for a year Louis Cornell of Boston acted as Regional Director for Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire and Vermont); Dr. Thaddeus Rich, Region III; Lamar Stringfield, Region IV; Guy Maier, Regions V and VI; and Lucille F. Lyons, Region VII. Region I included only New York City which was also treated as a separate State in WPA. Chalmers Clifton was Director for the FMP in New York City but never carried the title of Regional Director.

Some of the early State Directors of the Federal Music Project were Chalmers Clifton, New York City; Louis Cornell, Massachusetts; Alfred Hertz, Northern California; Theodore Hahn, Ohio (later became a Regional Director); Karl Wecker, Michigan (later Southern California); John Becker, Minnesota; Lucille F. Lyons, Texas; Wassili Leps, Rhode Island; Harle Jarvis, Southern California; Paul Pelton, Vermont, Regionalal Bennin, Maine; Harry C. Whitemore, New Hampshire; Erle Stapleton, North Carolina; Frederick Rocke, New Jersey; Ethel Edwards, Connecticut; Wilfred Pyle, Virginia; Renee Salamon, Louisiana; Jerome Sage, Mississippi; Frederick Goodrich, Oregon.
(Description and History)

Dean Richardson, Oklahoma; Helen Chandler Ryan, New Mexico; William Arvold, Wisconsin; and Leo Shopmaker, Kansas.

In establishing the Federal Music Project it was not necessary to create an entirely new organization in each State. In a number of States large music programs had operated under the Civil Works Administration and the Emergency Relief Administration. Massachusetts had an employment of over 2000 musicians under ERA. New York City, which had first established music services as a part of the local work relief program under the Gibson Committee in 1932, continued successively under CWA, New York City Department of Public Welfare and the ERA. Similar conditions existed in Pennsylvania, New York State, Maine and in several other States.

These pre-WPA attempts at music as a part of a work relief program were operated with varying success. New York City established an organization under ERA which functioned quite as efficiently as under the WPA. In Massachusetts the size of the ERA music program was unwieldy and included many persons who had no right to be supported as musicians. The general characteristics of pre-WPA music in work relief were shoddy performances by shabby musicians who operated without careful planning. "Made work" was the rule rather than the exception and ragged groups of musical "relievers" gave concerts in municipal lodging houses, rescue missions, county poor farms and orphan asylums.
In some States the reputation of ERA music impeded the WPA efforts to improve conditions. See Chapter I, Government Aid During the Depression to Professional, Technical, and Other Service Workers, Works Progress Administration, Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator, May 18, 1936, attached as Exhibit "$1$".

Since music projects had existed under CWA and FRA, since local musicians unions knew the approximate number and categories of their unemployed, and because of the strong support of the American Federation of Musicians, the Federal Music Project was organized more speedily than the other Federal Arts Projects. In February, 1935 there were nearly 9000 musicians employed on work relief projects (ERA). By March, 1936, 15,650 musicians were employed by the Federal Music Project (WPA) in 36 States.

For the story of the inception of the Federal Arts Projects during the first year of operation see Exhibit "$1$", Memorandum on Government Aid During the Depression to Professional, Technical, and Other Service Workers, Work Projects Administration, Harry L. Hopkins, Administrator, May 18, 1936, 75 pages. Chapter II of this book deals with the first year of the Federal Music Project.

Those States which had operated under ERA naturally had the most fortunate experiences in establishing units of the Federal Music Project. In most cases the transition was without a break in operations and personnel was transferred in toto. The States in which the birth of the Federal Music Project was less satisfactory
(Description and History)

were those rural States, particularly in the South, where the potentialities of the Program were not sufficiently spectacular to invite the attention of the Regional Directors. It was in such States that the attention of the Regional Director was most needed to search out qualified supervisors and to exert ingenuity in developing project activities which would best utilize the available personnel.

States which later produced music projects, which for their size and quality of operation ranked among the best in the country, operated second-rate programs with threadbare little orchestras and bands, unrecognized in their communities and applauded only in welfare institutions. The State WPA offices felt little responsibility for them since they were under Federal direction and the national office of the Federal Music Project paid them scant attention because they could not compete with larger States in producing musical grandeur. The result in such States was work RELIEF instead of WORK relief. The musicians knew that they were not contributing any significant service to their communities. They knew that they were relief clients and that the work that they were doing could continue only as long as a beneficent government was willing to support them. They knew that what they were doing could in no way fit them for private employment in their communities under existing conditions. The result was poor operation and a demoralized
personnel. It was in these States that the change in the administrative structure in 1939 brought the most glowing results.

The middle ground consisted of those States with comparatively large cities where ERA music projects had not existed before 1935. Here the organization was facilitated by the Locals of the American Federation of Musicians which had records of its unemployed members and were ready to give immediate support to obtaining rehearsal quarters and cooperating sponsors. Here too, the potentialities of creating a fine program with adequate personnel attracted the energies of the Regional Directors. Good supervision was available. Public school departments, mayors, local music groups, music critics and the music-loving public were eager to see this brand new Federal program get in operation. Some of these States fared better than those in which music had been a part of ERA services. The "made work" reputation of ERA was not present to hamper the new supervisors. In these States Dr. Sokoloff and such Regional Directors as Guy Maier were able to pitch in and immediately put into operation their modern concepts of social music without first breaking down the complacency of an old supervisor who had functioned under the easy-going policies of ERA. As a good example of a State which developed a music program without an ERA background see the Wisconsin Report of Program Operation and Accomplishment - Music Program.

Perhaps the most astounding record of the Federal Music
(Description and History)

Project was that which it accomplished in the first year of operation. The speed with which it was organized would seem to have required a long process of shaking down prior to mature operations and yet by the Fall of 1936 the FMP was in full-swing performance, creating and producing at a rate which it never surpassed. While the sounder policies of WPA music were formed more slowly, some of the most colorful work was produced in the first year. This was fortunate for it brought the Federal Music Project before the public quickly and the taxpayers were given an immediate return for their money within the fiscal year. If this had not been the case it is doubtful that the patience of Congress would have permitted another appropriation. Furthermore, had the FMP failed in fulfilling its essential mission of bringing quick relief to thousands of unemployed musicians, the support of these groups which aided in creating the Music Program, would have faded away.

By September 1936 there were 15,100 persons on the rolls of the Federal Music Project. 1600 of these were teachers - a ratio which remained fairly constant throughout the history of the Program. During the first year 11,000 persons attended WPA opera in Boston. As a Boston music critic remarked, the sign in the lobby of the Old Boston Opera House reading "Chauffers and Drivers" was out of place during that season because the chauffers and drivers were sitting in the boxes. For a year symphony orchestras had performed regularly...
(Description and History)

in San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, San Diego, Tulsa, Dallas, Detroit, Grand Rapids, Buffalo, Syracuse, Bridgeport, Providence, Richmond, Asheville, St. Paul, Milwaukee, and Boston. All this in a year! See Exhibit "2", Dr. Sokoloff's speech, Radio Station WBO, September 22, 1936. Also his speech before Music Teachers National Association, December 30, 1936 (Exhibit "2").

Among the first steps of the Federal Music Project was the emphasis on works by American composers in all concert programs. By July 1936 - less than a year of operation - more than 1500 compositions by 540 American composers had been performed by orchestras and bands of the FMP. This compilation does not include dance music or popular songs.

The count of FMP performing units by April, 1937 showed the following:

48 Symphony Orchestras
110 Concert Orchestras
80 Bands
91 Dance Orchestras
24 Theatre Orchestras (loaned to the Federal Theatre Project)
31 Choruses
28 Chamber Music Ensembles
24 Copyists and Library Units
260 Music Education Units employing 1290 teachers

There were also opera companies in New York City, California, Ohio, Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Florida.
Since October 1937 to April 1938, 57,000,000 people had attended performances by Federal Music Project units. First performances of American compositions had included: symphonies by Felix Borowski, Howard C. Christian and Frederick S. Converse; cantatas by Ernst Bacon, Seth Ninham and A. Buckingham Simon; masses by Giulio Silva and Nicola Montani; concerti by David Diamond, Frederick Jacobi, Boris Levenson, and Frederick Preston Search; symphonic poems by Arnold Cornelissen, Otto Luening, Gastone Ussigl, Ferdinand Fassnacht, Raymond Morris; suites and overtures by Radie Britain, Harvey Gaul, Werner Josten, Quinto Maganini, Robert Kanton, Laurence Powell, Hilton Rufty and Phillip Warner. Chamber opera was produced in New York City and included such items as Pergolesi's "La Serva Padrona", Ernst Toch's "The Princess on the Pea" and von Weber's "Abu Hassan".

The FMP opera company in Boston performed a varied repertoire ranging from "The Flying Dutchman" and "Madame Butterfly" to d'Alberts "Die Toten Augen" and Louis Gruenberg's "Jack and the Beanstalk".

Within a year of operation, several FMP symphony orchestras had established themselves so well in their communities that local sponsors were taking steps to insure their permanence through local financial support. The gradual development of private support for the Buffalo Philharmonic orchestra was begun and the organization of backing for the Tulsa Symphony began which resulted through a stroke of circumstance in the establishment of the Oklahoma State Symphony.
(Description and History)

Society. Hartford was beginning to build an organization for the support of an orchestra which unfortunately failed in private operation.

One of the most important innovations which was developed by the Federal Music Project during this period was the Composers Forum Laboratory. This feature of the Program was developed at the suggestion of Dr. Sokoloff and at all times was confined to large cities. The Composers Forum Laboratories created much favorable comment in the localities where they were conducted. Nationally the Forum never achieved the importance which it deserved and it is unfortunate that there were not more private resources available to continue and expand this aid to composers in every large city.

For a description of the operation of composers forum laboratories see Chapter XIV.

With the fiscal year 1936-37 came two significant developments in the Federal Music Project. One was the "prevailing wage" clause in the Relief Act and the other was the first quota reduction. The Emergency Relief Appropriations Act of that year included a clause which had not appeared in the original Act. This clause read: "The rates of pay for persons engaged upon projects under the foregoing appropriation shall not be less than the prevailing rates of pay for work of a similar nature as determined by the Works Progress Administration with the approval of the President".

First it should be understood that the prevailing wage clause of the Act did not raise the pay of any WPA worker. The
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monthly security wage remained the same and no worker could earn more than that amount. The prevailing wage clause only affected the hourly rate of pay. Therefore, the total effect of the prevailing wage clause was to restrict the hours which an employee might work. For instance, in large cities the union scale for brick-layers was $12.00 per day. The WPA security wage for a brick-layer may have been around $60.00 per month, depending upon the State. Therefore, in order to receive the prevailing wage of $1.50 per hour, the worker could be on the job for only 40 hours per month without exceeding the security wage of $60.00. The effect upon music projects was almost as bad. At one time New York City WPA musicians were working only 45 hours per month and Massachusetts was working 59. The "prevailing wage clause" was continued in the 1937 and '38 Relief Appropriation Acts and this practice did not end until the upheaval of 1939.

The years from '36 to '39 were marked by steadily decreasing quotas attended by vigorous protests from the Workers Alliance. In passing it may be said that the Workers Alliance, except in New York City, never played a substantial role in the history of FWP labor relations since it could not supplant the American Federation of Musicians as the bargaining Agency for the profession. By and large, the quota reductions between '36 and '39 were not harmful. In the rush of '35 to decrease unemployment music projects were over-expanded in some places. Good planning never would have
(Description and History)

built up the quotas which existed in a few States and communities.

The fundamental question was whether the WPA should employ as many needy musicians as its funds would permit, or whether the employment of musicians should be scaled to the ability of the communities to absorb the services of these musicians. This question would have been easier to answer had it been possible to transfer workers from the crowded cities such as New York and Chicago to other communities in need of good musicians. This could not be done and the result was that in New York City where approximately 1000 musicians were considered ample under a well planned ERA program, the Federal Music Project immediately jumped employment to 1500. Consequently, aside from the topnotch symphony orchestras, symphonic bands and dance bands, there was a fringe of small musical units mainly serving institutions. There were small bands made up of the type of musician who had earned from music only those fees obtainable from occasional Italian fiestas and funerals; the second violins of extinct vaudeville houses who had fiddled for a few months each winter and pecked at "friendship horns" (F flat altos) in the city parks for a few weeks in the summer. There were the peculiarly specialized musicians, who had played only Jewish weddings and Romanian picnics. It was in this field that greater rehabilitation could have been accomplished by training such people to skills outside the field of music. Typical of this group was the little Italian musician who came for a New York audition. Entering the room
he passed a professional card to the Chairman of the Audition Board, reading "Antonio Luigi" (fictitious), "Professor of Second Violin". Unwrapping a battered fiddle from an old newspaper and placing his music upon the music stand, with a sober face he scraped out two pages of after-beats from the second violin part of "Under the Double Eagle".

To the credit of the Administration and the cognizance of a great need by Mrs. Flanagan and Dr. Sokoloff, a procedure was developed for spreading the services of actors and musicians from the overcrowded metropolitan centers to rural areas. This procedure consisted of setting up a "loan project" in New York City and allocating to the loan project sufficient funds to pay the salaries and per diem subsistence of musicians and actors transferred to smaller communities. Thus if Sioux City needed an oboe to complete a symphony orchestra, an oboist might be assigned to the loan project in New York and sent to Sioux City without financial burden to the Iowa WPA. Unfortunately the loan project did not work. The prevailing wage was the chief cause. The oboist being sent to Sioux City from New York could be required to work only the hours of the New York FMP units and would receive the New York rate of pay. The States which were eligible to receive help from the loan project were unwilling to accept workers under such an arrangement, feeling that such conditions would create dissension among the native musicians who worked longer hours for less pay.
(Description and History)

By 1938, the Federal Music Project was at the height of its performance record. Symphony orchestras, established by the FMP were becoming integrated into the lives of the communities in which they operated. Such orchestras as the Buffalo Philharmonic, the Salt Lake City Symphony, the Oklahoma Symphony, and others, had obtained for themselves a solid footing which assured permanence. By '38 it was possible to see in the field of musical performance those structures which would last. It was possible by that year to point with considerable accuracy to those cities and areas where musical enterprises could be developed which would provide future employment opportunities for professional musicians. Patterns were forming which, if given time to develop, would greatly expand musical activities in the country.

Aside from the orchestras which were developing permanence in their own communities, there were others which were developing areas of travel which were encouraging. The Massachusetts State Symphony Orchestra, which never could compete nor wish to compete for Boston audiences with the established Boston Symphony Orchestra, had developed a fertile field in touring the smaller cities of Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island. Had the pattern of the Federal Music Project continued after 1939, it is believed that an orchestra of sixty men, with headquarters in Boston, could have provided its players with an annual living wage by a winter season of concerts in New England cities under 200,000 population, a spring season of festivals and a summer season at such resorts as
(Description and History)

Nantasket Beach, Old Orchard, Hampton Beach, the McDowell Colony, the Weirs, Bar Harbor and Newport. What would have been possible in New England also could have been developed in Wisconsin, Minnesota, Portland, Oregon, San Francisco and numerous other centers. Such developments were the essence of Dr. Sokoloff's plans for stimulating the employment of musicians through proving the practicability of his plans with Federal funds. Dr. Sokoloff made the statement on many occasions that if every American community which could afford to support a symphony orchestra did so, there would not be enough musicians of symphonic calibre to fill the need. It was possible through the Federal Music Project to prove to a community through a gradual and painless process that it could support a symphony orchestra or that it could support a symphony orchestra with a minimum of Federal assistance.

It would require too much space in this report to trace the history of all the significant developments which were nurtured by the Federal Music Project. There will be found in Exhibit "#2" more detailed reports of individual activities. Also there will be found in Exhibit "#2" a report of the Federal Music Project from 1935 to 1939. There were great omissions in the policies of the Federal Music Project. There were fallacies in the concept and structure of Federal Project No. 1. But after 1939 the change in the paid admissions procedures, the confining elements of local sponsorship, the lack of technical control and the absence of personal relationships from the Director, through his Regional Directors to the
State Directors, restricted to a considerable extent the type of organization and development which Dr. Sokoloff had conceived and activated.

The accomplishments of the WPA Music Programs were great and, in some instances, sounder than those of the Federal Music Project. However, these new accomplishments and purposes had to develop out of and conform to the new type of national organization required by 1939 legislation. The old pattern had to be dropped and those activities which flowered under the FMP continued only with great effort. Fortunately such orchestras as the Buffalo Philharmonic were developed to a point where the complicated financial regulations of the post-FMP years were unable to stop them. But other orchestras such as the Bridgeport Symphony, the Wisconsin Symphony, the Portland Philharmonic and the Huntington Symphony might have survived the end of WPA if they had been able to continue under the old FMP admissions procedures.

In April 1939 Dr. Sokoloff resigned from the Directorship of the Federal Music Project. He had seen the end of his dream approaching and his temperament could not have endured the detachment of the Washington office under the WPA Music Program. The monuments of his planning and organizational ability still stand and should demand a large chapter in the history of American culture. Every official of the Federal Music Project who worked in close contact with Dr. Sokoloff has enjoyed a stimulus and inspiration which will last long after the personal association has ceased. He carved his own record and it has endured well.
With the realignment of WPA music activities under the WPA Music Program a change in directorship took place. The resignation of Dr. Nikolai Sokoloff in April 1939, and the subsequent resignation of William C. Wayfarth as Deputy Director in June of the same year, required a reorganization of the Program staff in the summer of 1939. During the hiatus between the Federal Music Project and the WPA Music Program, the national office was in the charge of George Foster, who served as Acting Deputy Director. Mr. Foster had been administrative assistant to the National Director serving as Regional Director for New York and New England. In August 1939, Dr. Earl V. Moore was appointed Director of the WPA Music Program and Mr. Foster returned to Region I.

The WPA Music Program

In accordance with the provisions of the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, all projects sponsored by the Work Projects Administration came to an end on August 31, 1939. (To gain the full implications of the phrase "sponsored by the WPA" as it affected the Federal Arts Projects, see Chapter II on Sponsorship). It was expected by many that the severance of Federal sponsorship would bring to an end the Arts Projects as effectively as legislative edict had erased the Federal Theatre Project. (See Public Resolution No. 24 - 76th Congress, 1st Session, "Emergency Relief Appropriation Act of 1939."
(The WPA Music Program)

This belief was shared by many within the WPA and the months of August and September, 1939, constituted a period of suspense during which the Administration could only hope but not predict that the several States would accept the responsibility of sponsoring the Arts Projects. During this same period great doubt was expressed by those who had administered the Federal Projects that these activities could continue successfully without Federal direction.

It was feared that the standards of operation, if left to the States, would fall to a level incompatible with the prestige which the Federal projects had gained and it was predicted that local pressure exerted through State sponsors, would wreck the artistic integrity of the State Music Projects.

General Letter No. 273, July 31, 1939, set forth the Instructions on the Organization of Arts Projects Within State WPA Programs. This document stated "The entire series of projects for the nation as a whole will be known as the WPA Art Program, WPA Music Program, WPA Writers Program, and WPA Historical Records Survey Program. State Art, Music, Writers, or Historical Records Survey Projects shall be operated by the State Division of Professional and Service Projects.'

In Washington three Subdivisions were established under the Professional and Service Division. These Subdivisions were Research and Records, Welfare, and Community Service. The latter Subdivision included the Arts Programs excepting the Historical Records Survey which was transferred to the Research and Records Subdivision. The National Director of the WPA Music Program was now responsible to the Director of Community Service Programs.
(The WPA Music Program)

The Emergency Relief Appropriations Act passed in 1939 did more than abolish the Federal Projects. It established requirements for all WPA projects which the legislators believed would eliminate the Arts Programs. The two major provisions of the Act which were intended to strike the death blow at the former Federals were (1) the requirement that sponsors must provide 25% of the cost of WPA operations, and (2) that all employees who had been on the pay roll for 18 consecutive months must be dismissed and reemployed only after reinvestigation of need.

The sponsorship provision in the Act was interpreted by Colonel Harrington to mean that the total sponsorship in a State must amount to 25% of the total cost of WPA operations. Therefore it was not required that each individual project obtain 25% sponsorship. This interpretation was a life-saver to the Music Program because the total non-labor costs of the Program did not amount to 5% and since the employment of personnel by sponsors was unsatisfactory except in the large symphony orchestras, a higher percentage of sponsorship could not be used. However, the sponsorship provision of the Act did its damage. In the first place it placed a premium, in the eyes of the State Administrators, upon those projects which would bring in the highest percentages in sponsorship. These projects were of the types which had the highest other-than-labor costs. Therefore construction projects were favored over service projects. Within the category of service projects the welfare activities were favored by the States over
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those of a cultural nature.

A concomitant blow at the Music Program was a provision in the Act which stated that admission receipts must be covered into the Miscellaneous Receipts of the Treasury and could not be counted as sponsors contributions. This action wiped out the biggest item of sponsorship which had placed the Music Program ahead of many service projects in sponsorship. This difficulty was partially overcome by drawing contracts in such a manner that most of the money accruing from paid admissions concerts would be held and spent by the sponsor for equipment needed by the Music Projects. However, this procedure was not practical for touring orchestras which would deal with a different sponsor every night. Furthermore, in many States the Official Sponsor was not legally authorized to hold funds. The effect of the sponsorship provisions of the Relief Act upon State Administrations was felt within the structure of the Music Projects themselves. State Administrators were inclined to favor only those music activities which brought high sponsorship to the detriment of more worthwhile activities.

As in the case of the "18 months provision" of the Act, the congressional attempt to revise certain WPA practices was aimed at construction projects. The reasoning behind the "25% sponsorship clause" was an attempt to prevent the Work Projects Administration from spending large amounts of Federal funds in purchasing materials. On large construction projects where materials were expensive and
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WPA wages were low it was not at all uncommon for non-labor costs to constitute 50% of the total cost. In some cases the Work Projects Administration had assumed not only the cost of the labor but also a great part of the material cost. The "25% clause" was aimed at this situation. Congress intended that of the total labor and non-labor costs the WPA should not pay for more than 100% of the labor and 50% of the non-labor. However, the Music Program had a non-labor cost average of not more than 3% while the labor costs were higher than many other Professional and Service Projects. Therefore, if the sponsor assumed entire other-than-labor costs of a Music Project he was 22% short of the congressional requirement.

The "18 months" provision of the 1939 - '40 Relief Act, likewise was inserted with the best of intentions but because of the habit of legislating only for construction projects, a tremendous amount of damage was inflicted upon projects of a continuing type.

Item b, Section 16 of the Act stated "There shall be removed from employment on Work Projects Administration projects all relief workers, excepting veterans, who have been continuously employed on such projects for more than eighteen months, and any relief worker so removed shall be ineligible to be restored to employment on such projects until after (a) the expiration of thirty days after the date of his removal, and (b) recertification of his eligibility for restoration to employment on such projects. In the case of relief workers whose period of eighteen months of
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continuous employment expires before September 1, 1939, this section shall apply to require their removal not later than August 31, 1939, rather than on such expiration date."

This section of the Act was intended to break up the ranks of imagined perennial "relievers", whom it was supposed would prefer to "loaf on work projects rather than go out and seek an "honest living". The effect was just the opposite. It was true that on construction projects, a rotation of employment might do little harm. The WPA had never been able to employ more than a small proportion of the unemployed. One unskilled worker could swing a pick about as well as the next one and therefore the "18 months clause" might spread the work among more people. However, the men who were employed on the construction projects were those who were likely to be least affected. Construction projects had beginning and termination dates. Men were employed on a project authorized to build a municipal garage. When the garage was completed the project ceased to exist and the men were dropped from the WPA unless another project was ready to begin operation which needed the same skills and the same number of men. Therefore the unskilled laborers of the construction division were those least likely to have been employed for eighteen consecutive months without a break of at least a day or two.

In the case of the Music Program as in the case of every other WPA Program of a continuing nature where professional and
technical personnel was employed, a respectable turnover in
personnel had been maintained. Whereas, in unskilled classifica-
tions, the laborer might receive no more money in private enter-
prise and often sub-standard working conditions, the musician re-
ceiving at the most $94.00 per month, would not hesitate to accept
a theatre engagement paying at least $60.00 per week. The music
projects suffered in particular because every man in an orchestra
filled a particular niche without which the whole could not
function. It was not difficult for the construction project to
terminate 50 laborers and draw 50 more from the ever loaded relief
rolls but the Music Project Supervisor could not drop 50 musicians
and simply requisition an equal number of replacements. He would
find that there were fifty musicians awaiting assignment but that
twenty five were drummers and the rest equally divided between
saxophonists and second fiddlers. From this waiting list he was
supposed to replace oboists, bassonists, harpists, tympanists, etc.,
in the correct proportions.

The immediate effect of the "18 months clause" was to stop
the operations of every WPA orchestra for about two months. From
the first "18 month" lay-off until the last music project was liquid-
ated in 1943, there was never a time when some WPA orchestra was not
being faced with the absence of a key instrumentalist on the eve of
an important concert because his 18 months were up on that date.
Actually, the "18 months" clause created little rotation of
employment on music projects among the better qualified musicians.
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Theatre men and dance musicians could be rotated without much harm to their organizations but in the symphony orchestras the practice was to struggle along with a man transferred from another unit until the key man had "served his sentence" and was reinstated to the project. As far as musicians were concerned, the sum total effect of this congressional addition to the '39 Act was to work a great hardship upon musicians who, for no fault of their own, could not obtain private employment. It further raised havoc with the attempt of the Music Program staff to render public services commensurate with the monies appropriated by Congress.

The few pages which have been devoted to the transition of 1939 cannot do justice to the distressing problems which faced Dr. Moore when he assumed Directorship of the WPA Music Program. These legislative measures were enough to eradicate music from the WPA and the fact that Dr. Moore accepted the challenge of each legislative obstacle, and sent the Music Program on the most productive period of its history is sufficient testimony to his character and his mental powers. In review, the Emergency Relief Appropriations Act for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1940 made these adverse changes in the structure of the Music Program: (1) Federal operation ceased and music projects came under the immediate direction of the State Administrations; (2) 25% sponsorship was required of all WPA operations, (3) all employees had to be dismissed after they had been employed for 18 consecutive months. After the enactment of these provisions and the added blow relating
to paid admissions, it was doubtful that even the Administration expected the music projects to continue.

For three months the life of the Music Program hung in balance. The States were struggling frantically to obtain official sponsors for the new State-wide projects. Desperate drives were being made in the communities to obtain local co-sponsors who would provide sufficient contributions in cash or in kind to permit the continuation of music units. Scarcely had the sponsors been obtained and the necessary project applications approved in Washington when the deadline date of the "18 months" clause dismissed practically every project musician in the United States. This was even a greater crisis than the problem of sponsorship for there was no way of predicting how many musicians would be eligible to return after their "furlough". Many States had stiffened their relief certification requirements since the project musicians were first employed and since all workers had to be re-certified before becoming eligible for re-assignment to WPA, the future was unpredictable. Furthermore, there was bound to be a bottleneck in the relief offices of every city when the thousands of dismissed project employees would flood in for recertification. One more obstacle obscured the future of the WPA Music Program. According to the regulations of the Work Projects Administration, there was no assurance that a dismissed worker would be returned to the same job from which he was dismissed. If a requisition from the music project was not waiting in the Division of Employment on the day when a musician
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returned for assignment, he was likely to be assigned to a sewer job. If he did not accept this work he was forever barred from WPA employment for having "refused assignment".

The first stroke of the "18 months" provision put all WPA music units out of action for about six weeks during and after the month of October, 1939. After that there was a steady trickle of musicians back to their former posts. They had complied with the law. They had spent thirty or more days in a futile attempt to find employment which did not exist. They had served their sentence and had lost at least $100 from a bare subsistence budget.

The upset in the paid admissions procedure was not without its blessings. One immediate result was to end a tendency toward commercialism which had developed in some of the larger States. State Directors of the WPA who had large and excellent units and whose promotional devices had been successful, were rapidly becoming more impressed with the size of their Agent-Cashiers fund than with the actual public service which they were rendering. They could not be blamed entirely for this tendency. In spite of the fact that it was stated in the procedures of the Federal Music Project that the normal policy was free concerts for those who could not afford to pay for good music, considerable pressure had been applied to the States to demonstrate that their units could eventually become self-supporting. This concern had originated in the White House and the word had been passed down to the States that the President was sympathetic to the
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Arts Projects but that he felt they were expensive services unless there was definite proof that they were gradually becoming self-supporting. This attitude had been thoroughly discussed between the Directors of the Federal Projects in Washington and by the time the President's concern had been passed down to the State Directors it had achieved the effect of an order to "earn your other-than-labor costs, or else". Consequently, the State Directors turned the pressure on their promotion supervisors and bookers to an extent that in many States during 1938 and '39 very few free concerts were given.

In the Fall of 1939, when sufficient workers had returned from their "18 months dismissals" to form presentable orchestras and bands, the State Supervisors of the WPA Music Program turned their attention toward educational concerts in the public schools. Project bookers who had been trained to whip up enthusiasm among American Legion Posts and fraternal organizations to sponsor paid admissions concerts were now groomed to approach public school superintendents on the subject of developing series of educational concerts. The chief problem in presenting these concerts was the cost of transportation. In some cases these costs were paid by PTA groups, sometimes from school district funds and not unusually by contributions from the students. Progressive State Music Projects assigned specialists to the task of developing program series. These were usually arranged in cooperation with the public school music supervisors. Program notes were prepared by the music projects and program materials were
forwarded well in advance to schools in order that the pupils might
be well prepared by the time of the concerts. Since in the majority
of States the State Department of Education was the official sponsor
of the Music Project, this development of public school concerts won
enthusiastic support and cooperation from these sponsors. Furthermore,
where paid admissions concerts were still conducted, the public
school concerts afforded a fine medium of automatic promotion.
Children who had heard the WPA orchestras in their schools carried
home the good word with the result that the parents were already "sold"
on the project concerts. In travelling, it was not uncommon to present
a public school concert in the afternoon and a paid admissions concert
in the evening. Since the same public body co-sponsored both concerts
and since there was no revenue from the school performance, the sponsor
was generally allowed to retain all of the receipts, thereby avoiding
the red-tape of the new legislation.

In Michigan an ingenious device for the fullest utilization
of project bands was achieved. A Michigan band would travel to a
rural community giving an educational program in one or more schools
during the morning. In the afternoon the members of the band would
hold a clinic with the instrumentalists of the school band, helping
them with difficult passages, showing them improved fingering and
correcting whatever faults appeared in their playing. Toward the
end of the afternoon the public school band and the project band would
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hold a joint rehearsal under the baton of the public school supervisor. At this rehearsal the project musicians and the school children would share the same stands. Thereby the pupils had the experience of playing beside a professional musician and benefitting from his experience. In the evening of the same day it was not uncommon for the project band to give a public concert in the community. While this was a strenuous day for the project musicians it consumed so many of the allotted working hours that an additional day of rest could be scheduled during the pay roll period. Such full use of time was much more popular with the musicians than the usual practice of scheduling a three hour rehearsal or a concert on each of the seven week days.

Conspicuously good educational programs were developed in Connecticut, Ohio, Massachusetts, Maine, Illinois, and Dallas, Texas. With this revision in the general direction of performance services a considerable job of training had to be done with project conductors. Even among the best and most experienced of these conductors there were few who understood child psychology or the fundamental principles of presenting an educational concert. Those conductors with chiefly theatre experience had not the slightest knowledge of proper program content and began with the supposition that they should play what the children enjoyed most. In some communities they were encouraged in this attitude by public school music teachers with the result that what should have been an educational experience turned out to be a maudlin collection of sentimental popular songs. These
practices were immediately halted and as is outlined in the Chapter on Training, institutes were established to train conductors for this new task. As a result of this training and their subsequent success in presenting children's concerts, many conductors were taken into public school systems on municipal pay rolls. Sample programs and materials for educational concerts are included in Exhibit "#7".

This introduction of music performances into the educational systems of communities came at a time when the new emphasis on music education established by Dr. Moore provided for a perfect integration of all project activities and narrowed the gap which had existed in all music projects between the music education activities and the performance units. This integration of services provided a program, perhaps less spectacular than the operatic presentations of '36 and '37, but more firmly rooted in community interests, more likely to produce future employment opportunities and obtaining a fuller return in services from the project musicians. Small units such as eighteen and twenty piece bands which had not been of sufficient size or instrumentation to warrant notable public performances were now able to devote part of their time to teaching, and part to band clinics along the lines of the Michigan plan previously mentioned. In Kansas City, Kansas, bandmen were dispatched to each public school to assist the instrumental supervisors of the public school system in conducting their instrumental classes. In that same city during the summer months a large youth band was formed from the ranks of high school band players. This band was formed around the
professional nucleus of the small WPA band. Daily rehearsals were held in a public park and recreational activities such as sports and picnics were added to the after-rehearsal schedule. Instrumental clinics were conducted by the project musicians. This venture, operated for two summers, had the enthusiastic support of the Kansas City public school system. In effect, it meant that the public school music supervisors were relieved of the arduous task of getting all of the high school students back into playing condition after a summer of musical idleness. A Kansas bulletin dealing with the above-mentioned activity is included in Exhibit "#7".

The same cooperation which was developed between music project units and the public schools was inaugurated between the music projects and amateur community musical organizations. This was a reversal of the policies of the Federal Music Project. One of the unbending regulations of FMP days was that all concerts must be presented by the Federal Music Project. The FMP never could assist in a performance. The fear was that the identity of the Project would be lost and that the project units would be exploited by local conductors for their own aggrandizement. On occasions it was very difficult to obtain the permission of the Washington office of the Federal Music Project for a project orchestra to provide the accompaniment for a local performance of the "Messiah" by the community chorus unless the program read "Presented by the Federal Music Project, assisted by the Community Chorus".
Throughout the country there were and are hundreds of community orchestras composed mainly of amateurs who would be able to present concerts of the best musical literature if they had an oboe, or one good leader for the cello section, or a few good violins for the outside desks. At the same time there were music project orchestras of twelve, eighteen, or twenty five men -- good musicians but, because of their small numbers, unable to compete for public attention even in a small town, with the radio orchestras heard by everyone. Such project orchestras languished in obscurity, barely large enough to present school concerts and unappreciated by the general public. The key to the productivity of such units was the combination of these units with the community orchestras which had a crying need for their help. Some of these arrangements were on a regularly scheduled basis while others were of a temporary or periodic nature. In New Hampshire, the State WPA Orchestra joined forces with the Nashua Symphony Orchestra and in Minnesota the WPA symphony orchestra sent a nucleus of players to assist the community orchestra in Hibbing. In Staunton, Virginia, project musicians kept alive the historic Stonewall Jackson Brigade Band, an amateur community organization organized in the 1840's. Taking a cue from Kansas City and Interlochen, the Nebraska WPA orchestra and the project music teachers operated a summer camp for high school band and orchestra players.
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Assistance in the development of community and educational music enterprises was not confined to the contributions of performance units and music teachers. Particularly in Milwaukee, the music copying unit, sponsored by the Milwaukee County Public Library, directed its efforts toward making music available to community organisations in a form most practical for their use. Orchestral scores and parts in the Breitkopf and Haertel, and Peters editions were rearranged and recopied for the use of orchestras lacking oboes, bassoons, and four horns in such a way that they could be played by the more commonly available instruments. These transcriptions were made carefully, avoiding the bad taste which has prevailed in most of the published transcriptions. Orchestral accompaniments to large choral works were transcribed for band to facilitate outdoor performances. Symphonic works were rescored for piano, four hands, when such works were not available in printed editions. Also in Wisconsin, similar work was done in Madison by the WPA music copyists for the Library of the University of Wisconsin.

In the field of community opera, the orchestra and conductor of the Portland WPA Symphony Orchestra (Oregon) assisted in the community presentation of such works as the "Beggars Opera" and Pergolesi's "La Serva Padrona".

In introducing Dr. Earl V. Moore to the members of the Joint Regional Conference and Music Education Institute at Des Moines, Iowa, April 14, 1941, the writer of this Report spoke of Dr. Moore
as having found a project and left a program. This statement had a
dual significance as Dr. Moore arrived in Washington at the time the
Federal Music Project had just closed and the WPA Music Program was
opening. However, the real significance intended by the speaker,
was the fact that Dr. Moore found the remains of a large Nation-wide
project, the activities of which were limited chiefly to presenting
public concerts of the highest possible professional standards.
Music Education activities had been neglected on the whole and
there had been little effort made to broaden the scope of project
activities or to integrate these activities into the cultural lives
of the communities with the exception of a few symphony orchestras
which were developed in cities such as Buffalo, Oklahoma City, and
Salt Lake City.

Dr. Moore founded a program in fact as well as in official
title. His program was elastic. It was constantly being changed in
each State to best serve the communities and their particular needs.
Training was greatly expanded not only that the project workers might
serve the Program better but that they might serve the needs of their
communities better, thereby insuring their own futures. The emphasis
upon the best possible symphonic performances by large orchestras was
by no means diminished in those cities where such a program provided
the best service. Under the WPA Music Program, the New York City
concerts graduated into the dignified housing of Carnegie Hall and
played to greater audiences than had ever before heard WPA concerts
in that city. The Illinois WPA Symphony Orchestra in Chicago continued with success its brilliant series of concerts emphasizing the less beaten paths of symphonic literature. Oklahoma City and Buffalo took over their WPA orchestras and in Salt Lake City the WPA orchestra won an appropriation from the State legislature. Professionally, nothing was lost under the WPA Music Program until the war diverted personnel and redirected services. The greatest difficulties of the WPA Music Program from 1939 to December 7, 1941 were those of trying to cope with the administrative vagaries in some of the States and in particular, District organization.

In June or July of 1940 Dr. Moore resigned as Director of the WPA Music Program in order to return to his duties at the University of Michigan. However, he remained as a Special Consultant periodically visiting Washington and constantly rendering valuable service from his office in Ann Arbor. In August 1940, Mr. George Foster was appointed Deputy Director of the Music Program. This position had been vacant since the resignation of William C. Hayfarth in 1939. Mr. Foster adhered closely to the policies of Dr. Moore and remained in constant communication with him.

In the summer of 1940 the National Guard was called into service and the first Selective Service Act was passed. The first registration under the Act was in October of that year and by Christmas the first wave of selectees began pouring into the Army camps. Also during the Summer of 1940 thousands of young men enlisted
voluntarily in the armed forces and under the Lend-Lease Act our arsenals and munitions plants were approaching wartime production.

In the Fall of 1940 it became obvious that the services of the State music projects were to be needed on military reservations and in communities adjacent to Army camps. Also it appeared that the strain of stepped-up defense production might be eased by the services of music project units.

The first State to begin turning its project activities toward the national defense program was Massachusetts. As early as August 1940, the Massachusetts Music Project began providing bands for recruiting rallies and in September of that month concerts were inaugurated in the historic Springfield Arsenal engaged in the production of Garand Rifles. When the first National Guard Regiments arrived in camp many were without bands and the existing Army bands were not sufficient to fill the needs of the ranks which were expanding rapidly even under volunteer enlistments. During that period, many WPA bands were assigned to Army camps to play for daily company drills, guard mount and retreat.

In 1940 the Army Air Corps was without bands and the WPA supplied many of its musical needs. The removal of the National Guard from the States brought about the formation of State militia units to serve within the State borders in case of internal disorder.
(The WPA Music Program)

and these units were often provided with WPA bands for drill.

By January 1941 twenty-one of the State music projects were engaged in some form of defense activities. In California and Florida there was an immediate need for entertainment in the Army and Navy establishments which, in the early days of mobilization, grew most rapidly in those States. By January the draftees were beginning to roll toward the induction centers and project bands were regularly assigned to railroad station send-offs. The success of the noon-day concerts of the Massachusetts Music Project at the Springfield Arsenal inspired other similar services at the Watertown Arsenal, also in Massachusetts and at the Northern Pump Company plant in St. Paul, Minnesota. Massachusetts still led the Music Program in the scope of its defense activities, supplying during that month bands in nineteen National Guard Armories, furnishing bands to Army units at Fort Snelling and at widespread recruiting rallies.

As the Army was without bands in the early days of mobilization it was also without a sufficient number of Special Services officers. Therefore, the State music projects were called upon to provide leaders for musical activities in the camps. Chorus leaders were in great demand and calls began to be received for instrumental instructors.

The Summer and Fall of 1941 was a period when Army morale probably reached its all time low. The National Guard units had been in camp for a year and the selectees for nearly that long.
(The WPA Music Program)

War was not in sight and the men resented the endless drill without the prospect of a chance to fight. Army recreation was not completely organized to care for the number of men under arms and the commanding officers in the camps were desperate for help in keeping the men supplied with healthful recreation. Consequently the services of the State music projects to the armed forces were redoubled. Hitherto the Program had attempted to preserve a balance between services to civilians and those to the armed forces. The Report on National Defense Activities for the month of June 1941 reflects the stepped-up schedule of assistance to the Military. Forty-two State music projects were engaged in some form of defense activity and in some States all civilian services had ceased.

According to this June report practically every WPA dance band was devoting full time to the military reservations and surrounding communities. Good dance men formerly employed in other units or in music education centers were withdrawn in order to form more dance units. It was unexpected at the time but it was soon found that the project symphony orchestras filled the recreation halls and aircraft hangars as quickly as the dance bands. In California the commanding officer in charge of the summer maneuver area asked that entertainment units of musicians be formed to accompany the troops in the field on maneuvers. A unit sent from San Francisco travelled fifty miles nightly to bivouacks. At one clearing in the woods this group performed from the back of an Army truck before an
audience of 10,000 soldiers at one time. Soldiers began to ask for music instructors to teach them to play instruments during their free hours. Army bands wanted coaches on some instruments so that while the emphasis of the defense program was upon wholesome entertainment, the music education units were not left without a chance to serve. Most States soon had all of their qualified choral and voice instructors assigned to the camps. Massachusetts, still determined to outdo the other States, counted 520 of its 764 employees as engaged in serving the armed forces. The Army was depending upon Massachusetts Music Project bands for full services at eight forts and air bases. Services at the Erie Ordnance Depot followed the example set at the Springfield Arsenal and similar services were being rendered at the Powderbag Company plant at Charleston, Indiana. An incomplete list of military posts, where WPA music services were provided during June, 1941, numbered 142. The following industrial plants were listed as receiving WPA music services:

Consolidated Aircraft San Diego, California
Billings & Spencer Connecticut
Powderbag Plant Charleston, Indiana
Northern Pump Company (gun mounts) St. Paul, Minnesota
Curtis Bomber Plant Omaha, Nebraska
Haskell & Pompton Lakes Munition Plant New Jersey
Republic Aviation Company Farmingdale, New York

Copies of Defense Activities for the months of January through June 1941 will be found attached as Exhibit "#11".

During the last six weeks of the calendar year 1941, it was found that the travel budget of the Division of Service Projects was
running extremely low. A large number of consultants had been in the field revising project activities to fit the national defense program. Consequently, Mrs. Kerr decided to "ground all consultants in Washington" until after January 1, 1942, and, in order to take full advantage of the period when everyone would be in Washington, a series of work conferences were scheduled for the week of December 7, 1941. The conference came and with it came Pearl Harbor. On the morning of December 8, 1941 the following telegram was sent to the Honorable Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of War, and to the Honorable Frank Knox, Secretary of the Navy:

"RESOURCES OF WORK PROJECTS ADMINISTRATION COMPLETELY AVAILABLE TO ARMY AND NAVY. WE ARE NOW EMPLOYING ABOUT ONE MILLION UNEMPLOYED PERSONS. DISTRIBUTION OF THIS EMPLOYMENT CAN BE FURTHER CHANGED TO MEET WAR NEEDS. PROJECTS FOR DEFENSE WHICH HAVE BEEN CARRIED ON FOR YEARS IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH YOU CAN BE SPEEDED UP, ENLARGED AND NEW ONES QUICKLY STARTED. PENDING SUCH TIME AS FULL PRIVATE EMPLOYMENT IS POSSIBLE I ASSURE YOU THAT THE UNEMPLOYED WANT TO WORK FOR THEIR COUNTRY ON THE MOST ESSENTIAL PROJECTS. IN ADDITION WPA HAS ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF IN EVERY STATE AND MOST COUNTIES WITH YEARS OF EXPERIENCE IN LOCAL CONDITIONS, AND THIS STAFF IS AT YOUR DISPOSAL FOR ANY SERVICES YOU MAY DESIRE.

HOWARD C. HUNTER
COMMISSIONER"

The same morning the following telegram was sent to all State Work Projects Administrators:

"STATE OF WAR DEMANDS COMPLETE COOPERATION AND EFFECTIVENESS OF WPA. WAR AND NAVY DEPARTMENTS HAVE REQUESTED ACCELERATION OF WORK ON VITAL PROJECTS AND POSSIBLE DEFERMENT OF OTHERS NOT ESSENTIAL AT THIS TIME. YOU ARE INSTRUCTED TO CLOSE OFF RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE ALL CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS OF NONDEFENSE NATURE USING CRITICAL MATERIALS OR LABOR WHERE THEY CAN BE EFFECTIVELY
December 7, marked the end of the WPA Music Program as a professional program. From that date on no activity was continued which did not directly serve the armed forces, war industry, or the sale of War Bonds and stamps. While several symphony orchestras continued to serve in large military areas and perform concerts sponsored by the United States Treasury Department, most of the smaller units were converted in dance bands for the army camps and naval bases. The music education activities disappeared almost over night. At the same time workers began to leave the program so fast as to necessitate the abandonment of several music units. This was especially true on the Pacific Coast where employment opportunities in and out of the musical profession withdrew personnel in droves.

As all types of projects in the Division of Service Projects began to dwindle rapidly in personnel it became necessary to consider the consolidation of projects in order to hold adequate supervision. During January the author of this report made a tour of the Middle West and the Southwest to develop plans in those States for the organization of consolidated Public Activities.
Projects, thereby eliminating separate State projects such as Music, Education, Research and Records, and Art. Before this trip was completed plans had moved so rapidly in the Washington office that the current plan of consolidation was scrapped in favor of a more drastic reorganization. This reorganization consolidated the Research and Records and the Public Activities Subdivisions into the War Services Programs Subdivision. During the Summer of 1942 this consolidation was carried out in the States. The WPA Music Program was ended.

From the consolidation of the War Services Programs music activities were almost entirely of a recreational nature. Music education services were declared ineligible and the only vestiges of professional music were the United States Treasury Concerts in New York City and Michigan. By the Summer of 1942 the Washington office of the Music Program consisted of only the Director, George Foster, who was assigned to other administrative duties. In the States many of the former State Supervisors were advanced to more important administrative posts. Even as late as March 1943 many WPA orchestras were still playing full schedules in Army camps, military hospitals and air fields. And as late as May 1943 a handful of people who were appointed to State Directorships by Nikolai Sokoloff in 1935 were assisting in putting away the administrative affairs of the Work Projects Administration. On April 30, 1943, the last work projects closed in a few remaining State Administrations. The last encore had been played.
(The WPA Music Program)

And now for the box score. Going back to the objectives originally stated in the Federal Music Project Manual, Preliminary Statement of Information, October 1935, Nikolai Sokoloff, Director — "The Federal Music Project is designed to give employment to professional musicians registered on the relief rolls. The Federal Music Project will employ these musicians as instrumentalists, singers and other concert performers, and as teachers of music."

Beginning with the year 1936, after the Federal Music Project was fully organized and operating, the employment on the FMP and the WPA Music Program ran as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Employment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 1936</td>
<td>15,435</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1936</td>
<td>15,112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1937</td>
<td>13,527</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November 1937</td>
<td>10,067</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1938</td>
<td>10,395</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1938</td>
<td>11,547</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1939</td>
<td>10,004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1939</td>
<td>10,072 (first WPA Music Program figure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1940</td>
<td>9,393</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1940</td>
<td>10,603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 1941</td>
<td>8,622</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December 1941</td>
<td>7,800</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"The general purpose of the Music Project will be to establish high standards of musicianship, to rehabilitate musicians by assisting them to become self-supporting; to retrain musicians, and to educate the public in an appreciation of musical opportunities" so continued the FMP Manual. The standards of WPA music were often higher than those of the communities in which they operated.

The WPA Radio transcriptions now deposited in the President's Library at Hyde Park, the Music Division of the Library of Congress and the
Library of the Federal Works Agency will serve as lasting evidence of the standards maintained by WPA bands and orchestras. The content of WPA concert programs and the attendance figures of the millions of persons who came to listen to these programs will testify to the standards of the Federal Music Project and the WPA Music Program.

The musicians who are now employed in the Buffalo, Oklahoma City, and Salt Lake City symphony orchestras give evidence of the training and rehabilitation which was accomplished by the WPA. The former WPA musicians now employed in every major symphony orchestra of the country is documentation of the assistance given by the WPA in making unemployed musicians self-supporting.

As for the education of the public in an appreciation of musical opportunities, one example is cited of which there were duplicates in almost every large city. At a public concert in the regular winter series of the Bridgeport Symphony Orchestra in 1941 the author of this report observed a rather unusual audience. The auditorium was sold out but the composition of the audience was puzzling. In the most expensive seats there was a fringe of white ties and tails. The usual carriage trade which has always sponsored symphony orchestras in our musical history. The carriage trade was silver haired or bald. But the rest of the audience was composed almost entirely of youth. Age and youth — there was nothing in between. An audience of those who had always paid the bill for music and those who had supported Clark Gable. Upon asking about this strange combination of auditors, the writer was informed that
(The WPA Music Program)

the older people were there because they were expected to be seen there. The youth, it was explained, had been receiving WPA symphony concerts in the public schools for the past five years and they had found that between a movie and a symphony concert, both costing thirty-five cents in Bridgeport, the symphony concert gave more satisfaction for the money. Also, the statement made by Arthur Judson at a meeting of the National Advisory Committee of the Music Program in 1941, is sufficient testimony to justify the governmental support of the WPA music services for eight years. Mr. Judson said in 1941 "the WPA Music Program already has advanced the cause of music in this country by ten years".

In evaluating the accomplishments of the Federal Music Project and the WPA Music Program it must always be kept in mind that Congress has not indicated at any time that it desired to create a government bureau of fine arts nor a federal subsidy of music. The authors of the successive Emergency Relief Acts which initiated and maintained the Work Projects Administration, provided funds for relief and the pages of the Congressional Record and the reports of the hearings before the Appropriations Committees of the House of Representatives and the Senate will bear out the statement that the legislators placed more importance on relief than upon the work of the WPA. If Congress had intended to create a work relief program it would not have injected such restrictive measures as the "means test", the "eighteen months clause" or the requirement of a periodic review of need. It was only the determination of the
(The WPA Music Program)

Commissioners of the Work Projects Administration and of Mrs. Kerr who insisted constantly that emphasis be placed on the quality of the work performed by the WPA.

The Music Program could have trimmed its employment to include only those musicians of the highest musical attainments. Such action would have created a more flawless program but it would have violated the dictates of Congress. Standards could have been established which would have held national employment to a limit of two or three thousand but had this been done the congressional repercussions could have terminated the program in short order. Instead the Directors and Supervisors of the Program did their best to train the available musicians to serve the most obvious needs of their communities. If anything, the State Supervisors tried to do too much with too little. The legislation under which the WPA Music Program operated certainly was not that which the professional musician would draft to most efficiently conduct music services under a work program. The great credit which is deserved by Dr. Sokoloff and Dr. Moore is for their ability to establish and maintain such high standards of operation and produce so much under legislation which was so ill-adapted to satisfactory operation. For years musicians have dreamed of government subsidies and Federal orchestras. The Work Projects Administration was not the fulfillment of that dream and yet it was accepted by many as such. The fact that the Music Program gave employment to thousands of needy musicians seemed to matter little to anyone except the American Federation of
(The WPA Music Program)

musicians and the musicians themselves. When project quotas were cut and orchestras occasionally disbanded, the letters which poured into Washington did not complain that John Jones had lost his job. They protested against the cessation of educational concerts in the public schools and demanded to know why their community orchestra could not continue to receive the services of WPA musicians. In the eyes of the public work came before relief but this attitude was not reflected in Congress.

In answer to the query "Did the WPA Music Program accomplish its purpose?" it can be answered that the WPA Music Program accomplished far more than its purpose as established by Congress. The Emergency Relief Appropriations Acts carried a mandate to employ needy persons to perform useful work. The Music Program certainly went far beyond that mandate and if the Program suffered any shortcomings it was in failing to reach all of the goals set for it by its parent administration and by its Directors. The Program will stand on its record.

Note: Exhibit "#3" contains miscellaneous statistics on the FLP and the WPA Music Program.
CHAPTER II

Sponsorship

The Federal Music Project was a component of Federal Project No. 1 which was sponsored by the Works Progress Administration and did not require sponsorship at the local level as a prerequisite to operation. (See Exhibit #1, Supplement No. 1 to Bulletin No. 29, September 30, 1935) The FWP Manual released in October 1935 carried a statement encouraging local sponsorship and set forth the functions and eligibility of "cooperating sponsors". Sponsorship at the State level was not encouraged at that time. The thought behind this policy was that the local cooperating sponsor might eventually take over the work of the project in his community while a State sponsor would provide only endorsement of a program. In later years this thought became fact since official sponsors (State) seldom took further active interest in a music project beyond signing the annual application for continuing the work.

Supplement No. 1 to Bulletin No. 29 which established Federal Project No. 1 carried the following statement on sponsorship:

"Cooperating Sponsor. It is desirable that some public, quasi-public, or non-profit agency indicate local interest in each work project. This local sponsor will be called the 'Cooperating Sponsor'. The District Supervisor of Projects and Planning, and the District Supervisors of Art, Music, Theatre, and Writing, in cooperating with representatives of the Federal Directors, shall encourage proper agencies to suggest desirable projects for which proper talent is available from the relief rolls. To this end the District Supervisor of Projects and Planning shall circulate to all such agencies WPA Form 320A, Cooperating Sponsor's Project Proposal. On this form the prospective sponsor may advise that it is willing to aid, either financially or otherwise, in making a project suggested by it of most value to the community".
This procedure actually was not followed. A project usually was established after the Federal, Regional, and State officials of the Federal Music Project had determined that there were on the local relief rolls sufficient musicians to establish a music project. After the project application was prepared and approved, and the project was in operation, cooperating sponsors were organized by the State Director. There is little or no evidence that the District Supervisor of Projects and Planning entered into the process of project initiation. In some cases Locals of the American Federation of Musicians acted as cooperating sponsors to the point of signing the project applications.

The lack of local responsibility for the initiation of project applications later proved to be a weakness in the structure of the Federal Music Project which was remedied in the legislation which abolished it. The excuse for this procedure was speed. In order to effect the employment of thousands of musicians on the relief rolls in a minimum space of time, it was necessary for immediate action which precluded long negotiations with community organizations to obtain sponsorship prior to project operation. It is not intended to imply that poor judgment was exercised by officials of the Federal Music Project in choosing the types of local projects which would best serve the needs of the communities and make the best use of the labor supply. However, the amount of community support which Federal Music Project units obtained,
would have been greater if the project units had been established
upon a request from responsible community groups. Under the
procedure of the Federal Music Project it was necessary to rally
support for the local projects after they were in operation. Under
the WPA Music Program community support was organized and active
before a musician had been assigned to the payroll. In justice it
must be repeated that if the procedure of the WPA Music Program had
been followed by the Federal Music Project, the operations of the
latter would have been retarded by nearly a year and within that year
the project would have been abolished. As soon as the rapid
initiation of music projects had been accomplished, State Directors
of the Federal Music Project immediately set about acquiring
cooperating sponsors. This development was accelerated by the
procedure for operating paid-admission concerts which is discussed
later in this Chapter.

There follows a list of typical cooperating sponsors in the
period from 1935 to 1937.

Miami Federation of Musicians, Miami, Florida
City of Pasadena, California
Buffalo Philharmonic Society, Buffalo, New York
Milwaukee Musicians Association, Local #6, A.P.O.F.M., Milwaukee, Wis.
Little Rock Boy's Club, Little Rock, Arkansas
Waterbury Park Department, Waterbury, Connecticut
Young Men's Hebrew Association, Wilmington, Delaware
Argonne Post #60, American Legion, Des Moines, Iowa
Local #260, American Federation of Musicians, Rockford, Illinois
Fort Wayne Recreation Department, Fort Wayne, Indiana
United Daughters of the Confederacy, New Orleans, Louisiana
City of Portland, Maine
Detroit Board of Education, Detroit, Michigan
Veterans of Foreign Wars, Silver City, New Mexico
Union Settlement, New York City
Lakeview Fire Department, Rockville Center, New York
Syracuse Symphony Orchestra, Inc., Syracuse, New York
Future Farmers of America, Waynesville, North Carolina
Committee of Townspeople, Rochester, Vermont
Philharmonic Society, Richmond, Virginia

This list, which represents a cross-section of Federal Music Project sponsorship, is a revelation in the growing acceptance of the broader social uses of music. This list represents few organizations which had ever participated in community music beyond a "sing" or a dance. These groups became the backbone of WPA music and continued their interest and support long after the old existing musical societies had succumbed to the enemies of the New Deal.

Note: For references on cooperating sponsors of the Federal Music Project see Exhibit #13.

The duties of these cooperating sponsors went considerably beyond the bare outline set forth in Supplement 1 to Bulletin No. 29. As in the case of all WPA projects the FMF was strictly limited in its use of Federal funds for other-than-labor costs. Therefore one of the first functions of the cooperating sponsor was to obtain rehearsal quarters for project orchestras, space for music education classes, music libraries and dignified housing for concerts. In few cases did the cooperating sponsor make a cash contribution toward the operation of the local project. In a few instances cash contributions were made to provide for the transportation of bands and orchestras, the rental of music libraries and the purchase of musical
instruments for music education centers.

The greatest function of the cooperating sponsor was in sharing the responsibility for paid admissions concerts. Had the original procedures for operating paid admissions concerts remained in effect after 1939, the legislative requirement of 25% sponsor contribution would have caused no concern.

Supplement No. 1 to Bulletin No. 29 stated "Admissions may be charged for performances and exhibitions. The exact financial procedures to be followed are defined elsewhere". This statement of policy included the Art, Music, and Theatre Projects. However, only the Theatre and Music Projects used the admissions procedure. The Federal Music Project Manual, October 1935, repeated the same statement as was contained in Supplement No. 1 to Bulletin No. 29.

On December 16, 1936, Operating Procedure No. F-45 was released bearing the title Procedure for Business Manager - Agent Cashier (Exhibit #14). The Business Manager - Agent Cashier was the position established for collecting and disbursing funds accruing from paid admissions public performances. This procedure set forth as the principal underlying the charging of admissions. "The collection of admissions by WPA sponsored Federal Project No. 1 is authorized to permit a higher quality of performance and a wider availability of entertainment than would be possible were such admissions not collected." And again - "Excellence of performance and availability of the entertainment may require a relatively high "other-than-labor"
cost" as well as considerable expenditure for travel. To the extent that such additional costs can be paid by communities served through the collection of admissions, such additional costs for equipment, materials, supplies, and travel can be afforded." The policy was also stated that free concerts should be the general rule and admissions should not be the objective of concerts.

The thinking behind the policy of charging admissions for WPA concerts was related to the danger of competition between WPA and privately supported orchestras. It was feared that the creation of a large number of WPA symphony orchestras and the presentation of a volume of free concerts would compete with private enterprise and would develop audiences which would not expect to pay for their music. It was hoped that by charging low admission prices, a new listening public would be developed which never before had been able to afford symphonic music but which, with returning national prosperity, would bring new support to the existing private orchestras. This policy met some early opposition from Joseph H. Weber, then President of the American Federation of Musicians, but it won approval from the large concert managements who were greatly concerned over the potential competition of the new Federal Program.

Dr. Sokoloff's policy was sound. In the first place, the people who could afford to attend New York Philharmonic concerts still did so because the Philharmonic was a better orchestra than the New York City Federal Orchestra. However, a new audience
developed which never had attended symphony concerts but which could afford $.25 and $.50 admissions. These new audiences were made up not only of students and adults who had always yearned for the music of the masters played by live musicians before their eyes, but also by curious youngsters who wanted to find out if this "symphony stuff" which could be bought for the price of a movie was really worth it. The proof of the soundness of Dr. Sokoloff's initial policy came when two years after the New York City Music Project initiated its low priced concerts, the New York Philharmonic lowered its rates to benefit from the new audience which the Federal Music Project had developed.

The practice of charging admission was carefully controlled from Washington and projects were prevented from getting into competitive fields. At the outset Dr. Sokoloff ruled that no dance orchestras should charge admission. Orchestras, except in New York and Chicago, were discouraged from giving paid admissions concerts in communities where there were existing symphony orchestras. In Massachusetts it was the custom to give paid admissions concerts only outside of Boston, except in cases where the Boston WPA orchestras were presenting special programs outside the usual range of Boston Symphony Orchestra repertories.

The immediate effect of charging admissions to music project concerts was to raise the prestige of the Program. WPA Music was no longer "made work". A relief program suddenly became
a Federal Program of culture. People actually believed that the day of the Federal Bureau of Fine Arts had arrived. With the simultaneous establishment of Art Centers by the Federal Art Project and the release of the first State Guides by the Federal Writers' Project, many believed that governmental subsidy of the Arts had come to stay. Music Project concerts in the large cities were now reviewed by first string critics. Paid advertisements of Federal Music concerts in New York took their places in the Times and the Tribune along with the Philharmonic and the "Met".

The secondary effects were to bring hundreds of community organizations into contractual relations with the Works Progress Administration, and to bring in sufficient funds to pay all of the other-than-labor costs of projects which operated paid admissions concerts. It was at this point that the Federal Music Project broke away from the time honored sponsors of "carriage trade" music and developed an entirely new field of music sponsorship. To see how this worked out it is essential that the types of contracts then in force be understood.

The Agent Cashier for each Music Project was authorized to draw contracts between the Federal Music Project and eligible cooperating sponsors. To demonstrate the most common type of contract there is used as an example the case of the Massachusetts State Symphony Orchestra travelling to Portland, Maine for a single concert. Tickets were printed according to the specifications of the Agent
Cashier and purchased from his fund. The sponsor of the concert was the Portland Council, Knights of Columbus. Assuming that the expenses of the Massachusetts Music Project in transporting the orchestra to Portland, printing tickets and posters, feeding the musicians, etc., amounted to $300, then the first $300 coming into the box office accrued to the Agent Cashier's fund. The expenses of the Knights of Columbus in renting the auditorium, paying for the local publicity and other promotion media might have been $300. Then the second $300 coming into the box office went to the K. of C. Any funds remaining thereafter would be divided between the Music Project and the sponsor on a percentage previously agreed upon and based upon such intangibles as non-paid promotion, the possibility of obtaining future engagements and the ability of the sponsoring group to shoulder financial burdens.

The contracts also carried a provision that the sponsor would guarantee all of the expenses of the Music Project in presenting the concert regardless of the box-office return. It also was required that no admission prices should be set above $1.00 for the most expensive seats and that an adequate percentage of the seats should be available at $25.

In spite of the low admission prices sponsors usually cleared their obligations and sometimes collected a small profit which was generally set aside to sponsor future concerts by music project units. It was this type of arrangement which enabled the project orchestras
to tour rural sections where large orchestras had never been heard or seen. Likewise it was the reasonableness of this type of contract which brought American Legion Posts, labor unions, volunteer fire departments and 4-H Clubs into the field of concert sponsorship. During the years from 1936 to '39 the larger music projects had staffs of booking agents who travelled extensively in arranging orchestra schedules as far as a year in advance.

The other most common type of contract was that entered into with local orchestral associations for an entire season. It was this type of arrangement which was developed in Buffalo, Oklahoma City, Portland, Oregon; and Hartford, Connecticut, where sponsors were struggling year by year to assume the full responsibility for the support of local symphony orchestras. In such communities a contract was drawn to remain in force for an entire orchestral season. It would provide for instance, that the Federal Music Project would furnish an orchestra of sixty men and that the sponsor would provide ten more men to be paid the union scale; and that the sponsor would pay the salary of a conductor to be chosen with the approval of the National Director of the Federal Music Project. The sponsor would guarantee to spend a specified amount of money on paid publicity and promotion, and to pay a specified amount for guest soloists, the choice to be agreed upon between local officials of the Federal Music Project and the sponsor. The sponsor was required to assume all expenses incurred in renting an auditorium and
(Sponsorship)

transporting instruments. In this type of contract a flat division of gate receipts was included with the sponsor usually receiving 60% of such receipts. Such an arrangement was only fair since aside from the employment of the relief musicians which would occur anyway, the sponsor carried the greatest expense and assumed all of the risk. It was only in this type of contract that the sponsor was encouraged to employ personnel. Under any other arrangement the use of sponsor-paid personnel was unsatisfactory since the music project could exert no control or discipline. In cases where the conductor was paid by the sponsor, the conductor was usually the man who had been employed by the Project formerly and therefore he understood WPA regulations and worked in close collaboration with the State Director of the Federal Music Project.

Under the procedure of the Federal Music Project it was possible for one State to borrow from the admissions fund deposits of another State and also it was in order for the Washington office to transfer funds when large surpluses were on hand. Through these procedures it was possible to equalize the benefits of paid admissions concerts and to provide small States with a reserve with which to initiate series of concerts or tours.

In some instances, the State Music Projects presented their concert series without local cooperating sponsors. Such ventures almost invariably met with financial disaster. Exceptions to this rule were the splendid concerts of unusual music presented by the
(Sponsorship)

Illinois WPA Symphony Orchestra in Chicago. Examples of such unfortunate ventures were the early opera presentations in New York City and Boston.

The financial procedures which were set forth in F-45 were the best under which the Federal Music Project or the WPA Music Program operated. They provided for a practical means of dealing with sponsors with a minimum of red-tape. Further, they provided sufficient latitude for the annual revision of contracts with such organizations as the Buffalo Philharmonic Society, working toward the complete private support of the local orchestra. If Operating Procedure No. F-45 had remained in force until 1943, several more WPA orchestras would have achieved permanence and the problem of obtaining financial sponsorship would have been non-existent.

The invalidation of Operating Procedure No. F-45 by the Emergency Relief Appropriations Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1940, was a serious blow to the WPA Music Program. When Congress abolished the Federal Projects in 1939 it did more than revise the organization of the cultural programs. First, the Act ended the sponsorship of its own projects by the WPA. Secondly, it prescribed a definite percentage of sponsor contribution without relation to the total non-labor costs of various projects, and third, it eliminated paid admission revenues as a source of sponsorship. There follows three citations from the '39 Act which brought about these actions.
"All receipts and collections of Federal Agencies by reason of operations in consequence of appropriations made in this joint resolution, except cash contributions of sponsors of projects and amounts credited to revolving funds authorized by this joint resolution, shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts."

"On and after January 1, 1940, in administering the funds appropriated in this section, not to exceed three-fourths of the total cost of all non-Federal projects thereafter approved to be undertaken within any State, Territory, possession, or the District of Columbia, with respect to which any such funds are used, shall be borne by the United States, and not less than one-fourth of such total cost shall be borne by the State and its political subdivisions, or by the Territory, possession, or the District of Columbia, as the case may be. The facts constituting compliance with the requirements of this subsection shall be determined by the Commissioner, and his determinations, made in conformity with the rules and regulations prescribed by him, shall be final and conclusive."

"Section 25. None of the funds made available by this joint resolution shall be made available... (b) after August 31, 1939, for the operation of any project sponsored solely by the Work Projects Administration."

After reading these three citations and after considering that the same Act legislated the Federal Theatre Project out of existence, it is not beyond supposition that Congress intended that the remaining cultural programs should die a lingering death by slow strangulation. The fact that within a few months the WPA Music Program was employing more musicians and operating in more States than it had in June 1939, is a fitting testimony to the indomitable courage of Dr. Earl V. Moore.
The legislative provision that all admissions receipts accruing to the State units of the Federal Music Project must be deposited in the miscellaneous receipts of the United States Treasury, struck at a time when it was expected that the lucrative admission revenues of the Federal Music Project would be used to meet the requirement of 25% sponsor contribution. However, under the conditions of the Act, the admission revenues could not be credited as sponsor contributions nor could they be drawn upon to pay non-labor costs. Therefore, the charging of admissions could be of no direct benefit to the WPA Music Program and would serve only to replenish the Treasury of the United States. This legislative action brought about a make-shift arrangement which functioned smoothly only in large cities. Contracts were drawn whereby the Official Sponsor (not the cooperating sponsor) would receive all of the admissions revenues and disburse them for materials needed by the projects. These funds were also used to cover the cost of personal services such as guest soloists and extra first chair players. Thus the other-than-labor costs were covered and the monies counted as sponsor contributions. However, in many States the Official Sponsor was not authorized by law to receive or hold funds other than those appropriated by the State legislature and in such States it was necessary to abandon paid admissions concerts. In States where orchestras travelled extensively it was impossible to present paid admissions concerts except on the condition that the local co-sponsor of the individual concert would forward the receipts to
the Official Sponsor. This procedure involved endless red-tape and was generally impractical. Wisconsin provided an example of a profitable exception. In that State the Milwaukee County Board, co-sponsors of the Wisconsin State Symphony Orchestra, sent their own box office men on tour with the orchestra. The new procedure worked best in New York City where Mayor La Guardia was the Official Sponsor. There the City of New York managed the box office for all concerts and placed the receipts in a revolving fund which was used to sponsor the project.

The legislative provision that prevented the Work Projects Administration from sponsoring its own projects closed the history of the Federal Music Project. It may have been intended to end all music activities in WPA. To exist, a music program had to be reconstructed from the bottom up and within a completely new organizational framework. The Act allowed one month for this reorganization. One month in which to convince State governments that they should accept responsibility— even financial responsibility— for the continuation of activities which had never been the function of any State agency.

To begin at the beginning of the new music program structure, it was necessary for applications for state-wide music projects to be submitted. In theory these were submitted by the Official Sponsor. An Official Sponsor was a State, tax-supported agency, legally authorized to conduct the subject activity. Here was the first
(Sponsorship)

stumbling block. What single State agency is normally authorized to operate symphony concerts, produce operas, collect folk songs, and conduct experiments in music therapy? Obviously none. Therefore, before project applications could be drafted, State constitutions, charters, enabling legislation and all manner of statutes were searched for some minute subsection which, by a very broad stretch of the imagination, might be interpreted as authority for someone in the State government to sponsor music activities. Eligible Official Sponsors ranged from State Universities, State Planning Boards, Conservation Commissions, Commissioners of Welfare, and Agricultural Colleges. In many States the Governor himself was the only official who felt that he had sufficient latitude to sponsor a music project.

Frankly, in nine States out of ten, the Official Sponsor was a legislative necessity and nothing more. The signature of a State official was required on the Project Proposal Form. The signatures were obtained. However, in most States, the Official Sponsor never saw or heard of the music project which he sponsored until the next request for Federal funds was due. The community continued to be the base upon which the music program operated and it was here that actual sponsorship was obtained.

Fortunately, The Emergency Relief Act of 1939 gave the Commissioner of the Work Projects Administration considerable latitude in interpreting the provision of the Act which required that sponsors should contribute one-fourth of the total costs of
work projects. Colonel Harrington ruled that the Act applied to all projects in a State, collectively. Therefore, the WPA could not pay for more than three-fourths of the total costs of all projects within a State but it was not required that the sponsors of each project contribute 25% of the total cost of that project.

The adverse influence of this legislation upon program emphasis in the States has been discussed in the previous Chapter but the tortuous methods adopted by the State music projects in obtaining as much sponsorship as possible were masterpieces of ingenuity. It was ruled that sponsors contributions could be in kind as well as in cash. Probably ninety-five percent of the sponsors contributions were in kind. The regulations further specified that contributions in kind could be credited only if the contribution constituted a financial burden upon the sponsor. Therefore, if a local school board turned over to the music project a room in a local school building for music education classes, this contribution could not be credited since the sponsor did not erect the school building for the purpose of housing a WPA project. It made no difference that if the sponsor had not contributed space, the Music Program would have had to rent quarters. The fact that it did not cost the sponsor actual cash to provide the space, rendered the contribution ineligible. Consequently, music projects went to such extremes as to count the number of electric light bulbs in an auditorium and credit them on the basis of $3.00 per month per bulb. If there was a piano in the room it was credited at the proper
fraction of $10.00 per month rental value. It is easy to realise the tremendous amount of paperwork which was created by the bookkeeping necessary to record the contributions. Ludicrous and strange items of sponsorships occurred with frequency. Men were sent out with orchestras, armed with long and complicated forms, to record every minute item of sponsorship which could be found. One of the music project units which obtained the highest sponsorship in the country was a little Mexican tipica orchestra in Phoenix, Arizona. This band of real troubadours would set out with a timekeeper and wander all over the State playing at a fiesta here and a county fair there, sleeping in barns and eating at ranches. By the time one of these tours had been completed the transportation (often hitch-hiking), food and housing costs (all carefully recorded to the last bowl of chili) would run a percentage as high as the non-labor costs of a suspension bridge.

At this point it may well be asked why, if local sponsorship was normal and State sponsorship superficial, did not the WPA Music Program operate local projects instead of State-wide projects. From the attitude of actual sponsorship this might have been feasible but from the standpoint of administration it would have been impossible. A local project was completely divorced from State and national technical control and administratively was under the jurisdiction of the Area or District Manager. Furthermore, the project could not operate outside the jurisdiction of the sponsor which would have
(Sponsorship)

prevented an orchestra from crossing the city limits. Consequently it was determined that all projects of a service type, involving technical supervision, should be operated on a State-wide basis which required State sponsorship.

There was a brighter side to the sponsorship picture. In spite of the futility of requiring projects to obtain sponsorship far beyond their non-labor costs, the requirement of a community investment in a Federal enterprise created in the communities a sense of responsibility which had been too rare in the days of the Federal Music Project. After the 1939 transition music projects were established in several States in which the Federal Music Project had not operated. In these States, with a fresh start under new legislation, it was much easier to require the local sponsors to provide liberally than in the old Federal Music Project States where nothing had been required of the sponsor beyond his good will. Although, each separate project was not required to obtain 25% of the total costs in sponsors contributions, the State Supervisors of the music projects were sensitive enough to the attitudes of their State Administrators to vie with other programs in maintaining high percentages of contributions. As a result several State music projects maintained averages of thirty and even forty percent in sponsors contributions. State supervisors refused to open new local units unless sufficient sponsorship was guaranteed in advance.
(Sponsorship)

After the first few months of speculation as to the effect of the "sponsors contribution clause" of the Act upon all WPA projects, State Administrators ceased to be concerned about the amount of sponsors contributions received by music projects. Actually, after the beginning of the calendar year 1940, sponsorship ceased to be a bugbear to State music supervisors and it did not exist as a problem until the tremendous growth of defense and wartime activities during the years 1941 to '43. With the passage of the first Selective Service Act in 1940 the activities of the State music projects gradually were diverted to the entertainment of the armed forces and of workers in defense industry. Since the sponsorship of a Federal agency could not be counted, facilities, transportation, or food provided by the Army to travelling WPA orchestras were not eligible to be classed as sponsors contributions. There was a further potential problem. If music projects devoted their entire services to the armed forces, how could States and communities be expected to continue their sponsorship when they received few or no services from the projects. The only official answer was to obtain certification of the music projects from the Army or Navy.

The Emergency Relief Appropriations Act for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1941 provided for certain defense projects by stating,

"In administering the funds appropriated in this section, not to exceed three-fourths of the total cost of all non-Federal projects approved after January 1, 1940.....(There follows the usual 25% clause).....: Provided that the provisions of this
subsection shall not apply to projects which have been certified by the Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy, respectively, as being important for military or naval purposes."

This insertion in the Act cleared the way for the certification of many construction projects. It also led to the temporary certification of certain recreation activities. An attempt was made to obtain certification for music project units which were operating entirely in military establishments. This attempt met with no success with the exception of the San Diego units of the Southern California Music Project which were certified by the Navy.

Fortunately, the sponsors contributions on construction projects in the States did not fall to a point where the Service Projects were in very great danger and communities patriotically continued to sponsor music projects even though their services were entirely to the soldiers and sailors. One loophole was found in the regulations dealing with sponsors contributions which aided in maintaining fair percentages in some States. It was ruled generally that transportation costs paid out of company mess funds and post exchange funds were not Federal monies and might be credited as sponsors contributions. Therefore, the services to the armed forces did not mean a complete loss of financial sponsorship.
Recommendations

Another work program established with the speed which characterized the Works Progress Administration will meet the same problems and will not be able to stop long enough to wait for the organization of community sponsorship for cultural projects. Again it will be necessary to establish demonstration programs and organize community support after the programs are in operation. However, it is hoped and assumed that such speed will never again be necessary and that the experience of the Federal Music Project and the WPA Music Program will serve to smooth the way for the next government arts program.

Assuming that such headlong plunges will not be necessary in the next Federal works program the following recommendations concerning sponsorship of music services are offered:

It is believed that the experiences of the Work Projects Administration in the field of music services indicate that a combination of Federal, State, and local sponsorship is desirable. The base of all sponsorship should be at the community level. State sponsorship is desirable principally in having a State agency accept the responsibility for an over-all State plan. This may not always be desirable or necessary and State sponsorship should not require financial responsibility. The pattern of sponsorship should not influence the administrative organization of the agency or the program as was the case with locally sponsored projects in WPA.
A future music program should have sufficient latitude to initiate projects, where desirable. With only Federal sponsorship, such projects would expedite the development of music activities in a work program and would serve as demonstration programs to create confidence in potential sponsors. However, Federal sponsorship should be only a temporary expedient until the most practical means of local sponsorship can be determined and until a schedule of gradually increasing local responsibility can be developed. Again it is emphasized that the type of sponsorship, whether Federal, State, or local, should not be reflected in the administrative and technical supervisory structure of the music program.

The survey recommended in the Chapter on Local Arrangements Prerequisites to Program Operation should determine the type of sponsorship which is most desirable. In States such as Utah, Minnesota, and Oklahoma, where it is essential that orchestras travel extensively in order to round out a reasonable concert season, it will be desirable that a State agency accept some degree of sponsorship, financial or nominal. However, in the case of cities where it is hoped to develop sufficient community support for a full-length local concert season, local sponsorship is all that is necessary or desirable. The rules which define the eligibility of sponsors should be such that there will be no question of the authority of the sponsor to undertake work outside the limits of the political subdivision. More specifically, if
(Recommendations)

the sole sponsor of an orchestra is a city government, it should be understood that the city may sponsor concerts in any part of the State or outside the State. The sponsorship of music education projects may well conform to the pattern of the Work Projects Administration. The sponsorship of a State agency such as the Commissioner of Education or the State University will lend prestige to the program and should insure the maintenance of professional standards. Furthermore such sponsorship should enhance the development of an overall plan. Such State sponsors are in a position to provide training facilities for music teachers and should be required to do so. Financial sponsorship should be required at the local level.

Regional sponsorship, which was never possible under WPA, would be desirable in some cases where orchestras may be developed for serving an area involving more than one State. An agency such as the New England Council might be utilized to sponsor an orchestra to tour the communities of New England not on the itineraries of established orchestras. The history of the North Carolina - Virginia WPA Symphony Orchestra might have been far different if an overall sponsor could have been found. Regional sponsorship also would eliminate the question of the authority of a State sponsor to undertake work outside the limits of his State boundaries.

The progression of project sponsorship might begin with the administration selecting a community in which it is obvious that
(Recommendations)

there is need for a job to be done and in which there are sufficient community resources to eventually carry the greater part of the financial burden. The administration would then initiate a program with the nucleus of a sponsoring organization gathered together as an endorsing body and for the purpose of organizing financial sponsorship. At first the administration would operate a demonstration program to convince the community of the desirability and the practicability of the program. At the end of a predetermined period, the community would be expected to assume a share of the burden - at least to the extent of paying the total other-than-labor costs. With each annual allotment of Federal funds, or at such time as it is judged feasible, the community would be expected to increase its financial responsibility until the limit of the community's ability to pay has been reached.

This goal might be complete community operation without Federal aid or it might be a point beyond which the community could not go without a small Federal subsidy.

This gradual development of community support presupposes that the Federal work program is based upon a need for reducing unemployment or for obtaining the maximum results from our nation's manpower. This method of developing community sponsorship is designed to bring about the greatest widespread development of our cultural resources since the possibility of Federal sponsorship at the outset expedites the initiation of music services where none
(Recommendations)

have existed before.

A more economical process may be followed which would aid in the preservation of our musical resources and which would require considerably less Federal expenditure. This plan would stem from the procedures established by the Federal Works Agency in the administration of the Lanham Act during World War II. The administration operating the work program, after announcing that it would assist in a program of community music services, would await the requests of the communities for assistance. Under such procedure a community maintaining a small symphony orchestra with a short season and an unbearable deficit, would apply to the administration for aid. After a survey had recorded the normal deficit of the orchestra, the promotion plans, the seating capacity of its auditoria, the possibilities of touring, the financial organization and the personnel requirements, an agreement might be reached whereby the Federal government would provide sufficient personnel to bring the orchestra up to symphonic standards and to reduce the deficit to a bearable maximum. Through this process, the employment of musicians would be increased gradually, with relatively low cost and with lasting results. The desirability of the two plans outlined herein depends entirely upon the circumstances under which a work program is developed. If it is necessary to employ large numbers of musicians, if the employment of musicians is to be widespread and expeditious, and if the maximum service to the country is to be achieved, the first plan certainly is more desirable.
(Recommendations)

However, if a work program is to be developed which will operate with moderate congressional appropriations over a considerable period of years, with the emphasis of the program partially on employment but also on Federal subsidy of music, then the second plan is definitely less costly, more stable and contains a reasonable probability of producing lasting results.

In any event, the most unreasonable approach to sponsorship is to determine in advance that any type of project must obtain a specific and constant percentage of its operating costs from sponsors. If any legal minimum must be placed upon the amount of costs which must be borne by the sponsor, such requirements should not exceed the total non-labor costs of the project.