The Big Bang of Music Patronage in the United States: The National Endowment for the Arts, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Ford Foundation

The Big Bang of Music Patronage in the United States: The National Endowment for the Arts, The Rockefeller Foundation, and The Ford Foundation

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ABSTRACT

The United States experienced a Big Bang of arts funding after the Second World War: in the field of music alone, the Ford Foundation granted over $140 million, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) over $110 million, and the Rockefeller Foundation over $40 million. In today's value, the three institutions provided an astonishing $2 billion to music programs over a period of two decades. In my dissertation, I examine the criteria these three institutions used to select composers, musicians, and organizations, the role of "experts" in this system, and how public and private forms of funding both cooperated and competed in this process.

I argue that the establishment of a highly concentrated and interconnected field of arts and music experts influenced the way the NEA, the Ford, and the Rockefeller Foundations developed, funded, and ultimately legitimized Western art music. In my analysis, I provide new insights into the social and relational aspects of expertise, especially in discourses concerned with music and art. I accomplish this through extensive archival research of each of the three institutions, oral history with surviving officers and consultants, and ethnographic research at the NEA. I employ theories of expertise and cultural production influenced by sociologists Harry Collins, Pierre Bourdieu, and Michèle Lamont.

The music programs of the Ford, Rockefeller, and NEA could be subjects of dissertations in their own right, but the significance of my research is derived from the comparative conclusions

that I make across these organizations. Thus rather than taking discrete case studies of these three institutions, in each chapter of the dissertation I examine distinct themes and important issues concerning philanthropy, arts patronage, and musical production and consumption. In my chapters I analyze (1) the role of experts such as panelists, staff officers, and boards of trustees in determining definitions of Western high art music, artistic quality, and excellence; (2) the roles of private foundations and the federal government in supporting music programs; and (3) the relationship between avant-garde new music centers like those at Buffalo, Princeton, and Columbia, with major orchestras.

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INTRODUCTION

Name. Project Description. Objectives. Qualifications. Amount Requested. For artists (and academics) today, it is hard to imagine a world without grant applications. Grants-in-aid pay for specialized study, the cost of equipment and materials, free or reduced-price concerts, and numerous other activities and endeavors. Although asking for monetary assistance is not unique to our time, filling out application forms seems to have achieved a level of bureaucratic morass that many artists can sympathize with. How are grants evaluated, by whom, by which criteria? And when exactly did the institutional grant became so ubiquitous -- such a normalized means of funding the arts in the United States?

In my dissertation, I focus on the patterns of public and private grantmaking from the 1950s to the 1970s, when the United States experienced a remarkable Big Bang in arts patronage. After the end of the Second World War through the U.S. Bicentennial in 1976, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Ford Foundation granted close to $300 million (approximately $2 billion in 2015 dollars) in the field of music alone.[1] The

[1] These figures are based on analysis of the annual reports of each institution. For calculations of present-day value, I reference www.measuringworth.com.

three institutions served as critical financial patrons for composers, performers, symphony orchestras, opera companies, and university music centers. They not only sought to increase the supply of musical production, but also the demand for it. Access to professional performances were at the heart of this post-war cultural ideology, captured in the Ford Foundation's call for "Millions for Music -- Music for Millions."[2]

At the time, music educator and historian Ralph Smith characterized the new infrastructure as a "policymaking complex in cultural and educational affairs... shaped in the Washington bureaucracy and represent[ing] an official's view of the relations of art, culture, and education."[3] In the words of sociologist Howard Becker, a new musical "art world" had emerged in the United States.[4] The particularly American notion of matching grants -- where grantees needed to "match" support from the government or a foundation with other sources of income (sometimes including ticket sales) -- ensured that a mixture of public and private funding dominated support for musical production. It also guaranteed that the system of arts and music patronage in the United States differed from those of Europe and Great Britain.[5]

In this history, I concentrate on institutions; but within these institutions I focus on individuals, acting as trustees, program and division officers, and consultants. The main theoretical framework I propose is a "sociology of expertise," as it can be applied to the arts. Sociologist Robert

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[2] The Ford Foundation, "The Ford Foundation: Millions for Music - Music for Millions," *Music Educators Journal* 53, no. 1 (1966): 83–86.

[3] Ralph Smith, "The New Policy-Making Complex in Aesthetic Education," *Curriculum Theory* 4, no. 2 (1974): 159–168.

[4] Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

[5] For example, see John Harris, *Government Patronage of the Arts in Great Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970); Andrew Sinclair, *Arts and Cultures: The History of the 50 Years of the Arts Council of Great Britain* (London: Sinclair-Stevenson, 1995); Michael Uy, "Nations of Cultural Barbarians? Overcoming Cultural Inferiority and the Development of Government Patronage of the Arts in the United States and Great Britain" (Oxford University, 2011).

Evans first coined the term in 2008, with his examination of expert knowledge in modern society, but there has hitherto been no thorough investigation of how arts patrons have functioned as experts in twentieth-century America.[6] Government officials, foundation leaders, corporate officers, and other members of the "power elite" -- to borrow the term from sociologist C. Wright Mills (1956) -- valued "expertise" during an age of scientific knowledge, technological progress, bureaucratic management, and Cold War insecurity.[7] I address how individuals came to decide approval or rejection of grant applications, and how they interacted with each other. I show how grants in the arts could not be objectively evaluated in the same way that grants in science were reviewed by experts at the National Science Foundation, established in 1950, also as a post-war grantmaking institution. Excellence and value in the arts needed to be defined in other ways.

Moreover, I reveal how outside consultants were drawn from a limited group of white male artists including composers at elite institutions, professors from prestigious northeast universities, and leaders of performing arts service organizations. Among the most influential and widely sought consultants were Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copland, Lukas Foss, William Schuman, and Milton Babbitt. The significance was two-fold: not only were male Western high art composers put in charge of directing large and unprecedented channels of public and private funds, but in doing so they also determined and defined what was meant by artistic excellence, deciding the fate of their peers and influencing the direction of musical production in this country.

By codifying particular subjectivities and casting them as examples of excellence, this funding model tended to overlook and exclude performers of non-Western music, amateur music makers, folk musicians, and jazz artists. Thus, expertise served as an exclusionary form of cultural

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[6] Robert Evans, "The Sociology of Expertise: The Distribution of Social Fluency," *Sociology Compass* 2, no. 1 (2008): 281–98.

[7] Charles Wright Mills, *The Power Elite*, New ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

capital, transmitted through first-degree connections among funders and the consultants they brought into the system. Focusing mainly on Western high art traditions, experts provided a service that legitimized programs of the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations, attaching influence and prestige to the decisions they and officers made.

Therefore, by focusing on the roles of the NEA and the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, I emphasize the importance of a sociocultural examination of aesthetic tastes for, and the valorization of, avant-garde music and classical music of the Western European canon. The social and moral roles of "art" and classical music in the United States have long been contested: from the writings of Alexis de Tocqueville, who in the middle of the nineteenth century predicted the democratization of the production and appreciation of art, through Thorstein Veblen, who argued at the beginning of the twentieth century that works of art and attendance at arts events had become badges of social standing for the wealthy and leisured classes.[8] My examination takes a sociocultural approach to analyze how artists and grantmakers distinguished highbrow and lowbrow art in the mid-twentieth century, what little room they allowed for popular and indigenous forms of music, and why they focused on expensive performing arts institutions such as symphony orchestras and opera companies.

THE ORIGINS OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, FORD FOUNDATION, AND NEA

The Rockefeller Foundation was established in 1913 by John D. Rockefeller "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world."[9] Rockefeller was the wealthiest American of all

[8] Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Second (New York: Vintage Books, 1990); Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evaluation of Institutions* (New York: MacMillan, 1899).

[9] http://www.rockefellerfoundation.org/about-us (Accessed 12 11 2013).

time, with wealth derived from the oil industry and his founding of the Standard Oil Company.[10] Rockefeller, under the guidance of his advisor Frederick Taylor Gates, also revolutionized philanthropy in the United States. Within the first year of the foundation's existence, Rockefeller had donated $100 million -- followed by another $82.8 million in 1919, the equivalent of roughly $3 billion today -- turning the foundation into the largest philanthropic enterprise in the world at the time. It surpassed the net worth of both the Russell Sage Foundation (est. 1907) and the Carnegie Corporation (est. 1911).

The Ford Foundation was established two decades later in 1936. It was, and continues to be, a private, nonprofit institution "incorporated for charitable, educational, and scientific purposes" for the "advancement of human welfare."[11] While constituted with an initial gift of $25,000 by Edsel Ford (son of Henry Ford, founder of the Ford Motor Company), the foundation was not under the control of the company (nor did it control the company itself). It had its own fifteen-member Board of Trustees. When Edsel and Henry Ford died in the 1940s, their bequests of nonvoting company stock turned the Ford Foundation into the largest philanthropy in the world, with assets estimated around $480 million ($4.9 billion in 2014).[12] Today, it is the second largest foundation, after the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation (2000).

Both the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, however, did not originally believe the arts and cultural programs could be part of their philanthropic missions. Instead, from their origins, the two foundations played a larger role in supporting public and social missions such as alleviating

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[10] Steve Hargreaves, "The Richest Americans in History," CNN Money, June 2, 2014, http://money.cnn.com/gallery/luxury/2014/06/01/richest-americans-in-history (Accessed 24 04 2017).

[11] Finances of the Ford Foundation, 14 09 1962, Folder: Staff Memos -- Miscellaneous 1962-1964, Box 6, Series IV, FA582, Ford Foundation (FF), Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, New York (RAC).

[12] Richard Magat, *The Ford Foundation at Work: Philanthropic Choices, Methods, and Styles* (New York: Plenum Press, 1979), 18.

global hunger, expanding access to public libraries, establishing African American studies departments in universities, or eradicating hookworm. Not until after the Second World War did the two institutions begin allocating money to their arts and humanities divisions. The Rockefeller Foundation began by granting between 1953 and 1964, $17 million (the equivalent of $150 million in 2014 dollars) to the performing arts, in addition to $15 million ($130 million) to the Lincoln Center and $1 million ($9 million) to the development of the Kennedy Center. It began funding projects for new music, like the Louisville Orchestra commissions, operas and ballets at New York's City Center, and the work of the "creative associates" at the State University of New York at Buffalo. In 1966, the Ford Foundation granted $80.2 million ($567 million) to sixty-one American orchestras. According to its annual report, this was "the largest single amount ever given to the arts by any foundation."[13] In sum, between 1953 and 1976, the Ford Foundation gave more than $140 million ($1 billion) to the field of music while the Rockefeller Foundation granted more than $40 million ($300 million).[14]

From the other side, the origins of large-scale public funding for the arts had begun during the Great Depression. The Works Progress Administration (WPA) and its Theater and Music Projects employed thousands of artists to paint murals on the sides of buildings, to perform stage plays in parks, and to hold symphony concerts in railway stations.[15] The WPA became a powerful and memorable symbol of successful government intervention in the arts, sparking public interest and showing that the arts could be a concern of the government. It maintained 28 symphony orchestras, offered 225,000 performances for 150 million people, and supported composers and

[13] Ford Foundation, "Annual Report 1966."

[14] These numbers are based on my calculations of each foundation's Annual Report budgets.

[15] Nick Taylor, *American-Made: The Enduring Legacy of the WPA: When FDR Put the Nation to Work* (New York: Bantam Books, 2008).

250 music-teaching centers.[16] But not until after the Second World War did the federal government establish an agency devoted solely to the arts.

In the 1960s, a dramatic increase in presidential and congressional support for the arts occurred. Senators Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Jacob Javits (R-NY), and Hubert Humphrey (D-MN), and Representative Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ) were stalwart and indefatigable arts advocates in Congress. First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy cultivated an arts friendly environment in the White House, inviting internationally renowned musicians like Pablo Casals to perform. Through Executive Order 11112, President John F. Kennedy formed an Advisory Council on the Arts. President Lyndon B. Johnson developed this body into the National Council on the Arts. And two years later in 1965, the National Endowment for the Arts was established by the Arts and Humanities Act, written and passed by the United States Congress, and signed by President Johnson. The NEA's initial annual budget began at $5 million ($40 million in 2014), but by 1976, it was well over $90 million ($360 million), an upward trend it continued until 1982 when it received its first cut under President Ronald Reagan.[17] Between 1965 and 1976, the NEA granted over $110 million ($800 million) in the field of music.[18]

SETTING THE CULTURAL AND POLITICAL STAGE: WHY ARTS FUNDING GAINED MOMENTUM DURING THE EARLY COLD WAR

Historian Donna Binkiewicz characterizes the cultural environment of the 1950s as a time when the United States was accused of having become "conformist, materialist, complacent, and

[16] Ibid.

[17] http://arts.gov/open-government/nea-budget-planning-information/national-endowment-arts-appropriations-history (Accessed 22 01 2014).

[18] These numbers are based on my calculations of the NEA's Annual Report budgets.

aesthetically deplorable."[19] According to Representative Frank Thompson, Jr. (D-NJ), what needed to be done was straightforward: "Making Washington the cultural center of the world would be one of the very best and most effective ways to answer the Russian lies and defeat their heavily financed effort to have Communism take over the world."[20] A popular analogy was that the United States should launch a cultural *Sputnik* against the Soviets. For instance, in Commissioner General Cullman's petition for funds for the 1958 Brussels Universal and International Exhibition, he argued, "we can do a *Sputnik* culturally, intellectually, and spiritually."[21]

The arts experienced a "tremendous expansion of interest," to quote former NEA Music Director Fannie Taylor.[22] In the popular press, the arts underwent a "cultural boom" or "cultural explosion."[23] A large influx of artists, writers, and musicians had immigrated to the United States from Europe during World War II and contributed to the production of art. During the 1960s, a number of significant reports on the performing arts galvanized the community and provided the economic data needed to justify greater support from a variety of sources. These reports included studies by August Heckscher, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF), and Princeton professors William Baumol and William Bowen.[24]

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[19] Donna Binkiewicz, *Federalizing the Muse: United States Art Policy and the National Endowment for the Arts, 1965-1980* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 4.

[20] Frank Thompson, Jr., "Are the Communists Right in Calling Us Cultural Barbarians?," *Music Journal* 13, no. 6 (1955).

[21] Walter Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945-1961* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1997), 142.

[22] Fannie Taylor and Anthony Barresi, *The Arts at a New Frontier: The National Endowment for the Arts* (New York: Plenum Press, 1984), 17.

[23] For example, "Lincoln Center Aide Sees Boom in Culture Taking Place in U.S.," *New York Times*, April 2, 1960; "Cultural Centers Are Springing Up in Cities Big and Small: Culture Booms in Many Cities," *New York Times*, July 29, 1962.

[24] Rockefeller Brothers Fund, *The Performing Arts: Problems and Prospects: Rockefeller Panel Report on the Future of Theatre, Dance, Music in America* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965); William J. Baumol and William G. Bowen, "On the Performing Arts: The Anatomy of Their Economic Problems," *The American*

Nancy Hanks, later chairman of the NEA, directed the RBF's publication, "The Performing Arts: Problems and Prospects," in addition to a panel that included influential figures such as Heckscher (previously, "special consultant" to President Kennedy) and John D. Rockefeller, 3rd. The report advocated the support of "professional" performing arts ensembles of the highest quality and it proclaimed that the arts were necessary to attain "the emotional, intellectual, and aesthetic satisfactions that constitute [human beings'] higher needs."[25] The panel recognized the great expansion in amateur performing, but what it ultimately urged was the creation of "cultural institutions" that would "serve huge numbers of people." In their words, "we are seeking to demonstrate that there is no incompatibility between democracy and high artistic standards. And we are seeking to do so on a grand scale."[26] The initial goal was for fifty permanent theater companies, fifty symphony orchestras, six regional opera companies, six regional choral groups, and six regional dance companies. As Fannie Taylor and Anthony Barresi noted, the fact that the report was made by a "prestigious organization caused it to become front-page news."[27]

William Baumol and William Bowen's contribution to the performing arts world moreover supplied an economic theory justifying the necessity of arts funding. They were both Princeton economists who later went on to eminent careers in academia and public affairs.[28] In their first article, "On the Performing Arts: The Anatomy of Their Economic Problems," published in 1965,

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Economic Review 55, no. 1/2 (1965): 495–502; Baumol, William J., *Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma: A Study of Problems Common to Theater, Opera, Music, and Dance* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1966).

[25] Rockefeller Brothers Fund, *The Performing Arts: Problems and Prospects: Rockefeller Panel Report on the Future of Theatre, Dance, Music in America*, v.

[26] Ibid., 6.

[27] Taylor and Barresi, *The Arts at a New Frontier: The National Endowment for the Arts*, 23.

[28] William Bowen later became President of Princeton from 1972 to 1988 and President of the Mellon Foundation from 1988 to 2006. William Baumol has written over eighty books and hundreds of journal articles, as well as teaching at Princeton and New York University where he is Director of the Berkley Center for Entrepreneurship and Innovation.

the two economists contended that there were "fundamental reasons to expect the financial strains which beset the performing arts organizations to increase, chronically, with the passage of time."[29] Problems were due to the lack of what Baumol and Bowen called "productivity improvements" in the sector: "there is no offsetting improvement in output per man-hour, and so every increase in money wages is translated automatically into an equivalent increase in unit labor costs."[30]

Baumol and Bowen illustrated precisely this theory in their next publication, "Performing Arts: The Economic Dilemma," published in 1966 by the Twentieth Century Fund (where Heckscher was director). They argued that a Beethoven string quartet required the same number of musicians to perform it in the present day as it did in the nineteenth century. Yet while there had been no improvements in the "productivity" of classical music performance, the wages of the musicians -- and thus the costs -- had increased. The problem was one shared across the performing arts, in addition to other "stagnant" sectors of the economy (for example, education). The theory became known as Baumol's Cost Disease, or the Baumol Effect, and it helped explain the increasing costs of the performing arts, providing a reason for why they could not survive on ticket sales alone without outside sources of assistance.

The cultural boom of the 1960s, however, was followed by a retrenchment toward the end of the 1970s. The economic and political climate of the 1970s was unfriendly to foundations. The recession that began in 1973 sharply reduced the market value of foundation assets from between 30% and 60%.[31] Some members of Congress further questioned the roles of foundations and their existence as tax shelters for wealthy individuals. The Tax Reform Act of 1969 had imposed an excise tax on foundation investment income and established a minimum payout rate, in addition to

[29] Baumol and Bowen, "On the Performing Arts: The Anatomy of Their Economic Problems," 499.

[30] Ibid., 500.

[31] Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 191.

other regulations.[32] Finally, the incremental easing of tensions with the Soviet Union under détente decreased pressures of supercharging both the military industrial complex and the cultural boom.

Thus, I conclude my examination of NEA, Rockefeller, and Ford Foundation support of the arts with the United States Bicentennial. There are several reasons why 1976 serves as an appropriate end date. First, the Rockefeller Foundation and the NEA celebrated the occasion with some of its largest grants in the field of music -- the NEA gave commissions and awards to composers, jazz musicians, and folk musicians; and the Rockefeller Foundation produced the "Recorded Anthology of American Music," a 100-LP collection to celebrate 200 years of music in the United States. Second, the Ford Foundation and NEA experienced significant leadership changes: Ford's Vice President W. McNeil Lowry had retired in 1974 (Lowry was compared to the Medici of arts philanthropy); and the NEA's second chairman Nancy Hanks stepped down in 1977 after supervising tremendous growth of the federal agency during her tenure. Third, after 1976, the arts and music budgets of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations shrank in size, from tens of millions of dollars to just a few million dollars. The decrease in their budgets was accompanied by a reduction in the number of arts and humanities staff. Thus between the 1950s and the 1970s, the arts field underwent a catalytic expansion, with the establishment of some roots, and was followed by a period of decline and uncertainty about the future.

METHODOLOGY

In this dissertation, I investigate three heretofore under-examined institutions through the examination of thousands of archival documents, memoranda, and correspondence; oral histories I have undertaken with surviving officers and consultants; and a summer-long ethnography at the NEA, interning at their Design Department, which provided on-site, experiential knowledge. My

[32] Robert Margo, "Chapter 7: Foundations," in *Who Benefits from the Nonprofit Sector?*, ed. Charles T. Clotfelter (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 216.

interdisciplinary methodology engages with debates surrounding the sociology of art and music, employing the theories of Pierre Bourdieu, and the sociology of expertise, awards, and recognition most recently elucidated in the work of Michèle Lamont, Harry Collins, and Robert Evans. I utilize a sociocultural approach to examine what Bourdieu refers to as the "field of cultural production" in order to analyze how this system of grantmaking produced certain outcomes.[33]

Over the past two decades, there has been a large surge in the critical examination of Western cultural institutions.[34] The idea of "cultural production" encourages us to think about the impacts of policy on "official art" and how this could be accomplished at higher-order organizations like private foundations and government agencies. In contrast to the governmental and for-profit sectors, private foundations were part of the U.S. civic sector.[35] Political scientist Joan Roelofs notes that this sector functions as a protective layer for capitalism: it picked up the slack caused by industrial decline by supporting hospitals and arts centers; it provided goods that the market would not otherwise support, like opera productions or British television dramas; it provided jobs and benefits; and it served as a pathway toward multiculturalism. The civic sector, or the "third sector," appeared to eschew the dangers of the profit motive, while simultaneously avoiding government overreach and guaranteeing the individual citizen's right to free speech and association.

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[33] Pierre Bourdieu and Randal Johnson, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, European Perspectives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

[34] See especially Georgina Born, *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez, and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Georgina Born, *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke and the Reinvention of the BBC* (London: Secker & Warburg, 2004); Henry Kingsbury, *Music, Talent, and Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988); Richard Kurin, *Reflections of a Culture Broker: A View from the Smithsonian* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997); Rachel Vandagriff, "The History and Impact of the Fromm Music Foundation, 1952-1983" (University of California, Berkeley, 2015); Andrew Weintraub and Bell Yung, eds., *Music and Cultural Rights* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2009).

[35] The civic sector goes by other names as well, including the third sector, the nonprofit sector, the voluntary sector, the independent sector, or civil society, more generally.

What cultural production looks like in practice, however, is not a straightforward matter. Institutions are composed of individuals, and while individuals often come to agreement on codified rules and policies, institutions are never monolithic. Due to organizational structures and hierarchies, some individuals are more powerful and influential than others. A government agency, for example, actively seeking to "produce" a specific culture would need a high degree of its own agency, with an explicit agenda that all members abide by. Yet this was never the case at any of the institutions I examine. Sociologist Paul DiMaggio notes that the NEA was usually reacting "to the pressures upon it rather than boldly articulating visions concrete enough to serve as bases for action."[36] Any analysis of the field of cultural production cannot reduce its unit to the level of institution, but must push further to the individuals that made up these institutions. Thus it is never just the "Rockefeller Foundation" that changed the course of music history, but the officers and directors that made a difference. They too were connected to a broader network of individuals working at other philanthropic institutions, non-profit organizations, and government agencies.

As a methodological starting point, I employ three of Pierre Bourdieu's central theories: field, habitus, and capital. Through a Bourdieusian analysis, my dissertation engages with questions of how tastes, preferences, and ideologies of highbrow and lowbrow music have been shaped by public and private forces since the Second World War. First, Bourdieu's concept of the field is sociologically illuminating because it encompasses all relationships between actors, institutions, governments, and other groups of belonging. Together with an explication of individuals' habitus, an analysis can demonstrate how these relationships are determined and impacted by structures in

[36] DiMaggio, Paul, "Decentralization of Arts Funding from the Federal Government to the States," in *Public Money and the Muse: Essays on Government Funding for the Arts*, ed. Benedict, Stephen (New York: W.W. Norton, 1991), 249. Louis Epstein's dissertation on Inter-War France also resists the idea of an "official aesthetic" in the context of a "massive bureaucracy whose constituent parts did not always communicate, much less operate in tandem." Louis K. Epstein, "Toward a Theory of Patronage: Funding for Music Composition in France, 1918-1939" (Harvard University, 2013), 104.

society, including laws (written and unwritten), and the organization of identity groups based on class, race, ethnicity, gender, and religion. Bourdieu's field is a description of the "rules of the game," and how certain actors and groups "play" with different levels of economic, political, social, and cultural capital.[37] Bourdieu argues that in the present Western capitalist system, the cultural field exists in a subordinate or dominated position within the field of power, whose principle legitimacy is based on the possession of economic or political capital.[38] This understanding is crucial in explaining how officials and public and private institutions played a role in determining legitimate and illegitimate targets for funding in their grantmaking.

Furthermore, Bourdieu argues that preferences and tastes themselves are not only a product of one's habitus, but also actively used as a form of distinction.[39] Habitus is an individual's set of durable and transposable dispositions that simultaneously reflect a "structured structure" -- the environment in which one was socialized and the network of one's social relations -- and a "structuring structure" -- the manifestation of individual agency to affect one's environment and social relations. By "durable," Bourdieu means that these dispositions are long lasting, and strongly affect one's life trajectory. By "transposable," he means that one's habitus persists despite changes in social and economic circumstances. The term "habitus" was a response to the structuralism espoused by Claude Lévi-Strauss and Émile Durkheim, by giving back a degree of agency to the individual, while also acknowledging the structures that shape and profoundly limit action.

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[37] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241–58.

[38] This is why, according to Bourdieu, intellectuals are part of a dominated faction of the dominant class.

[39] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986).

SECONDARY LITERATURE REVIEW

Scholars and some former program officers from the NEA have begun to document the agency's history and analyze its work. Fannie Taylor (former program director) and Anthony Barresi wrote one of the first monographs about the NEA, entitled, *The Arts at a New Frontier: The National Endowment for the Arts* (1984).[40] Historian Donna Binkiewicz has most recently provided one of the most critical and in-depth analyses of the NEA's programming, focusing on the visual arts.[41] Several dissertations have also begun to address other divisions at the government agency, including Constance Bumgarner's analysis of the Arts in Education Program (1993), Angela Graham's work on the dance program (1996), and Keith Lee's look into public and private arts endowments and state arts agencies (2007).[42] Jann Pasler's account of the NEA's panelists was especially rigorous and illuminated the agency's support of composers.[43] From the perspective of the federal government's international efforts, Emily Abrams Ansari's work on the United States's cultural diplomacy programs evaluated the role of composers through the lens of an epistemic community. Danielle Fosler-Lussier's examination of the State Department's Cultural Presentations Program was another strong and insightful contribution to understanding American soft power and "subtle musical, social, and political relationships on a global scale."[44]

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[40] Taylor and Barresi, *The Arts at a New Frontier: The National Endowment for the Arts*.

[41] Binkiewicz, *Federalizing the Muse: United States Art Policy and the National Endowment for the Arts, 1965-1980*.

[42] Constance Marie Bumgarner, "Artists in the Classroom: An Analysis of the Arts in Education Program of the National Endowment for the Arts" (The Pennsylvania State University, 1993); Angela Helen Graham, "The National Endowment for the Arts Dance Program, 1965 to 1971: A Social and Cultural History" (Temple University, 1996); Keith D. Lee, "Supporting the Need: A Comparative Investigation of Public and Private Arts Endowments Supporting State Arts Agencies" (The Ohio State University, 2007).

[43] Jann Pasler, "Chapter 11: The Political Economy of Composition in the American University, 1965-1985," in *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[44] Emily Abrams Ansari, "'Masters of the President's Music': Cold War Composers and the United States Government" (Harvard University, 2009); Ansari, Emily Abrams, "Shaping the Politics of Cold War Musical Diplomacy: An Epistemic Community of American Composers," *Diplomatic History* 36, no. 1 (2012): 41–52; Danielle Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2015).

Monographs on the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations have been primarily focused on the institutions' work in international affairs, domestic policy, and medical research. Richard Magat's *The Ford Foundation at Work: Philanthropic Choices, Methods, and Styles* was a comprehensive history of the institution, but it only touched upon the music and arts programs in pieces.[45] Two recent dissertations, however, have considered some of the Ford Foundation's music programs, including support of the Music Educators National Conference (Paul Michael Covey) and the New York City Opera commissions (Tedrin Blair Lindsay).[46] The Rockefeller Foundation's arts and humanities work is similarly underexplored, although at least one book and two dissertations have focused on specific music programs sponsored by the institution, including the Creative Associates program at Buffalo (Renee Levine Packer), the commissioning project of the Louisville Orchestra in the 1950s (Jeanne Marie Belfy), and the *Centro Latinoamericano de Altos Estudios Musicales* at the Torcuato di Tella Institute in Buenos Aires (Luis Eduardo Herrera).[47] Packer and Belfy's studies, though, were written from the point of view of the funded organizations, rather than the perspective of the granting institution. Herrera's forthcoming book, *Elite Art Worlds: Philanthropy, Latin Americanism, and Avant-Garde Music*, is an important and necessary contribution to understanding Rockefeller funding, foreign policy networks, and the identity formation of avant-garde composers.

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[45] Magat, *The Ford Foundation at Work: Philanthropic Choices, Methods, and Styles*.

[46] Paul Michael Covey, "The Ford Foundation - MENC Contemporary Music Project (1959-1973): A View of Contemporary Music in America" (University of Maryland, College Park, 2013); Tedrin Blair Lindsay, "The Coming of Age of American Opera: New York City Opera and the Ford Foundation, 1958-1960" (University of Kentucky, 2009).

[47] Jeanne Marie Belfy, *The Commissioning Project of the Louisville Orchestra, 1948-1958: A Study of the History and Music* (Louisville: UMI Publishers, 1986); Renee Levine Packer, *This Life of Sounds: Evenings for New Music in Buffalo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010); Luis Eduardo Herrera, "The CLAEM and the Construction of Elite Art Worlds: Philanthropy, Latinamericanism and Avant-Garde Music" (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2013).

Over the past three decades, there has also been a surge in the critical examination of Western cultural institutions. Two important sociological analyses of large western institutions centered on cultural production are Georgina Born's *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez, and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde* (1995) and *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke, and the Reinvention of the BBC* (2004).[48] The first is focused on the renowned French institution during the 1980s and 1990s, providing a sociological analysis of computer music, modernism, and postmodernism under the leadership of the French composer. The second is concerned with the British institution in the 1990s and early 2000s, also looking at issues of leadership, programming, and the BBC's relationship with its multicultural audiences. Both provide strong models for this dissertation, in their methodologies (influenced especially by Bourdieu and Michel Foucault) and their subject matters (not only as western institutions, but also specifically on issues of high art music, modernism, and cultural patronage).

CHAPTER OVERVIEW

The arts and music programs of the Ford, Rockefeller, and NEA could each be subjects of dissertations in their own right, but the significance of my research is derived from the comparative conclusions I make across the institutions. My arguments concern the overlapping employment of the same consultants, the officials who moved in and out of these institutions, the relationship between public and private sources of funding for the arts, and the different prioritization of genre, style, and innovation. These arguments could not be made by looking at each organization in isolation. Therefore, rather than taking discrete case studies of the three institutions, in each chapter of the dissertation I examine distinct themes and important issues concerning philanthropy, arts patronage, and musical production and consumption.

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[48] Georgina Born, *Rationalizing Culture: IRCAM, Boulez, and the Institutionalization of the Musical Avant-Garde* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Georgina Born, *Uncertain Vision: Birt, Dyke and the Reinvention of the BBC* (London: Secker & Warburg, 2004).

- Introduction
- Chapter 1: The Music and Performing Arts Programs of the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations
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- Chapter 3: The Role of Officers and Staff as Interactional Experts
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- Chapter 5: "Foundation Music," Postwar Scientism, and the Support of Western Art Music
- Conclusion

In the first chapter, I provide an extensive account of music programs supported by the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations between 1953 and 1976 -- necessary due to the lack of literature on these three institutions. It is lengthy and expository, and meant primarily to lay the groundwork for the analysis that follows. In the ensuing chapters, I analyze three main thematic issues: (1) the role of experts such as panelists, consultants, staff officers, and boards of trustees in determining definitions of Western high art music, artistic quality, and excellence; (2) the ways that private foundations and the federal government at times cooperated in their support of music programs, and the ways they sometimes competed with one another; and (3) the roles of tonal, atonal, and serial composers at universities, major symphony orchestras, and new music centers, specifically Columbia and Princeton.

The overarching theme of Chapters 2 and 3 is centered on "expertise" and the role of artists and arts managers as "experts." I argue that artistic excellence and quality were determined and defined by the individuals invited into the process of cultural policymaking. I show the ways their expertise was employed to evaluate purportedly objective criteria, such as budget data, project

feasibility, and measured outcomes, in conjunction with subjective criteria, such as individual taste and preference. In the second chapter, I demonstrate the powerful roles and influence that outside consultants had in arts grantmaking. I reveal how outside consultants were drawn from a limited group of individuals including composers and professors at prestigious northeastern universities and managers at elite performing arts organizations.

In the third chapter, I elucidate the previously opaque and little understood roles of foundation and endowment (NEA) staff and officers. These officers included program directors like Walter Anderson (NEA) and Norman Lloyd (Rockefeller), vice presidents like W. McNeil Lowry (Ford), and chairmen, such as Roger Stevens (NEA) and Nancy Hanks (NEA). Even while networks of specialists and artists were remarkably small and overlapping, peer and expert review provided a system of legitimization and authority. Moreover, I argue that foundation and agency officers, as well as members of national councils and other institutional specialists need to be considered as interactional experts with tremendous influence in the operation of the system, determining the kinds of outside voices -- like consultants -- that were heard in the process.

In the fourth chapter I discuss a number of issues regarding coordination, cooperation, and competition between the federal government and private philanthropic organizations. As a federal agency, the NEA was mandated to serve broadly the interests of all citizens, groups, and communities. Private foundations, on the other hand, could decide, at will, to limit their chosen missions. Thus foundations had a degree of flexibility that the NEA lacked, even if they were also criticized for inequities in the distribution of their grants. Of additional significance was the way the Ford Foundation and the NEA awarded matching grants, further integrating the field of cultural production in the United States. For the NEA, matching funds supported its legitimacy as a government agency that claimed to be doubly and triply "effective" because for every dollar that it granted, two to four outside dollars were raised. Regardless of differences in institutional practices

and operation, however, the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller collectively served as weathervanes in the field. Their "seals of approval" guided the decision making of individual patrons, smaller foundations, state art agencies, and multinational corporations.

In the fifth chapter, I focus on specific case studies of certain grant recipients: composers at university-based new music centers (specifically electronic and tape music at Columbia-Princeton) and composers commissioned to write music for both large metropolitan and smaller regional symphony orchestras. I offer new insights into two commonly understood historiographical frameworks for twentieth-century music in the United States: 1) the dominance and prestige of avant-garde music and serialism at American universities (versus tonal, conservative, and neo-Romantic music), and 2) the highbrow/lowbrow bifurcation of Western art music and vernacular or non-Western musics. Symphony orchestras, opera companies, and other large performing arts venues received the lion's share of the arts and music budgets of the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations. What is important to note is how composers at university-based new music centers such as Milton Babbitt, Otto Luening, and Vladimir Ussachevsky served dually as outside consultants *and* commissioned artists.

This self-reinforcing system largely excluded substantive support of folk music, jazz, and non-Western music. These artistic forms often lacked the organizational resources, cultural and symbolic capital, and well-placed individuals (as "experts") to tap into channels of funding, especially at the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations. The "Jazz/Folk/Ethnic" program at the NEA, which began in 1973, was an important exception. Therefore, I show how the system of arts funding formalized from the 1950s to 1970s offered only limited capacities for, or generated significant structural obstacles to, culturally diverse forms of institutional support.

CONCLUSION

A number of moral and ethical questions arise given the structure of arts grantmaking based on expertise after the Second World War. The first was the role of government money in an American capitalistic system that had historically viewed arts support as a matter of private initiative. When the federal government entered the field in 1965, it worked closely with private philanthropies and individuals -- in fact, many of its initial leaders came from the foundation world, including NEA Chairman Nancy Hanks. The vast majority of the NEA's grants were made on a matching basis, for fear that the government would crowd out private funding. But as I show, the system of matching grants itself was biased toward organizations that already had the capacity to elicit other sources of funding. Matching grant requirements routinely excluded smaller, already marginalized groups. In the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, these groups often included performers of folk, jazz, and other musics of underrepresented communities. How or whether the government should redistribute money to a wide variety of recipients were therefore questions of social justice. Furthermore, how or whether private foundations as non-profit organizations that received tax benefits due to their mandate to serve the "public good" should distribute their money to a diversity of grantees were also issues of pluralism and democracy.

The second set of moral and ethical questions concerned Western high art music's prestige as a non-commercial art form that subsisted on the support of wealthy individuals, philanthropic organizations, and local, state, and federal government agencies. The music included, but was not limited to, tonal orchestral music written in a neoclassical or neo-Romantic style, serial compositions performed by electronic media, and operas written on American themes and performed by American artists. What was generally common was non-commercial viability, the strong influence of Western European art traditions and histories, and affiliation with university

settings or high art performing institutions.[49] "Serious music" provided a crucial link in the system: composers writing in, and performers of, this kind of music determined its high aesthetic value and cultural capital; these composers and performers were also employed by the nation's largest and wealthiest foundations and its own federal government. In particular, composers of both serial and electronic music (*not* mutually exclusive), working in elite university environments, capitalized on the scientific, mathematical, and technological allure of their compositional styles, which was attractive to foundation officers. Therefore, a strong collaborative bond united Western high art music with grantmaking after World War II, perpetuating ideologies of privilege and elitism in the system.

My study contributes to the field of historical musicology in several important ways. It offers an in-depth understanding of the environmental circumstances that supported Western high art music organizations; it suggests a method to analyze a network of relationships between composers, performers, arts managers, arts advocates, and audiences; and it provides a critical examination of the relationships between large performing arts venues, new music centers, universities, and the musical avant-garde in twentieth-century America. I generate a detailed analysis of the definitions and understandings of various terms such as democracy, cultural pluralism, aesthetics, taste, and connoisseurship.

Ultimately, the questions I pose, however, are those central to many humanists and musicologists concerned with aesthetic evaluation and the power that networks of artists and grantmakers can have in producing and judging art. These questions arise every time someone protests that "the arts are underfunded in this country," or conversely, claims that "we waste too much money on the arts." My hope is that issues of funding excellent work from a diversity of

[49] See also Lawrence W. Levine, *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988). Levine describes the process of art's sacralization in the United States as endowing "the music it focused upon with unique aesthetic and spiritual properties that rendered it inviolate, exclusive, and eternal" (132). Americans turned to Europe "for the divine inspiration and artistic creation" (140).

cultural practices are also deeply relevant to current government policymakers and arts philanthropists. Legitimized forms of culture -- such as Western art music -- can problematically be chosen to represent images of both national and local identity. Yet they are only one example of the many different kinds of art produced in the United States. When art is called upon to serve the multiple functions of creative inspiration, economic stimulus, and community expression, an examination of the field of cultural production and the rules of the game is critical -- the resulting insights and conclusions allow us to better understand the consequences of policy intervention. Art, after all, is at the intersection of aesthetics and social change.

CHAPTER 1: THE MUSIC AND PERFORMING ARTS PROGRAMS OF THE NEA, FORD, AND ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATIONS

In 1976, the Rockefeller Foundation celebrated the United States Bicentennial with a 100-record collection known as the Recorded Anthology of American Music. The Editorial Committee of the anthology noted that any attempt to memorialize the music of the United States, including its many different racial and ethnic communities, as well as its vast geographical diversity, would be an impossible task. Thus their aim for the anthology was to be "comprehensive," but not "exhaustive." I take a similar approach with this first chapter. The Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, and National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) funded hundreds of programs annually, ranging from grants to institutions, to fellowships to individuals. They were as small as $100, to as large as $10 million. Some grants were administered by the foundation or endowment staff, while others were allocated to third parties, like the American Symphony Orchestra League or the National Opera Institute.

Since there is insufficient space to discuss every grant at length, I have chosen to focus on the division's largest grants and their largest programs. At times, I additionally include smaller

grants because of their symbolic importance. I exercise caution, however, because of the danger of overemphasizing any one grant, because some were given without much meaning or long-term significance. Instead, the largest programs had guidelines which we can analyze -- they provide frameworks and strategies that we can compare over time and across institutions. Overall, the goal of this chapter is to provide a groundwork and backdrop to examine the ways that the music divisions of these institutions emerged and roughly what they covered. Further chapters analyze the individuals involved in the grantmaking, the relationships among the institutions, and their role in supporting grantees.

I organize Chapter 1 into three sections, each one devoted to the institutions I study. I begin with the Rockefeller Foundation, the oldest of the three and the first to begin supporting music and arts programs. I continue with the Ford Foundation, the largest, which during this time period gave the greatest sum of money to music. And I end with the NEA, the government agency dedicated solely to the arts and whose presence ultimately made the two private foundations question their role in arts funding. Each section is organized both chronologically and programmatically.

Finally, in an effort to minimize numerical clutter, I provide only grant amounts in their original value. Readers can refer to Table 1.1 for present-day equivalencies (taken from www.measuringworth.com).

Table 1.1: Estimated Present-Day Dollar Values for 1955, 1965, and 1975

1955	**2015**	1965	**2015**	1975	**2015**
$1,000	**$9,000**	$1,000	**$7,500**	$1,000	**$4,500**
$10,000	**$90,000**	$10,000	**$75,000**	$10,000	**$45,000**
$50,000	**$450,000**	$50,000	**$375,000**	$50,000	**$225,000**
$100,000	**$900,000**	$100,000	**$750,000**	$100,000	**$450,000**
$500,000	**$4,500,000**	$500,000	**$3,750,000**	$500,000	**$2,250,000**
$1,000,000	**$9,000,000**	$1,000,000	**$7,500,000**	$1,000,000	**$4,500,000**
$10,000,000	**$90,000,000**	$10,000,000	**$75,000,000**	$10,000,000	**$45,000,000**
$100,000,000	**$900,000,000**	$100,000,000	**$750,000,000**	$100,000,000	**$450,000,000**
$1,000,000,000	**$9,000,000,000**	$1,000,000,000	**$7,500,000,000**	$1,000,000,000	**$4,500,000,000**

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

The Emergence of Grantmaking in Music and the Other Performing Arts

The Rockefeller Foundation, founded in 1913, is the oldest institution in my study. In 1929, the foundation formed its humanities division and began its earliest grants to music. While in that inaugural year for the arts and humanities, most funding went toward academic scholarship -- for example, through substantial grant to the American Council of Learned Societies -- the foundation also offered two grants to the Playground and Recreation Association of America, for a study of community music ($28,979) and to a program of introducing music into small towns ($9,697). These one-off grants, however, hardly indicated any commitment to supporting larger-scale music projects.

By the late 1930s and early 1940s, the foundation began placing greater emphasis on its programs in "cultural development," as evidenced in its annual reports. In 1937, the foundation wrote, "from being aristocratic and exclusive, culture is becoming democratic and inclusive," citing greater levels of literacy, improvements in education, the proliferation of public libraries and museums, and the development of radio and television.[1] Trustees noted a greater concern for

[1] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1937," 50.

"leisure" and the occupation of one's free time. Two years later in 1939, the foundation appropriated $60,000 for the establishment of the Berkshire Symphonic Festival music education center in Massachusetts under the direction of Serge Koussevitzky. In 1940, Rockefeller gave $20,000 to the New School for Social Research for experiments in music and film production under composer Hanns Eisler; and $35,000 to Columbia University for studies in radio listening by sociologist Paul F. Lazarsfeld.[2]

Not until 1953, however, was there a substantial initiative aimed at the fields of music and the performing arts. That year, the foundation gave two major grants to the Louisville Philharmonic Society in Kentucky and the City Center of Music and Drama in New York. The two grants were part of "four emerging trends" in the foundation: greater focus on studies of recent history, assisting American studies in other countries, supporting creative writing, and "the initiation of major grants in music."[3] While the foundation took a stand on supporting "creative work of high quality," at the time, it was also cautious to acknowledge that it "neither can nor should take the place of other forms of private patronage of the arts, nor should it in general give direct aid to individual artists."[4] Instead, the foundation preferred to give indirect assistance through third-party organizations, like the Louisville Philharmonic Society or the City Center of Music and Drama.

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[2] According to the 1940 Rockefeller Foundation Annual Report, Eisler's studies dealt with "the possibility of utilizing new types of musical material in film production, with problems of instrumentation, music, and sound effects, and with the more esthetic problem of music in relation to the visual content of the film. The work will culminate in the preparation and recording of different musical scores for various types of visual content. These recordings will be deposited in the Film Library of the Museum of Modern Art, where they will be available to producers and to students of the motion picture," 316.

[3] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1953," 279.

[4] Ibid., 283.

The foundation also saw its grant to the Louisville Orchestra, however, as an embarkation "upon a program which [was] virtually unique in the annals of music history."[5] The program was unprecedented in scope and magnitude, especially for a private philanthropic foundation. The foundation held the conviction that "public interest in contemporary music [was] far greater than generally realized." The orchestra planned to commission, perform, and record no fewer than 46 works annually. Each piece was to be performed four times, assuring the repeated hearings of new music. The program was geared toward "mass engagement": the officers argued that ticket prices were no higher than to a motion picture theatre; recordings were made on magnetic tapes for distribution to educational and cultural broadcasting stations; and LP records of the commissioned works were sold on a subscription basis. To these ends, the foundation granted $400,000 over four years.[6]

To the City Center of Music and Drama, the Rockefeller Foundation contributed $200,000 over three years in support of its two resident performance organizations, the New York City Ballet and the New York City Opera Company. The grant, in large part, due to the strong influence of Managing Director Lincoln Kirstein, financed new productions, commissioned new scores, librettos, and choreography, and the design of stage sets and costumes.[7] The grant helped produce nearly a dozen operas and ballets.

The Rockefeller Foundation continued its cautious exploration of grants to music organizations the following year in 1954, including support to the American Symphony Orchestra

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[5] Ibid., 307.

[6] Also see Jeanne Marie Belfy, *The Commissioning Project of the Louisville Orchestra, 1948-1958: A Study of the History and Music* (Louisville: UMI Publishers, 1986); Belfy, Jeanne Marie, "'Judith' and the Louisville Orchestra: The Rest of the Story," *College Music Society* 31 (1991): 36–48.

[7] See also Lynn Garafola, "Dollars for Dance: Lincoln Kirstein, City Center, and the Rockefeller Foundation," *Dance Chronicle* 25, no. 1 (2002): 101–14. Garafola notes that by 1959, the Ford Foundation filled in the gap that the Rockefeller Foundation left behind after it discontinued funding.

League (ASOL) for conductor and music critics workshops ($83,150), and to the Karamu House in Cleveland for its music building ($100,000). Officers gave a small grant to the Bennington Composers' Conference ($4,500) over three years, seeing it as a continuation of its grant to the Louisville Orchestra. The summer conference provided an opportunity for the performance and workshopping of new compositions, involving both professional and amateur performers, as well as older and younger composers. It had begun originally at Middlebury College in 1951 before moving to Bennington.

The central Rockefeller officers in the Humanities Division during this time were Director Charles B. Fahs, Associate Director John Marshall, Assistant Director (and later Associate Director) Chadbourne Gilpatric, and Associate Director Edward F. D'Arms (who later went to the Ford Foundation in 1957). They were largely responsible for the rather ad hoc programming of music and the arts in its early stages -- that is, before an official division with its own arts-based advisory committees was established. According to the foundation's annual report in 1955, its grants were aimed toward "broader enjoyment of the arts."[8]

Rockefeller grants to ASOL, the Berkshire Music Center, and to Young Audiences, Inc. for concerts in schools were also seen as living up to this mission. The foundation contributed an additional $125,000 to the Berkshire Music Center in 1955 for its scholarship fund, following up on its first grant to the center, which was given in 1940. Young Audiences, Inc. sponsored chamber music concerts "directed primarily toward the musical interest and experience of children."[9] The program both brought live music to a larger number of communities in the United States, while also supporting the musicians through employment. The foundation contributed $75,000 over five

[8] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1955."

[9] Ibid., 178.

years toward the costs of expanding the program. The same year, it also gave a "finishing grant" (a terminal grant) of $100,000 to the Louisville Orchestra.

In 1956, the foundation achieved a new peak in its budget, at $30 million. The largest category was for the humanities division (which oversaw the arts), at $6 million. The trustees and officers evaluated grants to the humanities as they did grants in the science and social science divisions, realizing that the limited amount of money they could offer was not nearly enough to tackle the annual deficits of the major performing arts groups. They did not want to offer "palliative support"; rather, the goal was to offer "remedial and generative support" so that the arts could eventually become self-sufficient. "It would be unwise for the foundation," the annual report noted, "merely to underwrite deficits or to subsidize a level of activity which could not be maintained."[10] Instead, the foundation believed that if the arts were able to expand their base of support -- sparked with an initial Rockefeller contribution -- then they would be on a path toward self-sufficiency. "The foundation's intention is not to provide long-term or continuous support, but to offer the short-term or initial aid which will lead to a new or higher level of achievement that can be maintained by other sources of support." Furthermore, the foundation saw its program in the arts as "experimental." It wanted to "discover how the arts can best grow in quality and achieve prosperity in a democratic society." Institutional funding for the arts during this time was unexplored territory. Its only precedent was a trial by the Carnegie Corporation to provide recordings to public schools in the 1930s.

Between 1957 and 1963 the Rockefeller Foundation continued to support individual artists and scholars through fellowships, as well as to initiate larger projects. It contributed an additional $160,000 to ASOL for its workshops for conductors and music critics, bringing total Rockefeller

[10] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1956," 58-59.

assistance to more than $300,000. The foundation's annual budget continued to expand in 1957, reaching over $40 million. A large share of this increase, however, was a $7.5 million grant to the Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts, which required a $20 million transfer in the foundation's capital funds. In 1958, the foundation made a significant foray into electronic music, supporting the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center in the amount of $175,000 over five years.[11] Initial exploration in an emerging field of composition was offered in 1955 with individual grants to professors Otto Luening and Vladimir Ussachevsky ($9,955 total). This project sparked the joint venture between Columbia and Princeton (with Milton Babbitt) to purchase advanced equipment and technology at a facility for American composers interested in electronic music (discussed further in Chapter 5). Almost half the budget was allocated to the purchase of equipment, while the other half went to engineering, maintenance, and technical assistance to composers. Officers in the humanities division wrote,

> While it may be exaggerated to claim, as some have, that western music has exhausted all its possibilities and can only now repeat itself, it does seem that developments in the use of electronic devices for musical expression have greatly expanded the potential range of the present-day composer... The present proposal... will make it possible for the first time for composers in this country to address themselves to electronic music on a scale comparable to what is taking place in Europe.[12]

The Rockefeller Foundation played a further role in the support of individual artists and researchers. Grants included those to other composers, who were on the faculty at Columbia University: Chou Wen-Chung in 1955, for $9,000 toward the adaptation of traditional Chinese drama for music and dance production in the United States; and to Henry Cowell in 1956, for

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[11] RF58223, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) June-December 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, Record Group 1 (RG1), Rockefeller Foundation (RF), Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, New York (RAC).

[12] Ibid.

$9,600 to "gain a direct acquaintance with music in the Orient" through travel.[13] In 1960, composer and musicologist Peggy Glanville-Hicks received $4,000 to study "the relationships among musical forms in the West, the Middle East, and Asia." She continued to receive individual support from the foundation over the next several years. A grant to composer Lukas Foss was also given for his program in ensemble musical improvisation. Finally, in 1961, the foundation awarded $10,000 to Alan Lomax, in cooperation with Professor Conrad M. Arensberg, for the "development of descriptive techniques for evaluation of folk and primitive music."[14]

The Foundation's Music Advisory Committee and Support for Symphony Orchestras and Universities

The foundation consolidated its humanities and social sciences divisions in 1962, under Vice President Kenneth W. Thompson. Both he and Gerald Freund (associate director) had come from the social sciences division of the foundation. Two music grants with a strong international focus were given to the Torcuato di Tella Institute in Buenos Aires, Argentina under the direction of Alberto Ginastera, and a related grant to the center for Latin American music at Indiana University, Bloomington.[15] Thompson and Freund worked together with Chadbourne Gilpatric (associate director) and Boyd R. Compton (assistant director), both of whom came from the humanities division. The following year in 1963, Thompson established the Rockefeller Foundation's first music advisory committee, which included composers Aaron Copland, Leonard Bernstein, and Lukas Foss, as well as critic Paul Hume and musicologist Raymond Kendall. Under the guidance of these "wise men," as Thompson referred to them, the foundation made its most

[13] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1956," 240.

[14] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1961," 63.

[15] Luis Eduardo Herrera, "The CLAEM and the Construction of Elite Art Worlds: Philanthropy, Latinamericanism and Avant-Garde Music" (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 2013).

concerted efforts in supporting symphony orchestras and university-based new music centers (discussed further in Chapter 2).

From 1963 to 1967, the foundation supported 23 symphony orchestras to hold open rehearsals of American music at approximately 130 colleges and universities, with an appropriation of $850,000 (initially $250,000, supplemented twice with an additional $500,000 and $100,000). As the grant proposal indicated, the foundation's music advisory committee chose as its top priority the "support of outstanding and creative young American composers of symphonic music through assistance to leading symphonic orchestras associated, where possible, with interested universities and colleges."[16] Copland proposed the original idea to extend the orchestra seasons with additional performances of works by younger composers, aged 25 to 40. Vice President Thompson called it the "Copland Plan." In total, orchestras in the program performed music by 286 composers, "many of whom were previously unknown and many of whom had never had their music performed by a full symphony orchestra before."[17]

[16] Folder: Symphony Orchestras -- Young Composers Program 1964-1969, Box 425, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[17] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1968," 93.

Table 1.2: Rockefeller Foundation University-Symphony Program, 1964

1964	
Dallas Symphony Orchestra	$20,000
Utah Symphony	$8,000
St. Louis Symphony	$15,000
Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra Society	$17,000
New Orleans Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra	$16,000
Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra	$18,500
Chicago Symphony Orchestra	$15,000
Baltimore Symphony Orchestra	$17,965
Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra	$20,000
Seattle Symphony Orchestra	$16,600
Total:	$164,065

Table 1.3: Rockefeller Foundation University-Symphony Program, 1965

1965	
Dallas Symphony Orchestra	$20,000
Baltimore Symphony Orchestra	$19,500
Kansas City Philharmonic	$21,945
Detroit Symphony Orchestra	$20,000
Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra Society	$20,000
Oakland Symphony Orchestra	$17,514
Chicago Symphony Orchestra	$20,000
Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra	$18,185
Hartford Symphony Orchestra	$10,500
Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra	$20,000
Total:	$187,644

Table 1.4: Rockefeller Foundation University-Symphony Program, 1966

1966	
Dallas Symphony Orchestra	$10,125
Phoenix Symphony Orchestra	$8,950
Baltimore Symphony Orchestra	$19,500
Cleveland Orchestra	$30,000
New Orleans Philharmonic Symphony Orchestra	$19,250
Houston Symphony Orchestra	$19,000
Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra	$15,000
Seattle Symphony Orchestra	$34,197
Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra Society	$10,000
St. Louis Symphony Orchestra	$20,000
Chicago Symphony Orchestra	$20,000
Detroit Symphony Orchestra	$10,000
San Francisco Symphony Orchestra	$20,000
Total:	$236,022

Table 1.5: Rockefeller Foundation University-Symphony Program, 1967

1967	
Indianapolis Symphony Orchestra	$19,200
Oakland Symphony Orchestra Association	$20,000
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra	$12,500
Utah Symphony Orchestra	$18,925
Milwaukee Symphony Orchestra	$12,500
Chicago Symphony Orchestra	$8,000
Los Angeles Philharmonic Orchestra	$20,000
Detroit Symphony Orchestra	$10,000
Total:	$121,125

Table 1.6: Rockefeller Foundation University-Symphony Program, 1968

1968	
Dallas Symphony Orchestra	$12,000
Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra	$23,812
Denver Symphony Orchestra	$20,000
Total:	$55,812

*Highlighted orchestras indicate that they received more than one grant.

Examples of composers and works during the 1965 season included Karel Husa's "Symphony" performed by the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra, and Roger Reynolds's "Graffiti" by the Seattle Symphony Orchestra. In St. Louis and New Orleans, Latin American symphonic works were played, and in Los Angeles, works by Gunther Schuller and William Schuman received their West Coast premieres.

The composer-in-residence program was also part-and-parcel of the music advisory committee's focus on supporting symphony orchestras. It began with an experiment in 1965, when Cornell University composer John Huggler was placed in residence with the Boston Symphony Orchestra. The underlying purpose of the experiment, according to the officers, was to see if American orchestras

> could be strengthened as vital musical institutions by bringing into intimate contact with them and their musical directors composers who had written in the symphonic form but whose further development was made difficult by lack of orchestral performances and by lack of contact with their chosen instruments of creative expression... [It was] an effort to restore the intimate relationship between composers and symphony orchestras which was usual in the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries.[18]

The Rockefeller Foundation assessed the program positively: Huggler's career was "significantly advanced," he gained new technical proficiency, he learned about orchestral management, and his works were performed under Erich Leinsdorf's direction in Boston, New York, and Washington. The Rockefeller Foundation viewed its grant as "vitalizing significant creative cultural forces," in contrast to Ford's contemporaneous grants, which were needed to help with the rising salaries and benefits of orchestral musicians.

In the first allocation of $96,000 in 1965 to the new composer-in-residence program, the foundation expected to provide approximately $12,000 per composer, for up to eight symphony

[18] RF65079, Folder: Cleveland Orchestra -- Composer-in-Residence (Smith, Russell) (Serebrier, Jose) 1968-1971, Box 312, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

orchestras, to support living expenses and travel costs. In 1969, the foundation expanded its program with an additional $150,000 for further residencies through 1972. It hoped this time, however, to share the costs with the orchestras, offering tapering grants over three years until eventually, the orchestra contributed at least half of the composer's allowance. Based on the perceived success of the first program, the officers felt that a further program could "help make the post of composer-in-residence a permanent one in selected American orchestras." Therefore, only those orchestras that intended to create such permanent posts were selected.

Table 1.7: Rockefeller Foundation Composer-in-Residence Program, 1965-1966

1965	$13,000
Boston Symphony Orchestra	John Huggler

1966	$33,800
New York Philharmonic	David Amram
Cleveland Orchestra	Russell Smith
Dallas Symphony Orchestra	Thomas Wirtel
Seattle Symphony Orchestra	Alan Hovhaness

Table 1.8: Rockefeller Foundation Composer-in-Residence Program, 1967-1968

1967	$7,800
New York Philharmonic	Lester Trimble

1968	$35,650
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra	Donald MacInnis
Dallas Symphony Orchestra	Donald Erb
Cleveland Orchestra	Jose Serebrier
New York Philharmonic	Fredric E. Myrow
Washington National Symphony	John Carter

Table 1.9: Rockefeller Foundation Composer-in-Residence Program, 1969-1970

1969	$45,245
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra	T. J. Anderson
Cleveland Orchestra	Jose Serebrier
Washington National Symphony	John Carter
New Orleans Philharmonic Symphony	Russell Smith
Oakland Symphony Orchestra	Edward Applebaum

1970	$7,736
Atlanta Symphony Orchestra	T. J. Anderson
Oakland Symphony Orchestra	Edward Applebaum

The Rockefeller Foundation also funded several new music centers based at universities and other schools of music during this time period. Its interest in supporting contemporary music traced back to its initial grant to Bennington College in the 1950s. Among the smaller grants in 1964 and 1965 included those to the Marlboro School of Music (also in Vermont) for its contemporary composers program ($9,950); Mills College in Oakland, California for the development of its chamber music ensemble in residence ($15,000); and Columbia University toward the establishment of its Group for Contemporary Music ($24,000) -- in addition to the support of the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center.

More significantly, the foundation started to invest hundreds of thousands of dollars in its largest grants, beginning with the State University of New York at Buffalo in 1964. That grant went toward the costs of establishing a center of performing and creative arts under the joint direction of Lukas Foss, composer and director of the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra, and Allen D. Sapp, Jr., chairman of the Department of Music of the University.[19] Fifteen creative associates received $6,000 each for two years by the foundation, while the university supplied assistance with instruments, space, other equipment, and funding for at least four creative associates. Foundation

[19] RF64017, Folder: University of Buffalo -- Creative Music Associates 1963-June 1964 (Lukas Foss, Alan D. Sapp), Box 432, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

officers considered Buffalo a "strong and independent regional center," and that developing further locations was critical to the "future growth and strength of the musical scene in the United States." An emergency grant of $10,000 was provided in 1965 to extend the concert program of "Evenings for New Music" in New York. This grant was quickly followed by another large grant of $150,000 to extend the project for another two years through 1968.[20]

The foundation noted that the creative associates program was the "first instance in which an academic institution has given full-time support to a musical ensemble of this size with the sole task of performing -- with no teaching duties."[21] The foundation believed that the group showed that "a contemporary ensemble, properly supported and scheduled to play mainly at academic centers, can win a loyal and engaged audience without compromising its high standards of programming." The program was an experiment which led to the establishment of comparable groups-in-residence at Rutgers, the University of Iowa, and the University of Chicago.

In 1965, the foundation approved a grant of $265,000 over three years to the Rutgers Contemporary Chamber Ensemble for a program focused on on musical performance, composition, and instruction, which was undertaken in cooperation with the Committee for International Composers Concerts.[22] Through this funding, the Contemporary Chamber Ensemble was established as a group-in-residence under the direction of Arthur Weisberg. The Committee for International Composers Concert's Board of Advisors included Elliott Carter, Leonard Bernstein, and Edgard Varèse. The foundation recommended an "experimental affiliation" between the ensemble and Rutgers University to "enlarge the ensemble's sphere of service to

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[20] RF66059, Folder: University of Buffalo -- Creative Music Associates 1963-June 1964 (Lukas Foss, Alan D. Sapp), Box 432, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[21] Ibid.

[22] RF65043, Folder: Rutgers University -- Contemporary Chamber Ensemble 1963-May 1965, Box 410, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

contemporary composers and audiences... while assisting the university in the speedy development of first-rate graduate offerings in composition and instrumental teaching, and strengthen the university's contribution to cultural development in New Jersey generally." As a group-in-residence for the academic year, the ensemble was expected to play public concerts with open rehearsals for 28 weeks; assist in course demonstrations, lectures, and private instruction; provide workshops for public school music teachers; perform newly commissioned works; create an archive of tapes of contemporary music; tour for four weeks to other colleges; and to workshop performances of student compositions.

Also in 1965, the Rockefeller Foundation gave $100,000 to the University of Iowa toward the costs of a new program in "modern contemporary music creativity and performance."[23] (In total, the foundation gave $540,000 to the program.) The officers noted that Iowa had "one of the strongest and liveliest music faculties at any major American institution." The university proposed establishing in its School of Music, a Center for New Music similar to the ones at Chicago and Buffalo. The center would have, however, a regional focus to support the readings of new works by local composers. Professor Richard B. Hervik (composer) was the director of the program and Professor James Dixon was the conductor of the performing group. They were directly responsible to the director of the School of Music, Professor Himie Voxman. Fellowships averaged $4,500 each for seven composers and performers in the first year, twelve in the second, and fourteen in the third. Iowa's contribution also increased with each year, and over the three years, they provided a total of $85,500. In the fourth year, the foundation expected the university to absorb the total annual costs.

[23] RF65077, Folder: University of Iowa -- Music 1965 (contemporary works), Box 449, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

The University of Chicago's Center for Music and its Contemporary Chamber Players under Leonard B. Meyer and Ralph Shapey received in total $400,000 from the foundation between 1964 and 1970. The grant funded musicians' fees and general costs, including an average of two or three fellowships each year for qualified musicians.[24]

The foundation's first grant to Mills College was for its Performing Group, setting it up as a chamber music ensemble-in-residence in 1965, at a cost of $15,000. According to the foundation, the group was the "latest stage in the development of an unusually rich musical environment on the campus of this liberal arts college for women."[25] Morton Subotnick, teacher of theory and composition, took the lead in developing the group. The following year, the foundation gave $200,000 in conjunction with the San Francisco Tape Music Center over a period of four years.[26] Officers noted that the center, established in 1961 by Mills graduates Subotnick, Pauline Oliveros, and Ramon Sender was evidence of a "highly charged creative environment" that had made "major contributions to our culture."[27] Additionally, of critical importance was the "bringing of creative work directly into the fabric of liberal arts education" and "the touching of a mass regional audience through performances on tour and on television and radio." Oliveros was the "composer-leader" for that year and other proposed composers included Salvatore Martirano, Mario Davidovsky, Luigi Nono, and Lejaren Hiller.

The main programs described in brief above formed a core of the foundation's work during the 1960s. There were also, however, numerous smaller and medium-sized grants that the

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[24] The Fromm Foundation also gave a series of grants to the group for an annual series of special concerts, including the works of Varèse, Dallapiccola, and Wolpe.

[25] GA Arts6512. Folder: Mills College -- Music (Chamber Music Ensemble) 1965-1966, Box 378, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[26] RF 66010, Folder: Mills College -- Music (Chamber Music Ensemble) 1965-1966, Box 378, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[27] While Mills College is a women's undergraduate college, its graduate programs are open to men and women.

officers allocated. These included grants in 1966 to Sarah Lawrence College ($101,000) for the Aeolian Chamber Players to serve as a group-in-residence for concerts and workshops of contemporary music; Grinnell College ($60,000) to maintain the Lenox String Quartet in residence; and the Cleveland Institute of Music ($15,500) for the support of the University Circle Contemporary Chamber Music Ensemble. In 1967, the foundation gave an additional $50,000 to the Marlboro School of Music for its contemporary music program; $233,000 to the North Carolina School of the Arts for its Piedmont Chamber Players; $14,650 for the University of Illinois's Summer Workshop for the Performance of Contemporary Music; and $190,000 to the University of Washington School of Music's Contemporary Performing Group.

Three other large grant programs deserve further mentioning: these programs were associated with the foundation's foray into arts education and audience development. First, the foundation developed at the University of Southern California a course to improve the level of music criticism in the United States (the initial grant in 1963 ($296,000) and a supplement in 1967 ($280,000)). Five to eight "carefully chosen young men" enrolled for one year in an intensive apprenticeship in musicology and critical writing.[28] Second, Rockefeller granted $315,000 in 1965 to Oberlin College over four years to implement summer workshops for public school music teachers. In 1970, Oberlin received an additional $170,000 to continue its work. Finally, the foundation gave $335,000 to the American Opera Center for Advanced Training at the Juilliard School of Music to develop further the "professional skills of gifted young musicians" and to provide them with opportunities to perform.[29]

[28] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1963," 24.

[29] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1967," 74.

The "Cultural Development Program" and the 1970s

In 1968, the foundation formalized its effort in the arts as the "Cultural Development Program" -- previously under the category of "Aiding our Cultural Development." It articulated its mission as focused especially on universities and on public out-reach, codifying many of the trends already observed in Rockefeller programming.

> Since 1964, it [the program] has been carefully developed through the technique of making grants-in-aid to individuals and institutions, often followed by larger appropriations as the recipient demonstrates high quality and imagination. College, university, and community groups are the principal, but not the only, recipients of foundation support. Major emphasis is upon music, theatre, and dance, including both training and participant activities, along with audience development.[30]

In its annual report, the foundation also continued to articulate the importance of its composer-in-residence program, hoping to underscore the value of "the symphony orchestra as a living and creative element in American music at a time when too many critics are ready to relegate it to museum status."[31] Yet beginning this year, there was also a perceptible shift in the number of grants going away from music, toward dance and theater. Moreover, the quantity of grants increased while the grant amounts decreased, compared to previous years, indicating a move away from grants that were in the hundreds of thousands of dollars, to those that were in the tens of thousands of dollars. For example, the Cleveland Institute of Music received $10,000 to establish its Mixed Media Center as a further development of the University Circle Contemporary Chamber Music Ensemble, and Columbia University received $15,000 for its Group for Contemporary Music. The University of Michigan received $25,000 toward the continuation of its Project for the Performance of Contemporary Music. The one exception was a $150,000 grant to the Music Associates of Aspen toward the advanced teacher training program at the Aspen Music School.

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[30] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1968," xxii.

[31] Ibid.

The foundation also set its sights on tackling the financial situation of six of the country's major conservatories of music. It had began doing so six years earlier in 1964, with a grant to Juilliard. In 1970, its report, titled "Plight of the Conservatories," provided scholarship aid to students to the schools listed in Table 1.10.

Table 1.10: Rockefeller Foundation Plight of the Conservatories Program

Juilliard School of Music	$265,000
New England Conservatory of Music	$200,000
Peabody Institute	$170,000
Manhattan School of Music	$100,000
San Francisco Conservatory of Music	$85,000
Cleveland Institute of Music	$75,000
Total:	$895,000

The foundation noted that over the previous hundred years, conservatories had produced eminent concert artists, but few alumni had become wealthy enough to donate to conservatory endowments, as compared to colleges and universities. The biggest problem was the lack of scholarship aid to needy students. The grant to the Manhattan School of Music was specifically aimed at the training of students from predominantly low-income families.

Smaller grants in 1970 and 1971 went to Antioch College for its jazz workshops ($25,000) (one of the few grants the foundation gave to jazz); the Marlboro School of Music ($50,000); the University of Michigan School of Music ($36,225) for its contemporary music programs; the Appalachian Research and Defense Fund for its experimental series of workshops and festivals of Appalachian music ($20,350, and supplemented in 1973 with an additional $24,890 -- one of the foundation's few grants in folk music); and $25,000 to Morehouse College to produce Scott Joplin's unfinished opera, *Treemonisha*. Two large grants went to the Center for Music Experiment and Related Research at UC San Diego ($400,000) to continue the foundation's

support of new experimental music, and to the music training program at the Brevard Music Center in North Carolina ($100,000).

A period of soul searching continued through 1972, with the retirement of Director Norman Lloyd and the promotion of Howard Klein. The foundation's main grants to music were restricted to areas that it had previously expressed interest: conservatories and new music centers. Mills College received grants of $75,000 and $50,000 for its Center for Contemporary Music; UC San Diego was given grants of $68,038 and $75,000; and the Reich Music Foundation obtained $5,200. Conservatories also received funding, for projects focused on community music education and for the continued support of talented students through awards and scholarships. The schools included the San Francisco Conservatory, Juilliard, NEC, Manhattan School of Music, and the Cleveland Institute of Music.

The largest program the foundation ever established in the arts went to the Recorded Anthology of American Music (RAAM), a series of 100 LPs produced and given away for free to universities, libraries, and hospitals in celebration of the United States Bicentennial. In total, it cost almost $5 million, which was more than the conservatory, university-symphony, and composers-in-residence programs combined. I discuss the RAAM in great detail in Chapter 2, including how the records were chosen, by whom, and what they included. In connection with the grant and the growth of recording and studying American music, the foundation also supported the newly established Institute for Studies in American Music (later renamed after H. Wiley Hitchcock, musicologist and its founder) at Brooklyn College, City University of New York. The Institute received three grants from 1972 to 1975, totaling $87,500. In 1975 and 1976, the foundation also awarded a total of $165,000 to the Center for Southern Folklore in Memphis, Tennessee toward the study and documentation of folk culture with a focus on crafts, music, and folktales indigenous to the American South.

A low point in arts funding at the Rockefeller Foundation came in 1974, when it considered pulling out of the arts completely. One response was to convene a gathering of the foundations, organizations, and government agencies most involved in arts funding, including the Ford Foundation, the NEA, and the country's largest performing arts organizations (discussed further in Chapter 4). Eventually, the Rockefeller Foundation decided not to disband its program, but what came out was much smaller than when it first emerged in the 1950s. With more institutions supporting the arts, in addition to an erosion of its capital and spending power, the Rockefeller Foundation saw contraction as the only solution. According to the foundation, compared to the annual appropriations of the NEA and the New York Council on the Arts (NYCA), the Rockefeller's arts budget looked "almost miniscule," "positively submicroscopic!"[32] At $3-4 million a year, it was about 5% of the NEA's and 10% of the NYCA's budgets. Furthermore, the Ford Foundation's study of 166 performing arts institutions had the sobering effect of quantifying the massive financial obstacles of opera companies, theatres, symphony orchestras, and dance companies, and the limited impact a private foundation could make in tackling these operational deficits.

Ultimately, the foundation's program in the arts emerged as a division in the Arts, Humanities, and Contemporary Values. It operated alongside the foundation's other programs in Population and Health, Conquest of Hunger, Education for Development, Conflict in International Relations, Equal Opportunity, and Quality of the Environment. The new program found its role in expanded fellowship support for artists. "The Arts program is turning more and more to the entrepreneurial role and to fellowships, recognizing the potential for mobilizing new

[32] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1974," 9-10.

sources of support and the need for support for the creative artist."[33] Above all, it wanted to allow gifted individuals the time "to concentrate on their work relatively free from outside pressures." Initial emphasis was on playwrights and ballet choreographers. At least two years passed before the foundation expanded its fellowships to performers of contemporary American music, in cooperation with the recently founded Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts in Washington, D.C., which had opened in 1971. An appropriation of $200,000 was approved in 1976 and the first awards were made in 1977.

THE FORD FOUNDATION

Until 1949, when the Ford Foundation embarked upon new areas of support through its Gaither Study Committee, the foundation was primarily interested in funding local grants near its headquarters in Michigan. One of its first grants in music was to the Detroit Symphony Orchestra in 1941 ($37,500). Other early grants included a small one to the American National Red Cross ($3,000) to help purchase musical instruments in 1945, and a grant of $6,200 to the Institute of International Education in 1952 to allow American pianists to participate in the International Music Competition at Brussels.

In 1957, a decade and a half after its founding, the Ford Foundation established the Arts and the Humanities Division under Program Officer W. McNeil Lowry. The division's central officers during this time were Program Associate Edward F. D'Arms (who had come from the Rockefeller Foundation) and Program Assistant Marcia Thompson (later, Program Officer). Vice President William McPeak oversaw the Humanities and the Arts division from 1957 until 1964, when Lowry was promoted to both Vice President of the Humanities and the Arts, and Vice President of Policy and Planning. The Ford Foundation saw its humanities and arts program as the

[33] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1974," 36.

"first comprehensive philanthropic activity embracing the creative and performing arts," and was a "kind of de facto national arts council in the private sector."[34] Ford provided grants-in-aid to talented artists to "stimulate artistic creativity," grants for experiments and studies in the arts, grants for humanistic scholarship and research, and grants to strengthen and develop the country's artistic resources.

In 1960, five years before the NEA was founded, the Ford Foundation contemplated establishing its own National Arts Council.[35] The proposed council would not only be a grantmaking one, but also serve as an "advisory, initiatory, and developmental, judicial rather than partial" entity, "in short, a source of leadership of, and encouragement for, the arts throughout the country." Unlike the NEA, Lowry's National Arts Council would neither receive federal support nor be subject to federal control.[36] Members of the Council would include artists, directors, managers, public officials, and corporate leaders, and were to be "selected to reflect the varied interests of different parts of the country and the different arts." The foundation's proposed contributions for Lowry's plan were substantial: on the low end, an endowment of $50 million would be too little; on the high end, $500 million would allow the Council to operate on $12 to $15 million a year in grantmaking; a middle-of-the-road endowment of $250 million, on the other hand, "would give the Council an important and continuous program of independent assistance." In the end, however, the foundation decided not to pursue any of these options. In 1962, the Trustee Review Committee chose to keep the arts granting operation inside the foundation and not set up a separate council. Nevertheless, the proposal still revealed two of Lowry's goals: first, to

[34] "The Ford Foundation Programs and Developing Activities," 23 02 1965, marked "confidential, return to W. M. Lowry," Folder 7, Box 20, Series IV, FA582, Ford Foundation (FF), RAC.

[35] Folder: An Enlarged Program in the Arts March 1960, Box 6, Series IV, FA582, FF, RAC.

[36] Congressional charters were issued by the United States Congress from 1791 to 1992. The laws stated the mission, authority, and activities of a group, but Congress did not oversee or supervise any of the organization's activities.

develop a much larger arts grantmaking infrastructure that incorporated foundation and private funds outside the control of government, and second, to found a separate organization that was national in scope and had the power to organize, coordinate, and advise arts organizations in the field.

Between 1957 and 1976, the Ford Foundation gave more than $140 million to support music activities. The foundation's two largest programs were devoted to "Strengthening Artistic Resources" and "Development of Individual Talent." The former included its large grants to performing arts institutions such as civic and national opera companies and major and metropolitan symphony orchestras. The latter involved its numerous competitions for solo and concert artists as well as composer commissions and residencies. The foundation's other programs included the following categories:

- Professional Training (for scholarships and general support for independent schools of music)
- Technical Assistance (to support service organizations such as the American Symphony Orchestra League)
- Research and Development (in music pedagogy and a National Survey of Nonprofit Performing Arts Groups)
- Scholarship and Criticism (toward archives and scholarly resources)
- Educational Development of Audiences (to professional ensembles in schools)
- Social Development (to support previously underserved populations)
- Other (recordings and publications)

Following a more in-depth discussion of the foundation's two largest programs, I return later to the smaller categories.

"Strengthening Artistic Resources"

The Ford Foundation overwhelmingly favored symphony orchestras and opera companies in its support of the nation's "artistic resources."[37] As mentioned above, the foundation's earliest grant in the field of music was to the Detroit Symphony Orchestra in 1941. Nearly two decades later in 1964, the foundation gave an additional $2 million (the amount to be matched by other contributions) to lengthen the Detroit musicians' seasons through summer concerts and a winter pops series. Importantly, this grant was seen as a precursor to the foundation's national program for symphony orchestras the following year. The Symphony Orchestra Program, the foundation's largest grant to the arts, totaled $80.2 million, and was distributed to 61 orchestras in 33 states, the District of Columbia, and Puerto Rico. The original budget was even larger, totaling $110 million, using approximately $77 to $85 million in Ford Motor Company stock then held by the foundation.[38] A brainchild of Lowry's, he recommended to the Board of Trustees an "unprecedented act of philanthropy in the artistic and cultural life of a nation... using the symphony orchestra -- the most universally established of cultural institutions -- as a medium."

The foundation gave grants to 25 major and 36 metropolitan orchestras.[39] They ranged from $325,000 to $2.5 million. Three-quarters of the funds were designated for endowments,

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[37] "Humanities and the Arts Program Discussion Paper: Program for Symphony Orchestras" (marked "Confidential and for Internal Use Only"), 24-25 09 1964, Report 02853, Catalogued Reports, FF, RAC.

[38] "Humanities and the Arts Program Discussion Paper: Program for Symphony Orchestras," 24-25 09 1964, marked "Confidential and for Internal Use Only," Report 02853, Catalogued Reports, FF, RAC. Also see, Ben Negley, "The Ford Foundation Symphony Orchestra Program," *Journal of Musicological Research*, 2017, 1–28.

[39] "The Major Orchestra classification was defined in June 1962 by the Major Symphony Managers' Conference as referring to those orchestras operating on annual budgets of $500,000 and over, and which pay their musicians on a weekly basis under a season contract." By contrast, "the Metropolitan Orchestra classification referred originally to orchestras operating on annual budgets of between $100,000 and $250,000." Folder: Misc Grant Programs - Fact Sheets, Etc 1963-1965, Box 10, Series VI, FA640, FF, RAC.

which the orchestras needed to match dollar-for-dollar or better within five years. The remaining funds were classified as free or expendable, and the orchestras could use them as income while they initiated fundraising campaigns. Developmental grants totaling roughly $4 million were set aside for specific projects, particularly to orchestras seeking to employ additional musicians. Overall, the program

> [s]ought to consolidate the nation's rich orchestral resources, advance the quality of orchestras by enabling more musicians to devote their major energies to orchestral performance, attract more young people of talent to professional careers in orchestras by raising the income and prestige of symphony musicians, and extend the range of orchestras' services to larger and more diversified audiences.[40]

Its criteria for eligibility included the "quality of performance and repertoire," musicians' training and professionalism, the amount of time musicians spent in orchestral performance, "the volume and scope of an orchestra's services to its community," the proximity to other orchestras, and "the qualities of vision and realism shown" in the orchestra's future plans.[41] Above all, the foundation emphasized that the size of the grant should not be considered a ranking of the orchestra's artistic quality. It hoped the grants improved the quality of music by helping increase musician salaries and allowing them to devote more time to orchestral performance. Ford also wanted to increase access to the music through the lengthening of seasons and concerts in schools and local neighborhoods. In the foundation's evaluation of the program a few years later, it acknowledged that four orchestras had failed to meet the matching requirements stipulated by the grant: the American Symphony (New York), the Brooklyn Philharmonic, the Kansas City Philharmonic, and the Little

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[40] "Activities in the Creative and Performing Arts Support in the Musical Arts (1957-1969), 30 09 1969, Report 06721, Catalogued Reports, FF, RAC.

[41] The Ford Foundation, "The Ford Foundation: Millions for Music - Music for Millions," *Music Educators Journal* 53, no. 1 (1966): 85.

Orchestra Society.[42] A fifth recipient, the Festival Orchestra in New York City had discontinued its operations in 1969.

From 1963 to 1966, the Ford Foundation also supported sixteen civic opera companies, with a focus on establishing them as outlets for young singers and musicians. During this time, the foundation contributed $2,428,925. Among the recipients were the Lyric Opera of Kansas City ($75,000), the Opera Company of Boston ($195,000), and the Symphony Society of San Antonio ($188,300). Through 1975, civic opera received a total of $4,651,175. The New York City Opera alone received $1.6 million in 1974 for improvement and stabilization over seven years.

The foundation also gave large sums to subsidize the performing arts at Lincoln Center. In 1963, the Metropolitan Opera received $3.1 million for program expansion (the amount was matched with $2.5 million from outside sources). The same year, the New York Philharmonic received $1.4 million (matched by the same amount) to assist with transitional costs associated with the expansion of its activities. And two years later, in 1965, the City Center of Music and Drama received $3.2 million for general support (matched with $2 million).

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Ford Foundation realized that it had not been as successful with the Symphony Orchestra program as it had hoped. The "perennial obligation to raise [symphony orchestras'] annual maintenance funds" was as difficult and problematic several years after the program as it had been in 1965.[43] Learning from its experiences, the foundation shifted its goals and requirements in its Cash Reserve Program (1971-1974). This program targeted the improvement and stabilization of non-profit professional performing arts companies and granted a total of $7.7 million. In the field of music, it focused on opera companies. But rather than supporting musicians' salaries, the grants had the specific intention to help companies achieve

[42] Ford Foundation, "Annual Report 1972."

[43] "Government Policy in the Arts" (marked "Do not distribute"), 08 1968, Folder 9, Box 7, Series IV, FA582, FF, RAC.

financial self-sufficiency by eliminating accumulated net current liabilities, and establishing a cash reserve fund which assisted with liquidity (i.e., cash flow) problems. The company thus had more time to plan and raise funds for the future without having to worry about paying off past debt accumulations. The program included grants to the Dallas Civic Opera Company ($751,110), the Lyric Opera of Chicago ($1 million), New York City Opera ($1 million), the San Francisco Opera Association ($1 million), and the Kentucky Opera Association ($61,593), inter alia.

"Development of Individual Talent"

The Ford Foundation's second largest category focused on organizing competitions for performing artists, including concert and opera singers, and instrumentalists. The difference between grants to develop "individual talent" and those to strengthen "artistic resources" lay primarily in the overseeing and coordination of the grants. Grants under the former category were predominantly Foundation Administered Projects (FAPs), which meant that rather than giving the grant to a third party to execute, the foundation essentially awarded the grant to itself. The designated program divisions then undertook all the work of carrying out the project internally. The foundation received nominations for artists, selected judges, and planned and conducted the competitions. As part of Ford's overall budget, FAPs composed only a very small portion because the foundation strongly preferred to serve as the role of grantmaker for other organizations. FAPs were approved only when the foundation believed it could "advantageously supervise an activity itself."[44]

The foundation's first competition was held in 1959. It awarded ten concert singers and instrumentalists, enabling them each to commission a new work from a composer of their choice and to have the pieces performed with at least three symphony orchestras. The total amount

[44] Willard Hertz, "Questions and Answers Regarding Philanthropic and Financial Practices and Policies," 18 06 1963, Report 10457, Catalogued Reports, FF, RAC.

awarded was $120,000, and the artists performed with the orchestras of Atlanta, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, New York, Pittsburgh, San Antonio, and Seattle.

Table 1.11: Ford Foundation Concert Artist Competition, 1959

Concert Artist:	Composer:
Adele Addison	Lukas Foss
Phyllis Curtin	Carlisle Floyd
Leon Fleisher	Leon Kirchner
Joseph Fuchs	Walter Piston
Irene Jordan	Vittorio Giannini
Jacob Lateiner	Elliott Carter
Seymour Lipkin	Harold Shapero
William Masselos	Ben Weber
Michael Rabin	Paul Creston
Leonard Rose	William Schuman

Three years later in 1962, another Concert Artist competition was held, this time for 15 awards, at a cost of $144,000. The artists again chose composers to write a work specifically for them and the artists performed these works in a full recital program in New York City and two other performances elsewhere.

A final competition for concert artists was held in 1969, at a cost of $157,000 for 16 winners. Unlike in 1959 when the soloists were in their mid-career, these artists were specifically under the age of 35, and had not yet achieved recognition in the music world. The artists received $5,000 and the composer between $3,500 and $5,000 depending on the scoring for the work. I discuss these competitions more extensively in Chapter 5.

Table 1.12: Ford Foundation Concert Artist Competition, 1962

Concert Artist:	Composer:
Betty Allen	Virgil Thomson
Bethany Beardslee	Milton Babbitt
Gary Graffman	Benjamin Lees
Donald Gramm	Richard Cumming
Sidney Harth	Norman Dello Joio
Jacob Lateiner	Roger Sessions
Zara Nelsova	Alexei Haieff
Judith Raskin	Ezra Laderman
Regina Sarfaty	Ned Rorem
Berl Senofsky	Laurence Rosenthal
George Shirley	Coleridge-Taylor Perkinson
Oscar Shumsky	Quincy Porter
Abbey Simon	Anis Fuleihan
Claudette Sorel	Peter Mennin
Janos Starker	Roy Harris

Table 1.13: Ford Foundation Concert Artist Competition, 1969

Concert Artist:	Composer:
Charles M. Castleman	David Amram
Heidi Lehwalder Fields	Michael Colgrass
Mona Diana Golabek	William Kraft
Richard Goode	Robert Helps
Irene Gubrud	George Crumb
Lynn Harrell	Donald J. Erb
Gita Karasik	Andrew Imbrie
Stephen Kates	Claus Adam
Laurence Lesser	Gian Carlo Menotti
Donald McInnes	William Schuman
Murray Perahia	Michael Riesman
Michael Ponti	Iain Hamilton
Nathaniel Rosen	Leon Kirchner
Gerard R. Schwarz	Gunther Schuller
Jan Williams	Lukas Foss
Susan Davenny Wyner	Yehudi Wyner

Opera singers were singled out specifically for two other competitions, one in 1962 and another in 1963, for a total outlay of $407,500 to 33 singers.[45] The awards sought to support emerging singers with only limited professional experience. They were intended to give the winners time to learn new roles, receive further coaching, and develop other relevant skills. The foundation underwrote their contracts for performances of either A or B roles with eighteen civic operas. In addition, the foundation also assisted opera companies and symphony orchestras with their administrative internships program. This program included 46 fellowships to 33 recipients and totaled $208,101.

The foundation offered one of the few awards given in the field of choral music in 1962. The competition chose 11 choral directors who performed "serious music" from professional, semi-professional, and academic groups. The award enabled the director to engage singers or instrumentalists of their choice, commission new works, obtain scores, or undertake study and travel for their own professional development. Unlike other Ford competitions which granted a fairly even distribution to male and female artists, the one for choral directors stood out because they all went to men. By the same token, every one of the composers commissioned for the Concert Artists competitions were also men, and only one was African American.

The two other major programs under the category of "Development of Individual Talent" were grants to the New York City Opera and the Music Educators National Conference. Musicologist Tedrin Blair Lindsay has described in great detail the New York City Opera productions sponsored by the foundation from 1958 to 1960.[46] The galvanizing force behind this repertoire of American operas was the company's general director, Julius Rudel, who read through

[45] An initial program for the debuts of 60 young American singers was awarded to the New Orleans Opera House Association in 1957 at a cost of $165,000.

[46] Tedrin Blair Lindsay, "The Coming of Age of American Opera: New York City Opera and the Ford Foundation, 1958-1960" (University of Kentucky, 2009).

two hundred scores to select an initial twenty operas.[47] Lindsay's stylistic analysis of the operas written by the thirteen composers selected by Rudel noted that he "heavily favored operas composed in accessible musical idioms over modernistic ones," and especially those "incorporating folk or popular music styles, subjects from American lore or life, and other populist features."[48] In the second season, Rudel chose an additional ten operas, three of which were a repeat from the last season (two box office successes, and one an artistic selection of the opera director).

The foundation's experiment with New York City Opera spurred it into negotiations with other opera companies, including the Metropolitan Opera, Chicago Lyric, and San Francisco Opera. Four American operas were premiered over the next eight years, interchanging among the companies. The foundation hoped to establish a core repertoire of viable American operas, but its support was also quite limiting, only paying for extra rehearsal time, scenery and costume costs, and box office guarantees.[49] In total, the foundation gave $223,300 for 22 commissions. The New York City Opera produced ten of the 14 new works.

Musicologist Paul Michael Covey has analyzed the Ford Foundation's program, titled "Composers in Public Schools," which was executed by the Music Educators National Conference (MENC) from 1959 to 1969. Covey has argued that contrary to a widely-held belief in the "tyranny" of serial music and composers in the decades after the Second World War, this particular program was an example where "atonal" and "tonal" music were commissioned in almost equal measure.[50] Over the decade of its existence, the program placed 75 composers in residence at 52

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[47] Ibid., 152.

[48] Ibid., 188.

[49] Ibid., 389.

[50] Paul Michael Covey, "'No Restrictions in Any Way on Style': The Ford Foundation's Composers in Public Schools Program, 1959-1969"," *American Music* 33, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 89–130.

public school systems in 31 states. Composers were tasked with composing music for the school's orchestras, choruses, and bands, but had no teaching responsibilities. Applicants could not be more than 35 years old, and three years since completing their training. Pulitzer Prize-winning composer (1957) and professor of composition at Mannes College Norman Dello Joio (1913-2008) conceived the project and was its chairman. At the time, Program Director W. McNeil Lowry charged Dello Joio "with forming a committee to select composers and school districts."[51] In sum, the foundation spent $1,433,251 to help 73 young composers.

Additional Programs of Support in Music

The Ford Foundation's category of "Professional Training" targeted primarily the country's conservatories of music. Its first grant was $252,000 to Juilliard in 1963 on a matching basis. The grant was connected to Juilliard's move to Lincoln Center and intended to assist in its drama and opera divisions. A year later in 1964, the foundation provided more than half a million dollars in funds for scholarships to eight independent schools of music, including the California Institute of the Arts, the Cleveland Institute of Music, Juilliard, the Manhattan School of Music, Mannes, New England Conservatory (NEC), Peabody, and San Francisco Conservatory. The following year, three of those schools received even larger grants. Peabody received an additional $500,000, the NEC $750,000, and the Manhattan School $2 million. It is noteworthy that even the smallest of these three grants was more than three times what the foundation spent on each competition for individual artists. Yet the grants to Peabody, the NEC, and the Manhattan School only paved the way for another series of much larger grants in 1970 with Ford's "Endowment and Operating Support" program. The foundation made grants "to help consolidate a few key conservatories of music in the United States," with five selected "for their ability to train professional musicians" and

[51] Ibid., 92.

their capability to leverage other new sources of funding. The NEC again made the cut ($2.5 million) and was joined by the Cleveland Institute of Music ($1 million), Juilliard ($7,275,000), the Marlboro School of Music ($675,000), and the San Francisco Conservatory ($1 million). The only grants that could compare in scale to these were Ford's grants to symphony orchestras in 1965 and to opera companies in the Cash Reserve Program (although the $7 million+ grant to Juilliard almost met the total amount given to all opera companies in the program combined, which was $7.7 million).

The foundation also funded programs in "Technical Assistance," which supported the country's emergent performing arts service organizations. In music, Ford gave substantial sums to the American Symphony Orchestra League (ASOL): in 1968, ASOL received $360,000 over five years toward the strengthening of its services to member orchestras. ASOL had also played a large role in assisting the foundation in its symphony orchestras program a few years earlier, and it also received significant funds from the Rockefeller Foundation (from the 1950s) and the NEA. Other grants to service organizations included $75,000 to the National Music Council to help with its Sixth Congress in 1968. In 1973, Ford gave $78,000 to the International Contemporary Music Exchange over two years to establish its international headquarters in New York City. In the same year, it also gave $140,000 to the New York Hot Jazz Society over three years for the archives and performances of the New York Jazz Museum.

Much of the Ford Foundation's budget in "Research and Development" went toward efforts to introduce the Kodaly teaching method in the United States. Hungarian music educator Zoltán Kodály and his approach to music education witnessed a surge of popularity among major arts funders in the 1960s and 1970s. Not only the Ford Foundation, but the Rockefeller Foundation and the NEA also experimented in the expansion of this form of music pedagogy in U.S. schools. It was one of the few areas of direct convergence among all three funding institutions. The Ford

Foundation gave the most money to this cause, although the Rockefeller Foundation began its support much earlier, with its sending of American music teachers to learn directly from the movement in Hungary. In 1969, Ford gave an initial grant of $184,000 to the Council for Public Schools in Boston toward the development of a training center. Growing out of this grant, Ford gave $626,378 over the next three years to establish the Kodaly Music Training Institute. The Institute taught U.S. music educators in the method, developed and published curricular materials, and conducted introductory workshops. In 1975, an additional $21,500 in matching funds was given for a scholarship endowment for students enrolled in the training program. Other grants to the Kodaly method included $118,606 to the Research Foundation of State University of New York at Stony Brook (1972 and 1974); $202,822 to Holy Names University in Oakland, California (1973 and 1975); and $87,900 to the New Haven Foundation (1975).

The other major research project undertaken by Ford was its Economic and Financial Survey of Nonprofit Performing Arts Groups, costing $1,280,150. The project collected data to analyze the economics and financing of professional non-profit resident theater companies, operas, symphony orchestras, ballets, and modern dance companies. The foundation published the report in two volumes as *The Finances of the Performing Arts.*[52] The two volumes covered the seasons 1965-66 through 1970-71. In 1975, a supplemental financial survey was undertaken to cover three additional seasons through 1973-74.

The Ford Foundation's category of "Scholarship and Criticism" supported the establishment of archives, and the preservation and documentation of certain musics. Between 1958 and 1962, in one of its few grants to jazz, the Ford Foundation gave $156,000 to Tulane

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[52] Ford Foundation, *The Finances of the Performing Arts: A Survey of 166 Professional Nonprofit Resident Theaters, Operas, Symphonies, Ballets, and Modern Dance Companies*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (New York: Ford Foundation, 1974); Ford Foundation, *The Finances of the Performing Arts: A Survey of the Characteristics and Attitudes of Audiences for Theater, Opera, Symphony, and Ballet in 12 U.S. Cities*, vol. 2, 2 vols. (New York: Ford Foundation, 1974).

University for the Early American Jazz Archives, focusing on oral and musical interviews with "jazz pioneers." Other large grants under the category of "Scholarship and Criticism" included $153,732 to the Society for the Dissemination of Greek Music in 1972 and 1975 for the collection, production, and distribution of records of Greek folk and religious music; and $228,488 to the International Inventory of Musical Resources (RISM), a continuation of an earlier grant ($150,000) made by the foundation's International Division. Especially relevant to the research of musicologists, the grant to RISM paid for the editorial work and listings of all extant published and manuscript music sources before 1800.

Large grants under the category of "Educational Development of Audiences" went in 1959 and 1964 to Young Audiences, Inc. (totaling $762,000); the organization sent local ensembles of professional musicians to perform concerts at schools. Students heard professional players explain performance techniques on their instruments, and listened to a "well balanced programs of serious music." Additionally, the concerts provided employment for professional musicians, many of whom worked in the local orchestras of that area. Young Audiences was a program supported collaboratively by the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the NEA. The grants to Young Audiences were also consistent with other support for audience development and youth exposure to new music (e.g., the grant to MENC and its composers-in-residence program). In 1970, the foundation gave a further $137,790 to the New York Committee of Young Audiences for an "experiment in controlling environmental and audience conditions" for school concerts. The same year, it also awarded $200,000 to the Roberson Center for the Arts and Sciences for a similar purpose.

Under the category of "Social Development," grants were given to underserved minority populations. What is important to note is how these grants were usually aimed at increasing exposure and access to high art genres, that is, those which were already receiving support from the

foundation in its other categories. The foundation here had two kinds of grants. The first were those "to artistic activities at the highest professional level," including extensive training to provide or "fill in gaps in the opportunities available for young blacks." In 1968, the foundation gave $103,500 to the Symphony of the New World to increase its training of talented black orchestral musicians and for these musicians to give concerts in schools with large black populations. Two years later, the same organization received an additional $223,752 for its program. The second kind of grants were those to organizations with significant "social development components." For example in 1969, Ford granted $400,000 to the Elma Lewis School of Fine Arts in the then recently opened National Center of Afro-American Artists in Boston to develop its music program with the New England Conservatory. Ford deemed the program so important that it received an additional $950,000 in 1974 for its music program and the establishment of an endowment. Large grants also went to the Newark Community Center between 1970 and 1975, totaling $600,000 for its programs in music, dance, and drama; and the George Washington University for its D.C. area programs in music, visual arts, dance, and theater, totaling $524,500 between 1973 and 1976.

Finally, the foundation invested over $800,000 to two Recording-Publication projects under the category of "Other." The first in 1969, supported a three year plan "to aid in publishing and recording serious music by contemporary American composers." It provided partial subsidy of recording studio and musicians' costs and required a collaboration between a publisher and a recording company. The foundation launched the program again in 1975.

By 1974, W. McNeil Lowry had retired from the position of Vice President at the Ford Foundation, and Richard Sheldon became acting officer in charge. Marcia Thompson and Richard Kapp continued as program officers, but they oversaw a budget that was much smaller with an Office of the Arts now under the Division of Education and Public Policy. Compared to a budget of $13.9 million in 1975, for the following three years, the arts budget shrank to $4 million per

year, a reduction of more than two-thirds. Sheldon resigned at the end of 1976 and was replaced by Roger Kennedy. The foundation continued its Cash Reserve grants (now called Stabilization grants), but it wanted to develop more "cost effective" ways of supporting the arts with a specialized staff that offered more to grantees in terms of services and skills, rather than funds.

THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

The National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) was established in 1965 as an independent federal agency. Its supervisory board, the National Council on the Arts (NCA) was founded one year earlier by the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964. Between 1965 and 1976, two chairmen led the NEA, and their tenures serve as useful divisions for my study. The first, Chairman Roger Stevens (1965-1969), with a background in theater and real estate management, was appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson and served one term of four years. He was succeeded by Chairman Nancy Hanks (1969-1977), who had significant experience in government, as well as the realm of foundations and arts administration. She was appointed by President Richard Nixon, and continued through President Gerald Ford. Not only did the budget of the NEA dramatically increase under Hanks, who at her height was arguably the most powerful woman in the U.S. arts field, but she also developed, expanded, and systematized the programs and work of the federal agency. In Chapters 2 and 3, I explain in greater detail the organizational and hierarchical structure of the NEA, as well as its relationship with the NCA.

Roger Stevens, the National Council on the Arts, and an Emerging Approach

Under Chairman Stevens and the National Council on the Arts (NCA) -- a group of 26 committee members appointed by the President to guide the endowment -- most of the grants were piecemeal and unsystematized. They were based on the individual recommendations of members of the NCA rather than formalized guidelines or programming. The NCA decided from the endowment's founding that its two major goals were: 1) to enlarge audience participation in the arts;

and 2) to provide opportunities for wider professional activities and training. Among the council's initial recommendations were the development of educational television, the decoration of federal buildings, artist housing, international art exhibitions, and the reform of tax laws that adversely affected professional artists.

The NCA recognized that it could not "create artists," but that it could be "passionately dedicated to creating a climate in which art and artists should flourish."[53] Therefore, the first goal of expanding participation in the arts was not just about greater opportunities for engagement, but also about developing an audience for artists. "The creative artist needs an audience of the widest possible scope, for the creative arts flourish best in an environment in which they are understood and appreciated."[54] The NCA pursued its second goal of advancing professional activity by granting artists "sufficient time to develop their talent and produce works of art."[55]

One of the NCA's central advocates for music was violinist and conductor Isaac Stern (who served as member from 1965 to 1970). He was charismatic and articulate, and he garnered much respect from his colleagues on the council. (The other major figure was Leonard Bernstein (1965-1968), a close friend and colleague of Stern; he was seldom in attendance, however.) From the earliest meetings, Stern proposed a series of programs he thought the endowment should fund, and they all involved some sort of support for orchestral musicians. His background in the orchestral field gave him both the authority and experience to speak on these matters, while also growing out of his own prejudices regarding the types of music that the endowment should support.

Stern initially proposed a four-week extension of the seasons of twenty orchestras (with three weeks funded by the NEA and an additional week matched by the orchestra). He stipulated

[53] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1965," 20.

[54] Ibid., 34.

[55] Ibid., 34.

that during the extension, the orchestra needed to perform at least one "significant American work." Additionally, a grant of $2,000 was proposed so that every orchestra could commission annually a work that showcased a young American soloist. The total cost of the proposed grant was $750,000, or, about a third of the NEA's *entire* budget. Alan Bush Brown and Leonard Bernstein led the initial motions of support and no opposition was recorded in the vote. At the third meeting, the program was rescinded and deemed "rather unnecessary" by Chairman Stevens in light of the Ford Foundation's $80 million grant to symphony orchestras, which had been announced in September.[56]

Stern proposed two other grants to support orchestral musicians, both of which also ended in failure. The first was the establishment of a new National Chamber Orchestra, and the second was the Carnegie Hall-Jeunesses Musicales program to aid gifted young soloists with touring and concert performances. The idea behind the National Chamber Orchestra -- to be based in New York at Carnegie Hall, where Stern was president -- was that there was a "dearth of first class leading players" and that the country needed to train section leaders and concert masters. Stern's proposal advocated selection of the musicians by a jury, at least fifty concerts a year, and operation on a full-time basis. Positions were to be staggered, with the intent that older members mentored younger ones, and graduating musicians then entered as section leaders for orchestras. Stern personally advocated for Alexander Schneider from the Marlboro Music Festival to lead the group. He estimated an annual cost of about $750,000, again, roughly a third of the NEA's entire budget. Orchestra managers strongly opposed the idea because it would have created further problems of recruitment and salary inequalities.[57]

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[56] Folder: NCA Third Meeting (Nov. 12-14, 1965), Box 1, A1 Entry 18, Record Group 288 (RG288), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland (National Archives II).

[57] In a confidential from Music Director Fannie Taylor to Roger Stevens, she wrote, "Roger, this program is bothering me more and more. I think we are being had. You don't need 11 people at $15,000 to train 16 at $9,000 and $7,500.

The second program was the Jeunesses Musicales, a national touring circuit in conjunction with universities and orchestras, which had the goal of developing the careers of young performers. Stern proposed eight tours for eight artists, offering approximately 30 concerts a year in small- and medium-sized cities. He argued that the touring circuit could not be overseen by any commercial management because the tour needed to operate on a non-profit basis, if not a loss. Stern estimated a total annual cost of $400,000, or, almost one-fifth of the NEA's budget. Taken in perspective, the combined budget of the Jeunesses Musicales and the National Chamber Orchestra accounted for nearly half of the endowment's total budget. Stern thus advocated that two programs in the Western high art tradition, not to mention those in which he also had a personal investment through his presidency at Carnegie Hall, should encompass the majority of the NEA's financial spending. Both projects were initially approved by the council, and later rescinded after backlash from the national press, symphony orchestras, and commercial concert managers.

Despite these initial false starts, the endowment offered its first grant in music to the American Symphony Orchestra League (ASOL) in 1966, an organization which had also previously received significant support from Rockefeller and Ford. Ironically, ASOL had actually been resistant to federal funding for the arts and its General Manager Helen Thomson had lobbied against any such plans because she feared that government patronage would take away from local and private support. The grant of $33,575 in 1966 was designated for training seminars in orchestra management. A second grant of $150,000 was given for the organization's Composers Assistance Program. The program awarded grants-in-aid averaging $2,000 to orchestras each to commission a new work, and $2,000 to composers for copying assistance. Composers were

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You can't tell the teachers from the students. The proportion is too high, and I'm sorry, but I think we have too many New York free lance musicians suddenly showing up as $15,000 instructors. If I were the press I'd be all over this program." For reference, the average professional musicians' salary at the time ranged from $1,000 to $5,000. From Fan Taylor to Roger Stevens, Weekly Report Chamber Orchestra, 10 03 1967, Folder: Chamber Orchestra Institute, Box 4, A1 Entry 21, RG288, Archives II.

furthermore guaranteed performances of their works by the orchestras. In 1968, the endowment made an additional grant to the program, in the amount of $58,485.

Among the council members, however, was general resistance to funding the operations of large performing ensembles directly. The NCA believed that with its modest budget, little impact could be made on the annual deficits of these groups, even given their "desperate need for support."[58] In the annual report, it acknowledged, "With the orchestras' total yearly deficit many times our total budget, one can easily see that it is impossible for us to be of any substantial assistance to the orchestras."[59] Thus the NCA perceived high costs with limited effect.

On the other hand, if a performing group proposed a grant whose goal was audience development, then the endowment was more amenable. In the case of some opera companies that proposed bringing "concerts and productions of high caliber to people who otherwise might have neither the opportunity nor the incentive for such an experience," the NEA provided support.[60] Three grants were given towards this purpose in 1967: $150,000 to the Metropolitan Opera National Company Tour, $115,000 to the Western Opera Theater (the regional touring company established by the San Francisco Opera), and $98,000 to the Regional Opera Program. The following year, large grants to opera continued to expand, including $449,740 to the American National Opera Company. This company, formed under the artistic direction of Sarah Caldwell, replaced the Metropolitan Opera's National Company (last year's grant recipient), which could not overcome financial obstacles. The San Francisco Opera Association/Western Opera Theater received an additional $100,000, and the Opera Society of Washington, D.C. was given the same amount.

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[58] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1968," 4.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid., 40.

Beginning in 1968, the NCA in its meetings began to change its perspective on symphony orchestras, viewing them more and more as important national resources. At the same time, however, the council continued to believe that given the NEA's limited funds, meaningful support could not be granted to all of them. In June 1968, the council recommended that five $50,000 grants be given to selected orchestras for projects of "outstanding, national significance."[61] 24 of the major U.S. orchestras -- a classification established by ASOL, "major orchestras" were those with budgets over $500,000 -- submitted applications to the endowment. The music panel, established the year prior under the leadership of Aaron Copland -- also previously a member of Rockefeller's Music Advisory Committee -- selected five of them, with the belief that these projects could be good examples which other orchestras might emulate in offering better services to their communities. Four were ultimately funded: the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra on chamber music performances in Atlanta and tours of the Southeast; the Boston Symphony Orchestra on the development of experimental videotaped programs of their performances; the Detroit Symphony Orchestra with black soloists, black composers, and a black conductor for inner-city audiences; and the Minnesota Orchestra touring throughout the upper Midwest.

In the area of contemporary new music, the NCA began supporting projects from its tenth meeting onward (1967).[62] Smaller grants were offered to the Bennington Composers' Conference for young composers ($13,000 in 1967 and $6,500 in 1968) -- again, an organization also supported by Rockefeller beginning in the 1950s -- and Hunter College's "New Image of Sound" festival for artists and composers ($6,000 in 1967 and $10,000 in 1968). The latter, according to staff comment, was an "inexpensive opportunity to bring NEA support to an imaginative effort to draw together composers, performers, and audiences in new musical endeavors." Two other

[61] Ibid., 29.

[62] Folder: Tenth Meeting (Nov. 3-4, 1967), Box 3, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

Rockefeller-funded organizations that the NEA supported were the Group for Contemporary Music at Columbia University ($10,000) and the Buffalo Philharmonic ($36,000). Endowment staff praised the "innovative importance" of the Group for Contemporary Music and wrote that similar campus-based organizations were modeled after this organization.[63] In addition, the NEA wrote that the Buffalo Philharmonic was "exceedingly worthy" for the "kind of music being presented."

Nancy Hanks and the Expansion of the Endowment

Between 1968 and 1970, several important changes in leadership and staff occurred, which had a large impact on grants to music. Nancy Hanks became the second chairman of the NEA in 1969, with Michael Straight as her deputy chairman. And Walter Anderson had become the music director the year prior in 1968, replacing Fannie Taylor. Leonard Bernstein and Isaac Stern ended their tenures on the NCA in 1968 and 1970, respectively. New members of the NCA were Rudolf Serkin, Marian Anderson, Duke Ellington, and Maurice Abravanel. Under Hanks, the role of the NCA also became more hands-off, only providing the final stamp of approval and focusing mostly on long-term planning.

In 1970, with President Nixon's increased support for arts and humanities funding, the NEA and the NCA set three goals: first, "to encourage broad dissemination of the best of American arts across the country"; second, "to work toward solutions of some of the core problems that plague arts institutions in their efforts to provide greater public services"; and third, "to provide support that encourages creativity among our most gifted artists and advances the quality of life in our nation."[64] Music started to occupy a much larger space in the budget of the endowment. In 1969, it accounted for $900,000 while in 1970, it nearly tripled to $2.5 million. Music represented

[63] Folder: Eleventh Meeting (Apr. 19-21, 1968), Box 3, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

[64] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1970," 7.

just under a fifth of the overall budget and was second largest only after the theater division. The increase in the music budget was justified by the "urgent needs of our musical institutions... [and] their commitment to reach out for new and wider audiences."

During this year, the opera program expanded to over $800,000 -- the largest recipient, the National Opera Institute, received $600,000 -- but the biggest program was for orchestras, with over $900,000 distributed to fifteen orchestras. Funding was based on the understanding that symphony orchestras in the 1969-1970 season "played 70 percent of their concerts for the general public or for educational purposes -- a dramatic change from the performance schedules of only a few short years ago."[65] Significantly, the NEA argued that the image of the orchestra's audience as an elite and affluent group was inaccurate. Instead, orchestras were reaching out to new and larger audiences, and so needed, and deserved, greater public support. By the next season, 73 orchestras were funded in 38 states, a huge jump from the pilot program of only four orchestras two years prior. Most of these grants were funded through the Treasury Fund program, which I discuss further in Chapter 4, through which the NEA matched private contributions to the U.S. Department of Treasury. They were a special form of grantmaking instituted by Congress in the NEA's legislation to encourage private support for the arts.

Two other examples of large Treasury grants went to Affiliate Artists and Young Audiences, Inc., both of which worked on community outreach and expanding access to classical music. The Treasury grant to Affiliate Artists was matched by the Sears-Roebuck Foundation for a total of $160,000 (Sears-Roebuck contributed half, or $80,000). Affiliate Artists placed young instrumentalists and singers in universities, churches, state arts councils, symphony orchestras, and civic organizations in 21 states. Young Audiences, Inc., a similar outreach program, received a total

[65] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1970," 7.

of $276,050 ($150,000 from the NEA, $126,050 from mixed private sources) to present chamber ensembles in school classroom settings.

The NEA established the first jazz panel in 1968, with musicians Jaki Byard, Dizzy Gillespie, and Gunther Schuller, radio announcer Willis Conover, critic Dan Morgenstern, and author and BMI executive Russell Sanjek. Their first grant of $5,500 went to pianist and composer George Russell.[66] Two years later, the endowment formalized the panel into its Jazz Program, with a small, yet symbolic, allocation of $20,050 (representing under 1% of the music budget) for thirty grants to individual artists and teaching institutions. As the 1970 annual report noted, "Jazz has been one of the most important of our art forms, providing enrichment for Americans and for all the peoples of the world."[67]

The NEA's projects in contemporary new music also expanded. Its interest in developing audiences for works by "contemporary American composers and creators of experimental forms of musical expression" led to the support of six groups: Music in Our Time, the Philadelphia Composers' Forum, Carnegie Hall Corporation's "Evenings for New Music," Contrasts in Contemporary Music/Composers' Showcase, the University of Alabama Regional Composers' Forum, and the Washington Theater Club/Theater Chamber Players. Half of these groups were based in New York.

In 1971, the NEA codified its three goals under the categories of, "Availability of the Arts," "Cultural Resources Development," and "Advancement of our Cultural Legacy."[68] At this point, grants to music surpassed all other programs with over $5 million. Theater, the second-largest

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[66] Iain Anderson, "Jazz Outside the Marketplace: Free Improvisation and Nonprofit Sponsorship of the Arts, 1965-1980," *American Music* 20, no. 2 (2002): 131–67.

[67] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1970," 33-35.

[68] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1971," 1.

group, had a budget of just over $2 million. Music thus represented almost 30% of the NEA's budget. The Expansion Arts program -- one dedicated to helping previously underserved communities -- was also newly established under Director Vantile Whitfield. The new director had founded and run a number of other performing arts groups including the American Theatre of Being in Los Angeles, the Performing Arts Society of Los Angeles, and the D.C. Black Repertory Company. The NEA's annual report quoted arts advocate Junius Eddy:

> As the blacks, the Puerto Ricans, and the Mexican-Americans, particularly, began to seek out the roots of an ethnic or racial heritage which the dominant society had systematically ignored or denigrated, the nature of the community-based arts movement began to change. The arts became an obvious and powerful vehicle in this cultural renaissance, a vehicle through which minority-group artist-leaders could begin to voice the social and economic concerns of their communities, to assert a new-found historical identity, and to reflect the new sense of ethnic pride and awareness they believe is essential to their survival in white America.[69]

Beginning with a budget of $300,000 in 1971, it grew to $1.1 million in 1972, $2.5 million in 1973, $4.1 million in 1974, $5.7 million in 1975, and $6.4 million in 1976. In its first year, among the projects it supported were the Community Music School in St. Louis, Missouri ($7,000), the Harlem School of the Arts in New York City ($50,700), and the Performing Arts Society of Los Angeles ($40,000).

In parallel, the NEA also developed program guidelines for its other goals in music. The first of these were its guidelines for orchestras. The guidelines stipulated the program's general purposes:

1) To improve the artistic quality and management of symphony orchestras in all sections of the country;

[69] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1971," 33, quoted from Junius Eddy, Public Administration Review.

2) To broaden the repertory to include works of various historical periods, with particular emphasis on works by American composers;
3) To provide sustained professional opportunities for American artists; and
4) To encourage more flexible service of symphony orchestras to the larger community through the use of smaller performing units.[70]

Assistance was limited to "professional orchestras" that had maintained an annual cash income of at least $100,000 for a minimum of three years. Additionally, the orchestras needed to have "national or regional impact while demonstrating high standards of performance and administration," *or* they had to serve "unique needs due to geographical location or special conditions." The NEA provided examples of successful projects, including the presentation of works by contemporary composers, and especially living American composers; concerts by young American artists as soloists; and projects to reach larger and more diverse audiences, perhaps in schools, inner-city areas, parks, neighborhoods, or churches. As a catchall, funds could be used to support increased rehearsal time, extend seasons, or promote regional touring. The endowment encouraged orchestras to frame grant applications as projects, rather than operational support, even if nothing new was being proposed. From its very first guidelines, the NEA noted that requests did not have to be for new activities, and that they could be directed toward strengthening existing programs.[71] Thus, in reality, these grants provided operational support in all but name.

A year later, in 1972, the endowment also instituted guidelines for grants to opera companies. The first three goals were exactly the same as for symphony orchestras: to improve artistic quality and management, to broaden repertory especially of works by American composers,

[70] I quote the Guidelines from 1976-77 to show their final articulation for my period of study. While they evolved over time, they remained relatively consistent. Symphony Orchestra Program Guidelines 1976-77, NEA Library.

[71] Guidelines for NEA Grants to Orchestras 1970, NEA Library.

and to provide professional opportunities for American artists. The last goal was slightly different, focusing on "strengthening the management of opera companies."[72] The endowment also limited grants to companies with annual cash incomes greater than $100,000, which had been in existence for at least three years. The companies needed "national or regional impact," had to produce "fully-staged performances with orchestra," were required to be of "high artistic integrity," and had to rely "primarily on their own artistic resources." The NEA advised companies that had previously been given support not to request assistance that exceeded the amount recommended for their grants the previous year. The endowment also expected them to request a similar distribution of program and Treasury funds (thus, maintaining a comparable proportion of public-to-private sources of income).

1972 was additionally the first year that the NEA mentioned, and considered, the upcoming United States Bicentennial. For the endowment, the Bicentennial represented a unique opportunity to celebrate the diversity of cultural forms found in the United States. The NEA quoted President Nixon's address to Congress in its annual report:

> As our Bicentennial approaches, the cultural activities of America will take on even greater importance. Our art expresses the ideals, the history, the life of the Nation. The cultural heritages of all nations whose citizens came to this country are part of the American heritage. The richness and diversity that characterize the whole of art in the United States reflect both our history and the promise of our future.[73]

As a result of its doubled budget, from $16 million to $31 million, the NEA had much more room to focus on its three previously determined goals. Music continued to represent nearly 30% of the budget, at almost $10 million. (The second largest category was Museums, at over $4 million.) The orchestra program ($5.3 million) accounted for more than half of the Music budget;

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[72] Opera Program National Endowment for the Arts Music Program Guidelines 1976-1977, NEA Library.

[73] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1972," 3.

the opera program was over $2.5 million. By comparison, the jazz program had a budget of under a quarter of a million dollars, and grants to contemporary music groups were just over a hundred thousand dollars. The endowment began its conservatory program, awarding close to half a million dollars in total to the Cleveland Institute of Music, Juilliard, the Manhattan School of Music, Mannes, NEC, Peabody, the San Francisco Conservatory, and the New School of Music in Philadelphia. According to the annual report, it was a "fast-paced, creative, energetic time of expansion, innovation, and evaluation."[74]

Despite the relatively small budget of the jazz program in comparison to orchestras and opera companies, the program nevertheless represented a strong symbolic recognition, and was still one of the few institutional sources of funding for the field. Its guidelines, further codified in 1972, established clear and specific categories of funding, in parallel with the other guidelines in the field of music. The first category offered non-matching fellowships of up to $4,000 to composers and arrangers of "exceptional talent for the creation of new works, completion of their works in progress, and professional development."[75] The second category gave up to $2,500 to developing performers and $5,000 to established performers. The endowment noted that under this category, it was primarily interested in supporting "artists' fees." The third category was for non-matching travel/study fellowship grants of up to $1,000 for "young musicians of exceptional talent to study and/or tour with individual professional artists or ensembles for short-term concentrated instruction and experience." And the fourth category was to organizations, providing up to $25,000

[74] Ibid., 3.

[75] Jazz Program National Endowment for the Arts Music Program Guidelines 1976-1977, NEA Library. Again, these guidelines and amounts changed. For example, in 1972, the Endowment offered individual non-matching discovery grants of up to $1,000 to composers and arrangers; $2,000 to colleges, universities, schools of music, or other non-profit organizations to establish short artist residencies; up to $500 to musicians and qualified students; and matching grants of up to $2,000 to public and private schools and nonprofit organizations to present jazz concerts.

for jazz presenting organizations with annual expenditures above $100,000, and $15,000 for organizations with annual expenditures below $100,000.

1973 was another reauthorization year for the NEA, which meant that it came under the scrutiny of Congress. The endowment, however, enjoyed strong support from President Nixon, who continued to emphasize the importance of supporting the country's orchestras, operas, theaters, dance companies, and museums. The Republican President and Democratic Congress increased the NEA's budget by a third, from $31 million to $41 million. The music program's budget continued to be over $10 million, although with the increased overall budget, its share came to just under a quarter. The orchestra and opera budgets combined represented roughly 80 percent of the music budget and the orchestra program alone, had it been its own budget category, would have surpassed the NEA's second largest program, Museums. The NEA gave grants to 28 major, 58 metropolitan, 6 chamber, and 7 "other" orchestras, in addition to 36 opera companies.

One of the music division's newly instituted programs was its system of grants to "Composers, Librettists, and Translators." The grants were strongly tied to the Bicentennial and the support of living American artists to assist the production of new works. Between 1973 and 1977, 545 fellowships went to composers, librettists, and translators who received over $1.7 million "to create new works and increase the accessibility of compositions with foreign language librettos for American audiences.""[76] The average grant was $3,240 and the range of grantees represented both "recognized composers and promising new artists." The NEA noted that there was "great care" to ensure a "mix of classical and avant-garde, large orchestral and solo compositions." Examples

[76] Draft: The Endowment and the Bicentennial -- A Progress Report, 22 09 1976, Folder: Bicentennial -- WH Task Force + RPTS/CORRESP, Box 4, A1 Entry 26, RG288, Archives II. In 1976, the program became just for Composers and Librettists. Its panel viewed that "translators should be treated separately from composers and librettists and their applications reviewed by individuals with more expertise in that particular area than represented on the current panel." Folder: NCA Minutes of the 37th Meeting (Nov. 22-24, 1974), Box 13, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

included a "musical epic" on Chief Justice John Marshall (by Paul William Whear), a symphonic band (by Daniel Kessner), an electronic work called "Voyages: Columbus, Apollo 11" (by Mary H. McCarty), and an opera on the Amistad revolt (by Roger Ames). The NEA also awarded grants to Elliott Carter, Gian Carlo Menotti, Milton Babbitt, Morton Subotnick, Philip Glass, and Vladimir Ussachevsky. Amounts usually ranged from $1,000 to $3,000, but some were in the hundreds of dollars, as well as those in the $7,000 to $10,000 range. Overall, the endowment saw this program as a success. "Because of the competition," it noted, "awards are considered a mark of distinction and often enable a recipient to considerably further his or her career."[77] Scores and other materials from the program were archived at the American Music Center in New York, now part of the New York Public Library.

The counterpart to the "Composer, Librettist, and Translator" program was the one for "Jazz, Folk, and Ethnic" artists. According to the endowment, this latter program was "designed to encourage the growth of indigenous musics, both as alphabetized oral traditions and as arts evolving from the rich and varied folk/ethnic cultures of the United States."[78] It served a "grass-roots constituency" different from audiences of the "formalized arts." The program supported the development of "self-identity" and supported the "participation and education [of] all the arts, folk or formal." The endowment gave grants to individuals and to organizations, although grants to individuals were, just as for composers and librettists, restricted by law to only those "of exceptional talent." Applications were therefore reviewed under the following criteria: 1) exceptional creative or performing talent and accomplishment; 2) strong commitment to artistic standards; and 3) capacity for research or special study. The guidelines for the Jazz, Folk, and Ethnic music program indicated that the purpose of the program was explicitly for the "creation of a broad artistic climate

[77] Folder: Endowment Awards $470,000 to Composers and Librettists '77, Box 1, A1 Entry 37, RG288, Archives II.

[78] Folder: Budget -- Jazz/Folk/Ethnic -- 1976, Box 1, A1 Entry 35, RG288, Archives II.

in the United States in which its indigenous musical arts will thrive with distinction through artistic, educational, and archival programs."[79] In 1973, a total of 165 jazz, folk, and ethnic individuals and groups received a total of $227,000. By 1974, expenditures increased to $419,000, by 1975, $671,000, and by 1976, $1 million.

In 1974, the NCA celebrated its tenth anniversary, and the following year the NEA its tenth anniversary as well. The endowment continued its preparations for the Bicentennial celebrations. The NCA appointed a Bicentennial Committee chaired by Robert Wise, the motion picture producer and director, and it recommended grants totaling approximately $13 million. A new folk arts program was initiated to "assist living American traditional arts, and support for crafts projects and craftsmen."[80] Large performing ensembles also received a huge boost in the NEA's challenge grants, which were intended as one-time grants that had to be matched with a minimum ratio of 3 to 1 by other sources. The endowment awarded them based on the organization's long-range financial planning and audience development programs. Challenge grants included $1.5 million to the Metropolitan Opera, and $1 million each to the Detroit Symphony Orchestra, the Cleveland Orchestra, the Orchestra Association of Washington, D.C., and the St. Louis Symphony Society.

After 1976, the endowment continued to grow for several more years, although not at the same rate as previously. Nancy Hanks retired in 1977, and was replaced by Livingston Biddle. Walter Anderson also stepped down from his post as music director, but was kept on as a consultant. Finally, the endowment suffered its first budgetary cut in 1982, under President Ronald Reagan. It continued at roughly the same level until 1995, when its budget was slashed by nearly half, a consequence of the controversial "culture wars" at the beginning of the decade.

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[79] Jazz, Folk, & Ethnic Music: National Endowment for the Arts Music Program Guidelines 1975-1976, NEA Library.

[80] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1974," 3.

CHAPTER 2: DEFINING EXCELLENCE, QUALITY, AND STYLE: THE ROLE OF CONSULTANTS AS EXPERTS IN MUSIC GRANTMAKING

As most school children at a playground know, social interactions operate according to certain established rules of engagement. Children come to understand that pushing, biting, and hair pulling is not acceptable; that adults with clipboards have the power to scold and punish; and that one must wait in line in order to climb on the jungle gym. Rules are pervasive and are deeply (if not always fully) understood. Sometimes rules are codified, while at other times, they are not. Importantly, rules function under social hierarchies based on power, legitimacy, and authority, whether among the children, or between the children and school teachers. In these next two chapters, I analyze rules that governed social interactions, specifically at the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), the Ford Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation during their large arts grantmaking period of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s.

I argue that at the heart of the system was the power of *expertise*. Arts experts of many different kinds determined which artists were worthy of funding, which art forms were important to support, and which projects were of so-called quality and excellence. One's expertise was

legitimized through extended time within a given practice, in conjunction with education and credentials bestowed by entrusted institutions. Experts provided a knowledge- and experience-based service, while they also indirectly provided a legitimizing function, attaching their prestige and influence to the decisions that arts grantmaking institutions made. Expertise was fragmented across various positions, among chairmen, trustees, program directors, staff specialists, panelists, and contracted consultants. The system operated under a hierarchy of expertise based on one's role, with some individuals more powerful and influential than others. Yet the kinds of experiences and training needed in order to qualify as an expert in music were not always clearly spelled out.

In Chapters 2 and 3, I demonstrate why expertise cannot be considered solely an objective or neutral quality, especially in arts and music grantmaking; rather, it is an exclusionary form of cultural and social capital that only selected members of society are deemed to possess. It is a relational resource and its exercise is a fundamentally social and interactional activity. As sociologist Pierre Bourdieu contends, cultural and social capital are distributed and accumulated in ways strongly influenced by structures of power.[1] Society's trust in experts is rooted in such differences of capital among individuals.

In Chapter 2, I focus on the role of outside consultants and panelists, and in Chapter 3, I underscore the function of foundation and endowment staff and officers. Like the peeling of an onion, I expose the layers of decision making in the arts grantmaking field and the relationships among various actors, with respect to different forms of expertise. Drawing on the terminology of sociologists Harry Collins and Robert Evans, I classify consultants and panelists as "contributory experts." Outside consultants served a range of tasks and advice, from serving as judges for competitions; to attending conferences and deciding future policies; to recommending for, or

[1] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241–58; Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986).

against, individual grants as panelists. Outside consultants offered a means of soliciting specialized knowledge, judgments, and opinions. They also provided a wide range of viewpoints, aesthetic tastes, socioeconomic backgrounds, and geographical representation that might otherwise be absent.

By contrast, I classify foundation and endowment staff and officers as "interactional experts." While outside consultants were made up mostly of practicing artists, by contrast, officers were largely "generalists," with former government, academic, or non-profit backgrounds. Their tasks were multiple: they screened thousands of applications for grants, explored new fields for spending, selected institutions and people to carry out the work, and followed up on grants once they were made. Given their power to control programs and panels, I argue that foundation and endowment officers played an equally important, if not more important, role than outside consultants in how arts grantmaking operated during this period. Methodologically, my arguments are derived from an analysis of each institution's archives, including thousands of internal memoranda and inter-office correspondence, and interviews I have conducted with consultants and staff.

I begin by introducing the significance of a relational sociology of expertise and how it can be applied to an understanding of performing arts and music experts. I investigate the reasons and justifications for employing outside consultants, and the differences among each institution. I also reveal that outside consultants were largely drawn from a limited group of composers, music professors, and managers of performing arts service organizations. I argue that the formation of power in a small and concentrated field of consultants and experts pre-shaped and pre-determined the decisions that were made, and the types of works and composers that were funded.

The fact that most consultants were engaged through the personal recommendation of other consultants ensured that first-degree connections were critical. Social networks based

especially on university or institutional affiliation facilitated the establishment of small, restricted groups of experts to the exclusion of other individuals interested in the arts, including artists performing non-Western music, amateur music-makers, folk musicians, and jazz artists. Additionally, because the high art field and academia in general were dominated by white male managers and composers, then the system of first-degree referral and elite legitimacy perpetuated the exclusion of women and minorities, who lacked both the cultural capital and social capital to participate. As I show in the example of the Rockefeller Foundation's Recorded Anthology of American Music, the inclusion and exclusion of voices mattered in the admission and omission of repertory.

At the same time, the employment of consultants as experts provided the *appearance* of non-partisan knowledge and objectivity, as it was based on prevailing discourses of management and meritocracy, which were dominant at the time. Experts at the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations codified particular sets of subjectivities, casting them as examples of excellence in music and the performing arts. While subjectivity plays a role in any exercise of judgment, the process of evaluating aesthetic choices complicates the justification of using experts to provide external objectivity as they might in the sciences. If a project's quality was attached to its fiscal soundness, its utilization of multiple sources of funding, or its audience capacity over a finite number of years, then the assessment approached a quantitative analysis rather than one based on perceived artistic merits. If quality was determined by the project's innovation, conformity, boldness, conservatism, or creativity, then the evaluator's habitus and the project's relative placement in an artistic field played a much larger role in the success or failure of a grant.

The extensive reliance on expertise in the system shaped the way grantmaking institutions decided the future of performing arts and music practices in the United States. Expert opinion influenced patterns of production and consumption, as well as the relative social importance of

differing aesthetic ideologies. My analysis of the interaction among experts, guidelines, and arbitrations of artistic quality thus provides a critical framework with which to examine the policies of arts grantmaking institutions.

DEFINITIONS OF EXPERTISE AND EXPERTS

Satisfying definitions for the terms "experts" and "expertise" remain difficult to establish. Differences between experts and non-experts may be found in their training, knowledge, social network, and innate talent, and these can be measured in terms of intelligence, registered brain activity, practice skills, personal management, and creativity.[2] Psychological research has played a particularly important role in the field of expertise, focusing on differences in mental capacities and the use of psychometric tests (e.g., aptitude or personality tests) to evaluate innate, base conditions before an individual's training or practice.[3] These tests, however, remain contested due to the question whether they can be designed to assess inherent capacities free of cultural biases. Furthermore, although there are studies that show that genetic inheritance is a relative component for skills or talent in music and sports -- and even these conclusions remain controversial -- they say nothing about what it means to have expertise in music or art.[4]

Alternatively, a sociological approach to expertise evaluates relationships between experts and non-experts (or laypersons) and *among* experts. Sociologists such as Robert Merton, Pierre Bourdieu, and Max Weber have sought to explain the ways and reasons why certain individuals

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[2] For the most comprehensive review of the concept of expertise, see K. Anders Ericsson et al., eds., *The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[3] K. Anders Ericsson, "Chapter 1: An Introduction," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 10.

[4] Dean K. Simonton, "Creative Productivity, Age, and Stress: A Biographical Time-Series Analysis of 10 Classical Composers," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 35 (1977): 791–804.

and certain ways of thinking or acting are rewarded.[5] Among one of Merton's most influential ideas is the "Matthew Effect," citing a tendency whereby grants are awarded to those who have been awarded other recognitions in the past.[6] "Halo effects," a phrase coined by Edward Thorndike, are also a type of confirmation bias which help explain prestige or quality that is derived by association, for example with graduating from, or teaching at, an Ivy League school, or working with a well-respected authority.[7] As sociologist Harald Mieg points out, relationships among experts and laypersons not only imply gradients or degrees of expertise, but also differences in other social dimensions, such as prestige, privileges, and power.[8] Bourdieu's concept of habitus, or the ways an individual's socialization and access to resources and different forms of capital are shaped, and continue to shape, his or her actions, provides an overarching understanding for my analysis.[9]

The majority of sociological research, however, has tended to focus either on fields such as the politics and history of science, or on the professionalization of certain occupations such as medicine and law. When research has examined aspects of musical expertise, it has looked into the development of savant composers, like Mozart, or the role of hereditary family structures, like

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[5] Max Weber argued that rational legitimacy is accomplished through the application of impersonal and consistent rules, despite the persistence of idiosyncratic tastes. This helps sustain a collective belief of fairness in the process. Instead, preferences and tastes themselves are folded into formal criteria of evaluation, for example, defining originality according to the types of originality that one's own work exhibits, in Michèle Lamont, *How Professors Think: Inside the Curious World of Academic Judgment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 128, 130.

[6] Robert Merton, "The Matthew Effect in Science," *Science* 159, no. 3810 (1968): 56–63. Matthew 25:29, "For unto every one that hath shall be given, and he shall have abundance; but from him that hath not shall be taken even that which he hath" (King James Version).

[7] Edward L. Thorndike, "A Constant Error in Psychological Ratings," *Journal of Applied Psychology* 4, no. 1 (1920): 25–29.

[8] Harald Mieg, "Chapter 41: Social and Sociological Factors in the Development of Expertise," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Julia Evetts, Harald Mieg, and Ulrike Felt, "Chapter 7: Professionalization, Scientific Expertise, and Elitism: A Sociological Perspective," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

[9] Pierre Bourdieu and Randal Johnson, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, European Perspectives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

those of Bach and Strauss.[10] What are lacking are in-depth historical analyses of arts institutions and the grants that support them, interrogating how composers and performers come to be seen and awarded as creative artists, by individuals working within systems of patronage.

Most recently, sociologists Harry Collins and Robert Evans attempt to move current social understanding of expertise beyond just the *relational*, so that "the process of coming to be called an expert [has] more to do with the possession of real and substantive expertise," and I would argue that this move has significant value for sociologists of art.[11] Their analysis is reliant on Michael Polanyi's idea of tacit knowledge, "the deep understanding one can only gain through social immersion in groups who possess it."[12] The significance of tacit knowledge is that humans know more than they can tell, and that the transfer of tacit knowledge requires extensive personal and social contact.[13] What results from an explication of tacit knowledge is Collins and Evans Periodic Table of Expertises, which provides a typology of different kinds of expertise (specialist expertises), how they are acquired, and how they are judged (meta-expertises and meta-criteria).[14]

Collins and Evans distinguish between two kinds of specialist tacit knowledge: contributory expertise and interactional expertise.[15] As its name suggests, contributory expertise is possessed by those who are able to "contribute to the domain to which the expertise pertains," thus an example

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[10] Andreas C. Lehmann and Hans Gruber, "Chapter 26: Music," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 2; Robert W. Weisberg, *Creativity: Beyond the Myth of Genius* (New York: WH Freeman, 1993).

[11] Harry Collins and Robert Evans, *Rethinking Expertise* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2007), 2.

[12] Ibid., 6.

[13] Michael Polanyi, *Personal Knowledge: Towards a Post-Critical Philosophy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958).

[14] Collins and Evans, *Rethinking Expertise*, 14.

[15] Specifically, these are two kinds of "specialist" expertise, which they define as specialist tacit knowledge (which I describe above) and ubiquitous tacit knowledge, which one can acquire from a range of sources including "beer-mats" (or, in the United States, the caps of Snapple bottles), trivia programs, newspapers, and books.

of a contributory expert is a thermonuclear physicist actively working and experimenting in the field of thermonuclear fusion.[16] By contrast, Collins and Evans propose an under-recognized form of "deeply tacit-knowledge-laden expertise," which they name, interactional expertise. Often possessed by sociologists, journalists, or critics working in a particular field, interactional expertise is one in the "*language* of a specialism in the absence of expertise in its *practice*."[17] Although Collins and Evans do not refer to it as such, interactional expertise can be considered discursive, with interactional experts able to function and "pass" as knowledgeable, without directly adding new knowledge.[18] This by no means suggests that interactional experts are frauds or interlopers, or that they serve no purpose within their domain: far from the case, interactional experts provide deeply informed, yet outside, perspectives on problems within a field. They serve as interpreters or translators between a specialized field and a wider audience, and they act as historians, sociologists, or anthropologists, providing greater understanding of the operations and culture of a particular community.

Using Collins and Evans's typology, I propose one fruitful way of applying this understanding is to the differences in the kinds of experts analyzed in these two chapters. I suggest the interpretation of outside consultants and panelists as those providing predominantly contributory expertise to the system of arts grantmaking, and institutional staff, officers, and directors as providing predominantly interactional expertise. In the words of philosopher Gloria Origgi, officers and staff (as interactional experts) can be understood as providing a "second-order

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[16] The stages of contributory expertise are novice, advanced beginner, competence, proficiency, and expertise. These stages are similar to Robert Hoffman's proficiency scale as found in Michelene T. H. Chi, "Chapter 2: Two Approaches to the Study of Experts' Characteristics," in *The Cambridge Handbook of Expertise and Expert Performance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 22.

[17] Collins and Evans, *Rethinking Expertise*, 28.

[18] Collins and Evans refer instead to interactional expertise as "parasitic," although not necessarily in a pejorative way. They write that while contributory expertise is "self-sustaining," interactional expertise is not. Ibid., 35.

epistemology": they were an authority to check indirectly -- or on a second level -- the reliability of the information/evaluation.[19] This categorization does not discount the fact that outside consultants can also provide interactional expertise, and that some staff, for example, Norman Lloyd at the Rockefeller Foundation and Walter Anderson at the NEA, were artists and could provide contributory expertise. But for the most part, officers and staff, while capable of discussing eloquently issues regarding musical performances, commissions, or recordings, were not artists themselves. They were not directly contributing or producing new art. Given this theoretical conceptualization, which distinguishes between the roles of consultants as contributory experts and officers as interactional experts, I now lay the groundwork for a deeper understanding of what services consultants provided at all three institutions.

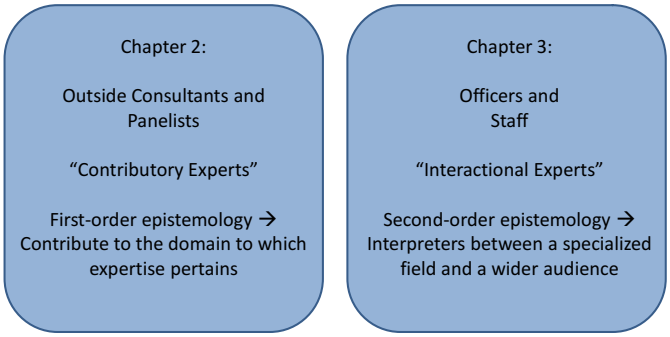

Figure 2.1: Diagram for Chapters 2 and 3

[19] Edge, "What Is Reputation? A Conversation with Gloria Origgi," May 11, 2015, http://edge.org/conversation/gloria_origgi-what-is-reputation (Accessed 01 10 2015).

THE ROLE OF CONSULTANTS AND PANELISTS AT THE ROCKEFELLER AND FORD FOUNDATIONS

Table 2.1: List of Key People and Timeline

Key People:

- Ford Foundation:
  - W. McNeil Lowry: Vice President of the Humanities and the Arts Division (1957-1974)
  - Edward F. D'Arms: Program Officer of the Humanities and the Arts Division (1957-1969) (previously Associate Director at the Rockefeller Foundation)
- Rockefeller Foundation:
  - John Marshall: Associate Director of the Humanities Division [which also covered the Arts] (1933-1962)
  - Edward F. D'Arms: Associate Director of the Humanities Division (1955-1957)
  - Kenneth W. Thompson: Vice President of the Foundation (1961-1974)
  - Norman Lloyd: Director of the Arts and Humanities Division (1965-1972)
  - Howard Klein: Director of the Arts and Humanities Division (1973-1986)
- National Endowment for the Arts:
  - Roger Stevens: Inaugural Chairman (1965-1969)
  - Nancy Hanks: Chairman (1969-1977)
  - Walter Anderson: Director of Music (1968-1983)

Relevant Timeline:

- 1948: Initial discussions at the Rockefeller Foundation concerning a program in music
- 1953: Rockefeller's Louisville Orchestra Commissions
- 1957: Establishment of the Ford Foundation's Humanities and the Arts Division
- 1963: Establishment of the Rockefeller Foundation's Music Advisory Committee
- 1964-5: Rockefeller grants to symphony orchestras premiering works by young composers
- 1965: Establishment of the National Endowment for the Arts
- 1965: Establishment of the Rockefeller Foundation Arts Division
- 1967: Establishment of the NEA's first Music Advisory Panel

As the first institution to begin granting large scale amounts to music projects in the United States, the Rockefeller Foundation began its earliest consultation with experts after the Second World War. Program directors overseeing the performing arts took from other Rockefeller divisions, such as agriculture and medicine, the practice of using consultants. Between 1948 and

1963, the foundation employed two music advisory committees. Virgil Thomson led the first, and the second was formed by a group that included Leonard Bernstein and Aaron Copland. Recommendations made by foundation consultants had a direct and substantial impact on the projects that Rockefeller funded.

Associate Director John Marshall recorded in his officer's diary that he hosted composer and music critic Virgil Thomson for dinner at his New York apartment in December 1948.[20] Thomson had just premiered his second opera with Gertrude Stein, *The Mother of Us All* (1947), and was chief critic of the *New York Herald Tribune*. Among the topics of discussion at the dinner were the state of contemporary music in the United States and the problems of issuing recordings and publishing scores. Thomson recommended five other leading composers for a small conference to be held by the foundation in New York, including Harrison Kerr, Otto Luening, Douglas Moore, Quincy Porter, and Randall Thompson. Thomson knew all of these composers through professional channels, and had recently worked with Luening and Moore through their position on the committee of the Alice B. Ditson Fund, which had commissioned *The Mother of Us All* (Luening also conducted its premiere).[21]

The music conference was attended by Luening, Porter, and Thomson with Rockefeller officers Marshall, Edward F. D'Arms, and David Stevens (Director of Humanities, which covered the Arts).[22] D'Arms's diary recorded in detail the conversations and debates, noting that Virgil

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[20] John Marshall interview with Virgil Thomson, 23 12 1948, Folder: Program and Policy - Music 1948-1954, Box 5, Series 911, Subgroup 1, Record Group 3 (RG3), Rockefeller Foundation (RF), Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, New York (RAC).

[21] I thank Monica Hershberger for pointing this out to me.

[22] Edward F. D'Arms interview with Music Conference, 02 25 1949, Folder: Program and Policy - Music 1948-1954, Box 5, Series 911, Subgroup 1, RG3, RF, RAC. Luening and Moore were professors at Columbia; Porter was professor at Yale; Thompson was professor at Harvard; Harrison Kerr was professor and dean at the University of Oklahoma, and Executive Secretary and co-founder of the American Music Center (along with Luening, Porter, Aaron Copland, and others).

Thomson "did most of the talking and did it extremely well."[23] Much of the discussion centered on the realities and constraints of recording and publishing new music. Practical suggestions included a grant to the American Music Center in New York City for a study about the publication of modern American music and its relationship with recording, and to the Fleischer Collection in Philadelphia for assistance to composers for copying parts and scores. Marshall's notes focused on a specific recommendation made by Luening to finance "larger local symphony orchestras," citing specifically the case of Louisville.[24] As described in Chapter 1, the Louisville Orchestra indeed received a large grant of $400,000 ($3.5 million in 2014) for composer commissions in 1953 -- at the time, the largest amount ever given to a music program by any foundation. The grant to the Louisville Orchestra marked a huge increase in the Rockefeller's humanities budget. It is hard to imagine that Louisville was on the officers' radar as a "large local symphony orchestra," no matter the rising national coverage, had Luening not made a direct recommendation. Marshall's correspondence with Thomson, Luening, and Porter less than two months after the conference confirmed that the foundation's new consideration of proposals in contemporary music was developed directly out of the conference, "which very usefully served to illustrate the kind of action which it might be advantageous for the foundation to consider."[25]

Over ten years later, with the election of Rockefeller President Jacob George Harrar in 1961, a reevaluation of the foundation's goals occurred, resulting in a program for the Performing and Creative Arts.[26] Harrar acknowledged that since it was impossible to cover the field with regular

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[23] Ibid.

[24] From John Marshall to David Stevens, Charles Fahs, Edward F. D'Arms, Chadbourne Gilpatric, Inter-office correspondence, 14 03 1949, Subject: Composers Conference on February 25, Folder: Program and Policy - Music 1948-1954, Box 5, Series 911, Subgroup 1, RG3, RF, RAC.

[25] From John Marshall to Virgil Thomson, Otto Luening, Quincy Porter, 13 04 1949, Folder: Program and Policy - Music 1948-1954, Box 5, Series 911, Subgroup 1, RG3, RF, RAC.

[26] Harrar was previously director of agriculture and vice president of the foundation.

staff, the foundation planned to "use the technique of the appointment of consultants or small committees of leaders in the several branches of the creative and performing arts in order to have the benefit of expert judgment."[27] The practice of using consultants, as he well knew from the Agriculture Division, was one that had "served the foundation well in other fields" and brought in the "weight of opinions from outstanding authorities."

The use of experts for each domain of knowledge (e.g. performing arts vs. agriculture vs. medicine), as sociologist Anthony Giddens argues, is strongly connected to the "dilemmas posed by an increasingly complex world."[28] Specialization allows experts to become authorities in their field. Furthermore, as sociologist Harald Mieg contends, experts certify the "legitimizing use" of certain products or services.[29] In the case of the Rockefeller Foundation, consultants legitimized certain musicians and artist organizations.

Two years later, the Rockefeller Foundation formed its new Music Advisory Committee by inviting a core group of well-known, influential composers, a music critic, and a musicologist/dean: Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copland, Lukas Foss, Paul Hume (*Washington Post*), and Raymond Kendall (Dean of the School of Performing Arts, University of Southern California). The committee provided initial direction for program policy and projects. As Rockefeller's Vice President Kenneth W. Thompson noted in his invitation, the purpose of the committee was to bring "a small community of four or five 'wise men' who might meet" with the foundation at least once or twice a year.[30]

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[27] Jacob G. Harrar, "Proposals for the Future Program of the Rockefeller Foundation 12/1/62," Folder: Program and Policy Reports Pro-46 - Pro-49 1953-1963, Box 29, Series 900, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[28] Anthony Giddens, *The Consequences of Modernity* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1990).

[29] Harald Mieg, *The Social Psychology of Expertise* (Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, 2001).

[30] From Kenneth W. Thompson to Lukas Foss, 30 10 1963, Folder: University of Buffalo - Creative Music Associates - (Lukas Foss, Allen D. Sapp) 1963-1969, Box 432, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

At this point, it is difficult not to pause and note the racial background and gender of these "wise men" who essentially served as gatekeepers and tastemakers for the earliest rounds of music funding given by a large philanthropic institution in this country. Their incredibly strong influence was derived from their ability to set the agenda and to determine where the Rockefeller Foundation should put its money.

As Vice President Thompson cited, the first meeting was intended as "a tour d'horizon" of possible programming and grants. He concluded that "only through working with men of knowledge and stature was it likely that the foundation's program could evolve in the most creative and promising direction." The Music Advisory Committee met with Thompson and two Rockefeller Foundation officers, Gerald Freund and Boyd Compton, on 26 December 1963.[31] One example of the committee's recommendations was a program to selected United States symphony orchestras to lengthen their seasons to give premieres of works by young composers. Aaron Copland provided the initial idea, and in fact, Thompson referred to it as the "Copland Plan." The foundation provided three appropriations totaling $850,000 -- $250,000 in 1964, $500,000 in 1965, and $100,000 in 1967. Lukas Foss made another suggestion to support university music departments. (Foss himself was at the University of Buffalo and that year had submitted a grant proposal for what became the Creative Associates program.[32])

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[31] Folder: Program and Policy 1962-1963, Box 1, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[32] As detailed in Chapter 1, the University of Buffalo received a grant of $200,000 ($1.5 million in 2014) toward the establishment of a center of performing and creative arts under the joint direction of Lukas Foss and Allen Sapp. Foss had submitted the application before he was invited to serve on the committee and specified that he would only participate if his application received fair judgment. He was, however, on the committee when that recommendation was made. Also see Renee Levine Packer, *This Life of Sounds: Evenings for New Music in Buffalo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

Another set of grants the committee proposed was the "composer-in-residence" program for composers to work closely with selected orchestras.[33] The first experiment placed composer John Huggler with the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1964 and led to an initial $96,000 ($730,000 in 2014) grant the year later. In the trustees' docket, the recommendations of Copland, Bernstein, and Foss, described as "distinguished musical artists," justified the support of this grant, as well as of the earlier programs that extended seasons and encouraged relationships between universities and symphony orchestras. The docket also included reference to the very large Ford grant to symphony orchestras the same year (1965) and how the Rockefeller program was different: Rockefeller supported composers, while Ford provided aid for the salaries and benefits of musicians in symphony orchestras.[34]

By contrast, the Ford Foundation relied less on outside consultants and experts in setting its grant policy and direction. Programming at Ford was more firmly within the control of the officers, and most especially, of Vice President W. McNeil Lowry. Lowry opened the lines of communication and promoted the sharing of information between officers and artists, hoping to build a strong network. One of the ways he accomplished this goal was by employing artists as judges for young musicians competitions, including vocal and instrumental soloists (1959), opera singers (1962), and concert artists (1971).[35]

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[33] Folder: Symphony Orchestras - Composers-in-Residence 1965-1970, Box 425, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[34] The relationship between the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations will be further explored in Chapter 4.

[35] Other individual awards included those to creative writers, theater directors, visual artists, and choreographers. Folder: Concert Artists Program 1971, Box 10, Series VI, FA640, Ford Foundation (FF), RAC. These competitions were designated Foundation Administered Projects (FAPs). FAPs were approved "when the Foundation believe[d] it [could] advantageously supervise an activity itself and thus [did] not need or desire an outside organization as grantee." Willard Hertz, "Questions and Answers Regarding Philanthropic and Financial Practices and Policies," 18 06 1963, Report 10457, Catalogued Reports, FF, RAC. These types of projects, a form of self-granting, were unique to the Ford Foundation, at least in the arts category, and did not exist within the grantmaking of the Rockefeller Foundation. Both foundations strongly preferred to serve the role of grantmaker, providing grants to other organizations, rather than operating the programs themselves. Given this stance, Ford FAPs were especially rare. In 1962, for example, only $3.6

The awards to performing artists were not open to direct application, but through nomination by foundation-invited musicians, conductors, critics, and music teachers. Nominators were permitted to recommend no more than two candidates, and were asked for a "brief critical evaluation" of each one. Nominees then sent in a biographical form, which included a statement of artistic aspirations, tapes or recordings, and two letters of reference. A panel of professional musicians, acting as consultants to the foundation and judges for the program, then reviewed the nominations, and after preliminary screening, invited a smaller number of nominees for taped or live audition.

In the letter sent to prospective judges, Lowry wrote, "The job of the panelists will be time consuming and perhaps even arduous but, we hope, ultimately gratifying to those who help us with this task."[36] Panelists were reimbursed for expenses and they received an honorarium of $125 ($700 in 2014) for each day spent reviewing applications and attending panel meetings in New York City. Unlike the panelists and reviewers of the NEA, the judges for the Ford Foundation were kept anonymous and confidential. Additionally, the foundation asked judges to withhold any mention of possible or eventual participation in the program; their own nominees were furthermore disqualified for consideration. Among the judges for the first competition in 1959 were well-known composers, performers, and managers, including Leonard Bernstein, Rudolf Serkin, Isaac Stern, Blanche Thebom, and Robert Whitney.

According to a document titled, "Background of the Concert Artists Program," which appeared in 1971, Ford saw an advantage in operating these individual grant programs itself:

> The use of an elaborate nominating system, the opportunities to analyze the artists' own statements of purpose, and the chance to observe the professional judges at

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million ($28.2 million in 2014) was spent on FAPs, compared to its overall grants outlay of $223.3 million ($1.75 billion).

[36] From W. McNeil Lowry, 05 01 1975, Folder: Concert Artists Program 1971, Box 10, Series VI, FA640, FF, RAC.

> work in their selection -- all these things deepen the staff's insight into particular fields and into the career patterns of artists. They also engage the foundation at the center of a network in each field, a result which proves rewarding as background to all staffwork in the field.[37]

In fact, my examination of Ford Foundation internal memoranda and reports reveals that while the foundation relied less on outside consultants to make program and policy decisions, it actually employed them the most strategically. At one of Ford's earliest arts conferences, Lowry specified his views on the relationship between the foundation and its consultants, "baptizing" them as the "reporters from the field of the arts."[38] Ford staff, according to Lowry, were "intellectual bankers" and as "a banker necessarily [had] somewhat more detachment from the sufferings and problems of his clients," then consultants needed to be "reporters" and "spokesmen" for these "pains" and "travails." According to a later internal and confidential information paper, "all staffwork and grantmaking" was designed "to create continuing networks and communications points for artists and artistic directors both to free them from isolation and to give focus and shape to efforts aimed at artistic development, particularly on the part of the Ford Foundation."[39]

Lowry characterized the Ford Foundation as "a communications center and a clearing house," evident in the officers' frequent site visits, "unstructured conferences" at the offices in New York City, and correspondence with artists and organizations. Additionally, staff reached out to arts groups and smaller foundations, serving as "consultants" in their own right, often offering fundraising strategies and "technical assistance" such as management training. Lowry argued that "collateral" and "somewhat intangible" components of the program were actually more supportive of

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[37] Request for Grant Action, Folder: Concert Artists Program 1971, Box 10, Series VI, FA640, FF, RAC.

[38] "Transcript: H/A Conference January 3 & 4, 1958," Folder: Meeting of January 3-4, 1958 - Economic & Social Positions of the Arts & the Artist, Box 36, Series XI, FA640, FF, RAC.

[39] "The Arts and the Ford Foundation," 12 1968, Folder: The Arts and the Ford Foundation, December 1968, Box 7, Series IV, FA582, FF, RAC.

the arts and artists than the grants themselves.[40] While the NEA also provided technical assistance to its grantees, its large and comprehensive system of panelists marked a different approach to employing experts than the Ford Foundation. Nevertheless, NEA Chairman Nancy Hanks acknowledged that the use of panelists and consultants was derived from foundations' practices. Hanks cited that the use of "professional advisers" had come from the experiences of private foundations themselves.[41]

PANELISTS AT THE NATIONAL ENDOWMENT FOR THE ARTS

The NEA was authorized by the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 to establish panelists of experts to assist the agency. Unlike Ford and Rockefeller, however, which operated as non-profit, private entities, the NEA faced a high degree of scrutiny from a number of governmental overseers, including the Office of Management and Budget, and elected officials, including the President of the United States (who appointed the chairman and members of the National Council on the Arts (NCA)) and members of Congress (who drafted and voted on the agency's authorization and appropriations bills).

By its third meeting, members of the NCA were extensively discussing the importance of outside consultants to aid council members and endowment staff. As I discuss in greater detail in the next chapter, the NCA -- made up of 26 presidentially appointed members -- advised the chairman of the NEA on agency policies and programs, and reviewed and recommended grant

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[40] "Arts Program Evaluation (1957-1961) and Statement of Current Objectives and Policies," 12 1961, Report 07516, Catalogued Reports, FF, RAC.

[41] In her statement at the hearings before the Subcommittee on Foundations before the Senate in 1974, Hanks claimed that the use of "professional advisers in developing policies and recommending on specific applications" were developed by foundations in their fellowships to individual artists and then similarly adopted by the endowment. Folder: Statement: SubComm on Foundations (Senate) Nov. 25, 1974, Box 4, A1 Entry 5, Record Group 288 (RG288), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland (Archives II). It is also crucial to remember that Hanks's background was at a large foundation: as trustee and vice chairman of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund. The Rockefeller Brothers Fund was distinct from the Rockefeller Foundation, and was considered more a project of JDR, Jr.'s sons, JDR, 3rd, Nelson, Laurance, Winthrop, and David, but its ties with the Rockefeller Foundation were still strong.

applications and funding guidelines. The proposed panel resolution of the NCA established two categories of experts: those who assisted the NCA and the endowment on a regular basis concerning general matters; and those who assisted on a temporary basis with the implementation of specific projects.[42] The first group of experts represented "distinguished and experienced knowledge in the arts" and were appointed by the chairman with recommendations from the NCA. Their duties also included "the screening of applicants for projects and programs approved by the council." The second group served on a limited basis, with no definite term of service, but was still appointed by the chairman with the approval of at least one council member.

Similar to the Ford Foundation, the NEA was conscious of the public role that panelists played in networking and strategy. According to the resolution, expert advisers served a function beyond specialized knowledge: they acted as outreach for the NEA to help establish the legitimacy and geographic reach of the agency.

> We need as complete a list of prospective expert advisers as possible -- in all the major art forms, and with a good geographic representation so that we can be assisted on specific projects in specific areas throughout the country. These experts can also help us in stimulating community support for the work we undertake; they can act in a liaison fashion with the communities we wish to assist; they can broaden public interest in the endowment.[43]

Additionally, over the next year and a half the endowment began to feel internal and external pressures to establish a permanent music panel. Early correspondence between Chairman Stevens and Aaron Copland revealed that music was the one field within the council that had failed to set up a panel of experts, as had been done in the other arts categories. The council had previously felt that with Leonard Bernstein and Isaac Stern as council members, their bases were covered. Stevens wrote, however, that "since several of our most important programs have been

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[42] "Proposed Panel Resolution," Folder: NCA Third Meeting (Nov. 12-1, 1965), Box 1, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

[43] Ibid.

under attack [the National Chamber Orchestra, the Jeunesses Musicales program], I feel that a completely independent committee made up of outstanding people in the field of music should be assembled to review our programs." At the conclusion of the letter, Stevens offered Copland chairmanship of the panel, "as a great public service to this country and to the field of music."[44] The NEA's first Music Advisory Panel was then established in 1967. At the tenth meeting of the NCA, the decision to assemble a music panel of "twenty distinguished leaders in the field of music," including Lukas Foss and Paul Hume, was announced.[45] With Bernstein on the NCA, Copland the chair, and Foss and Hume on the panel itself, the leading voices of the NEA already resembled those of the Rockefeller Foundation's Music Advisory Committee established four years earlier.

What precise role the panelists should play was contentious. Chairman Stevens argued that it was important for them to feel that their contributions were substantive and that the council heard their opinions. The panelists declared that if they were going to spend the time being on the music panel, they deserved the right to examine the grant proposals first. Stevens acknowledged that if the NCA made an approval of a project without the panel knowing, then the panel might justifiably feel excluded and embarrassed. The NCA demanded, however, that they had the power to make the final decision.

At first, Stevens did not feel compelled to release the identities of panelists publicly, although he recognized that as a government agency, the endowment could not withhold any names. He feared that if identified, panelists might receive undue influence or pressure before the completion of a project.[46] Yet Stevens' standards were not consistent: he had no problem, for example, with using panelists' identities to legitimize the rejection of certain applications, deflect

[44] From Roger Stevens to Aaron Copland, 04 07 1967, Folder: C, Box 6, A1 Entry 20, RG288, Archives II.

[45] "Proceedings, November 3, 1967," Folder: Tenth Meeting (Nov. 3, 1967), Box 3, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

[46] From Roger Stevens to Harold Weston, 29 05 1967, Folder: V, Box 11, A1 Entry 20, RG288, Archives II.

any expectation that a project would be automatically supported, or defend against prior NCA actions, especially if the inquiries came from members of Congress.

For example, Stevens's correspondence with Representative Charles Joelson (D-NJ) regarding proposed grants for a Chamber Music Institute and the Jeunesses Musicales showed deference to the panel. Stevens wrote that the field of music, due to its "many complexities and vested interests," required the setting up of a permanent panel, rather than ad hoc groups assigned to specific grant proposals, as in the other divisions. Stevens assured Joelson of the "very distinguished" nature of this group of experts, and that anyone, after seeing the panel's membership, would be completely satisfied with the way the field of music was represented.[47]

The reconsideration of panel structure and procedure occurred under Chairman Nancy Hanks (1969-1977), the most powerful woman in arts grantmaking during this period (and the fourth-highest ranking female appointee in the Nixon administration) and her Music Director Walter Anderson, the most powerful African American in arts grantmaking. The greatest challenge in systematizing the panel system was tied to the rapid growth of the NEA and the increasing number of applications it received. Under Hanks, panels consisted of no fewer than eight and no more than sixteen members, and included a chairman (or co-chairmen) and possible vice chairman.

Panelists served a one-year term for up to four years, and rotation was staggered. They could also serve on more than one panel at a time. The use of panels throughout the NEA, however, varied from program to program. Directors decided the size of panels, the length of service of each panelist, and the time of appointment.[48] The Music Panel, for example was

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[47] From Roger Stevens to Congressman Joelson, 09 06 1967, Folder: J, Box 8, A1 Entry 20, RG288, Archives II.

[48] From Michael Straight to Nancy Hanks, 20 11 1971, Folder: Duty Statement, Box 9, A1 Entry 26, RG288, Archives II.

criticized by Deputy Chairman Michael Straight for being "far too large," and needing more frequent rotation.[49] Greater turnover perhaps counteracted the entrenchment of vested interests, but it also prevented the continuation of institutional knowledge.[50]

The NEA implemented stricter criteria for the selection of panelists throughout the 1970s, a product of external pressure from Congress and arts organizations, and internal pressure from staff and council members.[51] The criteria were formalized as:

1. Professional competence
2. Ability to assess applications through personal knowledge and experience
3. Geographical diversity
4. Diversity of backgrounds and viewpoint
5. Available time for panel meetings and for assistance between meetings

Panelists were expected to meet four times a year, with the NEA paying for transportation costs, a per diem of $25 ($125 in 2014), and an honorarium of $50 a day to each panel member.[52] They were required to complete an appointment affidavit, send a biographical statement, and sign a confidential financial statement.

The director's network and range of contacts played a significant role in the kinds of people that the NEA approached for consultation. The deputy chairman of the NEA solicited panelists

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[49] Ibid.

[50] The differences between panels and their respective roles in each program was also discussed in a letter from David Sennema to Nancy Hanks, 06 04 1972, Subject: Some Thoughts on the National Endowment for the Arts and Its Advisory Panels, Folder: Panel Procedures, Box 9, A1 Entry 26, RG288, Archives II.

[51] "Panels: Definition, Endowment Program Use, Responsibilities, Membership, Criteria for Selection, Solicitations for Membership, Selection Procedures," 05 1975, Folder: Guide Forms for Program Use, Box 9, A1 Entry 26, RG288, Archives II.

[52] "Draft of letter to music panel members," 21 11 1969, Folder: A, Box 1, A1 Entry 3, RG288, Archives II.

from recommendations by members of the NCA, state arts agencies, and national organizations, but the major responsibility fell on the individual program directors. Directors further asked for referrals from panel members themselves, and according to Deputy Chairman Straight, "their views [were] given primary consideration."[53] Thus the system was self-reinforcing because the network for new and prospective panelists was based off of personal and first-degree connections.

While Music Director Anderson valued as much as possible "highly artistic input," he asserted to give greater preference to members who knew "how to cut through red tape, avoid extraneous conversation, attend all meetings without dropping in and out, and work in an extremely efficient manner" -- therefore he prioritized what he called the panelists' "management skills." Anderson's preference for formality, efficiency, and reliability over aesthetic or artistic concerns is important. The emphasis on management skills also had consequences for the NEA's new reality of increased applications. As Anderson wrote, above all, "this group would 'move' on all our objectives with the utmost speed."[54]

A survey of panel operations for the music division revealed that voting was done by a voice-vote, proceeding one at a time after evaluation of each application (rather than at the end, after a discussion of all the projects).[55] Therefore, the order that panelists reviewed the projects had a potential impact on the amount of money that was allocated, and the panel evaluated later projects in comparison to earlier ones. Additionally, the time of day that voting occurred mattered due to "a possible general fatigue factor, i.e., after a long day(s) of dealing with nothing but

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[53] "Michael Straight's Response to Insert 1533: How Panelists Are Selected," 12 02 1976, Folder: Panel Procedures, Box 9, A1 Entry 26, RG288, Archives II.

[54] From Walter Anderson to Nancy Hanks, Subject: Suggested changes in panel structure, 11 11 1971, Folder: Harlow Heneman - Chairman of Task Force, Box 5, A1 Entry 1, RG288, Archives II.

[55] From Tom Freeman to Nancy Hanks and Michael Straight, Re: Survey of Panel Operations, 08 10 1974, Folder: M. Straight - Policy Papers, Box 9, A1 Entry 26, RG288, Archives II. By contrast, currently an electronic, web-based voting software is used today.

applications." Programs tried to minimize this problem through careful structuring of agendas that permitted adequate time for discussion and frequent breaks.[56] Additionally, the music program pre-screened applications in subcommittees "to identify obvious rejections prior to the panel meeting." All applications, including those rejected, were still however, listed alphabetically before the full panel for discussion and vote.

Some council members and NEA staff critiqued the panel structure and how it, at times, operated. For example, NCA member Gunther Schuller wrote to Hanks in October 1976,

> I left the meeting, having stayed 'til the bitter end, with the uncomfortable recognition that the constitution of the panels is terribly crucial -- in some ways almost more so than the council -- and that this particular music panel is not really on or up to the level commensurate with the decisions it is asked to make.[57]

Schuller had previous experience as a panelist himself (in addition to his consultancy for the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations). In this letter, Schuller criticized the weaknesses in the system that prevented panelists from making the most informed, conscientious decisions.

In specific detail, Schuller wrote that at the panel meeting, the morning went well with good attendance and "healthy pro and con discussion, input from all directions." But as the day proceeded, "the decisions became increasingly arbitrary, thoughtless, down to the point of irresponsibility." He attributed part of the problems due to voting when the majority of the panel was absent, or when the committee was swayed "by one or two vocal members who, let's say, represented a negative vote, when one or two equally vocal members representing a positive vote

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[56] The dance program, on the other hand, was the one exception to using the voice-vote procedure, and had experimented with, and adopted, a ballot method of voting. All applications were discussed first, then voting took place at the end of the meeting. There were perceived advantages to this system: it enabled panelists to gain a better perspective and overview of all the grants; it helped avoid prolonged discussion or last minute emotional comments about any grant which might negatively influence voting; and it allowed panelists to vote independently and secretly, without having to reveal their votes in front of their peers. A central disadvantage was that without transparency, panelists could not be held accountable for the way they voted, and this could instead foster individual favoritism.

[57] From Gunther Schuller to Nancy Hanks, 05 10 1976, Folder: Guide Forms for Program Use, Box 9, A1 Entry 26, RG288, Archives II.

happened to be absent." Schuller reflected that this "Achilles heel of the committee system," corresponded with the main problem of a democracy altogether: "non-participation can lead to an unrepresentative vote."

Schuller also criticized a "casualness" or "lack of seriousness that pervaded the atmosphere," but which might also have been "circumstantial" or "bad luck" due to the fact that some of the "more seasoned, wisest and articulate members of the panel were the ones who had to leave early." He concluded that there should have been "a cut-off point beyond which important decisions or votes ought to be postponed." But he also came to realize how important the selection of panelists was, and that greater consideration should be given to advisory panel suggestions.

While many musicians and academics who have sat on selection committees or panels can sympathize with Schuller's criticisms, one other consideration that should not be ignored is that among the topics discussed that afternoon was a grant to the Association of Independent Conservatories of Music. Schuller addressed his letter to Hanks privately as a "concerned" member of the NCA, but he was also, at the time, the president of the New England Conservatory, and during the panel meeting, he voiced opinions in support of the Association. Hence, Schuller had a stake in a "seriousness" of discussion and of the panelists involved. Even given this context, however, Schuller's concern was one shared by other panelists and officers. Walter Anderson's response to him reiterated the worry of panelists who departed early, the lack of a quorum when carrying out business, and the negative consequences of making decisions at the end of long, successive days of intense discussion.[58]

The deliberation process and the selection of experts at the Rockefeller Foundation also had a strong impact in the decision making and projects it supported. A particularly illuminating

[58] From Walter Anderson to Gunther Schuller, 16 11 1976, Folder: Guide Forms for Program Use, Box 9, A1 Entry 26, RG288, Archives II.

example of the strong impact of outside consultants on the development of a project was the Rockefeller Foundation's Recorded Anthology of American Music (RAAM). As I argue, the ways that debate and discussion were structured also influenced the final product.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION AND THE RECORDED ANTHOLOGY OF AMERICAN MUSIC

RAAM was a 100-LP collection released between 1976 and 1978 by New World Records in celebration of the United States Bicentennial.[59] It included an astounding 1,200 musical titles by 500 composers, performed by 1,600 musicians. With a total playing time of over eighty hours, the anthology covered a wide range of music, from Virgil Thomson and Gertrude Stein's *The Mother of Us All*, to Eubie Blake and Noble Sissle's *Shuffle Along*, to Ricky Ford's jazz album *Loxodonta Africana*. The Rockefeller Foundation contributed $4.9 million ($20 million in 2014) to RAAM, originally conceiving the project as "a gift from the foundation to the American people."[60] According to a foundation program officer, the public could find in the anthology "all the strands of music which make up the fabric of American musical experience."[61] More than 7,000 sets were donated to universities, libraries, and radio stations. Musicologists, leading critics, composers, and performers wrote extensive liner notes, which amounted to six, three-hundred page volumes.[62]

The choice of repertory and the selection committee deciding the repertory, however, were early sources of contention. Two general divisions arose: contemporary composers viewed the

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[59] I would like to thank Carol Oja for allowing me to borrow Mark Tucker's collection of RAAM for the purposes of this research.

[60] "Report on the Recorded Anthology of American Music," Folder 35, Box 6, Series 925, RG3.2, RAC.

[61] Ibid.

[62] The foundation also supported Charles Hamm's *Music in the New World* as a textbook-like accompaniment to the anthology. Charles Hamm, *Music in the New World* (New York: Norton, 1983). According to Hamm's acknowledgments, the foundation relieved him of teaching duties at Dartmouth while writing the book's first ten chapters. In a later interview on NewMusicBox, he also mentioned funds for a research assistant.

project as a way to record new music that was not commercially viable, while musicologists and historians wanted the project to serve as a wide-ranging compilation of American music of all styles, encompassing the country's two-hundred year history. For example, composer and foundation consultant Mario di Bonaventura saw the project as a Marshall Plan for new music.[63] By contrast, musicologist Charles Hamm, a dedicated supporter of a broad-based vision, perceived of RAAM as an opportunity to include unrecorded popular songs, folk music, and the music of African Americans, women, and other racial minorities.[64]

Similar to the power that panelists at the NEA wielded in approving or rejecting grants, the employment of outside consultants in RAAM had major implications for the inclusion and exclusion of repertory. American musicologists in particular were strongly influential in the anthology's outcome. Their membership on the editorial committee counterbalanced the power of composers who wanted to focus predominantly on contemporary music. Due to the musicologists' influence, there was a significant increase in the number of records devoted to popular music, jazz, religious music, and music of earlier time periods. Their impact was direct and consistent with their presence on the committee.

Nevertheless, the final product was still an incomplete realization of the foundation's own search for broad representation, especially with respect to the music of minorities and women. The appearances of non-partisanship and legitimate authority derived through the use of experts masked problems in the system of selection. Absence mattered. The lack of women and experts of color was correlated with the underrepresentation of music composed by women and artists of color in the anthology. Despite a striking diversity of genres, which resulted from the inclusion of

[63] Mario di Bonaventura, "Preliminary Conclusions," 20 12 1972, Folder: Recording April 1973, Box 7, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[64] From Charles Hamm to Howard Klein, Subject: The Proposed American Music Recording Project by the Rockefeller Foundation, Folder: Recording April 1973, Box 7, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

musicologists, RAAM still reflected a very Anglo- and Euro-centric understanding of the United States.

The man in charge of the development of the anthology in its earliest stages was Rockefeller Arts Director Norman Lloyd, who assumed the position in 1965, until his retirement in 1972 due to health reasons. Lloyd was a pianist and composer, who had served as director of education at the Juilliard School and dean of the Conservatory of Music at Oberlin College before joining the foundation. One of his primary goals was to expand the availability of recordings of contemporary music.[65] During his tenure, consultants wrote four official reports proposing possible designs for such a recording project. A brief analysis of these reports demonstrates the changes in goals and objectives of the anthology that eventually became RAAM.

Early explorations of the design were found in the initial two reports, the first written by music critic and recording specialist Gene Bruck and the second by musicologist, pianist, and composer Joshua Rifkin. In 1969, Bruck submitted to the foundation the first report based on a survey of 551 composers. In it he asked composers about their views on the state of recording contemporary American music. Rockefeller officers Lloyd and Howard Klein concluded from the report that composers "overwhelmingly recognize[d] recordings... to be of greater importance than the publication [of scores]."[66] They believed not only in a dearth of recordings, but also a short production life of those made by major companies. For example, Bruck and the officers discussed Elliott Carter's Second String Quartet. The work had won the Pulitzer Prize (1960) and had been recorded by Victor, but the recording was taken off the shelves after three years. The foundation continued its exploration of the project a year later with a second report, this time written by Rifkin,

[65] Norman Lloyd, Inter-office correspondence, 19 06 1970, Subject: RF Interest in Recording, Box 269, Series F-L, RG12, RF, RAC.

[66] Howard Klein to Norman Lloyd, Inter-office correspondence, 18 06 1969, Subject: All Day Meeting Re Recording Project, Folder 36, Box 6, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

who was then in his twenties and a graduate student at Princeton. Rifkin proposed a plan for an "archival clearinghouse" of recordings of American music.[67] His was the shortest report, but he introduced the importance of using a selection committee.

The third report was written by Mario di Bonaventura, director of music at the Hopkins Center at Dartmouth College and director of the Congregation of the Arts, a summer contemporary music festival. His consultancy, beginning in 1972, was focused and intense, even meriting listing in the foundation's annual reports.[68] According to Klein's officer's diary, di Bonaventura impressed him as "a remarkable individual... He [was] at the same time as practical as thumbtacks, and just as pointed in his thinking."[69] Among di Bonaventura's conclusions was that of the total music recorded in the United States, only three percent was "serious" and that a "crisis [was] obvious."[70] Furthermore, "this fundamentally educational project would 'set the stage' in the United States for a changed attitude toward contemporary music." He claimed that his proposal was not "a venturesome foray into the primarily avant-garde, but simply a 'catching up' to create a more informed public able to support and give impetus to new creative thought in music and its sister arts."

By early 1973, Klein had become the division's director, Lloyd having resigned for health reasons. Klein began organizing meetings with specialists in the field, including those working at recording studios and, importantly, based on di Bonaventura's recommendation, musicologists. The three musicologists who played a significant role at this time were H. Wiley Hitchcock,

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[67] RF Limited Outside Consultation or Service Arrangement, No. P 392, 17 12 1969, Folder 35, Box 6, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RAC. Rifkin had recording industry experience at Elektra and Nonesuch Records.

[68] Mario di Bonaventura's contract included working at least four days per week in addition to extensive travel. No. P 2101, 03 05 1972, Folder 35, Box 6, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[69] Interviews Lloyd, Klein, Wood with di Bonaventura, 26 04 1972, Folder 37, Box 6, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[70] Mario di Bonaventura to Howard Klein, 19 02 1973, Folder 39, Box 7, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

Charles Hamm, and Richard Crawford. Hitchcock, with a background in seventeenth-century French and Italian music, had recently established the Institute for Studies in American Music at Brooklyn College. Crawford remembered that the foundation brought him on as a consultant at the recommendation of Hitchcock, who was one of his advisers at the University of Michigan. Crawford recounted that Hitchcock "was the key to almost every open door that beckoned to me, especially if they had a New York base."[71] Crawford was just under forty years old at the time and had recently finished his doctoral dissertation on Andrew Law and American Psalmody. Hamm began his career in Renaissance music, graduating with a Ph.D. from Princeton. He then became one of the most important supporters of the scholarly study of American popular music, teaching at the Cincinnati Conservatory of Music, Tulane University, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, and Dartmouth College. While at the University of Illinois, in particular, he developed a strong core of students researching and writing about American music.

At initial meetings in April and May 1973, staff and consultants discussed the relative representation of composers and groups in di Bonaventura's report. Echoing di Bonaventura's recommendations, Lloyd -- now serving as a consultant -- proposed that "serious" composers of concert music should represent the largest category in the series, with between sixty and seventy-five records. Charles Ives and Edgard Varèse merited two records each, while "one-record men" included Wallingford Riegger and Henry Cowell. By contrast, Charles Hamm countered with a proposal of only fifteen records for "art music," while twenty-five records should be reserved for musical theater, and another twenty-five records for "popular music of the nineteenth century."[72] Hamm further proposed a set of five records of "urban ethnic popular music," possibly including

[71] Crawford interview with author, 04 08 2015.

[72] Charles Hamm to Howard Klein, Subject: The Proposed American Music Recording Project by the Rockefeller Foundation, Folder 39, Box 7, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

music of "black, Cuban, Polish, Greek, Puerto Rican, Mexican, Czech, Chinese, etc." urban communities.[73] Crawford's recommendations allocated even more space in the collection to non-art music. He suggested that musical theater should get seventeen records, popular music fourteen, religious music seven, jazz eight, and "Cultivated Music based on Ethnic Models" seven. These categories would have accounted for more than half of the collection's LPs.

Due to the objections and alternative suggestions raised by musicologists against di Bonaventura's proposal, by the end of 1973 the foundation officers chose not to recommend the project to the trustees. Instead, Klein enlisted the assistance of another individual: composer William Schuman, previously the president of Juilliard and Lincoln Center.[74] Schuman's explicit task was "to develop the most logical and effective institutional format for the recording project." His final report was co-authored with *New York Times* music critic and New York University lecturer Robert Sherman.[75] As a central theme in the report, Schuman and Sherman compared the anthology to a pyramid. At the peak of the pyramid was music that "represented the best that had been accomplished," that is, music of composers who had "long and distinguished careers," and those who had "achieved national renown." They wrote that only once the "cream of the crop" material was released could the anthology create more "room for other efforts worthy of representation, but in less complete form."[76]

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[73] Interview with Crawford.

[74] Schuman was contracted for a six-month period and paid $10,000 ($42,000 in 2015), in addition to any accrued expenses. William Schuman to Howard Klein, 24 10 1973, Folder 41, Box 7, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[75] "American Music Recording Authority: A Report Prepared for the Rockefeller Foundation by William Schuman and Robert Sherman," 05 1974, Folder 48, Box 7, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[76] Ibid.

Hamm expressed the greatest caution, stating that the project proposed by Schuman and Sherman was very different from the broad vision he had initially endorsed.[77] He believed that at previous meetings, the foundation was moving toward "a monument to all of the music in this country -- folk, popular, art, dance, etc." but with this report, "it [was] quite evident that the first concern of the people who prepared it [was] with art music." Hamm elaborated at greater length:

> My fear from the beginning of this project has been that it would become dominated by composers and its direction would be shaped by them. There are difficulties for composers today, but there have been and will be programs designed to help them... I had hoped that the proposed Rockefeller project would be concerned with classical music only in proportion to its place in the total picture of American music.[78]

In part due to the critique of Hamm and others, the foundation rejected the Schuman-Sherman report, even with the date of the Bicentennial rapidly approaching. Doing so represented another step in challenging a high art, new music bias.

In the end, Herman Krawitz, who served as assistant general manager for the Metropolitan Opera, was brought in and his proposal at last established New World Records, a separate entity created by the Rockefeller Foundation. Krawitz served as president of New World Records and worked with a board and an editorial committee, chosen by the Rockefeller Foundation, to select and produce the series of one-hundred records. Members of the editorial committee included some figures who had been involved in the initial planning of the project, including Crawford and Hitchcock, and other artists recommended by Krawitz, most notably, Milton Babbitt and David Hamilton. According to the bylaws of New World Records,

> The editorial committee shall establish policies to ensure the historical solidity and artistic excellence of projects to be undertaken by the corporation, shall select and approve the repertory of records to be produced by the corporation, shall

[77] Charles Hamm to Howard Klein, 29 05 1974, Folder 43, Box 7, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[78] Ibid. In terms of programs to aid composers, Hamm mentioned in particular, Bicentennial commissioning and recording projects.

> determine editorial policies for production of all written materials, visual illustrations and other works, and generally shall establish policies and procedures necessary to provide the highest standards for the corporation's projects.[79]

In his final report to the Rockefeller Foundation, Krawitz wrote, "The experts on the committee were chosen to provide the broadest possible base of specialties in American musical history, so that the Anthology could offer the history of America's people through their music."[80]

Table 2.2: Editorial Committee New World Records

Editorial Committee New World Records
• Don Roberts, Chairman (music librarian, Northwestern University; former president, Association of Recorded Sound Collections)
• Milton Babbitt (composer; Conant Professor of Music, Princeton University)
• David Baker (composer; professor of music and director, Institute of Jazz Studies, Indiana University)
• Neely Bruce (composer, choral director, and associate professor of music, Wesleyan University)
• Richard Crawford (musicologist; professor of music, University of Michigan)
• Ross Lee Finney (composer; professor emeritus, University of Michigan)
• Richard Franko Goldman (conductor and composer; president emeritus, Peabody Conservatory of Music)
• David Hamilton (music critic, *The Nation*; former editor, W.W. Norton and Company)
• H. Wiley Hitchcock (professor of music, Brooklyn College, CUNY; director, Institute for Studies in American Music)
• Cynthia Hoover (musicologist and curator, Division of Musical Instruments, Smithsonian Institution)
• Herman E Krawitz (producer; adjunct professor, School of Drama, Yale University)
• Gunther Schuller (composer and conductor; president emeritus, New England Conservatory of Music)
• Mike Seeger (performer, teacher, and collector of traditional mountain music)
• Michael Steinberg (director of publications, Boston Symphony Orchestra; former music critic, *Boston Globe*)
• Warren Susman (cultural historian; chairman, Department of History, Rutgers University)

According to the Rockefeller Foundation's records, Krawitz's selection as executive director met some resistance. Krawitz had "excellent administrative background and skills," but he

[79] Herman Krawitz, "Final Report," 10 09 1979, Folder: 48L, Box 8B, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[80] Ibid.

lacked "artistic standing" and was not a musician.[81] In a confidential letter to Klein, Norman Lloyd wrote that "one cannot argue reasonably or quietly with HEK [Krawitz] and therefore you get involved in a shouting match."[82] It is clear that such criticisms had an impact on the structure of New World Record's organizational chart.[83] For example, separate positions were created for an executive director, in charge of administrative decisions, and an artistic director, in charge of artistic responsibilities. Additionally, Klein noted that it was essential to "carefully structure the organization with capable and mutually congenial people." The participants needed to be able to "talk with reason and patience and resolve [differences] for the good of the project."[84]

The board of RAAM -- which was separate from the editorial committee -- included Chairman Michael Forrestal (a lawyer and government official by trade, but also involved with the Metropolitan Opera), Vice Chairman Francis Goelet (a long-time patron and chairman of the Metropolitan Opera, who continued to support New World Records until his death), and Goddard Lieberson (Columbia Records) and Frank Stanton (CBS), who were both recording and broadcasting professionals.

An analysis of the final contents of RAAM reveals that popular music, musical theater, and historical pieces were indeed better represented than initial proposals suggested, with their focus on contemporary music, which was largely non-commercial. Table 2.3 comes from Krawitz's final report to the foundation. The categories are taken from a "grid" that he and the editorial

[81] Howard Klein to John Knowles, "Re: Organization of the Recording Project Entity," 16 12 1974, Folder 45, Box 8, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[82] Norman Lloyd to Howard Klein, 17 12 1974, Folder 45, Box 5, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[83] Howard Klein, 23 12 1974, Folder 45, Box 5, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[84] Howard Klein to John Knowles, "Re: Organization of the Recording Project Entity," 16 12 1974, Folder 45, Box 8, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

committee designed to fill the hundred records.[85] As I discuss below, members debated not only the inclusion of categories, but also the relative proportion of records within each category. The largest was still "Concert and Art Music," but it did not take up the sixty to seventy-five percent that consultants like Lloyd and di Bonaventura had advocated.[86] The category of "The Social and Political Scene" was not so much a genre as it was an emphasis on a textual theme or on the ways in which music had been used.

Table 2.3: The Editorial Committee's Categorization of RAAM

Category:	Number of Records
Concert and Art Music	35
Popular	18
Folk and Oral Traditions	13
Jazz	13
The Social and Political Scene	9
Popular Song and Musical Theater	8
Band Music[87]	3

I provide my own count of the anthology's contents in Table 2.4. I do so to segment the records into other groups, even if there are overlapping categories. For instance, "Any Music Before 1900" includes certain concert and art musics; the same is true for the "Religious" category. The New World grid categorized all operas (e.g. Virgil Thomson's *The Mother of Us All*) as

[85] Interview with Krawitz, 02 02 2016.

[86] The number of records in Krawitz's final report totaled 99. The record that was not included was NW208 "Heinrich: The Ornithological Combat of Kinds / Gottschalk: Night in the Tropics." This album likely would have been classified as "Concert and Art Music."

[87] The full descriptions are included here: The Social and Political Scene ("music dealing with topical or historical phenomena in American military and social history"); Folk and Oral Traditions ("music of ethnic, hyphenated Americans, as well as native Americans, including undocumented (unwritten) forms"); Concert and Art Music ("classical, including symphonic, chamber, choral, and solo instrumental and vocal works"); Popular Song and Musical Theater ("including opera and musical comedy"); Jazz ("Jazz, Blues, Boogie-Woogie, Ragtime, etc.); Band Music.

"Popular Song and Musical Theater," whereas I include them in "Concert and Art Music."[88] The year 1900 is a useful marker to illustrate the significant proportion of records dedicated to music written by composers at least two generations older than members of the executive committee (and thus, not peers or colleagues). My segmentation of "Non-black, ethnic minority" music from "Folk and Oral Tradition" reveals that racial minorities were conspicuously underrepresented in the albums.

Table 2.4: My Categorization of RAAM

Category:	Number of Records
Concert and Art Music	27
Any Music Before 1900	19
Popular Songs and Band	15
Jazz and Blues	12
Folk	12
Non-black, ethnic minority	6
Musical Theater	5
Religious	4

In RAAM, the music of non-black, ethnic minorities included recordings of Puerto Rican and Cuban music in New York, two compilations of the music from eleven Native American tribes, songs by Slavic Americans, and archival music from Spanish New Mexico. Only two composers of Asian descent were represented: Chou Wen-Chung and Earl Kim. Additionally, women were gravely underrepresented. While there were many female performers, the only two female composers included were Amy Beach and Ruth Crawford Seeger.

The tremendous lack of music by women and racial minorities in RAAM correlated with their underrepresentation among the decision makers. Of the sixteen original editorial committee members, only two were women: Cynthia Hoover, curator of the Division of Musical Instruments

[88] What the New World Records account shows that mine does not, however, is that the overall number of "Concert and Art Music" represented more than a third of the records. This is due to the fact that I categorize some of these records under "Any Music Before 1900" or "Religious."

at the Smithsonian Institution, and Eileen Southern, a professor of Music and Afro-American Studies at Harvard (the first tenured black woman in Harvard's Faculty of Arts and Sciences), who resigned from the committee before the initial release of ten records due to "differences in opinion with her colleagues."[89] Composer and director of the Institute of Jazz Studies at Indiana University, David Baker was the only person of color after Southern left, and he and Gunther Schuller were responsible for producing most of the jazz music in the anthology. Given the significant number of these recordings -- twelve compared to initial proposals for three or four -- Schuller and Baker's involvement underscored the importance of membership on the committee.

The Rockefeller Foundation's concern for cultural pluralism and gender representation, however, was evident in its arts division's appropriation requests to the board of trustees, and in officers' correspondence with consultants. As a Bicentennial project, officers proposed that RAAM should encompass, "the genius and vitality of *Americans of many periods and ethnic backgrounds*, much of which ha[d] been ignored in the past and deserve[d] to be brought to light."[90] It could include the music of "the martial and ceremonial music of American regiments or Indian tribes, the rich legacy of black music in gospel hymns, blues and jazz, the contributions of other ethnic sub-cultures from Puerto Rico to Hawaii, and from Alaska and Maine to Texas." In another internal document, the foundation recognized that "Americans . . . have been historically neglectful in insufficiently recognizing *the contribution of blacks, other ethnic groups, and women*."[91]

A multi-racial editorial committee with equal numbers of men and women would not necessarily have guaranteed a proportional representation of race and gender in the anthology.

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[89] Herman Krawitz, "Final Report," 10 09 1979, Folder 48L, Box 8B, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[90] Folder: Recording Minutes 1973–1984, Box 9, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC (my emphasis).

[91] "Reports Resulting from Meeting, April 18, 1973," Folder 39, Box 7, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC (my emphasis).

Nor would a committee predominantly composed of white men preclude the selection of music by women or racial minorities. But as the representation of musicologists showed, the inclusion of other voices mattered. It resulted in an anthology that was more diverse in terms of time period and genre than the original proposals. That said, the membership list of the editorial committee showed a prioritization of successful and established artists, common household names, and influential and well-connected musicians. The fact that most were male and white was, in part, the product of a network based on personal referral. It was also due to the fact that the vast majority of composers working within extensions of the Western classical tradition were white and male, that the academy was largely white and male, and that officers and trustees at the foundation were largely white and male. The employment of such eminent composers, conductors, and administrators was a source of legitimacy and authority that bolstered decisions made by the editorial committee.

By December 1978, New World Records completed the Recorded Anthology of American Music, distributing it to over 7,000 libraries, universities, and radio stations around the country and abroad. Other institutions could purchase a complete set for $195 ($800 in 2015) and the general public could purchase records that did not have copyright restrictions.[92] To celebrate the achievement, New World Records and the Rockefeller Foundation hosted a reception at the Lincoln Center Library. Music critic John Rockwell (later author of *All American Music*, 1983), wrote in *The Musical Quarterly* that while the self-congratulation flowed freely, it was also well deserved. Even as he criticized New World Records's "failed effort" to record more popular music of the previous twenty-five years as "lame," on the whole, he believed that the set had moved an "honorable distance away from the Northeastern conservatism that might have informed a similar

[92] Because RAAM included some previously recorded material by commercial companies (forty-seven of the one hundred), not all could be released for sale. Roughly 200,000 individual records were sold by 1978.

selection if it had been made only a few years ago."[93] In the mainstream press, Peter Davis in the *New York Times* called RAAM a "landmark series" that presented an "extraordinary and wholly unique panorama of American music in sounds and words.[94] Earlier reviews in the *New York Times* and *Los Angeles Times* were equally laudatory.[95] Today, college and university members can stream New World Records through DRAM, an online subscription service funded by the Andrew W. Mellon and Robert Sterling Clark Foundations.[96]

A CONCENTRATED FIELD OF OUTSIDE CONSULTANTS AND EXPERTS

The most important fact to note in my analysis of the operations of the earliest consultants and panelists for the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations is the high degree of overlap among outside experts at these institutions. Figure 2.2 details membership for the Rockefeller's Music Advisory Committee (1963), Ford's Concert Artist Judges (1958), and the NEA's Music Panel (1967). I underline individuals like Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copland, and Lukas Foss because they served as consultants for more than one institution in this subset. I must emphasize, however, that this figure hardly captures the amount of intertwinement that extended beyond this subset. Zeroing in on the NEA's music panel shows that William Schuman, Gunther Schuller, Julius Rudel, Allen Sapp, Mario di Bonaventura, and Maurice Abravanel all also extensively consulted with the Rockefeller Foundation and had a large role in the execution of specific projects (e.g., Sapp with the Buffalo Creative Associates and di Bonaventura, Schuller, and Schuman with

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[93] John Rockwell, "Recorded Anthology of American Music. New World Records," *The Musical Quarterly* 65, no. 2 (1979): 296–304. He did note, however, that "various establishment biases... distort[ed] the picture of American music presented in this series," including the "virtual exclusion of electronic music, or the post-Cageian experimental avant-gardists," the lack of ethnic folk music by American Jews, and the underrepresentation of contemporary jazz.

[94] Peter G. Davis, "A Landmark Series of American Music Recordings: American Music on Disks," *New York Times*, January 1, 1979.

[95] Shirley Fleming, "200 Years of American Music on 100 Disks," *New York Times*, December 7, 1975; Ara Guzelimian, "A 100-Record Salute to U.S. Music History," *Los Angeles Times*, December 12, 1976.

[96] http://www.dramonline.org/ and http://www.newworldrecords.org/about-us.shtml#dram (Accessed 19 07 2016).

RAAM). Schuller, in fact, played a large role at all three institutions (Ford, Rockefeller, and NEA), likely because of his activity across multiple musical genres -- as the pioneer in "Third Stream" -- and his presidency at the New England Conservatory. The diagram also leaves out many other consultants who were influential in this system, including Peter Mennin (Peabody Conservatory and Juilliard), Milton Babbitt (Princeton), and David Rockefeller, Jr. (philanthropist and performer).

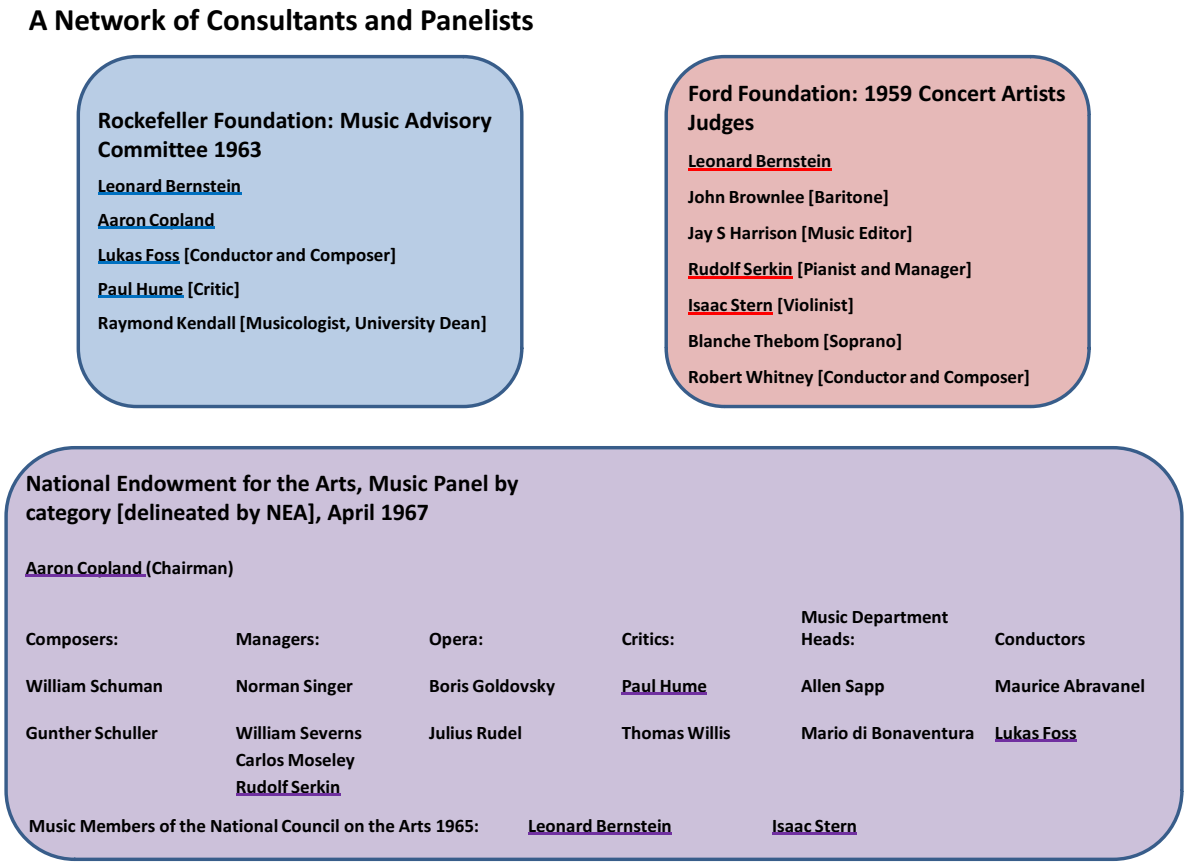

Figure 2.2: A Network of Consultants and Panelists

Other aspects of the diagram are important to note. First is the large representation of artists and managers working in a Western high art tradition, second is the concentration of men at socially and culturally elite institutions on the East Coast (mostly near, or in, New York City and Boston) [See Table 2.5.], and third is the underrepresentation of women and racial minorities.

Greater gender and racial representation eventually became important, but mostly at the NEA. For instance, in a letter from Hanks to Senator Lee Metcalf (D-MT), Hanks emphasized the racial diversity of the NEA's panels, including "Americans of Philippine, Japanese and Chinese extraction, full-blooded Indians, and 12 Spanish-speaking citizens, including the Deputy Director of the Institute of Puerto Rican Culture." She also noted that women and African Americans were represented on *every* panel and that the Music Planning panel in particular had six women. Among past chairmen and co-chairmen were Judith Raskin for Music Planning and Music Opera, Margaret Hillis for Music Choral, David Baker and Jean Ritchie, both for Music Jazz/Folk/Ethnic.[97] The NEA, however, was an exception, and was influenced by the tremendous work of Hanks (a woman) and Walter Anderson (an African American), as well as external pressures from Congress, state arts agencies, and other social and cultural groups.

Table 2.5: Key Consultants' Institutional Affiliations

Key Consultants' Institutional Affiliations	
Leonard Bernstein	Harvard, New York Philharmonic, Tanglewood
Aaron Copland	Tanglewood
Lukas Foss	Curtis, Tanglewood, UCLA, Buffalo
Paul Hume	University of Chicago, Washington Post, Georgetown
Rudolf Serkin	Curtis, Marlboro
Maurice Abravanel	Metropolitan Opera, Utah Symphony, Tanglewood
Mario di Bonaventura	Dartmouth
Julius Rudel	Mannes, New York City Opera
Allen Sapp	Harvard, Wellesley, Buffalo
Gunther Schuller	New England Conservatory, Tanglewood
William Schuman	Juilliard, Lincoln Center

[97] From Nancy Hanks to Senator Lee Metcalf, 22 04 1975, Folder: Panel Procedures, Box 9, A1 Entry 26, RG288, Archives II.

The interconnectedness of the network of U.S. composers has further been documented in other scholarship. For example, Carol Oja identifies a "deep stylistic conservatism" in the American Prix de Rome, underscored by the "makeup of selection juries, which privileged certain composer networks" in New York (Juilliard and Eastman), Boston (Harvard), and Chicago, and included the "earliest waves of American composer-academics."[98] She argues that the "homogeneity of the fellows was narrowly defined" and that there were no Jews, African Americans or women. In another study, Jann Pasler examines the "political economy" of American composers at universities after the Second World War and NEA awards.[99] Pasler shows the strong influence of composers at specific Northeastern universities, especially Columbia, Eastman, Juilliard, Princeton, and Yale. Her history demonstrates how male modernist composers "integrated themselves into the fabric of American universities in the 1950s and 1960s and then maintained their aesthetics through their monopoly on grants, fellowships, and other awards," to the exclusion and near absence of women on these panels.[100] And Emily Abrams Ansari's work shows the ways composers like Copland, Schuman, Hanson, Thomson, and Harris used government agencies to advance their own personal and aesthetic agendas.[101] Examining the American National Theater and Academy, and the United States Information Agency, Ansari points out that many of the composers represented

[98] Carol Oja, "'Picked Young Men,' Facilitating Women, and Emerging Composers: Establishing an American Prix de Rome," in *Music and Musical Composition at the American Academy in Rome*, ed. Martin Brody (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2014), 160.

[99] Jann Pasler, "Chapter 11: The Political Economy of Composition in the American University, 1965-1985," in *Writing Through Music: Essays on Music, Culture, and Politics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

[100] See Appendix 5. Pasler noted that before 1975, no women served on the NEA's music advisory panel.

[101] Emily Abrams Ansari, "'Masters of the President's Music': Cold War Composers and the United States Government" (Harvard University, 2009), 8.

"the compositional mainstream," were trained at institutions mostly on the East Coast, and wrote music for "traditional ensembles in mostly tonal and chromatic harmonic language."[102]

I do not intend to homogenize the types of works that composers wrote at elite universities, or to accuse any individual of malicious intention -- or even conscious decision among staff or panelists. Instead, as my analysis of the editorial committee members for RAAM demonstrates, I want to focus on the legitimacy and authority accrued from elite institutional affiliations. Two issues remain: first, in what sense these individuals were "experts" in their fields and what criteria of excellence they applied; and second, an understanding of the social networks that facilitated the establishment of these groups of experts -- that is, why these lists look the way they do.

One illustration of the first issue is to examine the criteria by which NEA panelists reviewed grant applications. While many panelists indeed had intimate knowledge of the field -- that is, "contributory expertise" -- and understood well its problems, their domains of expertise did not always align with the types of grants that were covered. More often, they were applying a "referred expertise," or an expertise taken from one field and indirectly applied to another.[103] Furthermore, as the archival evidence shows, the criteria that they often used did not always correspond to aspects of artistic quality or excellence, in whatever way these terms could be defined.[104]

For example, the earliest minutes of the NCA meetings revealed that rarely was "artistic quality," per se, actually evaluated by panelists. More often, "quality" in an interdisciplinary setting meant financial security, program organization, or how well the project fit into existing program

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[102] Ibid., 5.

[103] Ibid., 64. Collins and Evans point out that the term "referred" is taken from the idea of "referred pain" -- for example, when a back injury results in pain in the leg.

[104] It should be noted that the NEA's criteria of evaluation -- as have the composition of its panels -- have continuously evolved and changed over the years. Currently, the Art Works program reviews applications according to "artistic excellence," or the quality of the artists, the organizations, and the significance of the project, and "artistic merit," or the project's creativity and innovation, engagement with the public, and overall meeting the "highest standards of excellence." http://arts.gov/grants-organizations/art-works/application-review (Accessed 03 10 2015).

criteria and guidelines. When artistic quality was brought up, it was by recommendation of someone with personal experience with (or even second-hand knowledge of) the organization. "X" organization does "good work"; they hire the "best talent"; their artistry is of the "highest quality." On the other hand, the most often cited criterion for rejection of a proposal was that it did not fit within the current guidelines of the endowment.[105] There were certainly also rejections based on quality -- poor performance, lack of innovation, faulty management -- but these represented far fewer cases. Thus given the fact that most rejections were because they did not fit within existing programs and that, as seen above, panelists and staff worked in cooperation to set program policy and direction, then those most directly involved in the process determined the rules of the game. Considering the number of panelists in the orchestral field, it is perhaps no surprise then that among the first recommendations of the newly created music panel in 1968, professional symphony orchestras received an appropriation of $250,000 ($1.8 million in 2014).[106]

The second issue regarding social networks concerns affinity, access, and reinforcement. Membership within these groups of experts was primarily based on first-degree connections: preexisting members recommended and endorsed prospective consultants, usually by personal invitation. [See Figure 2.3.] Taking the example of RAAM, Richard Crawford noted that his adviser Wiley Hitchcock brought him onto the project. Joshua Rifkin attributed his consultancy to Norman Lloyd, who was education director at Juilliard when Rifkin was an undergraduate. Herman Krawitz also noted the fact that William Schuman was president of Juilliard when Lloyd taught there. As Krawitz recounted to me, he was directly connected to Rockefeller President John

[105] At the Eleventh Meeting of the NCA in April 1968, the majority of applications were rejected because there was "no program at this time [that] cover[ed] this type of activity." Among other reasons were that the organization could receive other sources of funding, that the Endowment did not support deficit funding, or that new projects essentially duplicating existing ones were not funded. Folder: Eleventh Meeting (Apr. 19-21, 1968), Box 3, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

[106] Folder: Eleventh Meeting (Apr. 19-21, 1968), Box 3, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

Knowles, who knew Krawitz from a fundraising event at the Vincent Memorial Hospital in Boston.[107] Krawitz also worked with Gunther Schuller during the Metropolitan Opera's union negotiations, and he regarded Milton Babbitt as his private music mentor. Krawitz relied especially on Babbitt and David Hamilton (another colleague from the Metropolitan Opera) for guidance on the editorial committee.

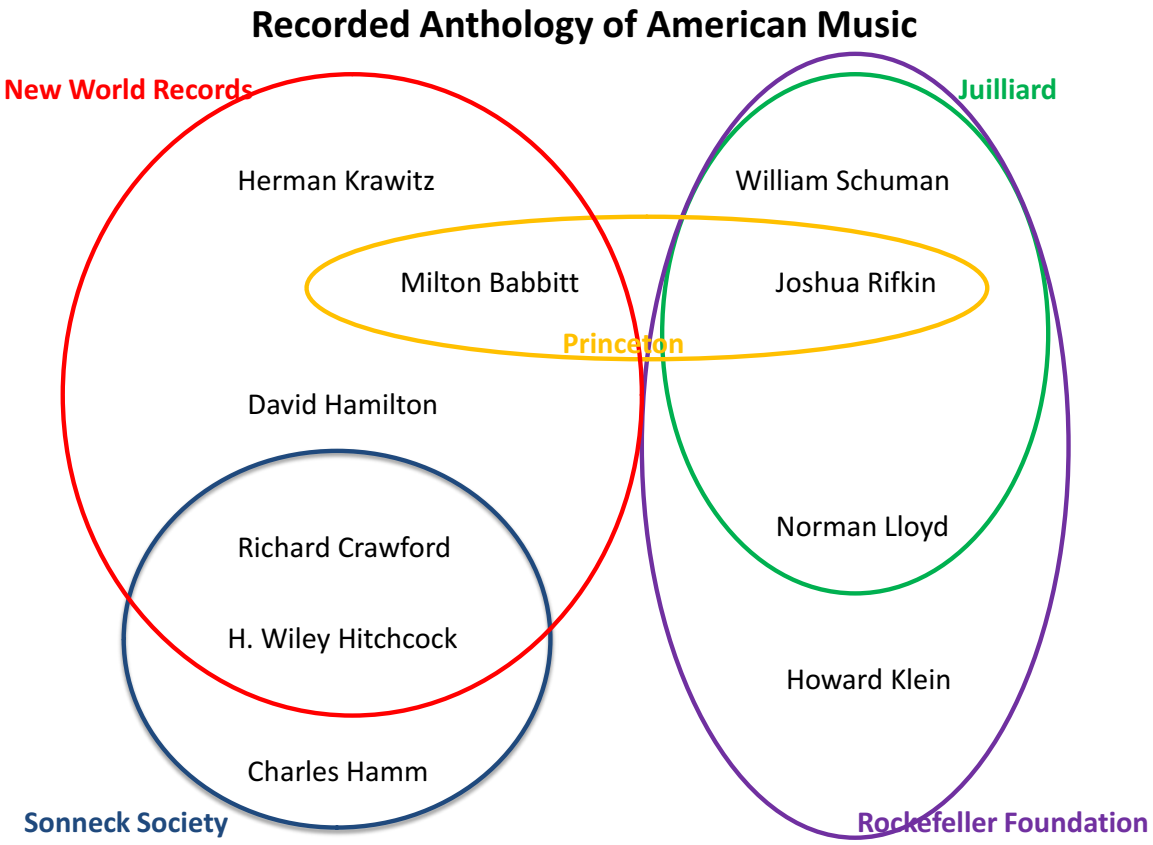

Figure 2.3: The RAAM Network

At the NEA, correspondence revealed that it was Copland who suggested to Chairman Stevens that Norman Singer would be a good member of the opera sub-committee, along with Boris Goldovsky and Julius Rudel, and that Gunther Schuller should be chairman for an

[107] Interview with Krawitz 02 02 16.

"unofficial advisory committee" on jazz.[108] As mentioned above, at the Rockefeller Foundation Virgil Thomson made the early recommendations for the humanities division to contact Otto Luening and Quincy Porter. And musicologist Paul Michael Covey also reveals in his examination of the selection committee of Ford's Composers in Public Schools program (implemented by the Music Educators National Conference) that to become a member of the committee, current members suggested further individuals to recruit. Covey's work therefore reveals again that the network of artists was rather limited, and that first degree connections were significant, even if the program espoused a "nonpartisan stylistic attitude" and "ecumenical approach" to supporting tonal and atonal music.[109]

Several outcomes resulted from this form of social networking: a degree of insularity and self-reinforcement, and benefits that accrued from the powers and privileges of decision making. Sociologist Raymond Murphy attests that one of the desired outcomes of the monopolization of expertise is social closure: the exclusion and separation of experts from non-experts.[110] As Schuller pointed out when he served as a consultant a decade before RAAM, "I cannot refrain from noting that I am so often in the position of recommending people or institutions for projects which I myself am vitally interested in."[111] Thus tight social networks, often based on university or elite affiliation, facilitated the establishment of a group of outside consultants exercising their expertise to the exclusion of other voices, including those of laypersons, people without strong organizational

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[108] From Roger Stevens to Aaron Copland, 08 07 1967, Folder: C, Box 6, A1 Entry 20, RG288, Archives II. Stevens had left the choice of a third member completely up to Copland.

[109] Covey, "'No Restrictions in Any Way on Style': The Ford Foundation's Composers in Public Schools Program, 1959-1969."

[110] Raymond Murphy, *Social Closure: The Theory of Monopolization and Exclusion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988).

[111] From Gunther Schuller to Norman Lloyd, 06 12 1965, Subject: Regarding the evaluation of the modern and contemporary music program at Iowa, Folder: University of Iowa - Music 1965 (contemporary works), Box 449, Series 200R, Subgroup 1, RG1, RF, RAC.

attachments, and significantly, women and minorities. Deliberation and debate could perhaps expand or push certain disciplinary and aesthetic boundaries, but for the most part, the system resisted change. Women and racial minorities not only lacked the cultural and social capital to contribute to this legitimacy, they lacked the capital to even participate.

Finally, expertise was a renewable resource and magnified one's cultural, social, and symbolic (fame and celebrity) capital. Expertise was not expended or depleted with each use. To the contrary, it grew and deepened every time it was utilized. The more one was entrusted and called upon to be an expert, the more he (rarely "she") became famous and well-known (as long as he comported to certain accepted standards of behavior and protocol). Philosopher Gloria Origgi refers to this phenomenon as "aristocratic," where the rich get richer.[112] Due to the innumerable quantity of artists and arts groups, seeing and hearing everything is impossible. So a few artists become household names and garner the most honors and awards. One might think of Wynton Marsalis for jazz or Leonard Bernstein for classical music. This is not to deny their tremendous talent, craft, hard work, or experiences; it is to comment on one of the operating principles of the structure from which they benefit. They were, and are, frequently sought after to serve as experts as well. In a similar way, endowment and foundation officers -- as "interactional experts" -- had a list of go-to consultants or panelists -- as "contributory experts" -- for whatever issue was at hand. And when the interactional experts did not know someone, they asked for recommendations from contributory experts they already trusted or contributory experts who they had heard of before. "Aristocracy," or legitimacy derived from experience and fame, characterized the system of arts grantmaking and evaluation during this time period.

[112] Edge, "What Is Reputation? A Conversation with Gloria Origgi," May 11, 2015, http://edge.org/conversation/gloria_origgi-what-is-reputation (Accessed 01 10 2015).

Having discussed at length the role of consultants as experts as contributory experts the Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, and NEA, in the next chapter, I examine in greater detail the relationships between consultants and foundation and endowment staff and officers. The two chapters are strongly interconnected and many of the challenges posed by a relational sociology of expertise are equally relevant. The role of interactional experts in the system was crucial, thus I turn to the internal operations as they functioned on a day-to-day basis. Foundation presidents, endowment chairmen, officers, members of boards of trustees, and members of the National Council on the Arts were all vital in the structure of arts grantmaking during the 1950s, 60s, and 70s.

CHAPTER 3: THE ROLE OF OFFICERS AND STAFF AS INTERACTIONAL EXPERTS

In a series of articles published in *The New Yorker* in 1955, Dwight Macdonald penned a witted account of the Ford Foundation's "philanthropoids."[1] Macdonald used the neologism -- taken from Frederick Keppel, former president of the Carnegie Corporation -- to categorize the roughly fifty individuals at Ford who made the "crucial decisions in the foundation's work" and decided how the more than $60 million in 1955 ($530 million in 2014) was given away each year.[2] The "philanthropoid" was "the middleman between the philanthropist and the philanthropee," and his profession was "the giving away of other people's money."[3] Macdonald lampooned officers who "dictate the systolic flow of memoranda that is the blood stream of a modern foundation" and "would deal with the problem of a man trapped in a burning house by subsidizing a study of combustion."[4] He interviewed one former officer who recalled that working at the foundation was like a "never-never land," because there "weren't any of the ordinary bench marks that people can

[1] Dwight Macdonald, "The Philanthropoids," *The New Yorker*, December 10, 1955, 98.

[2] Ibid., 57.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid., 57, 68.

use in real life to see how they're doing." The officer said there was no way of telling whether the money the foundation spent was being used wisely or not. There was no competition and no criticism.

Even while Macdonald focused on the Ford Foundation, his description of the difficult tasks of the philanthropoid are equally applicable to the Rockefeller Foundation, and to an extent, the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). As I describe in the previous chapter, I differentiate the role of outside consultants as "contributory experts" with the work of foundation and endowment staff and officers as "interactional experts." More often, officers were *not* practicing artists, but instead former government officials or academics who served as "generalists." In contrast to consultants who moved in and out of these institutions, staff members tended to hold their positions over longer periods of time, providing stability and consistency to programs and institutional goals. Their abilities to determine the fields of funding and select who was included and excluded in the decision-making process meant that they were incredibly influential.

In this chapter, I continue to peel back the layers of arts grantmaking, revealing how foundation and endowment staff acted as interactional experts on a day-to-day basis, providing a second-order epistemology in the system. As "philanthropoids," they acted as interpreters between the specialized field of artists and producers, and a wider American audience and public. Officers served as an additional (second-order) checkpoint to evaluate the quality and legitimacy of information. While they were not practicing artists, they possessed the discursive knowledge and experience to maintain the operations of the system. Thus, given their power to assemble and disassemble inputs through their rolodex of consultants, and their control over the everyday functioning of the foundations and the endowment, I argue that officers played a significant and critical role as gatekeepers.

I analyze at length officers' educational, cultural, and social backgrounds because of the impacts one's socialization has on outlooks, preferences, and ideologies. The fact that the vast majority of officers came from careers and backgrounds that prioritized objectivity, rationalization, and corporatization meant that their goals in the arts were an attempt at rationalizing the subjective. Especially at the two foundations, staff employed the entire arsenal of management discourse to codify a particular set of subjectivities -- ones that they and their consultants also held. Thus, they also interpreted art, access, and diversity according to their personal subjectivity, strongly influenced by their networks and worldviews, as well as the political and social climate of the post-war years. Through my sociological analysis, I draw on the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu and Michèle Lamont and connect them with recent social psychological research on implicit associations and bias by Mahzarin Banaji and Anthony Greenwald.

In this chapter I intersperse short "character pieces" of key individuals including Nancy Hanks (NEA), Walter Anderson (NEA), W. McNeil Lowry (Ford), Edward F. D'Arms (Ford and Rockefeller), and Norman Lloyd (Rockefeller) because each had a tremendous impact on the music and performing arts programs of their organizations. Hanks and Anderson were truly exceptional because they differed so greatly from the usual template for their peers: Hanks, chairman of the NEA, was one of the most prominent women in a male-dominated field; and Anderson, director of the music division of the NEA, was one of the most influential African Americans. D'Arms is worthy of discussion because he began his career at the Rockefeller Foundation, helping to build its humanities program, before moving to the Ford Foundation under a similar role. Lloyd was the first artist to lead a division of a major foundation. All were among nodes, however, in a concentrated network that linked officers with consultants and grant recipients.

A TYPOLOGY OF STAFF, OFFICERS, AND THEIR FUNCTIONS

The NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations operated as hierarchical organizational structures divided by programs. At the top were the chairman of the NEA, the president of Ford, and the president of Rockefeller. They oversaw directors (also known as vice presidents at Ford), who in turn, oversaw their own programs, with associates and assistants, not to mention secretaries and other clerical workers. In Figure 3.1, I offer a visual representation of the organizational structures of each institution: the top boxes contain officer positions with responsibilities over the whole organization; and the bottom boxes contain positions that are division specific (e.g., Arts and Humanities, International Affairs, Agricultural Sciences, etc. at Ford and Rockefeller; and Music, Dance, Theater, etc. at the NEA). Because position titles sometimes changed and varied, I use the term "officer" to refer to any staffed positions (from the chairman to assistant program directors).[5] Officers of the organization were in contrast to the boards of trustees or National Council on the Arts (NCA) members, who did not serve as full-time paid professionals but as advisers and overseers; and in contrast to clerical workers, who did not possess decision-making capacities. They were also in contrast to outside consultants and panelists who did not serve as employees, even if sometimes paid. I refer to "staff" broadly as the divisional officers (i.e., those in the bottom boxes).

[5] My use is also in contrast to foundation-specific use of the term "officer" to refer only to those positions with organizational responsibilities, e.g., the President, Vice Presidents, the Treasurer, etc.

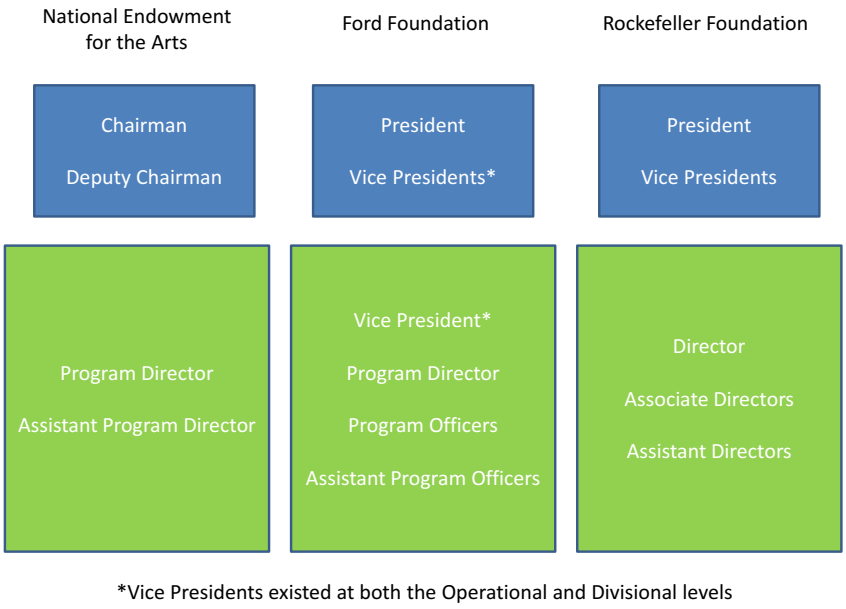

Figure 3.1: Organizational Structure of the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations

The chairman of the NEA was appointed by the president of the United States and confirmed by the Senate for four-year terms. He or she also served as the chairman of the NCA, a body consisting of individuals appointed by the president to advise the chairman on policies and programs. Early discussions in the House of Representatives centered on the authority of the chairman -- initially constraints were considered which addressed worries that he or she might become a "cultural czar."[6] Eventually Congress rejected the amendment, implicitly "vesting full authority for making awards in the chairperson, who was to be held accountable to the president and to the authorizing and appropriating committees of Congress for the actions of the agency."[7]

[6] Independent Commission, "A Report to Congress on the National Endowment for the Arts," 09 1990. I thank NEA Music Special Court Burns for this reference.

[7] Ibid., Congressional Record, 15 09 1965.

Nancy Hanks (1927-1983)

> *"Our orchestras will not become fossils like the dinosaur. On the contrary, they will be dynamos."*[8]
>
> *Speech at the American Symphony Orchestra League Meeting, 19 June 1974*

Nancy Hanks was the second chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts and the National Council on the Arts (1969-1977), after Roger Stevens. Under her leadership, the budget of the NEA expanded from roughly $7 million in 1969 ($48 million in 2014), to $94 million in 1977 ($367 million in 2014), a growth of almost 14x. The staff also grew from roughly three dozen people employed by Stevens to over 215 by the time of Hanks's retirement. She supported the growth of existing programs like Music, Theater, and Dance, and established new programs for Museums and Expansion Arts. She also fostered the development of state arts agencies and regional arts programs, with an "arts-for-all-Americans" vision for the endowment.

After graduating magna cum laude from Duke University with a degree in political science, Hanks served in a number of government agencies including the Office of Defense Mobilization before working as assistant and associate to two Rockefeller brothers, Nelson and Laurance. She was executive secretary, Special Studies Project of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, project coordinator for the report, "The Performing Arts: Problems and Prospects," and eventually vice chairman for the organization before being appointed to the NEA. According to government scholar Margaret Wyszomirski,

> *[Hanks] had been thoroughly schooled in the consultative, networking style of foundation work. Her work as the coordinator of special projects for the Rockefeller Brother Fund had involved the forming of expert panels, coordinating advisory committee decisions, integrating diverse viewpoints, and distilling bountiful information and opinion into an acceptable and practical product.*[9]

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[8] Folder: Speech: Amer. Sym. Orch. League June 19, 1974 - Memphis, Tenn., Box 3, A1 Entry 5, Record Group 288 (RG288), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland (Archives II).

[9] Margaret Wyszomirski, "The Politics of Art: Nancy Hanks and the National Endowment for the Arts," in *Leadership and Innovation: A Biographical Perspective on Entrepreneurs in Government*, ed. Jameson W. Doig and Erwin C. Hargrove (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), 179.

The same year Hanks became chairman, she was also named president of the Associated Councils of the Arts, an organization dedicated to supporting and developing the arts in the United States and Canada.

Deputy Chairman Michael Straight described Hanks as protective of her staff as if they were her family, which he thought was an inherited disposition attributed to her time working with the Rockefellers. "Within its walls, she was the head of a family rather than the chairman of a government agency... Nancy was ruthless in disregarding established procedures and the needs of others when she wanted something for her family."[10] She also worked tirelessly and relentlessly and expected similar from her staff. According to the endowment's history, Hanks was the fourth highest female appointee in the Nixon administration.[11]

As an institution that focused solely on the arts, the NEA was different from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, both of which supported other program areas like biomedical research and education. Yet while the disciplines overseen by the chairman of the NEA differed in scope to those of the presidents of the two foundations, functionally and symbolically, the leadership positions were similar: they were management roles which required a broad, generalist perspective. At all three institutions, the chairman/president oversaw, and even sometimes directly appointed, the directors of each division. For example, according to Ana Steele, who began working at the NEA in its first days, Chairman Roger Stevens signed off on all program directors and panels.[12] Program directors, and in some cases council members, suggested prospective panelists, but the

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[10] Straight, *Nancy Hanks, An Intimate Portrait: The Creation of a National Commitment to the Arts*, 174.

[11] Mark Bauerlein and Ellen Grantham, eds., *National Endowment for the Arts: A History 1965-2008* (Washington, D. C.: National Endowment for the Arts, 2009), 39.

[12] Interview with Ana Steele, 23 02 2015.

chairman approved them all. While presidents of the two private foundations did not have such a controlling hand in these types of decisions -- likely due to the much larger sizes of their institutions -- they still represented the interests of each program director, especially at meetings of the boards of trustees, when larger grant appropriations were requested.

The top leaders of each of these institutions also had a degree of discretionary power in grantmaking. At Ford, the president's authority included a fund of $100,000 annually (the equivalent of $800,000 in 2014), as well as officer grants, which could be used for actions of $25,000 or less, "for support of activities directly related to the purposes for which planning budgets have been approved by the board."[13] These discretionary grants were not submitted for individual approval, but were reported to the trustees at the next regular meeting. The chairman of the NEA also had chairman's funds of up to $25,000 (although these grants were used more for operational expediency than personal discretion). At Rockefeller, grants-in-aid (GIAs) were "seed money" approved at the presidential level up to $25,000, or at the vice presidential level up to $15,000, so that individuals and organizations could be "tested [by the foundation] at a moderate expense." If GIAs were proven successful, then a larger amount was requested through a trustee appropriation, which needed to be reviewed and approved by senior officers, directors, and the board of trustees, including the president and the chairman.[14]

Below the top leadership, directors and associates of the Ford, Rockefeller, and NEA played significant roles in the management and operation of each program at the divisional level, from deciding goals and policies, advising grant applicants, to supervising panelists and outside consultants. At the NEA, Deputy Chairman Straight recalled that he attended panel meetings,

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[13] "Administration Policies of the Ford Foundation," 01 03 1958, Report 12509, Catalogued Reports, Ford Foundation (FF), Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, New York (RAC).

[14] Folder: Program and Policy July-December 1974, Box 2, Series 925, Subgroup 2, Record Group 3 (RG3), Rockefeller Foundation (RF), RAC.

proposed nominations for panelists and members of the NCA, and served as the primary coordinator for communication with members of Congress.[15] At Rockefeller, Howard Klein included among his roles as assistant director, the screening and evaluating of proposals and new grants, as well as the evaluation of existing programs.[16] The "Guidelines for Foundation Staff" issued by Ford noted that in developing grants, program officers were "expected to be professionally and intellectually knowledgeable in the field involved, and sensitive to the social implications of a proposed program action."[17] Officers needed to be aware of broader foundational and divisional perspectives and policies. Requests for Grant Action at Ford "set forth the rationale for approval of the grant requested by the prospective grantee and designated the responsible program officer." The standard format included a cover sheet with basic data and the recommended action, a brief précis, a description of the grant's objectives, and a description of how the grant fit in with existing activities.

Wilson McNeil (Mac) Lowry (1913-1993)

> *In the last twenty years, the Ford Foundation with the leadership of Mac Lowry, has served as a direct patron on a Medicean [that is, the Medici family] scale... McNeil Lowry has been the single most influential patron of the performing arts that the American democratic system has produced, in terms of breadth of program, quality achieved and dollars spent.*[18]

Lincoln Kirstein, "An Album of Autograph Tributes Honoring W. McNeil Lowry," 1 August 1975

W. McNeil Lowry joined the Ford Foundation in 1953 initially to head its education

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[15] Michael Straight, *Nancy Hanks, An Intimate Portrait: The Creation of a National Commitment to the Arts* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988), 185.

[16] From Howard Klein to John H. Knowles, Inter-office correspondence, 18 09 1974, Folder: Program and Policy July-December 1974, Box 2, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[17] "Guidelines for Foundation Staff: Grants to Organizations," 24 08 1972, Report 9547, Catalogued Reports, FF, RAC.

[18] "An Album of Autograph Tributes Honoring W. McNeil Lowry," Folder L, Box 8, A1 Entry 3, RG288, Archives II.

program. In 1957, he became director of the humanities and the arts division, the first program at a major philanthropy devoted to supporting the arts, and in 1964 he was promoted to vice president of the division, as well as vice president of policy and planning for the foundation. Under his leadership, the Ford Foundation distributed over $60 million ($290 million in 2014) to humanities scholarship and $320 million ($1.5 billion in 2014) to individual artists, artistic institutions, and performing arts organizations, including over $80 million ($380 million in 2014) in a single year to symphony orchestras in 1966. Among other programs of special interest to Lowry were dance and the development of regional theaters.

Lowry received his bachelor's degree in 1934 from the University of Illinois and his Ph.D. in English in 1941 from the same institution. He also taught there from 1936 to 1942 before serving as a lieutenant in the United States Naval Reserve and writer for the Office of War Information during the Second World War. Before beginning his tenure at the Ford Foundation, he was associate director of the International Press Institute in Zurich, Switzerland.

Walter Anderson (1915-2003)

Walter Anderson, composer, pianist, and music professor, was the second director of music at the NEA, after Fannie Taylor, who claimed to have recommended him to Chairman Roger Stevens. Anderson graduated from Oberlin Conservatory, the Cleveland Institute of Music, and the Berkshire Music Center. In 1946, he was appointed head of the music department at Antioch College, and was the first African American to chair a department outside of the historically black colleges. At the NEA, Anderson directed the staff, had the largest budget, and oversaw the greatest number of panels.

In my interview with long-serving NEA officer Ana Steele, she recounted that Anderson

was, "extraordinarily creative, an endless stream of ideas, with energy to burn. He was charming in the best sense of the word, fun to be around, very smart, very verbal (he wrote the world's longest letters, trust me)."[19] *And she recalled how he also was "stubborn, insistent, [and] good at pressing his points... always with a smile on his face with a little steel behind the smile." One of Steele's most vivid memories was when Anderson set up a hot griddle at a meeting of the jazz/folk/ethnic music panel, and cooked up a large stack of pancakes, fixed with butter and maple syrup. "Platefuls were handed up and down the panel table, their contents (there was juice and coffee, too) packed away by a surprised, delighted, and well-fed panel by the time the meeting ended. To my eye, it didn't seem to interrupt or dilute, in any way, the panel's work. Unforgettable."*[20]

Chairman Hanks noted in her request for additional funds to the Bureau of the Budget that responsibilities of the program staff included a large amount of technical assistance (management training, fundraising strategies, public outreach, etc.) to potential grantees. "Our program people spend virtually three-fourths of their time advising and counseling. One of our most important functions is to assist the arts groups in becoming better organized... This is just as important a part of our program as actual dollars in grants."[21] Ford provided technical assistance as well, seeing a significant part of their work going to the "aid in establishing and maintaining effective administration and fiscal management systems" for organizations and projects in the performing arts.[22]

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[19] After examining the NEA's archives, I can certainly corroborate this statement! Email correspondence with Ana Steele, 14 12 2014.

[20] Email correspondence with Ana Steele, 14 12 2014.

[21] From Nancy Hanks to Robert P. Mayo, Director, Bureau of the Budget, 02 03 1970, Folder: Office of Management & Budget, Box 20, A1 Entry 2, RG288, Archives II.

[22] Folder: Grant Requests 1972 2/3, Box 7, Series IV, FA582, FF, RAC.

The Rockefeller Foundation stood somewhat apart from Ford and the NEA, due to its frequent changes in staff and divisions. [See Table 3.1.] Compared to the relative stability at the other two institutions, which allowed for greater long-term planning and execution, the Rockefeller Foundation had a more fragmentary and ad hoc approach to its grantmaking in the arts. Prior to the establishment of the arts division in 1964, eventual Director Howard Klein described the foundation's work in the arts as "helter-skelter, responding to a crisis here or there, making an impact occasionally," but without any continuity or long-term planning.[23] Unlike Ford's program which was under the leadership of Lowry from its establishment in 1957 until his retirement in 1974, the Rockefeller Foundation's arts division only existed as a distinct program for the periods between 1964 and 1970, and 1973 until the early 80s. During other periods, the humanities or humanities and social sciences divisions evaluated the arts grants.

Table 3.1: Timeline of the Rockefeller Foundation in the Arts

Timeline of the Rockefeller Foundation in the Arts	
1932	Division of Humanities
1962	Division of Humanities and Social Sciences
1965	Division of Arts
1970	Division of Arts and Humanities
1973	Division of Arts

Turnover in staff at Rockefeller also resulted, at times, in a changed outlook on previous grantees. For example, with the joining of the Division of Humanities and Social Sciences in 1962 under Kenneth W. Thompson, officers took a different perspective on the relationship between the foundation and the American Symphony Orchestra League (ASOL). After nine years of

[23] Howard Klein, ""The Arts: Beyond the Cultural Boom": A Report on the Program in Cultural Development, The Rockefeller Foundation 1968-1972," 1972, Folder: Program and Policy Reports Pro-1 - Pro-2 1966, Box 3, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

support, beginning in 1954 for conductor and music critic workshops, the new division declined four further proposals. Deputy Director Chadbourne Gilpatric wrote to the president of ASOL, that the result was largely due to changes which had been taking place in the program objectives and the priorities of the foundation, including "what may be favored for support in the creative and performing arts."[24] Gilpatric stated that the declination was in no way a negative evaluation on the performance of the organization based on previous grants, nor on the merits of the current submitted proposal.

Norman Lloyd (1909-1980)

Norman Lloyd became the director of the newly established Division of Arts in 1965, and continued the position as it re-merged with the Humanities division in 1970, until his retirement in 1972, shortly following a heart attack.[25] *Lloyd was a self-described "artistic gadfly," with degrees in music education from New York University. He was a pianist, composer, conductor, teacher, and author, and had taught at the New York University School of Education and Sarah Lawrence College, was director of Education at the Juilliard School of Music, and dean of the Conservatory of Music at Oberlin College before joining the Rockefeller Foundation. Lloyd was the first director of an arts-specific Rockefeller department. While the foundation had given arts and music grants in the preceding years, they were administered by directors and associates with backgrounds in the humanities or social sciences -- none had any professional artistic experience. In addition to authoring and editing works including* The Fireside Book of Favorite American Songs *and* Fundamentals of Sight Singing and Ear Training*, Lloyd also composed and conducted dance*

[24] From Chadbourne Gilpatric to John S. Edwards, 16 04 1963, Folder: American Symphony Orchestra League (general support) 1963-1968, Box 283, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[25] "Norman Lloyd," http://rockefeller100.org/biographical (Accessed 19 11 2015).

scores and music for over thirty documentary and experimental films, and he published on the topic of music education in the Juilliard Review*,* Dance Observer*, and* Film Music*.*

Musicologist, conductor, and performer Joshua Rifkin recalled Lloyd as one of his teachers at Juilliard when he was an undergraduate. Rifkin remembered Lloyd as one of his defenders and protectors, especially because Rifkin was, at the time, exploring new trends in musical composition, including serialism. According to Rifkin, this form of music composition was not well supported at Juilliard under William Schuman. Rifkin remembered Lloyd as "one of the nicest human beings," and it was Lloyd who reached out to him several years later to serve as a consultant for the Rockefeller Foundation as it developed its recording project of American music.[26]

EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL BACKGROUNDS, PREFERENCES, AND HABITUS

The most prevalent foundation officer was a type that can be categorized as "generalist." Rather than focusing on one field or specialty alone, generalists decided grants in the large divisions, which meant that they needed to exercise their judgment in domains outside their expertise. For example, an officer with a Ph.D. in the cultural practices of Southeast Asia could still preside over a division that oversaw the economic development of the Caribbean. Furthermore, due to the overlap between the arts and humanities and the social sciences at the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, as opposed to the NEA, humanists and social scientists decided on the earliest grants to musicians and arts organizations. Officers in these divisions may have had a proclivity toward certain art forms more than others, but overall they did not possess specialized training in a discipline, nor were they active producers or practitioners of art. Thus, generalist officers served as "interactional experts" rather than "contributory experts."

[26] Interview Joshua Rifkin, 10 09 2015.

Officers' educations reflected how foundations prioritized the credentials provided by elite universities and institutions. The vast majority of officers came from middle or upper-middle class backgrounds, were from the Northeast, were white and male, and came from social networks with high barriers to entry. As a result, how their socialization and experiences impacted their prejudices and decision making necessitates critical examination. I argue that officers rationalized and contained the arts within the discourses of management and objectivity and that this impetus was derived from the officers' own social and educational pedigrees. Furthermore, officers' generally advantaged socioeconomic, urban, and white upbringings, along with the privileged position of Western art music, meant that foundations patronized this aestheticized and legitimized art form more than any other.

According to sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, individuals' habitus are a product of their socialization, from their family to their education, to the political, economic, and social environment in which they grew up. Formally, habitus are individuals' sets of durable and transposable dispositions that simultaneously reflect a "structured structure" and a "structuring structure."[27] Thus an Ivy League education is different from a public school education, as an east coast education is different from a mid-western education; similarly, one's experience and access to resources, like wealth and a parent who encourages the attendance of performances at the Metropolitan Opera, impacts one's familiarity with, perspectives on, and attitudes toward opera. By "durable," Bourdieu means that these dispositions (i.e., family background and experiences) are long lasting and strongly affect life trajectories. By "transposable," he asserts that individuals' habitus are persistent despite changes in social and economic circumstances (i.e., no matter where people

[27] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 53.

live, what they do, or how much money they make, their habitus are resistant to change).[28] Therefore the social and educational backgrounds of foundation officers are consequential, having a core impact on what they view as legitimate projects for funding.

More recently, social psychologists Mahzarin Banaji and Anthony Greenwald demonstrate how individuals' socialization directly impacts their prejudices, which in turn affects -- often unconsciously -- how they evaluate others and their work. Through an Implicit Association Test, they show humans' "hidden biases" -- demonstrating empirically the fact that an individual's habitus strongly affects his or her preferences or actions, and that these attitudes are durable and resistant to change.[29] While widely used in showing the automatic (versus reflective) preferences and mental associations individuals have with respect to race or gender, the test also reveals "group-based preferences, stereotype, and identities that may not be accessible to conscious awareness."[30]

Due to the automatic tendency of human beings to make associations and form categories, it is difficult to listen to music or identify a composer without placing a genre or label on it. We categorize composers as classical, jazz, neo-Romantic, or serial. We add qualifiers like avant-garde, Second Viennese School, or conservative, but these adjectives do not significantly change the "camp" or "category" to which composers belong. Banaji and Greenwald refer to "ingrained habits of thought that lead to errors in how we perceive, remember, reason, and make decisions" as

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[28] By simultaneously invoking the habitus as a "structured structure" and "structuring structure," Bourdieu argues that one's habitus is a product of already established social relations (the structured structure) with the possibility that one has to work within those structures and thus can affect the structures themselves (the structuring (of) structures). This does not mean that individuals are at liberty to do whatever they want or think however they want, but that how one is socialized (his or her structure), strongly impacts, but does not necessarily determine, one's beliefs and preferences.

[29] Mahzarin R. Banaji and Anthony G. Greenwald, *Blindspot: Hidden Biases of Good People* (New York: Delacorte Press, 2013).

[30] http://spottheblindspot.com/the-iat/ (Accessed 19 11 2015).

"mindbugs."[31] These blindspots thus prevent us from seeing in what ways our decisions are not truly objective, despite appearing to be so, and in what ways our education and socialization strongly determine what we endorse and support as legitimate.

An analysis of the habitus of Ford Foundation officers provides critical insight. Internal reports completed by Mary Brucker and Merrimon Cunniggim, advisors and consultants for the Ford Foundation, provided data of "The Foundation's People and Their Work."[32] Their statistical analysis looked at demographic criteria such as age, previous work experience, and length at the institution. According to their analysis, the foundation was a relatively young organization, with a vast majority in the 31- to 50-year-old brackets; moreover, most had worked for the foundation for less than ten years, with the greatest number working less than five years. Nearly half had previous experience in business and industry, almost a third had teaching experience, a fifth had been in academic administration, and another fifth in some branch of government.[33]

Professional staff were characterized as "intelligent, articulate, knowledgeable, often erudite, and at ease in 'intellectual circles' (whatever they are)." In the *New Yorker* articles, Macdonald also described the Ford "philanthropoids" as "youngish, earnest, sincere (as social workers, rather than advertising men, use the term), unpretentious, and, above all, friendly."[34] Brucker and Cunniggim attributed their ease as a product of the high levels of education that many had received, with one third having a masters as their terminal degree, and one quarter having the Ph.D. or equivalent.

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[31] Banaji and Greenwald, *Blindspot: Hidden Biases of Good People*, 4. What complicates any analysis, however, is that "automatic preferences steer us toward less conscious decisions, but they are hard to explain because they remain impervious to the probes of conscious motivation," 55.

[32] Mary Brucker and Merrimon Cunniggim, "The Foundation's People and Their Work," 18 02 1975, Report 11002, Catalogued Reports, FF, RAC.

[33] There was some overlap between teaching and academic administration experience. Brucker and Cunniggim had data on 254 total professional staff.

[34] Macdonald, "The Philanthropoids," 57.

Less than ten percent had not attained a bachelor's degree. Among the most represented undergraduate colleges were (in descending order) Harvard, Yale, New York University, Oberlin, Columbia, Princeton, and Fordham. Among the most represented institutions for graduate study (in descending order) were Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Princeton, Cornell, Chicago, Berkeley, the University of Michigan, and the University of Pennsylvania. As Brucker and Cunniggim observed, it was "indeed heavily weighted toward the Ivy League, but diluted with some virile, largely Eastern, strains." The authors also categorized the staff based on their political characteristics:

> Their social and political outlook, too, seems pretty much of a piece -- middle-of-the-road, armchair suburban liberal; usually voting Democratic but casting an occasional gander at the Republicans; non-joiner but staunchly upright; scornful of Rotary but having many Rotarian values.[35]

By the last, they likely meant that while the staff espoused values of service, they did not want to see themselves as overly idealistic. They had a stronger faith that their work was based on objective data and supportable facts -- something they had learned to value during their education.

Edward Francis (Chet) D'Arms (1904-1991)

Edward F. D'Arms was a key individual with careers in both the Rockefeller Foundation and Ford Foundation arts and humanities programs. D'Arms graduated Phi Beta Kappa from Princeton in classics, studied at Oriel College, Oxford on a Rhodes scholarship, and returned to his alma mater for a doctorate. He also taught classics there and at the Universities of Minnesota and Colorado before serving as an Army major in France and Germany during the Second World War. Beginning in 1947, he was assistant director of humanities (later becoming associate) for the Rockefeller Foundation. In 1957, he moved to the Ford Foundation, serving twelve years as a

[35] Mary Brucker and Merrimon Cunniggim, "The Foundation's People and Their Work," 18 02 1975, Report 11002, Catalogued Reports, FF, RAC.

program officer until 1969.

Once moving to Ford, D'Arms was directly involved in the early establishment of its Humanities and Arts program, in addition to the discussion of a music panel. In fact, among D'Arms early recommendations for the panel were Quincy Porter (Yale) and Virgil Thomson (Harvard), undoubtedly names he drew on from his experiences with them at Rockefeller.[36] *He justified them in his proposal to Lowry, though, as "established composers who had also concerned themselves with problems of publication." A second project involving the extension of opportunities for professional solo and ensemble instrumentalists included panel recommendations of Isaac Stern, Yehudi Menuhin, Rudolf Serkin, and Peggy Glanville-Hicks. These were all musicians that D'Arms knew from the Rockefeller Foundation and whom eventually assisted Ford and the NEA in their grant recommendations.*

At the Rockefeller Foundation, the high educational attainment of its officers was also evident in the make-up of the humanities division in the 1950s. Director of the division, Charles B. Fahs received his B.S., M.A., and Ph.D. in political science from Northwestern University, and had extensive experience in Japan and the State Department before joining the foundation in 1946.[37] His program began with three officers, John Marshall (M.A. in English from Harvard), Chadbourne Gilpatric (B.S. from Harvard, Rhodes Scholar at Balliol College, Oxford; with a focus on India), and Edward F. D'Arms, before doubling with the addition of three more specialists: Robert Crawford (Ph.D.) was a specialist in Middle Eastern and African affairs, Boyd Compton

[36] From Edward F. D'Arms to W. McNeil Lowry, 07 04 1958, Subject: Purposes and Personnel of a Music Panel, Folder: Music Conference: May 23-24, 1958, Box 36, Series XI, FA640, FF, RAC.

[37] Joel Colton and Malcolm Richardson, "The Humanities and "The Well-Being of Mankind,"" 1982, Folder: Program and Policy History Supplementary Material "... A Half-Century of the Humanities at the R.F.," Box 8, Series 911, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

(M.A.) was a Far Eastern specialist with experience in South and Southeast Asia, and Robert July (Ph.D.) had experience in African studies at the University College of Ibadan, Nigeria.[38]

The generalist and non-arts backgrounds of these staff members were critical. Using the terminology of social psychology, these staff members relied on a "referred expertise," or, the use of an expertise learned in one domain (social science and humanities) and applied within another (art). The strong intellectual and academic interests of the Rockefeller Foundation's officers were furthermore evident in a five-year review undertaken in 1958, focusing on the models of expertise and knowledge attainment provided by university settings.[39] The confidential document evaluated each of the foundation's divisions. Concern within the humanities and social sciences touched upon the difficulty of finding obvious measurements for evaluating progress, which for example, was more easily accomplished in the agriculture program by quantifying crop yields.

As far as I have been able to come across in the archives, the grant evaluation forms were the same regardless of division, meaning that in practice, staff members rated arts grants according to the same utilitarian or scientific purposes as grants in medicine or international development. Grants were rated on a five-point scale according to a rubric that looked at: relevance to program objectives, innovative value of proposal, degree of risk, financial feasibility, probability of success, and potential for other benefits.[40] Additionally, the grant's objectives were judged on their capacity

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[38] From J. G. Harrar to Barry Bingham, 15 10 1963, marked personal, Folder: Program and Policy 1960-1971, Box 2, Series 911, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC. The restructuring of the divisions in 1962, however, involved some shuffling and frustration, and Fahs left the foundation to become the cultural attaché to the American embassy in Japan. Boyd Compton, Robert Crawford, and Gerald Freund, who became a nucleus for an emerging arts program, also divided their time with the humanities and social sciences. 1963 certainly marked a greater emphasis in the arts, with the creation of a program in "Cultural Development."

[39] "Five Years of the Rockefeller Foundation 1952-1957: A Review and Appraisal by a Committee of the Foundation's Board of Trustees," 04 11 1958, marked confidential, Folder: Program and Policy 1958-1960, Box 27, Series 911, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

[40] The Rockefeller Foundation Grant Evaluation Form, Folder: Recording 1963-1966, Box 6, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

to generate new knowledge; provide a new application of, or disseminate further, existing knowledge; test existing hypotheses; innovate services; establish new training, service, or research programs; and support creative work. Officers rated the value of proposals as high, above average, average, below average, or low. Thus, given these criteria and the officers who passed judgment, it was clear that the foundation attempted to rationalize the arts with the same objectivity as its other departments.

Finally, the approach of focusing on areas where officers or contracted consultants were expert, to an extent, limited the types of programs that they funded. Edward F. D'Arms wrote a memorandum on staff procedures and duties while at Rockefeller.[41] (He very likely brought these ideas with him to Ford when he became an officer there, three years later.) D'Arms suggested remarkably that the Humanities Division at the Rockefeller Foundation limit its programs "to subjects in which officers [were] or [could] soon become reasonably expert and in which they [could], in their travels, concentrate essentially on the operational functions of their responsibility." Using this focused approach, he predicted that a small number of projects within a few fields could be carefully analyzed and proposed to the trustees. "This would make our projects more definitely selective and would be likely to assure consistently high quality with a minimum risk of disappointment or failure." Thus, the limitation of program areas to the domains of expertise the staff possessed indicated a risk-averse and limiting approach to grantmaking.

At the foundations especially, the emphasis on "objective" criteria to evaluate grants in the arts (as they were in other divisions) and the "generalist" backgrounds of most staff trained in social sciences or economics degrees at Ivy League schools strongly impacted the programs that officers developed and maintained. Not only did they exhibit a largely conservative approach to the arts,

[41] From Edward F. D'Arms to Charles B. Fahs, John Marshall, and Chadbourne Gilpatric, Inter-office correspondence, 19 01 1954, Subject: DH Program - II, Folder: Program and Policy 1951-1954, Box 1, Series 911, Subgroup 1, RG3, RF, RAC.

but due to the perceived high artistic value of Western classical music, foundations predominantly focused on symphony orchestras, opera companies, and university-based new music centers. Relationships among staff and consultants, as well as staff and boards of trustees, demonstrate how officers' habitus and unconscious biases played out in the decision-making process. I am not arguing that habitus only mattered for officers and not for consultants, but that one's habitus could become hidden within the discourses of objectivity and meritocracy. By contrast, the fact that an artist would be an advocate of his or her own practice was clear from the beginning.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STAFF AND CONSULTANTS

The power of the officers and the relationship between them and their consultants was central in the process of grant approvals. While in most cases at the Rockefeller and NEA (Ford officers used panelists to a far lesser extent), staff did not decide themselves on the outcome of grants or of grant amounts, they nevertheless played a decisive role in the way that panelists understood what was acceptable and unacceptable.

In her examination of competitive, interdisciplinary fellowships, sociologist Michèle Lamont finds a similarly significant role for program officers in the selection of screeners and panelists, the assembly of individual panels, and the supervision over panel deliberations. Lamont makes a convincing case that these discretionary powers were some of the strongest determinants of competition outcomes because they could change the balance of ideological and disciplinary priorities within a panel. Since definitions of quality, originality, and excellence varied by institutional affiliation, discipline, and intra-group membership, the types of grants officers chose were strongly impacted by the people deciding the outcomes. For example, the bias of homophily ("love of the same") was significant because it meant that one appreciated work that most resembled

one's own. According to Lamont, senior and established academics often defined excellence as work that "spoke most to them," which was often akin to "what was most like them."[42]

Furthermore Lamont suggests that the determination of institutional rules as well as the enforcement of these rules in panel deliberations affected the frame and hardware in which selection and interaction occurred. Program officers (or their elected panel chairs), for example, supervised deliberations by ensuring the flow of discussions, allowing panelists to express their opinions in an equitable and orderly manner, and guaranteeing that applicants received a fair hearing.[43] As panelists quickly learned the rules of engagement, they came to understand what constituted acceptable behavior, in what ways they could voice agreement and dissent, and roughly the amount of time to spend on each application. Lamont notes that the program officers she interviewed uniformly stressed the importance of "collegiality," and that panelists who were personable were desirable.[44] The underlying possibility that if they did not abide by these rules, they would not be invited back, was one that policed conduct.

At the NEA for example, Chairman Hanks noted to her program directors that "the most productive meetings [were] based on well structured agendas and background material supplied well in advance [by the staff]."[45] On the other hand, "informal 'policy discussions' [were] not possible when people [were] not advised in advance of what they [were] to think about nor when everyone [came] into the meeting without at least a simple common point of reference." When the

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[42] Michèle Lamont, *How Professors Think: Inside the Curious World of Academic Judgment* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 8. Lamont continues that homophily could be so reflexive as to go unnoticed, because it was likely impossible to develop a system of evaluation whereby personal taste was bracketed out, 131.

[43] Ibid., 46.

[44] Ibid., 113. This expectation was in addition to showing up fully prepared for discussion, a strong sense of responsibility and work ethic, demonstrated intellectual breadth, openness to interdisciplinary endeavors, and respecting others' expertise.

[45] From Nancy Hanks, Memorandum for Program Directors, 12 01 1970, Subject: Panel or Advisory Meetings, Folder: Panel Procedures, Box 9, A1 Entry 26, RG288, Archives II.

NEA staff felt that the panelists had made a mistake in deciding on a project, the director might suggest that the panel reevaluate its decision, in effect, implying that the panel had got it wrong. And while staff for the most part upheld panel decisions, there was also the possibility that panelists would not be invited back to participate, since directors (in consultation with the chairman and the deputy chairman), chose panel membership and rotation.

At the Rockefeller Foundation, a particularly illuminating example of staff-panelist relations occurred in 1964, when Arthur Mendel, head of the department of music at Princeton University applied for a grant to use computers to analyze ten masses by Josquin Desprez. Mendel wanted to convert the Renaissance musical notation of the masses into "computer-accessible notation," or punched cards, to solve "some elementary problems in the theory of contemporary twelve-tone and non-twelve-tone composition."[46] Assistant Professors Lewis Lockwood and James K. Randall were also involved, and the grant sought to employ the services of composer Godfrey Winham and psycho-acoustician William Gale.

To evaluate the proposal, long-term consultant Martin Bookspan recommended to Associate Director Gerald Freund that new experts should be sought for their advice: Arthur Berger (Brandeis, Music Department), Richard Franco Goldman (Conductor), Goddard Liberson (Columbia Records), and Michael Steinberg (Music Critic, *Boston Globe*).[47] Freund accepted all of Bookspan's recommendations apart from one. For whatever reason, Freund crossed out the name

[46] From Robert Goheen to George Harrar, "Request for a Grant for Musical Research to be done with the Aid of Computers," 10 08 1964, Folder: Princeton - Musical Research 1964-1967, Box 408, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[47] From Martin Bookspan to Gerald Freund, 29 06 1964, Folder: Princeton - Musical Research 1964-1967, Box 408, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC. "I hate to go back to the same people time after time for opinions about various proposals, and so let's try a few new ones on this one." Bookspan acted more like a part-time staff member who specialized in music, rather than a consultant that was hired for one-off projects.

of Lieberson. Freund additionally recommended Stefan Bauer-Mengelberg (IBM), Alan Rich (*New York Herald Tribune*), and composer Iannis Xenakis.

There are several aspects of this process that are important to note: first, the conscious effort to use different experts and not to rely on the same ones to evaluate every project -- an anxiety due to the fact that this practice had hitherto not been routine; second, foundation staff members decided by consensus and on an individual grant basis which experts were evaluators -- the process was ad hoc, rather than systematized; and third, foundation staff maintained significant discretionary power, serving as final gatekeepers.[48]

What is most revealing about the example is how Bookspan and Freund decided to overrule the recommended rejection of at least one of the experts.[49] Richard Franco Goldman's response had been the most damning: "The project seems to me not only completely without value, but to represent an extreme case of one of the gnawing diseases of our society: the travesty of scholarship and service to the arts."[50] Goldman did not see what could be accomplished by computers that was not similarly accomplished by individual study or performance, and he viewed the project as overly academic and interesting only to those personally engaged. To Goldman, it represented "a perfect example of the sort of thing on which money is often spent today, and for which no money should be made available."

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[48] By comparison, a grant to the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center was decided in the same year, and Bookspan's recommended evaluators to Freud were Harold Schonberg, Jay Harrison, Everett Helm, Eugene Ormandy, Leopold Stokowski, George Szell, Alfred Frankenstein, and Gunther Schuller. The recommendations were also mixed, but tended toward the negative. The foundation decided to take a definite and terminal stand in its relationship with the Electronic Music Center, and to reject a more substantive grant. From Martin Bookspan to Gerald Freund, 10 04 1964, Folder: Columbia University - Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1964-1966, 1981, Box 315, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[49] I state at least one because Jacques Barzun (Columbia University) reported in a speech entitled "Man and the Machine," at a conference at Yale that "two of the five judges said that this was good, and three said that this was bad." Based on the correspondence kept in the archival file, this was not the case.

[50] From Richard Franco Goldman to Gerald Freund, 15 07 1964, Folder: Princeton - Musical Research 1964-1967, Box 408, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

In addition to Freund's marginalia that Goldman was "too strong" or had "a misunderstanding at best," brief intra-office correspondence between Freund and Bookspan demonstrated their questioning of Goldman's judgment. Rather than addressing the critiques that Goldman posed about the validity of the proposal, Freund wrote to Bookspan that Goldman's "ardent letter" led him to question the "man's judgment" and that even if there were "many factions among music professionals," the foundation's advisers still needed to "exercise more balanced judgment in evaluating proposals."[51] Bookspan cautiously agreed, writing that Goldman may have "gone off the deep end in a few of the things he said," but that they should not "dismiss his reaction as hysterical." Bookspan acknowledged that Goldman's was "a point of view that I'm sure we'll find articulated by others, too," and that whatever the decision, their investigations and research "ought to be pretty exhaustive." Bookspan concluded at length,

> Just a word about Goldman himself. I don't know him at all well, but the few occasions on which I've had any contact with him he has struck me as a thoughtful, sincere and intelligent man. I think he arrived at his appraisal of the Princeton proposal only after very serious consideration of it. And I'm sure his reaction is genuine.

By contrast, the letters of recommendation that Freund and Bookspan received from Berger and Bauer-Mengelberg, while positive, were vague in their evaluations and reasons for support. Bauer-Mengelberg wrote, "I am not familiar with the particular work being done in stylistic analysis, but the goals seem appropriately modest."[52] Ultimately, Princeton received the research funding. Kenneth W. Thompson, acting director for humanities and social sciences signed the grant-in-aid for $15,000 ($110,000 in 2014) one month later in August 1964. And despite the

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[51] From Gerald Freund to Martin Bookspan, 17 07 1964, Folder: Princeton - Musical Research 1964-1967, Box 408, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[52] From Stefan Bauer-Mengelberg to Gerald Freund, 10 08 1964, Folder: Princeton - Musical Research 1964-1967, Box 408, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC. Note that I am not criticizing Bauer-Mengelberg's reasoning, but rather the extent to which his opinion was taken more seriously than Goldman's, at least by Freund.

negative critiques against Goldman's judgment, he continued to serve as an outside consultant for the foundation, playing an especially large role in the Recorded Anthology of American Music.

The critical role of Rockefeller program directors in this example was just one instance of *every* grant decision that was made in the divisions. Foundation and endowment staff were the ones who decided who was involved in the decision-making process, whose opinions and evaluations were reasonable or unreasonable, and how individuals interacted with each other. While not always as heavy handed as the case above, their influence as second-order gatekeepers was tremendous. From the opposite perspective of the decision-making hierarchy, staff also negotiated their roles with those higher up in command, thus this aspect is also worth further critical inquiry.

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN STAFF AND BOARDS OF TRUSTEES

At the top of the chain were the boards of trustees of the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, as well as the National Council on the Arts (NCA), which oversaw the NEA. They determined foundation and endowment governance, program areas, and professional standards. Trustees and council members were not in charge of the day-to-day decision making or scheduling, but they usually had ultimate say in the approval or rejection of grants. Furthermore, their approval was required for the largest grants. Yet even though the proverbial buck stopped with them, trustees were one step removed from the grantmaking. They did, at times, make their own recommendations, but they were not directly involved in the administrative and operational functioning of the institutions. Therefore the working relationships they developed with foundation and endowment staff were vital.

Inderjeet Parmar's analysis of Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundation trustees shows that they were "a core part of the power elite of the United States -- unrepresentative, unaccountable, yet highly influential in the nation's foreign relations, undermining pluralistic

notions of competing elites."[53] Parmar's view on American foundations is ultimately critical, arguing that they occupied a distinct place in national life, and one at odds with some of its core values. In a society dedicated to democratic accountability and responsibility, they were answerable to no shareholders, market forces, or electors. But while Parmar's analysis was true in the domain of international relations, such a strong case cannot be made in the arts and cultural policies of foundations.

Much like the role of outside consultants, trustees served as another source of experience and expertise (usually from a wide variety of fields, including the sciences, business, and government). They broadened the range of knowledge while still representing their respective personal, professional, and social interests. They were interactional experts *par excellence*. By contrast, members of the NCA, while also bringing with them connections, experience, and influence, were quintessential contributory experts, including some of the nation's most well known artists.

A Meeting of the NCA

"The early council meetings, in Tarrytown especially, didn't consist solely of gavel-to-gavel daytime business. There were strolls around the lovely grounds during coffee breaks, lengthy dinners with plenty of wine (courtesy of member Philip Hanes), and after-hours confabs in what I recall as a "downstairs" area, with a small bar, some tables and chairs, and several pool tables as well. It seemed to me that some "business" was underway in all of these informal settings. My two favorite memories are of Harper Lee and John Steinbeck (his dog on his feet) sipping bourbon and branch and talking for hours. And of a poker table with Roger Stevens as "banker," (no money involved)

[53] Inderjeet Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012), 31.

and Gregory Peck and other members playing with great concentration, with one of those round slightly dim overhead lights over the poker table and illuminating the somewhat gloomy, cigarette-smoke-filled, room. Sometimes, as I recall, issues unresolved during the day were resolved before the next-day's session began and, as appropriate, made part of the record."

Email correspondence with Ana Steele, 23 February 2015

During the earliest years of the NEA, when the staff was limited and there were not yet any panelists, the NCA functioned in a much different manner, taking on the role of both staff and consultants, and recommending and debating their own grants and special interests. Ana Steele, at the time a secretary, recalled in an interview with me that,

> The council was very active in helping carve out the shape and scope of what became the endowment's programs, and, in some cases in those very early years, in determining (urging) some grant recipients as well. The council's legislatively-determined role was advisory, not determinative, but [chairman] Roger Stevens worked extremely closely with the council throughout his term -- huge mutual respect flowed in both directions in those days.[54]

The two most important NCA members representing the field of music were violinist Isaac Stern and composer Leonard Bernstein. Until the establishment of the first music advisory panel under Aaron Copland, the charismatic Stern, in particular, strongly influenced the several large grants proposed in music. Chief among his proposals were the Carnegie Hall-Jeunesses Musicales program to send gifted young soloists to tour the United States; a National Chamber Orchestra at Carnegie Hall to help find and train orchestra section leaders and concert masters; and a Kodaly Fellowship Program and Institute based on the training of the Hungarian music educator.

The first two of these proposals were undoubtedly influenced by Stern's presidency of Carnegie Hall and his experiences as a world-renowned violin virtuoso, but they were also highly

[54] Email correspondence with Ana Steele, 23 02 2015.

controversial, encountering strong resistance from established concert managers and orchestras who feared that their jobs were being taken over or that their best musicians would be poached. Ultimately, the Jeunesses Musicales program and National Chamber Orchestra proposals failed. Nevertheless, Stern's strength of personality showed how in the NEA's earliest days, grants were awarded not by a peer review panel process, but by the judgment of a limited number of individuals. Thus the emergence of panels should be considered a response to, and a turn away from, the controversial nature of decision making as undertaken by members of the NCA. The NEA exchanged their functions as contributory experts for their advice as interactional experts.

At the foundations, for the most part, trustees endorsed the decisions and recommendations of the panelists and staff, but there were also times when relations were not so smooth. For instance, one of the most controversial trustee appropriations at the Rockefeller Foundation was for $200,000 ($1.4 million in 2014) to the Business Committee for the Arts (BCA), founded in 1967 by David Rockefeller to encourage corporate donations to the visual and performing arts.[55] One staff member of the arts division in particular, Associate Director Gerald Freund, was upset about a large grant being given to a new and untested organization. In inter-office correspondence with Director Norman Lloyd, Freund wrote,

> No item of any program I have been associated with here disturbs me as deeply as this one. The wisdom of an RF [Rockefeller Foundation] item for a new organization, officially headed by one of our trustees [Douglas Dillon, trustee of Rockefeller Foundation and chairman of the BCA], and inspired by a member of the Rockefeller family is for officers above my level to judge. That goes too for the fact that the RBF [Rockefeller Brothers Fund] is the other principal funding source -- a combination I have repeatedly been told here was undesirable.[56]

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[55] Other major contributors to the establishment of the BCA included David Rockefeller ($50,000 -- $340,000 in 2014), John D. Rockefeller 3rd ($50,000), the Old Dominion Foundation ($75,000 -- $500,000 in 2014), the Rockefeller Brothers Fund ($225,000 -- $1.5 million in 2014), and the Ford Foundation ($225,000). From G. A. McLellan to Norman Lloyd, 14 08 1968, Folder: Business Committee for the Arts, Inc. (general support) 1967-1969, Box 304, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[56] Freund continued at his most critical, "To me it is simply ironic that an organization made up of some of the wealthiest businessmen in the country leading some of the most lucrative corporations in the country whose declared

Freund's letter pointed to several tensions in the relationships between staff members and trustees. First, Freund was upset by the fact that the foundation gave such a large grant to a single, new organization when "over the past months one institution after another in the arts... had to be deprived of funds." Second, the selection of the BCA in particular pointed to a distrust regarding the impartiality or objectivity of the grantmaking process since its Chairman Douglas Dillon was also a Rockefeller Foundation trustee, and its founder, David, was a member of the Rockefeller family. These connections represented a clear conflict of interest. And third, the grantmaking process became fractured because the division of labor between staff and trustees was disrupted. The staff members sidestepped the due diligence normally undertaken in their evaluation of applications to accommodate the objectives of certain trustees.

While these examples of Stern's NCA proposals and the Rockefeller Foundation's Business Committee for the Arts are ones when staff members perceived of trustees overstepping their line or acting in a conflict of interest, for the most part, the historical record does not show frequent disagreement. At one end of the spectrum they may have found certain pet projects to advocate, while on the other end, they simply rubber stamped the results of panel and staff deliberations. Trustees and council members were yet other nodes of interactional and contributory expertise in the concentrated network of actors involved in the U.S. arts field.

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purpose it is to raise funds for American cultural activities should turn to the RF and succeed in obtaining basic operating costs." From Gerald Freund to Norman Lloyd, Inter-office correspondence, 07 05 1968, Subject: RF Grant for Business Committee for the Arts, Inc., Folder: Business Committee for the Arts, Inc. (general support) 1967-1969, Box 304, Series 200R, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC. And despite Lloyd's attempt to justify the merits of the grant, in a later letter, Freund went further, "I cannot remember at any time proposing to any of my superiors that the RF grant assistance to an organization on which there was so little evidence of homework, evidence of justification, and so much evidence of the unwisdom of the recommendation." From Gerald Freund to Norman Lloyd, Inter-office correspondence, 10 05 1968.

A FINAL THOUGHT ON EXPERTISE

As documented in the previous chapter, foundations and the endowment brought panelists and outside consultants into the decision making because of their extensive experiences as arts practitioners -- that is, as those actively contributing to the production of art. As NEA General Counsel Robert Wade stated, "The interests of the arts require a maximum contribution from the leaders in each field" -- consequently, NCA members and consultants should not disqualify themselves as participants in arts organizations and projects supported by the NEA just because they served on the council or on panels. Instead, they should simply be "alert to avoid any action" which might be interpreted as furthering their own interests or those of an organization with which they were affiliated.[57]

Returning to the ideas of sociologists Harry Collins and Robert Evans, they consider connoisseurship a "meta-expertise," citing the Chamber's Dictionary definition of the term, "connoisseur" as "a person with a well-informed knowledge and appreciation." Connoisseurship then is judgment honed by exercise and experience within a domain, for example, the ability to distinguish a Haydn symphony from a Mozart symphony, a thirteenth-century motet from a fifteenth-century motet, or in the case of arts grantmaking, a fiscally responsible contemporary arts group from a wasteful one. In the words of Bourdieu, connoisseurship is an "unconscious mastery of the instruments of appropriation which derives from slow familiarization and is the basis of familiarity with works."[58] Yet what is significant is that connoisseurship is much more concerned

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[57] These actions included not submitting applications under their names, voting on certain proposals, being present at certain discussions, and avoiding certain activities for up to a year after leaving the NEA. From Robert Wade to NEA Panel and Council Members, 06 1972, Subject: Conflict of Interest, Folder: General Counsel, Box 5, A1 Entry 1, RG288, Archives II.

[58] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1986), 66.

(and confined) to art (and food and wine) than it is to science. Rarely do we speak of connoisseurs of thermonuclear fusion or sciurine reproduction.

Collins and Evans then provide heretofore one of the most extensive and thought-provoking discussions on the differences between expertise in the sciences and the arts. As they write, one of the defining features of the "provocative arts" -- that is, certain avant-garde art, is the artist's intention not to deliver information, but to engender reaction. If this is indeed the case, then those who are best positioned to judge the work are not other artists, but art critics (or foundation officers), who possess a greater breadth of interactional expertise (as opposed to contributory expertise). The art critic also stands in contradistinction to the general public, who does not possess either the contributory or the interactional expertise to judge the work of art. (Of course, this is a particular (modernist) ideology itself of the nature, purpose, and social role of avant-garde art.) What distinguishes science and art, however, is the role of the art critic and interactional expertise: in science, which is directed toward a truth more than a reaction or conceptual idea, "competition is between those with contributory expertise and everyone else," while in art, "competition [is] between those with interactional expertise, on the one hand, and ordinary folk on the other."[59] Put another way, journalists that report on sciences rarely define the meaning of the work, usually just summarizing and describing; arts critics, however, regularly attempt to interpret meaning.

Therefore the premise of grant applications in the arts conflicts with the peer review process in science and academia more generally, whereby projects submitted by contributory experts -- like thermonuclear physicists and mammalogists, or, composers and performers -- are best judged by other contributory experts. Extending this logic, then it is the connoisseur with

[59] Collins and Evans, *Rethinking Expertise*, 119.

interactional expertise and years of experience that should judge the proposed art project. The impacts of taste, preference, and aesthetic ideology, however, still remain large unresolved issues, in light of the considerable impacts of habitus, mindbugs, and tight social networks that limited access to decision making and valued elite educational pedigrees. These questions are the kinds of normative, theoretical, and practical ones that arts grantmakers, artists, and citizens concerned with cultural policy should ask.

CONCLUSION

> Democracy cannot dominate every domain -- that would destroy expertise -- and expertise cannot dominate every domain -- that would destroy democracy.[60]
>
> Collins and Evans, *Rethinking Expertise*

Critical to an understanding of the way that expertise operates, is an examination of the systems under which it functions. In this chapter and the previous one, my overarching aim has been to show the ways that experts, made up of foundation and endowment chairmen, presidents, officers, outside consultants, and panelists, supported certain kinds of music, artists, and groups, and limited changes to the status quo. I demonstrate the way the system was self-reinforcing, especially in terms of how networks of expertise were derived and legitimized.

Inderjeet Parmar's analysis of the significant impact the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie Foundations had on U.S. foreign policy in the twentieth century revealed the ways institutions functioned, with specific goals, and supported specialized knowledge. According to Parmar, the networks of grant recipients, government agencies, established academic institutions, and philanthropic foundations produced "'legitimate' scholars linked with 'legitimate' ideas and policies endorsed by or at least engaged with 'legitimate' organizations" like the International Monetary

[60] Ibid., 8.

Fund, the World Bank, and the U.S. Department of State.[61] The networks became "system-maintenance systems" whose vested interest was self-perpetuation -- through the renewal of grants, through the continuation of existing policies, and through the buttressing of certain ideologies. Networks thus maintained the status quo, and if there was reform, it was "intrasystemic."[62]

A comparison can be made between Parmar's analysis of foreign policy and my examination of experts in the field of arts grantmaking. If the arts field of the 1950s to 1970s indeed was a system of self-maintenance and self-perpetuation, then we must evaluate how this system has changed and whether it needs to be reassessed in view of evolving social issues and priorities. I have discussed race and gender in these two chapters and the exclusion and social closure that occurred as a result of an arts field based on first degree connections, and qualifications derived from training and experience at elite cultural and educational institutions. But this was not the end of the story. During the 1970s, members of Congress, arts organization leaders, and directors of state arts agencies demanded greater representation of race, gender, geography, and overall diversity. The fact that the NEA was a federal government agency was key in that its operations as a public institution required transparency and were subject to criticism. The Rockefeller and Ford Foundations, on the other hand, despite congressional investigations in the 1950s and 1960s, maintained a level of operational secrecy.

I should be clear that my analysis is not simply questioning the good intentions of experts in this system, even if there were substantial monetary, cultural, and social awards to be gained. The arts encompassed a largely non-lucrative field that survived on the countless hours donated by artists, managers, and practitioners. Good intentions can hardly be challenged. We can, and

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[61] Parmar, *Foundations of the American Century: The Ford, Carnegie, and Rockefeller Foundations in the Rise of American Power*, 15.

[62] Ibid.

should, commend the tremendous amount of experience and knowledge that experts in the arts possessed.

But a deeper awareness of artistic expertise can also contribute to a richer lens on history, as well as a wider path to critical questions regarding the role of experts. Through this lens we can reexamine persistent themes in American society. For example, questions of democracy, equality, and egalitarian distribution raise issues linked with a broader sense of social justice. What would social justice look like in an arts funding structure? Whose voices are represented and who reaps the benefits? It is not a simplistic answer of equally and evenly distributed resources. The critique concerns the functioning and setup of the system and the results that it supports, rather than the actions or ideologies of any given individual. Then can we examine larger patterns of consumption, production, aesthetic judgment, and taste.

The epigraph of this conclusion provokes several moral issues on the role of experts in our society. Analyzing the data and seeing the disproportionate allocation of funds in budgets to Western high art genres compared to folk arts, the music of ethnic minorities, and jazz, we cannot ignore the way that other cultural groups were left out of the system.[63] Part of the problem was the institutionalized role of expertise in evaluating non-institutionalized artistic genres: jazz ensembles and folk musicians, for example, were not initially connected to the same kinds of service organizations and lobby groups that orchestras and opera companies had. Nor is this a critique against orchestra and opera companies, which understandably and legitimately pushed for the greatest amount of public and private sources they could obtain. Grant recipients within this system should be praised for their tenacity in promoting their artistic endeavors, their dedication to high standards, and the progress they made in securing public and private resources.

[63] There have certainly been substantive changes toward greater cultural pluralism and inclusivity, especially at the NEA with its Jazz Masters and National Heritage Fellowships programs. But these changes were the result of bringing previously excluded voices into the grantmaking system.

Concerning the broader issue of social justice in arts funding, however, the problems of the system provoke greater action toward inclusivity and pluralism. The problems require the acknowledgement that the status quo was insufficient in guaranteeing the inclusion of the many different cultural groups that were working in this country and that membership in panels and in groups of experts and specialists had a tremendous impact.

Fortunately, the role of experts in democratic societies has been the subject of some recent political theory, pointing toward their role in public governance and deliberation. Frank Fischer's *Democracy and Expertise* argues that an expert's role is to help citizens understand issues and to improve their abilities to deliberate and debate public issues, rather than to make decisions on citizens' behalf.Citing American philosopher John Dewey, Fischer suggests that experts on a "technical front... would identify and analyze basic social and economic problems" while on the "political front, citizens and their political representatives would democratically set out an agenda for dealing with them."[64] Fischer cites that in recent years, the public's trust in professionals and experts has declined. Citizens sometimes accuse them of "lacking solutions relevant to the diverse range of interests in society as a whole" while experts use their power and authority to "buffer economic and political elites against challenges from below."[65] Thus a reevaluation of experts' role in contemporary society is needed.

Fischer focuses on the possibilities of "deliberative experiments" in citizen juries and consensus conferences in the sciences, but actually, these strategies are even better placed in the fields of arts and culture. Citizen juries or panels are multi-day events that provide citizens with the opportunity to debate a certain social issue with the help of expert discussions and interviews. Consensus conferences are usually longer, where citizens can decide themselves the questions and

[64] Frank Fischer, *Democracy and Expertise* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 5.

[65] Ibid.

issues they tackle. They are also more open to the public and involve greater cross-examination of experts.[66] Owing to the evaluative and normative nature of "facts" in the arts, the possibilities of expert-facilitated citizen deliberation are noteworthy. We might rely on a form of democratic representation that appears as mere tokenism, but might become truly meaningful and permanent in the long run. Then can we discuss issues of high art and low art, commercial art and non-commercial art, serious art and popular art, and whether these binaries actually mean anything or should mean anything in terms of arts funding.

As scholar Robert Arnove writes about "intellectuals" (but just as easily, "experts"), we represent both important instrumentalities of "cultural domination" as well as "potential agents of revolutionary change."[67] We can place our expertise at the service of dominant groups, working toward preserving the status quo, or we can work with the marginalized, to tell stories that have been ignored in the past and to participate in the collective struggles of transforming an unjust society.

[66] The Danish consensus conference is a standard model.

[67] Robert F. Arnove, ed., "Introduction," in *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1980), 18.

CHAPTER 4: PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RELATIONSHIPS IN THE FIELD OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION

> Art often has not earned its way in the marketplace. For centuries it relied on patronage, the benevolence of a church or ruler; in the modern era it has turned to generous wealthy patrons for support: individuals, foundations, and corporations continue to build the cultural resources of our nation today. In this past decade the federal and state governments have recognized and shouldered their responsibility to serve as nonauthoritarian catalysts -- to help close the gap between earnings and expenses without ever dictating artistic policies.[1]
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> Annual Report, National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), 1975

The excerpt from the NEA's 1975 Annual Report, as quoted above, encapsulated many of the issues at stake within the public and private relationships of performing arts and music funding after the Second World War: new arts patrons such as wealthy industrialists, private institutions, and the government (rather than the church and the crown) expanded in the modern era of American free market capitalism; the United States was a system that relied on a mixture of public and private funds to support the arts; and state intervention in a society founded upon the ideals of democracy should be different from countries under dictatorship or communist regimes.

[1] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1975," 2.

The potential for coordination and cooperation between "public" and "private" sources of support had been a hallmark of U.S. funding systems since the beginning of the twentieth century, particularly in social endeavors such as the arts and education. The role of private initiative was the guiding principle of civil society, and the federal government protected these rights under the First Amendment. Private philanthropic foundations were an example of citizens freely assembling, and they occupied a unique position in the United States to pursue their own goals while also serving the "public" good, as required by their tax-exempt status. According to public policy and legal scholar Joel Fleishman, "foundations, along with the organizations that they support, are the great secret of the dynamism of America's civic sector... providing the capital that powers innovation and diverse experimentation."[2]

As wealthy institutions that were not beholden to a public constituency (boards of trustees and officers were not elected by popular vote, nor were policies approved by citizen referenda), private foundations had the independence to direct large sums of money toward a wide range of causes. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, the Big Three foundations (Carnegie, Rockefeller, and Ford) have all played a large role in supporting public and social missions as diverse as establishing schools of public health and hygiene, developing the vaccine to prevent yellow fever, and offering micro-loans to citizens of developing countries. Foundations have exercised great latitude and speed, capable of taking action much more quickly than the federal government. Their budgets were not produced by the Office of Management and Budget; they were not marked up by the House or Senate Committees on the Budget; there were no appropriation or authorization bills. And while over the past century there have developed laws

[2] Joel L. Fleishman, *The Foundation: A Great American Secret: How Private Wealth Is Changing the World* (New York: Public Affairs, 2007), 3.

regarding congressional and public oversight, foundations largely operated behind closed doors. A degree of mystery and secrecy obscured their activity.

In this chapter, I employ Pierre Bourdieu's idea of the "field of cultural production," analyzing through a sociological lens the work of private foundations and the government in music grantmaking in the United States between the 1950s and 1970s.[3] Bourdieu's concept of the "field" theorizes the social space in which interactions, transactions, and events occur between individuals, institutions, states, and other forms of organization. He argues that the relationships between actors and institutions are affected by the structures of society, which include, but are not limited to, laws, unspoken social agreements, and traditions. Among the dominant ideas that have governed U.S. funding for the arts were that of *pluralism*, serving as a goal that all three institutions -- the NEA, the Ford Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation -- supported.

I use the term "pluralism" to examine 1) the diversity of funding sources, and 2) the diversity of funding recipients -- with respect to social, cultural, and economic criteria such as race, gender, class, geography, belief, and lifestyle. Pluralism in funding sources and recipients is analogous to "cultural pluralism" -- defined as "the aspiration and value to create a new society [where] culturally different groups... can fully experience both the positive and distinctive attributes of their given and ascribed differences without the penalties of loss of status, educational, social, or political disenfranchisement."[4] The goals of both arts funding pluralism and cultural pluralism are marked by diversity and difference, rather than assimilation or monopoly.

I argue that the three most significant structural factors in the field of cultural production during this period of arts grantmaking were 1) matching grants, 2) the Cold War environment, and

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[3] Pierre Bourdieu and Randal Johnson, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*, European Perspectives (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993).

[4] Antonia Pantoja, Wilhemina Perry, and Barbara Blourock, "Towards the Development of Theory: Cultural Pluralism Redefined," *The Journal of Sociology and Social Welfare* 4, no. 1 (1976): 126.

3) a small and concentrated network of decision makers who maintained their power through formal and informal meetings. Matching grant requirements -- whereby recipients needed to find other sources of funding to "match" a foundation or endowment grant -- shaped outcomes in the field by concentrating and reducing the number of grantees. Grantmakers and recipients operated within the context of the Cold War and amid congressional investigations and accusations of supporting communist activity. They worked within a system in which foundations were seen as either serving as tax shelters for the wealthy (a liberal argument) or supporting disruptive political ideologies (a conservative argument). Finally, gatherings like the "How Can Foundations Help the Arts?" meeting organized by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1974, as well as informal negotiations and interpersonal relationships facilitated the relative segmentation and differentiation of foundation and endowment activities and areas of focus. By coordinating their efforts informally, the NEA, Ford Foundation, and Rockefeller Foundation were thus able to avoid direct overlap of project support, while largely sustaining the powerful performing arts ensembles of the Western European tradition.

In my analysis, I demonstrate that between the Second World War and the U.S. Bicentennial, arts grantmakers generally did *not* provide grants to the same projects, but they *did* tend to fund the same individuals and organizations, especially those focused on high art music. The increase in government funding *initially* had little impact on the support of the largest foundations -- specifically concerning the arts budgets of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations -- but eventually correlated with a decline. Furthermore, the decrease in aid from Ford and Rockefeller was compounded by worsening economic conditions during the 1970s, and a loss in their leadership and perceived impact in arts funding. On the other hand, government funding also sparked an *increase* in contributions made by state arts agencies, corporations, and smaller foundations.

Pluralism in the sources of funding therefore did not translate directly to pluralism in the recipients of funding. As a federal agency, the NEA was mandated to serve widely the interests of all citizens, groups, and communities. While the NEA made efforts in jazz, folk, and ethnic music in the 1970s, nevertheless, the notion that the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller served a broad "public" cognizant of issues such as gender, race, and geography would be an inaccurate characterization. Admittedly, their programs reflected the worldviews of individuals, each with his and her own vision of how to better humankind.

As a further exploration of some of the individuals discussed in the second and third chapters of this dissertation -- notably, Nancy Hanks as Chairman of the NEA and W. McNeil Lowry as Vice President at the Ford Foundation -- I weave together their positions within the field of cultural production. Yet this acknowledgement does not invalidate a cultural critique that seeks to understand the issues of pluralism and cultural democracy under other terms: my analysis of the field therefore looks into the ways these three institutions used Western art music to reproduce power.

BOURDIEU'S CONCEPT OF THE FIELD OF CULTURAL PRODUCTION

> The tastes actually realized depend on the state of the system of goods offered; every change in the system of goods induces a change in tastes. But conversely, every change in tastes resulting from a transformation of the conditions of existence and of the corresponding dispositions will tend to induce, directly or indirectly, a transformation of the field of production, by favoring the success, within the struggle constituting the field, of the producers best able to produce the needs corresponding to the new dispositions.[5]
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> Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction*

The concept of the field has played a key role in much of Bourdieu's writings on the sociology of art, such as *Distinction* (1984), *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993), and *The*

[5] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), 231.

Rules of Art (1996). At its most basic, a field is the social space in which interactions, transactions, and events occur. An examination of any field covers the relationships among actors and institutions, as well as society's structures and rules of operation, including formal laws, processes of socialization, and informal tastes and subjectivities.[6] Separate but overlapping fields exist within the field of power, including the field of politics, the field of economics, the field of education, and the field of cultural production. The field is historical and discursive, accounting for the ways knowledge is, and has been, produced surrounding an object of inquiry. And it is contemporary and pragmatic, describing the rules of the game in the operations of economic, political, social, and artistic systems.[7]

In the field of cultural production, the most significant forms of capital are symbolic, cultural, and social. Symbolic capital refers to accumulated prestige, celebrity, consecration, or honor. It is based on recognition (or misrecognition) of its value and is fundamental to systems of hierarchy and inequality, no matter how arbitrary the distinctions are.[8] Cultural capital, a specific kind of symbolic capital, can be possessed in the form of objects, such as works of art (a painting, a musical score dedicated to a specific patron, or a sculpture), or in titles, such as educational attainment. Cultural capital requires large investments in time and practice, and unlike economic

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[6] A methodological approach to a Bourdieusian analysis of the field includes examining the position of the field vis-à-vis the field of power, mapping out the objective structure of relations between the positions occupied by agents who compete for legitimate forms of authority in the field, and analyzing the habitus of agents -- the systems of dispositions they have acquired. Pierre Bourdieu and Loic J. D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 104–7.

[7] A similar concept to the field is sociologist Howard Becker's idea of art worlds. For Becker, art worlds denote "the network of people whose cooperative activity, organized via their joint knowledge of conventional means of doing things, produces the kind of art works that art world is noted for." Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), x. Yet the advantage of examining "fields" over "art worlds" is how the concept of the field is mutually bound with Bourdieu's other ideas on "capital" and "habitus."

[8] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John Richardson (New York: Greenwood, 1986), 241–58.

capital, is not directly transferable between individuals.[9] Social capital is another form of symbolic capital, and is based on relationships and networks with other individuals.

As I discussed in Chapters 2 and 3, the field is co-determined by, and co-determining of an individual's habitus. As Bourdieu notes specifically in the field of the arts, "the experience of the work of art as immediately endowed with meaning and value is an effect of the harmony between two aspects of the same historical institution, the cultivated *habitus* and the artistic field, which mutually round each other."[10] According to Bourdieu, changes in the field -- which include shifts in the alignment of symbolic and economic capital -- are not immediately detectable in changes in habitus. For example, new government policy to support jazz programs, are not instantaneously reflected in performers' or listeners' attitudes, perceptions, or consumption of jazz. Changes in habitus -- due to their durability -- take place slowly over time.[11]

Education scholar Patricia Thomson further clarifies, "agents who occupy particular positions understand how to behave in the field, and this understanding not only feels 'natural' but can be explained using the truths, or *doxa*, that are common parlance within the field."[12] Doxa, or "the rules of the game" are so taken for granted that they are non-discursive and accepted as "the way things are." They are naturalized in a way, however, that is misrecognized so that individuals in society fail to see that these unwritten rules are arbitrarily determined, are perpetuated under systems of hierarchy, and are reinforced by actors within society.

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[9] Regarding musical scores as a form of cultural capital, see especially Louis K. Epstein, "Toward a Theory of Patronage: Funding for Music Composition in France, 1918-1939" (Harvard University, 2013). Epstein's theory of patronage is indebted to the ideas of Bourdieu and Anthony Giddens. Giddens's "push-pull" model can be used to show how sources of funding "push" composers to write, while composers "pull" with their own priorities and habits.

[10] Pierre Bourdieu, "The Historical Genesis of the Pure Aesthetic," in *The Rules of Art: Genesis and Structure of the Literary Field*, trans. Susan Emanuel (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1996), 289.

[11] Bourdieu refers to the gap in time between changes in the field to changes in habitus as "hysteresis."

[12] Patricia Thomson, "Field," in *Pierre Bourdieu Key Concepts*, ed. Michael Grenfell, 2nd ed. (Durham: Acumen, 2012), 68.

Using Bourdieu's concepts of the field, habitus, and capital, I suggest that government and foundation policy focused on partnerships and pluralism in the United States had the effect of increasing density within the field of arts funding. Foundation and endowment policies enforcing the requirements of matching grants dictated the ways grantees structured and implemented their projects, as well as having the effect of narrowing the range of organizations and cultural forms that they funded. Thus a byproduct of this system was the restriction of the field of arts funding largely to those high art institutions which were already well connected within the larger field of power and policymaking. The field created separate functions for experts and consultants, as both nodes of influential members of society with high degrees of social and cultural capital, and as field catalysts and lubricants, who were able to disseminate knowledge and the practices of particular composers, schools of music, and performing arts organizations.

FOUNDATION WORK IN THE ARTS FIELD BEFORE THE NEA

While both the Rockefeller Foundation and the Ford Foundation were established to provide an outlet for some of the accumulated riches of America's industrial boom in the early twentieth century, they did not originally believe that the arts, or music in particular, could be part of their social mission. Instead they focused primarily on areas like medical health, agricultural and natural sciences, overseas development, international relations, and education. Foundations centered early concerns on providing funds for research with quantifiable data and outcomes. Other goals focused on how private and capitalist initiatives were best suited to help the government solve social problems. As historian Kathleen McCarthy has argued, "Philanthropy needed to strike at the root causes of social problems, test solutions, turn the best over to

government, and then move on to fresh fields – ideas poorly suited to either the arts or the humanities."[13]

In the 1950s, the Rockefeller Foundation articulated its unique role in promoting the "public interest" as a private, independent organization. In its annual report from 1953, it claimed that it was "nonpolitical and nongovernmental in character" and that its policies and decisions were in the hands of a Board of Trustees composed of "responsible citizens, who contribute time and a lively interest to its activities and who select officers and professional staff to carry out their policies."[14] Yet the foundation also claimed a dual role:

> It [the foundation] is private in that it is not governmental; it is public in that its funds are held in trust for public rather than private purposes. As a social institution, it reflects the application to philanthropy of the principles of private initiative and free enterprise, under public policies which have long recognized the benefits of such activity to a free society.[15]

A free society encouraged "the widest diversity of individual and group effort in order that citizens may share directly in the privileges and responsibilities of free institutions."

In 1957, the foundation indicated its resistance to serving as an additional source of funding for governmental activities. Discussing the "marginal utility" of foundation grants, in its annual report, Rockefeller considered the "critical disadvantages" of absorbing private funds into a national plan. "A reduction of support to an institution receiving a foundation grant [by the government] would mean, in effect, that foundation funds were paying for the marginal expenditure of the national budget."[16] Instead, the foundation was better placed to make grants where the financial

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[13] Kathleen McCarthy, "From Cold War to Cultural Development: The International Cultural Activities of the Ford Foundation, 1950-1980," *Daedalus* 116, no. 1 Philanthropy, Patronage, Politics (1987): 93.

[14] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1953," 7-8.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1957," 16-17.

assistance was perceived as a "windfall" to the organization thus allowing it to undertake efforts beyond what was originally planned.

The Ford Foundation's report, "An Enlarged Program in the Arts," of 1960 demonstrated the view that Ford saw its arts program as providing breadth and objectivity to the field.[17] One of its primary concerns was the perception of the potentially dangerous role of the federal government, in terms of control and bureaucratization of the arts by officials with no artistic background or experience. According to its evaluation of the field, "the U.S. government would never be likely to let artists participate in its decision as full partners." Instead, the foundation saw itself as providing a useful precedent and example of a "private institution that could establish standards and even potential mechanisms for the subsequent expenditure of federal monies."

Similar to the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation was accustomed to working independently from the national government in the field of arts funding. In fact, it even considered in 1960 the establishment of its own "full-scale endowment of a private National Council on the Arts" that would seek a congressional charter.[18] (Ford's plan was completely independent of the National Council on the Arts that the government later founded in 1964.) The initial idea was proposed to Ford's board of trustees, and included plans for contributing as much as $500 million ($4 billion in 2014) toward its endowment. The surprisingly high amount would allow it to grant $12 to $15 million ($100 million) each year. Ultimately the trustees rejected the proposal. The board decided instead to "keep the operation [of arts funding] inside the foundation."

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[17] "An Enlarged Program in the Arts: Humanities and the Arts Program Policy Discussion Paper," 17-18 03 1960, Report 02782, Catalogued Reports, Ford Foundation (FF), Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, New York (RAC).

[18] The Arts and the Ford Foundation: 1969," Folder: The Arts and the Ford Foundation December 1968, Box 7, Series IV, FA582, FF, RAC.

Nevertheless, the Ford Foundation remained wary of the impact the federal government could have in arts funding. It concluded from an analysis of state support in France, Great Britain, Denmark, and Italy that

> Government programs in the arts concentrate largely, though not exclusively, on the deficit financing of institutions; favor institutions in some fields much more than those in others; are often dominated by an overly traditional view of art; lack flexibility in adding or removing grantees; and suffer from bureaucratic weaknesses and timidities both through the high cost of administration and through official dogmatism.[19]

The problem was not just with funding, but with concerns about the capacities of a government agency, were it to be created. The foundation questioned "the ability of a bureaucracy to grasp the artistic facts of life." Thus, it saw a unique and "singular opportunity for itself": the foundation believed it had "both adequate financial resources and a staff intimately involved in the various fields of the creative arts."

1965 marked an important date for Rockefeller and Ford, after they had worked in the field of arts funding for roughly a decade in the absence of federal government patronage. The year heralded a significant structural change in the field: the NEA came on the scene, backed by the legitimacy and authority of the federal government and the National Council on the Arts.[20] Changes in levels of funding, the distribution of resources, the possession of cultural and symbolic capital in the form of leadership and influence -- all of these were at stake as the field began to change.

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[19] Folder: An Enlarged Program in the Arts March 1960, Box 6, Series IV, FA582, FF, RAC.

[20] The passing of the National Foundation on the Arts and Humanities Act of 1965 was not a surprise. The year before, the NCA was established through the National Arts and Cultural Development Act of 1964.

EARLY INTERACTIONS AMONG THE NEA, FORD, AND ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATIONS

In 1965, the federal government began funding the arts -- an area which had been predominantly occupied by the foundations and one that the state had not been a part of since the Great Depression. At least initially, foundations responded by reemphasizing the critical importance of their own arts programs. Thus, rather than curtailing private funds, the federal government's entry into the field actually encouraged private giving by both individuals and organizations, including the two largest foundations.

For example, the Rockefeller Foundation's response to the passing of the National Arts and Humanities Foundation Act was that the "significance of foundation funds [became] greater as more public funds [were] invested." Officers saw funding in the arts as no different from funding in other areas that the government had entered, including agriculture, education, international development, and science. "The highly selective assistance characteristic of foundations can be of decisive influence in demonstrating its inherent value... the foundation dollar can furnish new leverage, proportionately far greater than the fraction of overall support it represents."

At the Ford Foundation, President Henry T. Heald addressed his officers and directors by writing that "the foundation should not eliminate its activities in particular fields... merely because government agencies move into these fields and support the same or related objectives."[21] Instead, Ford established a liaison through the Office of Policy and Planning between the foundation and the "relevant government agency" (i.e., the NEA), with regular communication. The vice president of this office was W. McNeil Lowry, who also happened to be the vice president of the arts and the humanities division. Lowry was initially concerned that federal intervention into the arts field

[21] From Henry T. Heald to Officers and Directors, Subject: Relations with Government Programs, 04 05 1965, Folder: Henry T Heald/W McNeil Lowry Memoranda 1/1/61-5/4/65, Box 16, Series IV, FA582, FF, RAC.

would take away publicity from his own $80 million in grants to symphony orchestras, accepted by the board of trustees that year, but the NEA stayed away from funding orchestras for at least its first two years.

Lowry and Heald had, in fact, met for two hours with government representatives from the fields of education, public affairs, and the arts and humanities on 7 April 1965.[22] Among their main conclusions were that the Ford Foundation would maintain "its own independence and autonomy as a private philanthropy organization" and that there would be no "slackening" in its efforts despite government expansion. Moreover, none of the foundation's work "should be carried out in such a way that would invite Washington officials to make proposals for Ford Foundation grants or to use the Ford Foundation as a means of developing particular government interests." The only exception to this rule might be "the mixture of private and public activities aimed at related objectives," for example in arts education or in the American Film Institute.

The federal government encouraged further meetings with foundation arts officers. For example, the National Council on the Arts (NCA) invited representatives from the large private foundations to its earliest meetings. Lowry was present at its second meeting, as well as Lukas Foss, long-time consultant for the Rockefeller Foundation and musical director of the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra. Norman Lloyd, director of the arts division at the Rockefeller Foundation also came to an early meeting as Chairman Roger Stevens's "special guest." In a letter from Frederick Gash (Business Committee for the Arts and consultant on development and resources for the NCA) to Lloyd, Gash wrote that he thought Lloyd was "lucky to get the invitation

[22] "The Ford Foundation Programs and Developing Federal Activities," Folder: Henry T Heald/W McNeil Lowry Memoranda 1/1/61-5/4/65, Box 16, Series IV, FA582, FF, RAC.

because, sitting in on some of the debate, watching the council cut up the $4,000,000 pie, ought to be fascinating to one who spends as much dough, and consults only his shadow."[23]

Interestingly, Stevens confided to the NCA that he planned to send foundations "confidential letters" periodically, "which would tell them of projects that we were working on, so that they wouldn't have duplication of effort." He continued, "there is no point in our spending money on something that they want to do, and in general we tried to work out a cooperative working arrangement." Rather than collusion per se, Stevens's efforts at a "cooperative working arrangement" sounded more like coordination. Specifically regarding the Ford symphony grants, Stevens asked approval from the council to telegram Lowry and state that "the NCA did not contemplate aid of that kind in the immediate future." Furthermore, Stevens acknowledged that after the Ford grant, "anything we do for symphony orchestras would be an anti-climax."

The NEA took a slightly different stance, however, where it came to smaller and medium-sized foundations. Stevens elaborated that NEA staff could be used to recommend specific projects to smaller foundations, because the NEA had more time and experience to carry out the "due diligence."[24] In Stevens's mind, this form of assistance was tied to what role public money should play in arts funding. "I know the spirit of the law is that we should not be making grants where private groups can. And so we want, in every possible way, to encourage and increase the

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[23] From Frederick Gash to Norman Lloyd, 31 03 1967, Folder L, Box 8, A1 Entry 20, Record Group 288 (RG288), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland, (Archives II). "Obituary: Frederick Gash, 82, A Patron of the Arts," *New York Times*, October 6, 1993, http://www.nytimes.com/1993/10/06/obituaries/frederick-gash-82-a-patron-of-the-arts.html (Accessed 29 01 2016). Gash was correct that the budget of the NEA was roughly the same as the budget of the Rockefeller Arts Division at this time. He was also correct pointing out the difference in the decision making processes of both institutions and the role of individuals within the structure. Gash's comment was reminiscent of the critique made by Dwight Macdonald regarding the "philanthropoid's" job and the absence of criteria for self-assessment and self-reflection on one's work. But to argue that Lloyd consulted only his shadow also ignored the fact that Lloyd had a team of associate and assistant directors, and still needed approval on the largest of grants from the Rockefeller Foundation Board of Trustees.

[24] "Proceedings, Saturday Morning Session, November 13, 1965," Folder: NCA Third Meeting (Nov. 12-14, 1965), Box 1, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

amount of giving by foundations to the arts and humanities." Donald Engle at the Martha Baird Rockefeller Fund for Music wrote to Stevens in 1967 that learning more about the aims and operations of the endowment and state arts agencies was useful for his own work as director.[25] Furthermore, he confided to Stevens that those involved in arts funding could "accomplish more on a personal basis among colleagues than a formal position among agencies," emphasizing the role of individual relationships.

These relationships among foundation and government leaders reinforce the importance of analyzing how individuals acted within both the constraints and freedoms of the field of cultural production. The NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations contributed significant sums of money and managerial and administrative knowledge to arts organizations during the time period. Their impact on the field was also evident in one critical tool they used to promote pluralism in the American system of public and private funding: the use of matching grants to diversify sources of support for the arts.

PLURALISM AND MATCHING GRANTS

> The importance of pluralism in support of the arts, a philosophy clearly articulated by the Congress when it established the Arts Endowment, is one to which the Endowment is deeply committed. When assistance is provided by widely diverse sectors of society -- individuals, foundations, corporations, unions, state and local governments, as well as by the Federal Government -- the arts can only benefit. Domination from one source of funding does not exist; the arts are free to develop according to their own needs and goals. A full partnership effort helps ensure a healthy cultural environment.[26]
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> Annual Report, NEA, 1970

[25] From Donald Engle to Roger Stevens, 29 11 1967, Folder E, Box 6, A1 Entry 20, RG288, Archives II. Martha Baird Rockefeller founded the Fund for Music in 1957. Herself a famed pianist, she supported the careers of young solo artists in particular -- who received direct support through individual grants (as well as encouragement and advising) -- as well as graduate students in musicology. She contributed roughly $600,000 annually to the fund, and upon her death in 1971, bequeathed $5 million.

[26] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1970," 56.

As historian Robert Bremner has shown, the idea of "pluralism" has characterized U.S. philanthropy since the earliest European immigrants arrived in America. In the early twenty-first century, we tend to define the term in relation to "cultural pluralism," but it had an entirely different meaning in the world of philanthropy. Rather, "pluralism" in Bremner's usage, as well as the NEA's above, meant financial support from a diversity of contributors. Pluralism dominated the way higher education was supported (a model which British and continental European universities are now trying to follow in their fundraising efforts). It was at the root of U.S. society's approach to charity, social services, and foreign aid.

One of the most important structural mechanisms foundations and the endowment used to encourage pluralism was matching grants. These type of grants provided a set amount, released upon the matching, dollar-for-dollar (or some other predetermined ratio, 2:1, 3:1, etc.) by other (usually new) sources of funding. The NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations all used matching grants (the first two especially) in their arts funding.[27] Ford believed these grants generated a "multiplier effect":

> In philanthropy, the term 'multiplier effect' usually means the process by which we use a grant to give an institution access to much greater funds from other sources. A multiplier effect also can be obtained by properly placing a small grant that works large changes in a social system. We also apply the term to situations in which we enlist the resources of other foundations or of government in a common cause; in such cases, the added money is important, but equally important is the commitment of interest and expertise.[28]

[27] Although the Rockefeller Foundation did issue matching grant requirements, it was also criticized for the way it supported in totality new and innovative arts organizations, only to withdraw funding after three years, with the expectation that the project was self-sufficient.

[28] Richard Magat, *The Ford Foundation at Work: Philanthropic Choices, Methods, and Styles* (New York: Plenum Press, 1979), 76–77.

Table 4.1 shows the amounts of matching funds ("direct leverage") that the Ford Foundation raised through its grantmaking, categorized by arts medium. "Other funds required" included matching requirements in addition to other funds.

Table 4.1: "Cultivation of Other Sources of Support," Division of Humanities & the Arts, Grants Awarded between March 1957 and April 1970, by Junius Eddy.

	Ford Foundation:	Direct Leverage (Matching)	Other Funds Required	Total (Direct & Other)
Music	$101,911,855	$93,356,750	$119,751,748	$213,108,498
Theater	$18,226,127	$6,193,064	$9,106,045	$15,299,109
Dance	$13,259,145	$2,306,250	$6,637,327	$8,943,577
Film	$1,340,000	--	$4,235,750	$4,235,750
Multi-Arts	$2,189,375	$2,722,400	$9,847,455	$12,569,855
Sub-Total	$136,926,502	$104,578,464	$149,578,325	$254,156,789
Cultural Centers	$30,000,000	$68,750,000	$156,319,000	$225,069,000
Total	$166,926,502	$173,328,464	$305,897,325	$479,225,789

Similar to NEA Chairman Roger Stevens, his successor Nancy Hanks also advocated pluralism of funding sources. In a memorandum from Hanks to the NEA's program directors, she spoke of her unwavering belief that "as government support [grew], the involvement of private support [was] even more important."[29] She continued, "this is a belief that we all have in our bones... it is intuitive; it is also, of course, practical because the money is needed." It is important to remember that before becoming the chairman of the NEA, Hanks was vice chairman at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and executive secretary to their report, "Performing Arts: Problems and Prospects."

[29] From Nancy Hanks, "Memorandum for Program Directors," 12 06 1974, Folder: Memorandums 1973-1974, Box 7, A1 Entry 1, RG288, Archives II.

Under Hanks, one of the endowment's key operating principles was "Economy through Cost Sharing."[30] According to the legislation that established the NEA, federal funds were intended to "supplement rather than replace resources available to arts institutions." For the NEA, matching funds supported its legitimacy as a government agency that was doubly and triply effective because for every dollar that it granted, it required that two, three, or four outside dollars be additionally raised. According to the NEA's data, during the first four years of the endowment's existence, it had disbursed a total of $25.4 million ($190 million in 2014), while generating more than $48.7 million ($360 million) from other sources.[31]

Yet there were also objections to the usefulness and propriety of matching funds. Educator Frederick Bolman urged caution in foundations' compliance with matching grants allocated by the government.[32] His resistance to matching grants and the multiplier effect were hardly concealable: "To match federal monies is not only financially unnecessary but a deflection of the private foundations from their proper role." According to Bolman, the private foundation's greatest strength was to "pay for real innovation," to find "new ideas not publicly recognized," and to provide the "sensitive explorer function of research and development in many areas of our culture." Thus, to Bolman, matching requirements issued by the federal government actually prevented foundations from exercising their proper role as engines of creativity.

Discussions of innovation and "risk management" were prevalent during this period. For example, donor and artist David Rockefeller, Jr. argued in a speech before the Council on

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[30] Folder: Office of Management &Budget, Box 20, A1 Entry 2, RG288, Archives II. The two other operating principles were "selectivity and professional quality," and "cooperating with the artistic and arts education communities."

[31] Folder: Office of Management &Budget, Box 20, A1 Entry 2, RG288, Archives II.

[32] Frederick de W. Bolman, "Caution Needed in Matching Grants," *Foundation News*, Folder: B, Box 5, A1 Entry 20, RG288, Archives II. While Bolman's article focused on the National Institutes of Health and their grants, it was also found in the archives of the National Endowment for the Arts, indicating that it was read there. He did not, however, provide the reverse warning that foundations should be cautious of their own matching requirements.

Foundations conference that foundations were best placed to engage in "venture philanthropy" by providing "seed money" to assist with new arts startups.[33] Similarly, Ford Foundation Arts Director Roger Kennedy (following Lowry's retirement) argued that "Ford's funding must accept risk," and specifically, "investment risk."[34] Hanks criticized, however, foundations that "rushed off" to be "adventuresome" and "innovative" at the expense of programs which received their initial support but then found their funding taken away to make room for "some other 'adventuresome' project."[35]

According to Bolman, by falling into the trap of government requirements, foundations risked "the danger of political domination and a disastrous blurring of the distinction between public and private initiative in our society."[36] In his final damning critique, he warned that "the federal matching programs can bleed private foundations to virtual death" and that the functions of boards of directors and staffs of private foundations would be reduced to "clipping coupons and mailing them to Washington." He feared that foundations would fall into the trap of bankrolling government projects through matching grants rather than cultivating their own projects and initiatives.

My investigation of the government and private foundation programs in the arts reveals, though, that there was actually little overlap in grant projects (with a few exceptions in arts education), but rather a high degree of homogeneity in the *types* of organizations that they funded, namely high arts performing institutions such as symphony orchestras, opera companies, and conservatories of music. Thus Bolman's fear -- at least in the arts field -- that foundations would

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[33] According to David Rockefeller, Jr., "venture philanthropy" was a concept similar to "venture capital" whereby "higher overall risks" in the field of the arts were "compensated for by some very high returns." His speech was sent to Deputy Chairman of the NEA Michael Straight. Folder: R, Box 4, A1 Entry 3, RG288, Archives II.

[34] Ford Foundation Meeting Minutes, at Chase Park Plaza, St. Louis, Missouri, 03 05 1977, Folder: Foundations, Box 16, A1 Entry 2, RG288, Archives II. Emphasis in original.

[35] From Nancy Hanks to Jean Rudd, 14 08 1972, Folder: R, Box 4, A1 Entry 3, RG288, Archives II.

[36] Frederick de W. Bolman, "Caution Needed in Matching Grants," *Foundation News*.

simply duplicate government funding of the same grantees did not materialize. Instead, the larger concern regarding the similitude of their funding could still be attributable to structural factors such as matching grants (in addition to the fact that many experts involved in the system possessed similar social, cultural, and educational backgrounds, or "habitus"). Because smaller foundations and individual arts patrons viewed the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations as leaders in the field -- with the resources both to produce and justify their expertise and decisions -- the impact of their decisions was doubly significant, in terms of their grantmaking and the grantmaking of others. Therefore, matching grants had the consequence of integrating and concentrating the field of cultural production in the United States.

A critical example of a specific kind of matching grant during this time period was the NEA's Treasury Fund grant. Originally called, the "Unrestricted Gift Fund," Congress included this type of grant in the National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities Act of 1965 to encourage gifts made to the endowment by non-federal sources. Congress intended the endowment "to work in partnership with private and other non-federal sources of funding to further the development of the arts in the United States."[37] The act originally authorized up to $2.25 million ($16 million in 2014) annually to match unrestricted donations to the NEA.

Rather than the ratio of a 1+1=2 match -- that is, one dollar of federal money for one dollar of private money -- Treasury Fund grants were matched at a 1+3=4 ratio -- that is, one dollar of federal money for three dollars of private money. Private money was gifted to the federal government, with checks made out to the Department of the Treasury (hence the name) -- which the NEA held in a separate account and appropriated independently of other endowment funds.[38]

[37] "Gifts and Matching Fund Opportunities Through the National Endowment for the Arts Treasury Fund," 11 04 1970, Folder: Memorandums to Staff, Box 6, A1 Entry 1, RG288, Archives II. Emphasis in original.

[38] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1966."

Donations made in this way were initially given for unrestricted use for programs recommended by the chairman and the NCA. In 1968, donations were opened to designated or restricted use for a specific non-profit, tax-exempt arts organization. Once the council approved a Treasury Fund grant, then the designated arts organization needed to find a second match of resources (hence, the 1+(1+2)=4 ratio).

For example, an individual like Beyoncé or a corporation like PepsiCo could propose to the chairman of the NEA a Treasury grant of $100,000 for the Boston Symphony Orchestra. If the NEA approved the grant, then the Boston Symphony Orchestra would need to match both Beyoncé's/PepsiCo's $100,000 and the NEA Treasury Grant of $100,000 with its own $200,000. This could be met from any combination of non-federal and private contributions. The total amount raised by the Boston Symphony Orchestra would thus be $400,000.

In 1969, the NEA's Annual Report began listing contributors to the Treasury Fund, including individuals and organizations. That year, gifts came in from 55 individuals, foundations, non-profit institutions, and corporations, totaling roughly $2.4 million ($15.5 million in 2014) -- more than double the Congressional appropriation of $1 million.[39] The following year, donations were sent from 109 communities in 32 states, ranging from $2.50 to $250,000. 201 individuals, 76 foundations, 51 corporations, and 34 other public and private sources including school districts, unions, and universities contributed $2 million. Hanks and Barnaby Kenney (chairman of the National Endowment for the Humanities) sent to Congress supplemental appropriation requests. The fact that these were "supplemental" already indicated the program's success in bringing outside sources of funding.[40] In the letter, Hanks and Keeney mentioned two other factors in a

[39] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1969."

[40] To Robert P. Mayo, Director, Bureau of Budget, "National Foundation on the Arts and the Humanities, Justification for Request for Supplemental Appropriation of $4 million in Federal Matching Funds for Fiscal Year 1970," 21 10 1969, Folder: Budget Bureau, 1966-69, Box 3, A1 Entry 21, RG288, Archives II.

supplemental appropriation: 1) a high ratio of private to public funding was in accord with the President's goals; and 2) "projects in the national interest could be supported with minimum expenditure of federal funds." In other words, Treasury Fund grants were cost effective and high impact.

Interestingly, Hanks and Keeney argued that matching funds provided a way for "private views and judgments" to be represented in public decision making.[41] The funds were an "assurance" that individuals and private organizations were "heard and heeded throughout the process by which programs are established and funds allocated." They saw the inclusion of private viewpoints as "essential" to federal agencies that worked in "fields in which the sensitive issues of academic and creative freedom" were constantly present. After Congress approved in 1968 an amendment to allow treasury grants to be given for specific use (previously a gift to the treasury fund was *carte blanche* for unrestricted use by the NEA), then according to Hanks and Keeney, a "dramatic increase in private giving ensued." They noted that "givers insisted on a voice in determining programs and applicants which were to be jointly supported, a voice which the 'unrestricted gift' provision of the Act denied them."

But despite the success stories and the large amounts of private money raised by Treasury Fund grants, another reality was ignored: the voices that spoke in this field of cultural production were those best positioned to give, and the voices that the endowment heard, generally said the same thing. In other words, despite the rhetoric that some donations were as small as a few dollars, most were in the thousands, tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands of dollars, and they were largely targeted at the same arts organizations: orchestras, opera companies, and conservatories. Therefore the NEA, rather than promoting a diversity of grantees and bolstering the democratic

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[41] Ibid.

voice of individual citizens through its Treasury Fund grants, actually brought about the opposite result by homogenizing the arts field.

In Table 4.2, I provide an analysis of the NEA's Treasury Fund grants beginning in 1970, the first year the endowment made data available in the annual reports. (It is important to point out that the vast majority of grants administered by the NEA were *not* funded through the Treasury Fund method. Apart from those in the music division, the only others were grants awarded to national ballet and contemporary dance tours.[42])

Table 4.2: Treasury Fund Grants by Category, 1970-1976

Year:	Jazz:†	Opera:	Major Orchestra:	Metropolitan Orchestra:	Chamber Orchestras:	Conservatory:
1970	0	7 of 8	11 of 15*	--	--	--
1971	0	6 of 8	9 of 29	3 of 39	--	--
1972	0	17 of 45	14 of 32	4 of 49	2 of 2	7 of 8
1973	1	15 of 37	12 of 28	6 of 58	2 of 7	11 of 11
1974	1	18 of 55	28 of 34	5 of 65	1 of 6	16 of 16
1975	1	17 of 49	31 of 33‡	8 of 65‡	2 of 8	17 of 17
1976	0	16 of 40	31 of 31	13 of 69	--	6 of 15

†Ratios are not provided for jazz, given the large number of grants.

*In 1970, there was only the "Orchestra" category, the following year the NEA divided orchestras into "Major" and "Metropolitan."[43]

‡In 1975, the NEA changed the category for "Major Orchestra" to "Orchestras with Budgets over $750,000"; the category for "Metropolitan Orchestra" was changed to "Orchestras with Budgets between $100,000 and $750,000."

[42] The NEA funded the tours of the American Ballet Company, American Ballet Theatre, City Center Joffrey Ballet, and Martha Graham Center of Contemporary Dance in this way.

[43] Major orchestras ranged from the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the New York Philharmonic to the Honolulu Symphony Society and Indianapolis Symphony. Metropolitan orchestras included examples like the Greater Akron Musical Association, the Erie Philharmonic, and the Louisville Philharmonic Society.

A few trends are immediately noticeable. First, only three jazz grants were given through the Treasury Fund grant method. The Jazzmobile, Inc. received a grant in 1973, and Jazz for the New York Jazz Repertory Corporation received a grant in 1974 and another in 1975. On average, over a third of grants to opera companies were paid for through Treasury Fund grants, while the proportion was over two-thirds for orchestras. The ratio for major orchestras was much higher than for metropolitan orchestras (with only ten percent supported in this way). Between 1974 and 1976 nearly all major orchestras received Treasury Fund grants; between 1972 and 1975 almost all music conservatories.

Looking deeper into 1970, the first year of available data, shows that exactly none of the jazz programs were funded through the Treasury Fund method, nor were programs in Contemporary Music Performing Groups or Composer Assistance. By contrast, seven out of the eight grants to the opera program were funded in this way (the one exception was the Lake George Opera Festival). The $600,000 ($3.7 million in 2014) grant to the National Opera Institute, Washington, D.C. was the largest of these grants. A slightly lower ratio was found in the Orchestra program, but it was still a significant 11 out of 15 grants. Five six-figure grants were awarded to the Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra, the National Symphony Orchestra Association of Washington, D.C., the Pittsburgh Symphony Society, the St. Louis Symphony Society, and the San Francisco Symphony Association. Among the contributors were composers Aaron Copland and Vladimir Ussachevsky, the Leonard Bernstein Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Martha Baird Rockefeller Fund for Music, and the Save the Philharmonic Fund.

My analysis demonstrates that the use of Treasury Fund grants to ensure the voice of democracy in the field of arts funding, had the reverse effect: by trying to level the playing field, the NEA ended up giving resources only to those who were already playing, not to those who sat outside of institutional power structures. Private contributions to the Treasury Fund hardly

supported any jazz groups, and zero folk or ethnic groups. This reality was true despite the expansion to roughly 1,000 contributors to the Treasury Fund in 1976, a 2000% growth from 50 contributors in 1969. The pursuit for pluralism in funding sources thus reinforced a conservative bias, bolstering the status quo. It did *not* come to represent a cultural pluralism in grant recipients.

Matching grants maintained by the NEA and the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations were one structural feature of the field of cultural production in the United States between the 1950s and the 1970s. Other critical factors included laws that dictated foundation governance and the Cold War political environment, which bred a degree of fear and suspicion. Congressional investigations on the role of foundations in American society as well as the government's role in arts funding show that the field of cultural production was fraught.

THE COLD WAR, THE SOCIAL ROLE OF FOUNDATIONS, AND CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATIONS

The role of foundations to provide a positive benefit to society was rooted in their status as tax-exempt organizations. Congressional investigations during the 1950s and 1960s, and the Tax Reform Act of 1969 were concerned with a number of issues pertaining to foundations: massive growth in assets, use as tax shelters, the promotion of certain political ideologies, and allegations of excessive salaries paid to trustees and executives. As public policy and legal scholar Joel Fleishman writes, "the risk that foundations could lose their tax-exempt status is not merely theoretical," but actually based in law.[44] Foundations were overseen not only by the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), but also the Senate Finance Committee, the House Ways and Means Committee, and the Joint Committee on Taxation. Minimum annual payouts, greater transparency and reporting, and oversight and supervision were ways to keep foundations in check. But considering the

[44] Fleishman, *The Foundation: A Great American Secret: How Private Wealth Is Changing the World*, 53.

tremendous amounts of money foundations wielded, as well as their influence as non-state actors with significant soft powers, Congress and public interest watch groups routinely revisited the question of their roles in society, vis-à-vis their non-democratic structure.

During the Cold War, both political parties raised suspicions against the work of private foundations. Republicans believed that some foundations used their resources to support communist causes; Democrats worried that the wealthy employed some of the larger foundations as tax shelters. Under the revisions implemented by the Revenue Act of 1950, foundations could lose their tax-exempt status if their records showed that they existed mainly for the accumulation of capital or if they were a means of diverting income to their donors through tax-evasion schemes. In 1953, the same year as the Rockefeller Foundation's large-scale grants to music and arts programs, the Cox and Reece congressional investigations challenged the favored tax positions of foundations, as well as a number of charities, schools, and colleges. Political scientist Joan Roelofs attributes these investigations to a "populist reaction against the corporate-liberal-internationalist thrust of the 'Eastern Establishment' in the 1950s."[45] Opponents were concerned with the elitist nature of foundations, as well as the non-elected, anti-democratic power they held.

In the House of Representatives, the Cox Committee investigation, led by Representative Edward E. Cox (D-GA), required foundations with assets of more than $10 million ($90 million in 2014) to answer a searching 100-item questionnaire and be subject to possible public hearings and interviews.[46] Unsatisfied with the Cox Committee's findings, which concluded that the general record of foundations was good, Representative Brazilla Carroll Reece (R-TN) pursued a second investigation in 1954. Reece accused foundations including Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie of

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[45] Joan Roelofs, *Foundations and Public Policy: The Mask of Pluralism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 13.

[46] Robert H. Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 166–7.

being involved in a "diabolical conspiracy" with educational institutions such as Columbia, Harvard, the University of Chicago, and the University of California to impose socialism on the American people.[47] The specter of McCarthyism loomed large, and despite the fact that Congress enacted no direct negative sanctions on the foundations, the investigations generated insecurity and uncertainty in the field of grantmaking.

The case against foundations continued in the House in 1961, this time focusing on issues of tax evasion and the concentration of wealth and power in the hands of the few. Representative Wright Patman (D-TX) investigated, in particular, foundations' competition with small businesses, their use to commit fraud, and their international activities. Patman questioned Ford's grants to members of Robert Kennedy's staff, as well as a grant to voter registration efforts by the Cleveland Congress of Racial Equality.[48] The Rockefeller Foundation was opposed to, but compliant with, the investigation's demands. One of the trustees gave the official response:

> It is easy to resent such scrutiny -- even to dismiss it as unnecessary. But criticism, if objective and if informed, is good for us to serve the public and, in any case, we must expect it. In a free society -- in a changing society -- every franchise is to be continually re-earned.[49]

After the House investigations, the Senate continued to question the tax-exempt status of foundations, as well as the length of time foundations should be permitted to exist. One Senate proposal, which was ultimately eliminated, capped a foundation's life span to 40 years.

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Roelofs, *Foundations and Public Policy: The Mask of Pluralism*, 13–4.

[49] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1964."

Eventually, the Tax Reform Act of 1969 imposed a 4-percent excise tax on foundations' net investment income to compensate the IRS for monitoring their fiscal operations.[50] Additionally, Congress placed restrictions on foundations' business operations, including grants to donors or their relatives.[51] More disclosure was required, for example, through annual reports filed with the IRS. And foundations needed to spend at least 6 percent of net investment income annually. This expenditure requirement addressed the concern that foundations were growing too large and diverted money away from the economy. The Rockefeller Foundation saw little value in this measure, instead accusing Congress of punishing and making more difficult the work of private philanthropy.[52]

Isolating the precise impacts of these congressional investigations on the grantmaking of the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations in the field of music and the arts is a difficult task. It is hard to say whether laws concerning foundation operations had direct effects on expenditures in the arts, or whether the Cold War environment of paranoia and uncertainty pushed foundations toward more conservative projects. Nevertheless, there are some archival traces and insider histories that reveal how investigations and legislation impacted the field of cultural production.

My examination of the Rockefeller Foundation archives shows, for example, that its officers sometimes cross-checked grantees for communist affiliations. The Bennington College Composers' Conference was one of several examples that I came across. The foundation checked participants' names with indices such as the McCarran Committee hearings on Communist tactics in controlling youth organizations (1952), the Velde Committee hearings on Communist methods

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[50] Roelofs, *Foundations and Public Policy: The Mask of Pluralism*. In 1978, Congress reduced the excise tax from 4 to 2 percent, when it was found out that the IRS was collecting three times the actual cost of monitoring foundation operations. Bremner, *American Philanthropy*, 190.

[51] Bremner, *American Philanthropy*.

[52] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1969," section on "The Congress and Foundations," 3.

of infiltration (education) (1953), the McCarthy Committee composite index to hearings on the State Department Information program (1953), and the McCarran Committee hearings on subversive infiltration of the radio, television, and entertainment industry (1952), inter alia.[53] (In later years, the list of indices grew longer to account for newer potentially "subversive" organizations.) The fact that there were comments next to certain individuals suggests that these references were not pro forma, but completed with at least some due diligence. However, I did not come across any instances where the foundation clearly rejected a recipient due to his or her political membership or affiliation.

From an insider's perspective, long time director of the Ford Foundation Office of Reports Richard Magat noted that the Trustees, "believing it desirable to make a highly visible public impression with safe and popular grants" produced the $550 million ($4.9 billion in 2014) "Christmas package of grants" to support college faculty salaries, hospitals, and medical schools.[54] A year after the conclusion of the Cox and Reece congressional investigations, these large, "popular," and "safe" grants were a form of "image repair" reinforcing their contributions to society's public good. In 1965, the $80 million ($600 million in 2014) grant to symphony orchestras also served the dual role of providing a non-threatening and publicity-generating grant, while also allowing the foundation to spend a large amount of money in a short period of time to avoid significant capital gains taxes. In Program Director of Public Affairs Paul Ylvisaker's oral history for the foundation, he recounted how Lowry wanted a "blockbuster" and that "nobody was going to stand in the way of this thing" because "how could you say anything against symphonies?"[55] He also noted the strong

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[53] Folder: Bennington College - Composers Conferences 1954-1958, 1961, Box 297, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, Record Group 1 (RG1), Rockefeller Foundation (RF), RAC.

[54] Magat, *The Ford Foundation at Work: Philanthropic Choices, Methods, and Styles*, 33.

[55] Ford Foundation Oral History Project, 27 09 1973, Folder: Ylvisaker, Paul, Box 3, Series IV, FA618, FF, RAC.

connection between trustees and membership on the boards of symphony orchestras, as well as the grant having an impact in "the social pages."

These examples demonstrate that congressional investigations and the resulting legislation had, at a minimum, two direct impacts on the arts grantmaking of the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations: first, the background screening and more careful selection of grant recipients; and second, the support of "popular" and "safe" projects as a way to quickly spend money from the selling of stocks. These changes to the field of cultural production were meaningful not only because of the contested political environment -- the gamut from McCarthyism to anti-Establishment and populist sentiment -- which Congress codified in rules and regulations that restricted the movement of private foundations, but also the shifts that occurred within individual actors' habitus -- from risk loving to risk aversion, from the pursuit of innovation to a more level-headed conservatism. The relationships between field and habitus -- as within the analysis of all situations -- were inseparable and mutually constitutive. As a final example, I analyze a key event that took place in the field of cultural production: the meeting between the most powerful actors in arts funding, who determined the future of public and private relationships and the role of foundations in the system.

A CRUCIAL MEETING: "HOW CAN FOUNDATIONS HELP THE ARTS?"

The Rockefeller Foundation's meeting in June 1974, titled "How Can Foundations Help the Arts?" marked a point of reflection, signaling almost a decade after the establishment of the NEA.[56] Many of the issues I have brought forward in this chapter concerning leadership, forms of grantmaking, and pluralism were debated; thus the meeting serves as a useful concluding example to illustrate how the government and foundations achieved working relationships on a practical

[56] Folder: Program and Policy March-June 1974, Box 2, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

level. It showed the government's genuine concern regarding the necessity of private funding, and the symbolic and financial threat that was posed if foundations discontinued their support. Foundation leaders and government representatives discussed these issues on a deep and thoughtful level. Not only did the transcripts reveal their attitudes and arguments, but their post-meeting reflections and correspondence articulated their shared understandings.

At the meeting were the top leadership of the large philanthropic foundations, arts organizations, and federal and government agencies.[57]

- John H. Knowles (President, Rockefeller Foundation)
- McGeorge Bundy (President, Ford Foundation)
- W. McNeil Lowry (Vice President of Arts and the Humanities, Ford Foundation)
- Amyas Ames (Chairman of the Board, Lincoln Center)
- Anthony Bliss (Executive Director, Metropolitan Opera)
- Douglas Dillon (Chairman of the Board, Rockefeller Foundation; President, Metropolitan Museum)
- Nancy Hanks (Chairman, National Endowment for the Arts)
- Eric Larabee (Executive Director, New York State Council on the Arts)
- Goldwin McLellan (President, Business Committee for the Arts)
- Kenneth Dayton (Trustee, Rockefeller Foundation; Chief Executive, Dayton-Hudson Corporation)
- Robert Sarnoff (Chairman, RCA Corporation)

[57] Folder: Rockefeller Foundation, Box 16, A1 Entry 2, RG288, Archives II.

Rockefeller Foundation President John H. Knowles led initial discussions at the meeting.[58] Among the topics deliberated were the "best role over the next decade for the private foundations," and the most effective way to coordinate sources of support from individuals, businesses, foundations, and public agencies. Knowles began by arguing that with the entry of government funding, foundations could not just "supply a steadily diminishing fraction" of arts organizations' total budgets. Their central problem was "recognizing the limitations of [their] relatively small money and small influence." He asked, "How can the Rockefeller Foundation with its annual $3,000,000, started at a time when there was zero support from the public sector, find its unique role now that there is almost $100,000,000 from the public sector? It certainly isn't by doing the same that we have been doing the last 10 years."

From the perspective of arts organizations, much larger sums of money were needed from public sources. Amyas Ames, Chairman of the Board of Lincoln Center, argued that increasing federal aid had not even kept pace with market inflation and that arts organizations were experiencing another crisis.[59] He argued that arts institutions were worse off than they were a few years previously and proposed a massive increase in government funding for the arts to more than $500 million a year ($2.4 billion in 2014). In 1974, the NEA's budget was $60 million, so this represented an increase by almost 900%. Not even Nancy Hanks supported such a dramatic increase to the NEA's budget in so short a time period. She and others were concerned that a sudden influx of money would overwhelm their structure of decision making, that there was not enough staff, and that a high quality for grant winners could not be maintained.

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[58] "How can Foundations Help the Arts?" Folder: Program and Policy Reports Pro-6a - Pro-6b 1974, Box 3, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC. All following quotations taken from this note.

[59] Ames, however, did not cite data to substantiate this claim.

Hanks, the sole representative of the federal government and the only woman, was without question the most powerful and elucidating voice on the public and private relationship of arts funding. She argued in support of the "absolutely essential quality of private leadership in the cultural development of this country." It was not about total amounts of money, but of the "leadership factor" that foundations possessed and the power they had to influence other sources of funding. Two weeks prior to the meeting, Hanks had sent a letter to Knowles expressing how "distressed" she was about the possibility of the Rockefeller Foundation ending its arts program.[60] "I do not wish to write in superlatives, but I view this as tragic and only hope that I can in some way persuade you and the trustees to change your minds." She continued, "I deeply believe that it will be a sad day indeed when (and if) government monies start to replace private monies in the arts. And, I will do everything I can to prevent this happening."[61]

At the meeting, Hanks also noted that foundations' "professional staff" were important because they played an "essential" role in guiding the grantmaking and development of public programs. "We call on them all the time," Hanks said. One specific example was the NEA's Expansion Arts Program, which was influenced by the advice of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund staff. Hanks speculated that without the Ford and Rockefeller's support of improvisational and experimental theater groups like La Mama, the NEA might not have been able to enter possibly "volatile" and controversial fields. Hanks argued that, in essence, foundation "approval" also meant that the NEA's support was "a proper use of public monies."

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[60] From Nancy Hanks to John H. Knowles, 12 06 1974, Folder: K, Box 8, A1 Entry 3, RG288, Archives II.

[61] The letter ended on an unexpectedly personal note: "Please forgive the informality of my letter. And, it may even be an improper letter for a government official to write. As a matter of fact, I write it as a citizen and not as a government official and a citizen with a deeply felt gratitude for what you have done in the past and a very great concern for the future."

At the same time, Hanks noted that other foundations were using the NEA itself for guidance and direction. "We think," spoke Hanks, "this is a very important two-way relationship." Eric Larabee of the New York State Arts Council agreed with Hanks's point on the importance and significance of professional staff, who he argued were critical in supporting small foundations because of their lack of good personnel, and thus exhibited "very herd-like mentality." Executive Director of the Metropolitan Opera Anthony Bliss also agreed. "Many arts organizations," Bliss said, "have so little money that their own staffs are very thin, very unsophisticated, and in many cases, ill-trained." The NEA and large foundations provided leadership, and technical assistance, helping smaller foundations to operate more efficiently and effectively.

As documented within the Rockefeller Foundation's inter-office correspondence, Vice President Sterling Wortman took away from the meeting that Rockefeller "leadership" was crucial and that the level of foundation activity was more important than the level of expenditure. Wortman also agreed that foundation support represented "a seal of approval" on an organization's activity and that the role of foundation professional staff in providing leadership was important. Interestingly, Wortman discussed two other takeaways regarding the foundation's role in the field: first, that there was a "lack of ethnic representation" among artists, which was "hurting" arts companies and museums; and second, that the Southeast region of the United States was particularly in need of support.

In the end, neither the Rockefeller nor the Ford Foundations disbanded their arts programs. Instead, those programs became incorporated into more interdisciplinary goals set by the institutions: the newly established "Arts, Humanities, and Contemporary Values" division of the Rockefeller Foundation in 1974, and Ford's "Education and Public Policy" division in 1980. The only major grant the Rockefeller Foundation made in the field of the arts until the 1980s, however, was the one given for the Recorded Anthology of American Music. Through the end of the 1970s,

the division lacked clear direction. The same was true of Ford's program, which experienced a significant loss in leadership after W. McNeil Lowry's retirement in 1974.

Taking a step back and thinking about the individuals in attendance at the "How Can Foundations Help the Arts?" meeting, the Rockefeller Foundation invited those who represented the large, long-established arts institutions in New York City. These institutions had also received the bulk of foundation and government support, some benefitting from millions of dollars of public and private funds from the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations. They included the Metropolitan Museum and Lincoln Center, an initiative of John D. Rockefeller III that opened in 1962 (including one of its constituent organizations, the Metropolitan Opera).

Perhaps the smaller size of the meeting prevented the comprehensive inclusion of a wide range of variously sized arts organizations representing different geographic regions, aesthetic priorities, and social missions. Discussions could have become unwieldy, and some group would always be left out. But by only inviting those who benefited the most from foundation activity in the arts, and those who decided on the policies of arts funding to begin with, discussion was limited to the types of experiences that these men (Nancy Hanks, the only exception) had at their artistic conglomerates.[62] Thus by "the arts," what the Rockefeller Foundation, in particular, had in mind were the high arts of the Western European tradition, and those located primarily in New York. Whatever problems there were in arts funding were those that the largest performing arts institutions and museums decided. The greatest challenges to cultural pluralism in this field were thus self-reinforcement and closure. Change was uneasily introduced, winners stood the best chances of winning in the future, and losers were repeatedly left out of the system.

[62] Hanks's role as "one of the boys" was reinforced by her strong background in foundation work, coming from the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, and having strong professional and personal relationships with the Rockefeller family. She thus owned a high amount of social capital that also shaped her perspectives on the role of foundation funding.

CONCLUSION

The three institutions I analyze in this chapter represent only a small fraction of the overall field of cultural production in the United States during this time period. The network of public and private sources of arts funding additionally included wealthy individuals, multinational corporations, small and local foundations, and state arts agencies. Yet between the 1950s and the 1970s, the two largest private philanthropic foundations, the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, and the federal government composed a significantly oversized proportion of influence and impact. The system was overwhelmingly top-heavy and the political, economic, and cultural elite were strongly interconnected in the fields of both power and cultural production. They were at the center of arts grantmaking and their decisions carried tremendous legitimacy and weight.

Several structural factors were key in shaping the outcomes of the field of cultural production: matching grant requirements which concentrated the number of grant recipients and legitimized cultural elitism, congressional investigations and restrictions during the Cold War that drove foundations toward more conservative and "safer" grants, and formal and informal meetings between grantmakers to coordinate institutional grantmaking, generally in favor of avoiding direct overlap of grant projects. The dominant theme of public and private relationships was "pluralism" -- pluralism of funding sources which were a mix of civil society and governmental support, and cultural pluralism, or, a diversity of grant recipients who worked in different cultural forms and came from a range of socioeconomic, racial, and geographic backgrounds.

Scholars like Joan Roelofs have pointed out the limits of pluralist interpretations of the United States, arguing that "the system is not, as it is claimed, open to all interests, for the powerless rarely organize."[63] They are deterred by lack of resources and time and a "hegemonic ideology that

[63] Roelofs, *Foundations and Public Policy: The Mask of Pluralism*, 121.

prevents them from even recognizing their grievances," thus leading to "a culture of passivity." Robert Arnove articulates a more damning critique, arguing that foundations rather than promoting cultural pluralism in the fields of education and social science research, imposed ethnocentric values and engaged in cultural imperialism -- "the use of political and economic power to exalt and spread the habits of a foreign culture at the expense of the native culture" (*The Harper Dictionary of Modern Thought*) and "the deliberate and calculated process of forcing a cultural minority to adopt the culture of the dominant group in a society" (*Dictionary of Social Science*).[64]

I would not characterize the reality in the arts field as severely as Arnove's account of education and social science research, but his argument still holds some weight. Investigation of how foundations like Ford and Rockefeller worked in tandem with the federal government to establish the arts field of the United States has heretofore been limited, but my examination shows that despite striving for both pluralism of funding sources and pluralism of grant recipients, the vast majority of foundation and federal funds went to organizations that performed in a Western European high art tradition. The NEA supported jazz and folk music, but they represented only a fraction of the endowment's overall budget.

As I emphasized in earlier chapters, the "fault" did not lie necessarily with any individuals -- consultants, experts, and foundation and endowment staff and officers fought tooth and nail for the overall limited funds they could raise, and believed in the critical value of the art forms and genres they supported. But the field was imbalanced. The Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and the NEA laid down channels through which funds flowed with greater ease. The tool of matching grants, and Treasury Fund grants in particular, provided the illusion of democratic voice in the arts grantmaking process, when it actually allowed those with high levels of economic, social, and

[64] Robert F. Arnove, ed., "Introduction," in *Philanthropy and Cultural Imperialism: The Foundations at Home and Abroad* (Boston: G. K. Hall & Co., 1980).

cultural capital to subsidize their own aesthetic priorities with the federal government's money. Tax deductible contributions to non-profit organizations operated in a similar fashion, directing billions of dollars outside of the federal government's control.

As sociologists Michael Grenfell and Cheryl Hardy point out, Bourdieu argues that fields and capital operate through forms that are "misrecognized," rather than struggles that are open and explicit.[65] Individuals involved in the process are not conscious of their own biases, and would either defend the objectivity of their decisions or deny the inordinate power and privilege that they possess. They "misrecognize" their possession of capital and the impacts that their decisions have in the field, determining which art is available and of value. As historians and scholars, we can investigate and analyze such misrecognitions and demonstrate the consequences they have on society. Indeed, the arts programs of the endowment and the major foundations have changed from what they were in the mid-twentieth century, yet one of the continuities in the system has been the role of social capital in the process of decision making.

Perhaps of all the forms of capital, social capital is the most important in this field of cultural production. Grenfell and Hardy reach the same conclusions through their examinations of the fields of the visual arts, photography, and painting. According to them, in order to do well in the field of photography, it was "almost essential to enter the field from the middle or upper classes." Access to valorized subjects and social circles determined success. The same was true in my examination of the roles of expert consultants and foundation and endowment staff and officers. Social capital in the form of first-degree connections among composers, performers, managers, directors, and boards of trustees mattered a tremendous amount in the voices they heard. Social capital was a strong source of misrecognized power -- misrecognized because it was overshadowed by discourses of expertise, objectivity, and professional management. The fields of

[65] Michael Grenfell and Cheryl Hardy, *Art Rules: Pierre Bourdieu and the Visual Arts* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), 30–1.

power and of art were tightly woven and difficult to penetrate. These are important considerations to note because, as my good friend Daniel F. Brown once reminded me, unlike economic capital, social capital is never taxed.

CHAPTER 5: "FOUNDATION MUSIC," POSTWAR SCIENTISM, AND THE SUPPORT OF WESTERN ART MUSIC

> [The] lack of understanding of basic technique, and accompanying tendency to ape mannerisms, is very widespread in contemporary music -- so widespread that one can often detect, instantly, in the work of younger composers, the superficial features of something that might be called "the foundation style," a dreary routine of academic formulas that is guaranteed to win fellowships and prizes, but that shows little or no comprehension of the difficult problem of conveying some sort of musical message to an audience."[1]
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> Winthrop Sargeant, 1958

For Winthrop Sargeant, critic of the *New Yorker* and author of *Listening to Music*, "foundation music" was a type of music that encompassed all the problems of an alienated, ivory tower. It only existed -- and persisted -- because private foundations supported it. As the argument went: foundations recruited composers to serve as experts on selection committees, who then chose other composers with whom they were well connected, creating a closed loop that fed off of

[1] Winthrop Sargeant, *Listening to Music* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1958), 15. Sargeant's terminology is notably different from my own and other present-day understandings. To Sargeant, "the foundation style" was written by "modern composers," themselves a product of "the attempted revolution in musical technique that was initiated... by Stravinsky, Schoenberg, and the group known in Paris as 'Les Six,'" 13-14. Modern composers were equated to "formalists." Furthermore, "the music is composed, not for audiences, but for other formalist composers," 14-15. "In the end, the case against formalism rests simply on the fact that it is boring -- and to be boring is perhaps the only cardinal sin in which an artist can be capable," 25.

itself and produced music of a similar kind. According to Sargeant, his idea of the "foundation style" was a mixing of "twelve-tone scales" and influences of the "*Boulangerie*" -- somewhere between serial and dissonant neoclassical.[2] The foundations were well acquainted with the critique. For instance, the Ford Foundation's report, *Sharps and Flats*, acknowledged that "foundations have been criticized for allowing committees of composers to award commissions... too often the composers anointed their friends and disciples, who created what came to be known as 'foundation music.'"[3]

In Chapter 2, I document the large role played by experts; in this chapter, I provide an in-depth examination of how outside consultants, staff, and officers directly impacted the world of contemporary music through commissions, the support of symphony orchestras, and the establishment of university electronic and new music centers. I investigate the idea of "foundation music" to determine whether the popular idea was well-founded and pervasive, or a myth worth debunking. What kinds of music did the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) support? Was "foundation music" primarily avant-garde, neoclassical, serial, experimental, or a combination of many different styles?

Archival records and interviews indicate that there were vigorous discussions and debates surrounding what kind of music they should fund, and the decision making was rarely complacent or hurried. Yes, all three institutions supported new music that was strongly tied with serious genres: the music often exhibited complex rhythms and harmonies, intricate textures, and extended performance techniques. But the NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations also assisted conventionally tonal and neo-Romantic contemporary music, and sometimes even jazz and folk

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[2] Ibid., 171.

[3] Ford Foundation, *Sharps and Flats: A Report on Ford Foundation Assistance to American Music* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1980), 23.

music. Yet part of the reason "foundation music" still tugs at suspicions of an esoteric and undemocratic music is because it conjures up the image of a white male composer at an Ivy League university, acting as an "expert" on behalf of grantmaking institutions. He decided what was "good" and what was "bad." And it is this image, rather than the contested reality, that still lingers.[4]

Arts grantmaking and commissioning during this time period is not easily reducible to dichotomies or straightforward narratives. The NEA, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Ford Foundation all funded programs that supported the writing, performing, and recording of "contemporary music," in its many forms. The NEA developed awards for composers and librettists as part of its Bicentennial projects; the Rockefeller Foundation contributed millions of dollars toward the establishment of new music centers at universities; and the Ford Foundation awarded grants to young concert artists and opera singers to commission new works from composers of their choice. Despite differences in their approaches and goals, however, what united all three institutions was their strong focus on supporting Western high art performing institutions, specifically symphony orchestras and opera companies. As I discuss in Chapter 4 and elaborate here, the social and political environment made these decisions all the more important.

After the Second World War, the split between composers of different styles, including tonal, atonal, and serial music was entrenched. Cold War anxiety, escalated by the Soviet Union's successful launching of Sputnik in 1957, aggressively pushed the nation to prioritize a postwar scientism. The emphasis on research, mathematics, and technology was especially fortuitous for composers who were able to rationalize and justify their work along these lines. As Nadine Hubbs characterized the era in her revealing account of anti-communism, McCarthyism, and identity,

[4] For example, see Wayne Lee Gay's recent review of composer Gabriela Lena Frank, which asserts that "Frank is definitely no ivory tower composer," instead focusing on her philosophy of "*mestizaje*" and Frank's multiracial background. Wayne Lee Gay, "Frankly Listening," *Theater Jones*, April 5, 2017, http://www.theaterjones.com/ntx/reviews/20170404064832/2017-04-05/The-Cliburn/Gabriela-Lena-Frank (Accessed 30 04 2017).

> New musical "laboratories" were erected by such institutions as Columbia and Princeton, arcane studios where learned men used the latest scientific equipment to create and manipulate electronic sounds. Ivy League scholars Milton Babbitt, Allen Forte, and their graduate students began publishing quasi-scientific papers on the formal characteristics of certain compositions, especially those of the Second Viennese School [...] Such a position was not entirely new. From its beginnings atonal and dissonant music had been associated with exclusivity and elitism, as well as heteronormative masculinity, not only by audiences, but also by its creators.[5]

Perhaps no other issue concerning classical music after the Second World War has been more controversial than that of the myth of "serial tyranny." In 1999, an article by Joseph N. Straus ignited a flurry of responses concerning historiography, the power and influence of certain composers, and the role of the university and grantmaking institutions like foundations and the NEA in the production of American music.[6] He sought to set straight the idea that serialist composers had come to dominate the faculties of prestigious music departments in the United States. As Anne Shreffler and Michael Broyles have pointed out in separate essays, however, the gaps in Straus's interpretations lie not with his empirical data, but with his categorization and methodology.[7]

What is clearly missing in the debate surrounding the myth of "serial tyranny," though, is a better understanding of what exactly private foundations and the government were funding, in terms of not only individual composers and performers, but also of new music centers and attendant support for equipment and facilities. Serialism has been a useful punching bag for those

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[5] Nadine Hubbs, *The Queer Composition of America's Sound: Gay Modernists, American Music, and National Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 162. Carol Oja has also shown how consonant, tonal, and neoclassical music was increasingly linked with effeminacy, femininity, and homosexuality from the 1920s, while dissonance was labeled as manly or virile. Carol Oja, *Making Music Modern: New York in the 1920s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

[6] Straus, Joseph N., "The Myth of Serial 'Tyranny' in the 1950s and 1960s," *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 3 (1999): 301–43.

[7] Anne Shreffler, "The Myth of Empirical Historiography: A Response to Joseph N. Straus," *The Musical Quarterly* 84, no. 1 (2000): 30–39; Michael Broyles, *Mavericks and Other Traditions in American Music* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004).

who criticize the ivory tower of academia and the allegedly irrelevant and alienated music written by some composers. At the same time, serialism has symbolized technological progress, legitimizing the act of composition for non-commercial purposes, and granting the composer advanced status and position. As Hubbs argues, serialism not only benefited from its perceived connections with science, it also accrued a "moral-political privilege" because it was presented as an art form off limits to Soviet artists.[8] Thus it came to represent, par excellence, freedom and democracy -- those ideals quintessentially American during this period of anti-communism.[9]

In this chapter, I argue that there was no "serial tyranny" in arts funding *per se*, but nevertheless an outsized influence of certain individuals that helped support that image, most notably Milton Babbitt. The influence of composers such as Babbitt, Otto Luening, and Vladimir Ussachevsky in the establishment of the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center indicated their tremendous power as both experts and grant recipients. In the case of electronic new music, they welded science, the university, and the grantmaker together. The prestige system of foundations' grantmaking buttressed Babbitt and serialism at the same time that Babbitt also declared the roles and rights of the "composer as specialist" within advanced university settings. The larger system of institutional support amplified and strengthened the position of serialist composers, serving as a megaphone for their claims. Many composers needed the academy, but serialists needed it more. Thus, I aim to strike a balance, maintaining that the two foundations and the endowment largely supported a diversity of Western art forms while also contending that serialism stood to benefit the most from such grants.

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[8] Hubbs, *The Queer Composition of America's Sound: Gay Modernists, American Music, and National Identity*, 164.

[9] See also Anne Shreffler, "Ideologies of Serialism: Stravinsky's 'Threni' and the Congress for Cultural Freedom," in *Music and the Aesthetics of Modernity*, ed. Karol Berger and Anthony Newcomb (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005), 217–45.

Throughout the chapter, my use of stylistic labels is not meant to essentialize or stereotype. Composers' styles are rarely homogenous and often change and evolve over the course of a lifetime. Composers can write in a variety of styles, even within the same composition. As Joseph Auner notes, "there has never been less agreement than there is today about how to draw boundaries between musical styles."[10] Nevertheless, categories -- even if loosely defined -- can still attempt to reveal larger trends and aesthetic movements. Even if a "normal listener" cannot be assumed, broad strokes can delineate music that is tonal versus atonal, programmatic versus abstract, and conservative versus avant-garde and experimental. We can try to account for style without reducing the richness of a composer's process or output. When I am able to, I focus on describing the style of a specific piece or of a particular concert program. But at times, I also attempt to discuss a composer's opus. In these cases, I corroborate stylistic assignations with the categorizations of two other scholars who have undertaken similar tasks, Paul Michael Covey and Joseph Straus.[11] I concentrate on differences between tonal, atonal, and serial music because many "experimental" composers such as John Cage, David Tudor, and La Monte Young, received much greater support from European (especially Western German) festivals and radio stations, rather than from their American counterparts.[12]

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[10] Joseph Auner, *Music in the Twentieth and Twenty-First Centuries* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2013), xvii. Furthermore, Auner writes, "while composers and artists can use any styles, materials, tools, and methods they choose, every choice -- including the choice to compose in traditional styles -- reflects the reality that it could have been otherwise," 7.

[11] Straus, Joseph N., "The Myth of Serial 'Tyranny' in the 1950s and 1960s," *The Musical Quarterly* 83, no. 3 (1999): 301–43; Paul Michael Covey, "The Ford Foundation - MENC Contemporary Music Project (1959-1973): A View of Contemporary Music in America" (University of Maryland, College Park, 2013). See Straus for his definitions of "serial," "atonal," "tonal," and "experimental." Also see Covey's dissertation especially for an extended discussion in his first chapter on the labeling of pieces as "tonal" or "atonal" and his review of the definitions of "tonality" and "atonality" ranging from Arnold Schoenberg, to Roger Sessions, George Perle, and Joseph Straus. His "Tonality Spectrum" also accounts for the wide range of styles, from Functional Tonality, to Attenuated Functional Tonality, Free Tonality, Gray Area, Atonal, Serial, Textural, Aleatory, Indeterminacy, and Electronic.

[12] Amy Beal, *New Music, New Allies: American Experimental Music in West Germany from the Zero Hour to Reunification* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

Lastly, I argue that despite supporting a wide range of Western art music, the foundations and the endowment bifurcated the field of art grantmaking. By bifurcation I mean that from the 1950s, the foundations established a system fundamentally biased in favor of Western art music against other forms. On one side were the high art institutions that understood how the system worked, due to their networks with grantmakers and their knowledge of how bureaucracies functioned, and on the other side were those with much lower levels of social and cultural capital who were rarely able to break through or tap into institutional resources. The more important issue regarding equality was thus not about a "serial" tyranny, but the tyranny of Western art music.

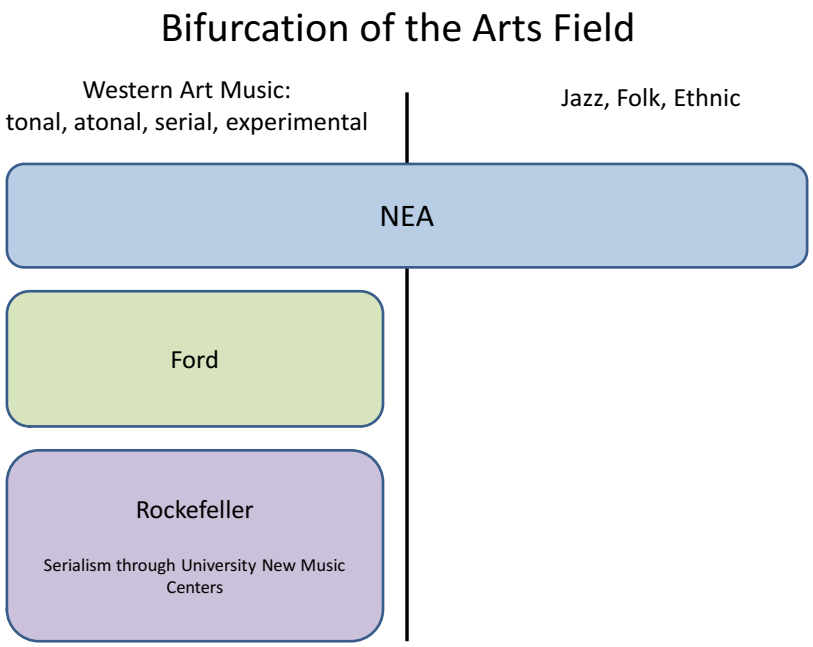

Figure 5.1: Bifurcation of the Arts Field

FOUNDATION AND ENDOWMENT SUPPORT OF NEW ORCHESTRAL, OPERATIC, AND CHAMBER MUSIC

The NEA, Ford, and Rockefeller Foundations allocated significant sums of money not only to support the operating costs and expansions of symphony orchestras and opera houses, but also for composers to write new orchestral, operatic, and chamber works. As I will show, neither

the two foundations nor the endowment exhibited in their programs clear biases in favor of tonal, atonal, or serial music. Thus, any aesthetic prioritization of "foundation music" was hard to discern, since all three institutions supported a broad range of Western art music.

The Ford Foundation:

The Ford Foundation supported the composition and performance of new music under a category labeled "Development of Individual Talent." As I reveal in Chapter 1, this category represented the foundation's second largest funding group, after its grants to "Strengthening Artistic Resources." Ford's support of Western art music took three main forms: 1) a series of competitions for concert singers and instrumentalists in 1959, 1962, 1969, whereby selected winners each chose a composer to write a new work specifically for them; 2) grants to the New York City Opera, Metropolitan Opera, Chicago Lyric, and San Francisco Opera between 1958 and 1960 for the premiere of new American works and the production of recently composed American operas; and 3) a composers-in-public-schools program administered by the Music Educators National Conference with foundation funding from 1959 to 1969 that placed 75 composers in residence at 52 public school systems in 31 states.[13] Overall, the Ford Foundation's programs to support contemporary music exhibited a broad range of support for tonal, atonal, and serial composers.

The Ford Foundation's Concert Artists competition began in 1959, when it selected ten performers to commission a new work from a composer of their choosing. Artists performed their piece with at least three symphony orchestras.[14] The foundation offered orchestras $1,000 ($7,500 in 2015) for each of the performances of the new compositions. These funds covered the costs of

[13] These programs are covered at greater length in Chapter 1.

[14] The winners and their selected composers included African American soprano Adele Addison (with Lukas Foss), soprano Phyllis Curtin (with Carlisle Floyd), Cuban American pianist Jacob Lateiner (with Elliott Carter), and cellist Leonard Rose (with William Schuman). See Chapter 1 for a full list of artists and composer.

rehearsal, rental of materials, and other expenditures.[15] The second round of awards and commissions in 1962 went to 15 concert artists and composers, this time for commissions for solo performance works (rather than with orchestra).[16] The final competition in 1969 chose 16 winners, specifically to artists under the age of 35 who had not yet achieved recognition in the music world.[17] For all three years of the competitions, the foundation directly administered the program, sending out calls for nominations, inviting experts to serve as jurors, and overseeing the process. Foundation Vice President W. McNeil Lowry's note to President Heald indicated his recommendations for these awards.[18] In his mind, the composer was commissioned "to create particular sonatas, concerti, cantatas and so forth." Therefore Lowry was primarily interested in conservative Western European music genres, although he made no prescriptions regarding style.

My analysis of the concert artists competitions demonstrates that the final tally of composers writing predominantly tonal and atonal music showed a nearly even split, with performers more frequently requesting tonal composers in the first two years, and atonal composers more frequently in the last year.[19] Correspondence between the winners and foundation officers in 1953 revealed that the most requested composers were Samuel Barber, Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copland, and William Schuman, all of whom wrote identifiably tonal music

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[15] www.measuringworth.com, and all subsequent references.

[16] The winners and their selected composers included bass-baritone Donald Gramm (with Richard Cumming), cellist Zara Nelsova (with Alexei Haieff), mezzo-soprano Regina Sarfaty (with Ned Rorem), and the first African-American tenor to perform a leading role at the Metropolitan Opera George Shirley (with Coleridge-Taylor Perkinson). See Chapter 1 for full list.

[17] Among this group of artists were harpist Heidi Lehwalder Fields (with Michael Colgrass), violist Donald McInnes (with William Schuman) (Donald McInnes, not to be confused with composer Donald MacInnis), and percussionist Jan Williams (with Lukas Foss).

[18] From W. McNeil Lowry to Henry T. Heald, Subject: Continuation of Planning for the $800,000 Grants-in-Aid Appropriation -- Musical Artist Field, 27 05 1958, Folder: Humanities and the Arts, Box 5, Series I, FA622, Ford Foundation (FF), Rockefeller Archive Center, Tarrytown, New York (RAC).

[19] For a list of the composers, see Chapter 1. My categorizations are cross-referenced with Straus's in his article, "The Myth of Serial Tyranny," and Covey's in "No Restrictions in Any Way on Style."

during this point in their careers.[20] Elliott Carter was the only composer who wrote predominantly atonal, avant-garde music. Additionally, all of the selected winners lived in New York or New Jersey, and the majority were based in New York City.[21] Barber was chosen by soprano Adele Addison, violinist Michael Rabin, and cellist Leonard Rose, while Copland was chosen by pianist William Masselos. Barber and Copland declined the commissions, Copland citing several other works in progress, and Barber having several promised commissions to complete. Furthermore, there was some indication from composers that the allotted sum of $2,000 ($15,000 in 2015) per commission was too low.

In 1962, the most requested composers were again those who wrote largely tonal music, including Bernstein, Copland, and Barber, in addition to Norman Dello Joio and Virgil Thomson. Similarly, Carter was the only one with an atonal/serial bent, although he was joined on the list by Roger Sessions and Milton Babbitt.[22] For the second time, all of the composers were male and Coleridge-Taylor Perkinson was the only African American. In fact, for all three competitions, there were no female composers and Perkinson was the only composer of color.[23] In the last year, the balance between tonal and atonal composers shifted. Joseph Straus and Paul Michael Covey categorize George Crumb, Andrew Imbrie, Leon Kirchner, and Gunther Schuller as atonal composers. Straus also cites William Kraft, Robrt Helps, and Yehudi Wyner as composers of atonal music.[24] By the end of the three competitions, the number of tonal composers was still

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[20] From Edward F. D'Arms to W. McNeil Lowry, Subject: Report on Performing Musical Artists Program, 13 02 1959, Folder: 1958 Concert Artists Program Background, Box 44, Series XIII, FA640, FF, RAC.

[21] Folder: 1958 Concert Artists Program Background, Box 44, Series XIII, FA640, FF, RAC.

[22] Paul Michael Covey indicates that Roger Sessions also wrote tonal music earlier in his career, but by this point, Sessions had moved to an exclusively atonal and/or serial style.

[23] Folder: Concert Soloists Program 1962 Background, Box 44, Series XIII, FA640, FF, RAC.

[24] Straus and Covey disagree on Donald Erb: Straus refers to Erb as a tonal composer while Covey refers to him as an atonal composer. Straus and Covey classify Lukas Foss as a composer of atonal, tonal, *and* experimental music.

higher than atonal ones, but the distribution was more even. [See Chapter 1 for the full list of winners.]

The second form of Ford support for composers went to opera companies, specifically the New York City Opera (NYCO). The foundation supported this company from 1958 to 1960, a history studied at length by musicologist Tedrin Blair Lindsay.[25] Its general director Julius Rudel was in charge, exercising his own judgments and decisions in the selection of operas. Support was not in the form of commissions, but performances of operas written by American composers over the past 25 years. As Lindsay noted, Rudel chose operas that would appeal to a broad audience. Many of the operas alluded to folk or popular music and included themes of everyday American life. The most prominent examples included Carlisle Floyd's *Susannah*, Douglas Moore's *The Ballad of Baby Doe*, and Gian Carlo Menotti's *The Consul.*[26]

Following its initial support of NYCO, the foundation began negotiations with the Metropolitan Opera, the Chicago Lyric, and the San Francisco Opera for the premieres of four new American works over the next eight years. Unlike the first grant to NYCO which subsidized the production of previously written American operas, this grant was for new commissions. W. McNeil Lowry announced the appropriation of $950,000 ($7.6 million in 2015) to produce 18 new American operas over the next decade. He said that through this program, the foundation was making two "gambles": first, "to shift the position of the American composer of full-length operas

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[25] Tedrin Blair Lindsay, "The Coming of Age of American Opera: New York City Opera and the Ford Foundation, 1958-1960" (University of Kentucky, 2009).

[26] Monica Hershberger's excellent dissertation examines Floyd and Menotti's works, in addition to other operas with strong female leads written during this time period.

from the seller's market to the buyer's," and second, "to establish the fact of a contemporary American operatic repertoire."[27]

Unfortunately, the program lasted only a year. The Met commissioned four operas and produced two: Marvin David Levy's *Mourning Becomes Electra* and Samuel Barber's *Antony and Cleopatra*, neither of which was commercially or critically successful. San Francisco mounted Norman Dello Joio's *Blood Moon* and Chicago produced Vittorio Giannini's *The Harvest*. NYCO, by contrast premiered a whopping eleven foundation-sponsored works, including Robert Ward's *The Crucible*, which won the 1962 Pulitzer Prize for music, Hugo Weisgall's *Six Characters in Search of an Author*, and Jack Beeson's *Lizzie Borden*. Lindsay's final tally of Ford's opera programming and commissions shows that Rudel and others chose more tonal, traditional, and accessible works (as Lindsay argues, possibly in the effort to make opera more appealing to public audiences). The foundation concluded that "the New York City Opera was an eager, the Chicago and the San Francisco each a somewhat reluctant, and the Metropolitan a grudging participant in this agreement."[28]

Finally, Ford's Composers in Public Schools program lasted between 1959 and 1969, placing 75 composers in residence in public school systems across the country. As musicologist Paul Michael Covey has analyzed, the Music Educators National Conference (MENC) executed the program, and Pulitzer Prize winning composer Norman Dello Joio led it (Dello Joio's commissions also appear several times above).[29] Composers were no older than 35 and served for

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[27] Folder: "Ford Foundation Program in Contemporary Opera" Opera News 12/6/61, Box 26, Series V, FA582, FF, RAC.

[28] "The Arts and the Ford Foundation: 1969," 12 1968, marked Internal Use only and Confidential, Folder: The Arts and the Ford Foundation December 1968, Box 7, Series IV, FA582, FF, RAC.

[29] Paul Michael Covey, "The Ford Foundation - MENC Contemporary Music Project (1959-1973): A View of Contemporary Music in America" (University of Maryland, College Park, 2013).

up to two-year terms, composing music for the school system's orchestras, choruses, and bands. Examples of composers who participated and their school district placement were Grant Beglarian (Cleveland Heights, Ohio), who later became director of the Composers in Public Schools program from 1965-1969, Donald Erb (Bakersfield, CA), Richard Felciano (Detroit, Michigan), Philip Glass (Pittsburgh, PA), and Salvatore Martirano (Berkeley, CA). Similar to the grant to NYCO under Rudel, Dello Joio formed his own committee to select both the composers and the school districts. In Covey's analysis of the program, he argued that the "most striking aspect" of the selection committee of MENC -- led by Dello Joio, a tonal composer -- was its "nonpartisan stylistic attitude, fueled by the ecumenical approach of the individuals behind it, most of them composers as well."[30]

Thus in all three of the Ford's programs in music supporting the composition and performance of orchestral, operatic, and chamber music, there was no discernible "foundation style" which favored either tonal or atonal (or serial) music. Through its own selection processes and those of NYCO and MENC, the range of compositional styles -- at least, within the Western high art tradition -- varied and was not controlled by any particular group. In fact, there was a slight bias in favor of more traditional and tonal works over others.

The Rockefeller Foundation:

The Rockefeller Foundation was the pioneer foundation to support composers and contemporary music through commissions and recordings. Its first experiment was its program with the Louisville Orchestra in 1953, an ambitious effort to commission, perform, and record at least 46 new works annually. According to Jeanne Marie Belfy's long study and classification, approximately one third of the works were written in a neoclassical, largely tonal style, another

[30] Paul Michael Covey, "'No Restrictions in Any Way on Style': The Ford Foundation's Composers in Public Schools Program, 1959-1969"," *American Music* 33, no. 1 (Spring 2015): 90.

third in a neoclassical but more complex and dissonant style, and the last third split among folk styles, extremely dissonant, freely atonal, or serial works, and avant-garde compositions with extended techniques.[31]

After its Louisville project, the foundation's central strategy during the decades of the 1960s and 1970s was to focus on increasing access to Western music through two systems: symphony orchestras and universities. Universities especially played a significant role in providing facilities and programming. The foundation noted university concert managements booked more than 70 percent of all professional concerts; furthermore, it argued that the university had assumed "a cultural role similar to that played by the ducal court in 18th-century Europe."[32]

At the same time, the foundation saw a problem with the paucity of new works written for orchestras. In the foundation's own words: "If comparatively little new symphonic music is heard today, it is partly because little is being written, and conversely, little is written because the chances of its being played are slight."[33] Supply and demand were inextricably linked: low demand was rooted in the lack of supply and the cycle was vicious. As the foundation wrote, "in consequence, composers shy away from symphonic music, and the musical community suffers, particularly in music schools and university departments where today's music potentially has its most knowledgeable and most sympathetic audiences."[34] Hence, the solution to the trustees and officers

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[31] Jeanne Marie Belfy, *The Commissioning Project of the Louisville Orchestra, 1948-1958: A Study of the History and Music* (Louisville: UMI Publishers, 1986). Examples of commissioned works include William Bergsma's *A Carol on Twelfth Night* (1955), Elliott Carter's Variations for Orchestra (1958), Henry Cowell's Symphony No. 11 (1955), Vincent Persichetti's Symphony for Strings (1955), Ned Rorem's *Design for Orchestra* (1957), and Roger Sessions's *Idyll of Theocritus* (1956).

[32] "The Rockefeller Foundation Five-Year Review and Projection, December 1968," Folder: Program and Policy Reports Pro-50 -- Pro-53 1933-1968, Box 29, Series 900, Subgroup 2, Record Group 3 (RG3), Rockefeller Foundation (RF), RAC.

[33] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1965."

[34] Ibid.

was right in front of their faces: the most important reason to include universities in the program was because they provided a wider audience for contemporary orchestral music.[35]

The Rockefeller Foundation's University-Symphony Program (also known as its Symphony Orchestras Young Composers Program) began in 1964-1965 with an initial allocation of $250,000 ($1.9 million in 2015). Grants lengthened the seasons of ten orchestras, for "the purpose of giving premiere performances of symphonic works by young American composers."[36] In addition, the orchestras paired with colleges and universities around their geographic region to hold open rehearsals and public demonstrations, as well as allow local schools' "best young instrumentalists and vocalists to perform with the orchestra."[37] The extra week provided five extra rehearsals and a premiere of a work by a young composer to the community, who was then "in residence" and made available to the conductor, the orchestra, and to nearby schools of music for discussions and forums. The conductor selected the piece with the assistance of a committee of educators, critics, and patrons. In its first year, 44 new works were performed at 14 universities, with total audiences exceeding 15,000 people. The foundation provided an additional $600,000 ($4.5 million in 2015), extending the seasons 1965-1966, 1966-1967, and 1967-1968.[38] Overall, 23 symphony orchestras played the music of 286 composers at approximately 130 colleges and universities.

Similar to Ford's programs with NYCO and MENC, the Rockefeller Foundation had little say in each orchestra's choice of composers and works. I include the program from the 1965-1966

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[35] As I cite in Chapter 2, Carol Oja also identifies a "deep stylistic conservatism" in the American Academy in Rome. Carol Oja, "'Picked Young Men,' Facilitating Women, and Emerging Composers: Establishing an American Prix de Rome," in *Music and Musical Composition at the American Academy in Rome*, ed. Martin Brody (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2014).

[36] Folder: Symphony Orchestras -- Young Composers Program 1964-1969, Box 425, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Ibid.

season in Table 5.1. A large variety of music was performed across the country. For example, the Baltimore Symphony performed Karel Husa's (1921-2016) Symphony No. 1, which predominantly exhibited thick dissonant textures, long and overlapping melodic lines, and strong dynamics in the first and second movements; as well as Lothar Klein's (1932-2004) *Symmetry III*, which opens in a pointillism reminiscent of Webern, growing denser and denser toward its conclusion. The Buffalo Philharmonic played Harold Shapero's (1920-2013) twelve-tone work, Partita in C, as well as Ralph Shapey's (1921-2002) *Ontogeny for Symphony Orchestra.*[39] While Shapero's piece was dodecaphonic, it was also identifiably tonal. Other university and orchestra partnerships took a different approach. The Dallas Symphony cooperated with five universities to give readings of 23 works by graduate students, and then showcase nine.[40] Lewis Miller (b. 1933), Robert Morgan (b. 1942), Gerald Warfield (b. 1940), and Walter Watson (1933-2014) received either a Ph.D. or M.Mus. from North Texas State during this time.[41] And the Utah Symphony Orchestra paired with the University of Utah to feature many composers who had lasting professional careers within the Mormon Church. Robert Cundick's *A Full House* for piano and orchestra evoked Copland-esque Americana.[42]

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[39] Howard Pollack, "Shapero, Harold," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/25586 (Accessed 25 04 2017). Pollack notes, however, that Shapero never became identified with the 12-note method though he participated in the trend.

[40] RF65050, Folder: Symphony Orchestras, Box 425, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG 1, RF, RAC.

[41] Biographies and references for these composers was derived from my investigation of their personal websites, obituaries, and *Grove Music Online*. North Texas State University is now known as the University of North Texas.

[42] The music of Henri Lazarof (1932-2013) was the notable exception in the concert program. Scott Wheeler characterizes Lazarof's music as "highly chromatic and full of intricate detail," which differed markedly from the diatonicism and straight meter of, for example, *A Full House*. Scott Wheeler, "Lazarof, Henri," *Grove Music Online*, *Oxford Music Online* (Oxford University Press), http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscribe/article/grove/music/16169 (Accessed 25 04 2017). Cundick, William Fowler (1917-2009), Crawford Gates (b. 1921), and Lawrence Lyon (1934-2006) all studied at either the University of Utah or Brigham Young University (BYU) as undergraduates or graduate students. Cundick, Fowler, and Gates studied with Leroy Robertson, who was professor and chairman of the music department at BYU from 1925 to 1948, and department chairman at the University of Utah from 1948 to 1964.

Table 5.1: Rockefeller Foundation University-Symphony Program, Composers and Compositions Played 1965-1966

Baltimore Symphony -- Goucher College: 25 April 1965

- Paul Chihara: First Movement from the Concerto for Viola and Orchestra
- Robert Di Domenica: Two Movements from Symphony No. 1
- Karel Husa: Symphony No. 1 (Adagio: Allegro Con Brio; Grave: Allegro Con Moto)
- Lothar Klein: Symmetry III for Orchestra
- Hugo Weisgall: Three Symphonic Songs for Soprano and Orchestra

Buffalo Philharmonic -- The State University of New York at Buffalo, The State University College of Buffalo, and The State University College at Fredonia: 1 May 1965

- Ingolf Dahl: Aria Sinfonica (Recitativo I; Cavatina con Variazioni; Recitativo II; Rondo e Stretta)
- Harold Shapero: Partita in C, for Piano Solo and Small Orchestra (Sinfonia; Ciaccona; Pastorale; Scherzo; Aria; Burlesca; Cadenza; Esercizio)
- Ralph Shapey: Ontogeny for Symphony Orchestra

Chicago Symphony Orchestra -- The University of Chicago: 7/8 March 1965

- Easley Blackwood: Symphony No. 3 (Allegro vivo; Adagio; Scorrevole)
- George Perle: Three Movements for Orchestra (Prelude; Contrasts, Ostinato)
- Arnold Schoenberg: Variations for Orchestra, Op. 31
- Edgard Varèse: Arcana

Cincinnati Symphony Orchestra -- University of Cincinnati and Miami University: 8 May 1965

- George H. Crumb: Variazione
- Leo Kraft: Three Pieces for Orchestra
- Robert Lombardo: Threnody for Strings
- George Rochberg: Zodiac
- Russell Smith: Tetrameron
- Robert Starer: Samson Agonistes

Dallas Symphony -- Baylor, North Texas State, Southern Methodist, Texas Christian, and the University of Texas: 1/3 May 1965

- John Beall: Essay for Orchestra
- Lewis Miller: Introduction and Allegro (for Flute and Strings)
- Robert Morgan: Sinfonietta for Orchestra
- Charles O. Veazey: Miniatures for Orchestra
- James Ator: Adagio for Orchestra
- Richard Cook: Concertino for Orchestra
- Robert Ehle: Sound Piece for Orchestra
- Gerald Warfield: Sinfonietta for Orchestra (First Movement)
- Walter Watson: Symphony No. 1 (First Movement)

Table 5.1 (Continued)

Los Angeles Philharmonic -- UCLA, Occidental College, Pomona College, and the University of Southern California: 29/30 April 1965, 2/5 May 1965

- Karl Kohn: Three Scenes
- William Kraft: Concerto Grosso
- Gunther Schuller: Composition in Three Parts
- William Schuman: Symphony No. 6

New Orleans Philharmonic Symphony -- Tulane University: 3/6 April 1965

- Roger Dickerson: Concert Overture
- Blas Galindo: Concerto para Flauta y Orquesta (Allegro; Lento; Allegro)
- William Kraft: Three Miniatures for Percussion and Orchestra
- Benjamin Lees: Concertante Breve (Andante Pensoso - Allegro; Andante semplice; Allegro con brio)
- Claudio Santoro: Symphony No. 7 (Brasilia) (Andante - Allegro molto; Adagio; Vivo; Allegro molto)
- William S. Fischer: Statement for Orchestra and Voices
- Jack Gottlieb: Pieces of Seven
- Lothar Klein: Three Epitaphs (Ernest Hemingway; Albert Camus; J.F.K.)
- Lothar Klein: Trio Concertante

St. Louis Symphony -- Washington University: 25 April 1965

- Robert A. Baker: Sonnet VII, from a setting of "Sonnets to Orpheus," by Rilke
- Harold Blumenfeld: Battle Fugue from the Opera, "Amphitryon"
- Arsenio Giron: Vias
- Paul Pisk: Adagio and Fugue
- Mel Powell: Settings for Cello and Orchestra
- Julian Orbon: Mount Gilboa for Tenor and Orchestra
- William Rubenstein: Music for 37
- Morton Subotnick: Play (2) for Orchestra

Seattle Symphony -- University of Washington: 2 May 1965

- William Bolcom: Oracles
- Donald Erb: Symphony of Overtures
- Donald Keats: Elegiac Symphony
- Roger Reynolds: Graffiti

Utah Symphony Orchestra -- University of Utah: 10 April 1965

- Robert Cundick: A Full House for piano and orchestra
- William Fowler: The Pearl, ballet suite
- Crawford Gates: Symphony No. 3
- Henri Lazarof: Odes for Orchestra
- Laurence Lyon: Festival Prelude

Taking a step back, however, it is remarkable that the Rockefeller program never questioned American society's apparent need for *symphonic music*. Rather, they presumed that such a need existed. The dual role of universities was to support new orchestral music, especially with student audiences, and to foster the next generation of symphonic composers and performers. The main objective of including colleges and universities was not because foundation officers thought universities would contribute to the supply of compositions -- that is, the program was not about generating production. Rather, it was from the standpoint of supporting the demand for contemporary music. By "educating" college students, the foundation hoped to develop the future generation of audience members and consumers. The University-Symphony program therefore reinforced the bifurcation of arts grantmaking, focusing on the purported necessities of symphonic music -- irrespective of style: tonal, atonal, or otherwise -- to the exclusion of non-Western musics.

Reflecting on the alleged success of the program, the foundation wrote years later that as an important long-term outcome, many composers had again "turned their attention to the symphonic ensemble with renewed hope of having their music played."[43] The foundation wrote that the program had helped American orchestras bridge a critical period of transition between a traditional limited regular season, and a growing tendency toward 52-week contracts. "Less tangibly," it noted, "orchestral musicians have had an opportunity to stretch their minds and techniques in encounter with the contemporary scores." The foundation emphasized that the main importance was to encourage composers to write for symphony orchestras.

> Many musical historians have been predicting the end of the large symphonic group that has grown out of the small classical orchestra, and indeed it has looked as if the symphony orchestra was in danger of losing its connection with living music, since it was playing less and less music by the contemporary composer. This program may well have reversed that trend.[44]

[43] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1968," 94.

[44] Folder: Symphony Orchestras -- Young Composers Program 1964-1969, Box 425, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC. This perspective was tempered in 1972 by Director Howard Klein, who wrote that

Of additional note was the impact the University-Symphony program had on black composers. Of the 15 young American composers who had their work performed at Spelman College by the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra, for example, eight were black. Of the eight, the foundation cited that four were previously less known: T. J. Anderson, Frederick C. Tillis, George Walker, and Olly Wilson. The following year, Anderson received a composer-in-residence grant to continue working with the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra.

The Composer-in-Residence program, however, was generally a less successful endeavor than the University-Symphony program, given the lack of participation among symphony orchestras. The intention was to bring composers into closer contact with orchestral musicians, conductors, and managers through a year-long residency. It fit with the foundation's focus on the "plight of orchestras," but it did *not* incorporate any partnerships with colleges or universities. Director Howard Klein hoped that the composers would serve as consultants to the conductor, especially with contemporary music. He envisioned the composers as "dramaturges" for the orchestra and he urged conductors also to play as much of the composers' music as possible.[45]

In Klein's 1968 evaluation following the first series of residencies, he noted that lamentably not much had changed in terms of the orchestras and that they continued to face financial difficulties without showing much enthusiasm to provide monetary backing for the program.[46] But

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"unfortunately, when the program ended, the orchestras went back to their former habits of ignoring the contemporary composer, although a few continued to honor them and several kept up their liaisons with campuses." Howard Klein, "The Arts: Beyond the Cultural Boom: A Report on the Program in Cultural Development, The Rockefeller Foundation 1963-1972," Folder: Program and Policy 1964-1968, Box 1, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC. Klein also identified George Crumb as a success of the program, with Crumb later winning a Pulitzer Prize.

[45] From Howard Klein to Gerhard Samuel, 22 04 1969, Folder: Oakland Symphony Orchestra -- Composer-in-Residence (Appelbaum, Edward), Box 399, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[46] From Howard Klein to Norman Lloyd, Kenneth W. Thompson, and Gerald Freund, Inter-office correspondence, 19 12 1968, Subject: Composer-in-Residence Program, Folder: Symphony Orchestras -- Composers-in-Residence 1965-1970, Box 425, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

for the composers themselves, the residencies were beneficial, giving them experiences and knowledge about the functioning of orchestras. "Each has been urged through the catalytic force of the residency to compose with renewed vigor and skill for orchestra. Each has been given a significant boost in his professional prestige by the residencies." But when Klein came to review the program one final time in 1972, he wrote it off as a big failure.[47] Klein deemed the first three-year grant period "successful, largely because the orchestras were not asked to contribute toward the composers' support" but the second round "ended dismally" because symphony managements "could not be persuaded of the importance of living composers to the future of their organizations." Over $100,000 ($700,000 in 2015) was unspent from the second appropriation, a sign that orchestras were not interested.

Through its University-Symphony and Composer-in-Residence programs, the Rockefeller Foundation threw its weight towards the composition and performance of contemporary, serious, and non-commercial music. With the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller also supported a wide range of Western music of tonal, atonal, and serial styles. In my later analysis of its support of university new music centers, however, I show that the Rockefeller Foundation overwhelmingly favored the production of atonal and serial compositions.

The National Endowment for the Arts:

Similar to Ford and Rockefeller, the NEA aided the composition of contemporary Western art music primarily through orchestral, operatic, and chamber repertoire. First, the NEA gave its earliest grants in 1966 to the American Symphony Orchestra League (ASOL) and the American Music Center for the Composer Assistance Program. Second, the NEA assisted composers and librettists from 1974 to 1977 to write new works through its Bicentennial grants (its

[47] Howard Klein, "The Arts: Beyond the Cultural Boom: A Report on the Program in Cultural Development, The Rockefeller Foundation 1963-1972," Folder: Program and Policy 1964-1968, Box 1, Series 925, Subgroup 2, RG3, RF, RAC.

largest foray into music commissions). The NEA provided over $1.7 million ($8.2 million in 2015) to these grants, funding a large variety of composers, not only within tonal and atonal Western high art traditions, but also for those writing in folk and non-Western serious forms. Of all three institutions, the NEA was the least partisan in its support of various musical styles.

Within the first five years of its establishment, the NEA supported the writing of new music through its Composer Assistance Program and its Teaching Artists Program. The Composer Assistance Program was a joint venture between ASOL and the American Music Center, at the cost of $150,000 ($1.1 million in 2015). The program provided roughly $2,000 ($15,000 in 2015) to orchestras to commission a new work (up to 25 grants-in-aid) and another $2,000 to composers for individual copying assistance of the score and its parts (up to 50 grants-in-aid). The brochure indicated that the NEA intended to help compositions of "significant artistic worth" and to recognize and assist the country's "lesser known creative artists," especially those with the "varied richness of regional influences and musical heritage of many sections of the United States."[48] The NEA focused on orchestral music by stipulating that composers could only apply for the costs of copying orchestral parts. Overall, between 1967 and 1969, the endowment provided 67 grants to composers for copying costs and 43 matching grants to orchestras to commission and perform new works.[49]

The same year as the Composer Assistance Program, the NEA also operated a Teaching Artists Program that freed up to 50 artists of all media from their teaching responsibilities for a year of creative work. Grants of up to $7,500 ($50,000 in 2015) were given to artists from 45 institutions of higher education in 20 states. Artists were nominated by panels of the National Institute of Arts

[48] Composer Assistance Grant Brochure, Folder: Music Projects, Box 14, A1 Entry 21, Record Group 288 (RG288), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland (National Archives II).

[49] Folder: NCA 26th Meeting (Aug. 10-11, 1972) (Washington, DC), Box 8, A1 Entry 5, RG288, Archives II.

and Letters and 10 musicians were selected: Leslie Bassett (University of Michigan), Arthur Berger (Brandeis University), Ingolf Dahl (University of Southern California), Donald Erb (Cleveland Institute of Music), Ben Johnston (University of Illinois), Nikolai Lopatnikoff (Carnegie Institute of Technology), Andrew Imbrie (University of California, Berkeley), Vincent Persichetti (Juilliard), Louise Talma (Hunter College), and Vladimir Ussachevsky (Columbia University). The group represented a mix of styles without any one dominating: Persichetti was a well-known tonal composer while Berger and Imbrie were serialists; Bassett, Erb, and Talma wrote in both tonal and atonal styles; and Ussachevsky was a leading electronic experimentalist. With the exception of Talma, white males dominated the entire list.[50]

After these initial attempts to help composers and contemporary music programs, the endowment's most important contribution to new music came through its "Composers, Librettists, and Translators" fellowships, beginning in 1974 as a way to celebrate the nation's Bicentennial. The NEA designed the program to "encourage American composers and librettists to create or complete new works and to assist exceptionally talented individuals in their professional development."[51]

As a Bicentennial activity, the program recognized "the enormous wealth of individual creative talent that America possesses." Examples of commissioned works included "Seventeen Illuminations on the Holy Koran," from the *Pavilion of Dreams* by Harold Budd (b. 1936); a piece for solo trumpet and orchestra called *Abyss and Caress* by Lucia Dlugoszewski (1925-2000); *Soledades* for orchestra by Cuban-American Antonio Hernandez-Lizaso (b. 1933); *Vertical Form #VI* for jazz ensemble by George Russell (1923-2009); and an opera in one act called *The Rivalry*, by 13-year old Ken Noda (b. 1962). Many composers I have discussed in this chapter and

[50] My analysis is again corroborated by the classifications of Straus and Covey.

[51] Folder: Composers & Librettists -- 10 May 1976, Box 1, A1 Entry 37, RG288, Archives II.

elsewhere in this dissertation were also grant recipients, including Lukas Foss, Philip Glass, Andrew Imbrie, Otto Luening, Ursula Mamlok, Salvatore Martirano, Steve Reich ("Music for 18 Musicians"), George Rochberg, Ned Rorem, Morton Subotnick, Louise Talma, and Charles Wuorinen. Overall, between 1974 and 1977, the program awarded 545 fellowships, totaling more than $1.7 million.[52]

During the first two years of the grants, the endowment provided a breakdown by genre of the 106 awards in Category 1 (see Table 5.2). In 1974, the most numerous commissions were given to write a Cantata (16), Chamber Ensemble (12), Chamber Opera (12), Full Orchestra (11), and Concerto (10). Acknowledging a degree of overlap between categories, the panel noted that there were three specifically "Electronic" works, but that others incorporated electronic tape and/or synthesizer. The following year in 1975, of the 109 grants in Category 1, the most commissions similarly went to Concerto (24), Chamber Ensemble (22), Full Orchestra (18), Cantata (11), and Full Opera (11). According to the National Council on the Art's (NCA) minutes in 1975, 59 women applied for fellowships, of which nine were awarded (15% acceptance rate), compared to 456 men and 100 awards (22% acceptance rate). A year later, in 1976, 85 women applied, of which 17 were awarded (20% acceptance rate), compared to 458 men and 127 awards (28% acceptance rate).

[52] Folder: Endowment Awards $470,000 to Composers and Librettists '77, Box 1, A1 Entry 37, RG288, Archives II.

Table 5.2: NEA Composer and Librettist Program, by Category 1974-1976

	Category 1:		Category 2:		Category 3:				
	Amount given:	Grants:	Amount given:	Grants:	Amount given:	Grants:	Total given:	Total grants:	Total Applications:
FY1974	$290,300	76	$35,250	17	$17,395	10	$342,945	103	271
FY1975	$374,165	109	$25,250	11	$20,510	19	$419,925	139	515
FY1976	$344,060	125	$33,815	10	$10,265	9	$388,140	144	543

*Exact data for FY1977 is not given.

- Category 1 Maximum of $10,000 to exceptionally talented composers for the creation of new works or the completion of works in progress, inclusive of time, travel, materials, and copying costs
- Category 2 Maximum of $5,000 to exceptionally talented librettists or translators for the creation of new works or the completion of works in progress, inclusive of time, travel, and materials
- Category 3 Maximum of $2,500 for career promotion through research, travel, purchase of other composers' scores for study, preparation of excerpts for review, and/or copying costs.[a]

Table 5.3: Panelists for the NEA Composer and Librettist Program (affiliations listed by NEA), 1974

Ezra Laderman (Chairman)	Composer-in-residence, State University of New York; President, American Music Center
Samuel Baron	Flutist, State University of New York-Stony Brook; Bach Aria Group
Bethany Beardslee	Soprano, Harvard University
William Bergsma	Composer, University of Washington, Seattle
Mario Davidovsky	Composer, City University New York, Yale University, Assistant Director Electronic Music Center
Kenward Elmslie	Poet, Librettist
Richard Felciano	Composer, University of California, Berkeley
Natalie Hinderas	Pianist, Temple University
Norman Lloyd	Composer, Former Director Rockefeller Foundation
Robert Ward	Composer, North Carolina School for Performing Arts, Board Member Martha Baird Rockefeller Fund for Music and Alice Ditson Fund

[a] Folder: 33rd Meeting (Nov. 1973) 2 of 2, Box 11, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

Table 5.4: Panelists for the NEA Composer and Librettist Program, 1975

Ezra Laderman (Chairman), Samuel Baron, Bethany Beardslee, William Bergsma, Mario Davidovsky, Kenward Elmslie, Richard Felciano, Natalie Hinderas, Norman Lloyd, Robert Ward, and

Donald Erb	Composer, Cleveland Institute of Music
Vivian Fine	Composer, Bennington College
Pauline Oliveros	Composer, University of California San Diego
Mark Sokol	Violinist, Concord String Quartet
Leon Thompson	Conductor, Director of Education New York Philharmonic

Table 5.5: Panelists for the NEA Composer and Librettist Program, 1976

Ezra Laderman (Chairman), Samuel Baron, Bethany Beardslee, Kenward Elmslie, Donald Erb, Richard Felciano, Vivian Fine, Norman Lloyd, Pauline Oliveros, Leon Thompson, Robert Ward, and

Matthew Raimondi	Violinist, Composers String Quartet
Robert Suderburg	Director, North Carolina School for the Arts

In 1974, chairman of the Composer/Librettist/Translator section of the music panel, Ezra Laderman, outlined to the NCA the "time-consuming review procedures utilized in the program."[53] The panel was divided into subgroups, each of which reviewed a certain number of tapes, recordings, and scores. Laderman emphasized that the panel was represented by a "wide variety of musical tastes." In the first year, Laderman was one of five composers, in addition to performers, a librettist, and an educator. Laderman, Davidovsky, and Felciano represented more atonal and experimental compositional practices while Bergsma and Ward came from more tonal traditions (see Table 5.3).[54]

The NEA specified that these grants were for composers of non-commercial arts (in a later section, I will discuss the endowment's counterpart to this program, which was for jazz, folk, and ethnic music). The NEA made this clear in its guidelines for the fellowships in 1976. It wrote specifically that the grants would not fund "creative endeavor associated with the fields of music generally known as 'rock' and 'popular' in recognition of their commercial viability."[55] I should note, however, that despite the predominant focus on non-commercial music -- that is, high art music -- the endowment supported a wide range of musical styles within the broadly defined area of "classical music."

Lastly, in conjunction with the Composer and Librettist fellowships, the endowment awarded special commissions to composers in partnership with orchestras across the country. These Bicentennial Commissioning Grants permitted 31 orchestras of all sizes to commission 15 composers.[56] The NEA divided orchestras into three groups: the "Top Six" (Boston, Chicago, Los

[53] Folder: Minutes of the 37th Meeting (Nov. 22-24, 1974), Box 13, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

[54] Folder: 42nd Meeting (Nov. 1975), Box 15, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

[55] Music Program Guidelines for Fellowships-Grants to Composers/Librettists FY1976, NEA Library.

[56] Folder: Bicentennial, Box 8, A1 Entry 2, RG288, Archives II.

Angeles, New York, Cleveland, and Philadelphia), the "Heavenly Seven" (Cincinnati, Detroit, Minnesota, National, Pittsburgh, St. Louis and San Francisco), and a group of eighteen metropolitan orchestras in the Southeast. Each of the orchestras commissioned a new work by an American composer, with that work performed by all constituent orchestras. For example, orchestras of the Top Six commissioned works by John Cage (*Renga with Apartment House 1776*), Elliott Carter (*A Symphony for Three Orchestras*), David Del Tredici (*Final Alice*), Jacob Druckman (*Chiaroscuro*), Leslie Bassett (*Echoes from an Invisible World*), and Morton Subotnick (*Before the Butterfly*). The southeastern group, including Birmingham, Chattanooga, Jacksonville, Memphis, and Winston-Salem, among others, jointly commissioned two new works by Norman Dello Joio and African American Ulysses Kay. The major orchestras received $70,000 ($300,000 in 2015) for the commission, extra rehearsals, and extra performances, and the metropolitan orchestras received $40,000 ($170,000) from the endowment. Total performances of these 15 new works numbered over 300.

As with the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, the NEA funded its fair share of Western art music, first through its Composer Assistance Program, then through its Teaching Artists Program, and finally its large program of Bicentennial grants. In all three activities, there was never domination by a single compositional style, whether tonal, atonal, or serial. As I have argued in previous chapters, the wider breath and representation of both commissioned artists and panelists was due to the NEA's existence as a government agency, open to public scrutiny, and the conscious effort to include many viewpoints and backgrounds. This umbrella approach was similarly true for its commissioning of orchestral, operatic, and chamber repertoire.

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION, "SERIAL TYRANNY," AND THE COLUMBIA-PRINCETON ELECTRONIC MUSIC CENTER

> It is hard to deny a prevailing mood in the 1950s, '60s, and '70s. Whether fact or fantasy, a sense that serialists somehow had spread a reign of terror pervaded the compositional world, and practically all young composers and many established ones felt almost helpless in the grips of a serial tyranny. Testimony is overwhelming that composers who did not wish to write serial music felt intimidated and thwarted in their careers, be it positions in academia, prizes, or performances.[57]
>
> Michael Broyles, *Mavericks and Other Traditions in American Music*

Given my argument in the previous section that Ford, Rockefeller, and the NEA largely supported a wide range of Western art music, there was one notable exception to this history: the Rockefeller Foundation's support of new music centers at universities. The most prominent facilities at Columbia-Princeton, Buffalo, Chicago, Rutgers, Iowa, and Mills relied on Rockefeller money, and the leaders at each one -- prominent composers who held university positions -- maintained close ties with foundation officers.[58] Columbia-Princeton, Chicago, and Rutgers were bastions for serialist composers, especially Milton Babbitt, Roger Sessions, and Charles Wuorinen. Other composers like Elliott Carter and Ralph Shapey who did not self-identify as serialists but who wrote in atonal and highly modernist styles also benefited from the technology and equipment. Rockefeller gave roughly $15 million in present-day value to fund these new music centers.

As Michael Broyles describes in the quote above, serialist composers controlled the compositional world by "tyranny," through their influence on university music departments across the United States, selection panels for prestigious fellowships, and publishing houses and recording studios. Broyles suggests that the serialists were "particularly adept at securing support" from places like the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations; and that they "discovered academia and bent it to their

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[57] Broyles, *Mavericks and Other Traditions in American Music*, 171.

[58] For an excellent analysis and first-hand account of the Buffalo Creative Associates program, see Renee Levine Packer, *This Life of Sounds: Evenings for New Music in Buffalo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

purposes" with their rational and scientific orientations. By contrast, Joseph Straus has set out to debunk what he considers to be the myth of "serial tyranny." He has devoted at least two articles and a book to retell his history of twelve-tone composition in the United States, while other scholars including Anne Shreffler, Peter Schmelz, and Martin Brody have responded to claims arising in either his articles or book.[59]

Straus correctly argues that twelve-tone serialism originated outside the academy, that the majority of U.S. music professors were tonal composers, and that several composers, most notably Wuorinen at Columbia and Martino at Yale, found their universities inhospitable and were denied tenure. Nevertheless, as Straus admits, what his empirical analysis could not measure is prestige and that "certainly serialism in this period commanded an intellectual interest *out of proportion* to its actual measurable presence on the musical scene."[60] From their university positions, serialist composers derived tremendous legitimacy through academic credentials. They used these positions of power to influence the U.S. system of arts grantmaking after the Second World War, and they capitalized on the cachet of postwar scientism. Serialist composers such as Babbitt and electronic composers such as Otto Luening and Vladimir Ussachevsky persuaded foundation

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[59] Straus, Joseph N., "The Myth of Serial 'Tyranny' in the 1950s and 1960s"; Straus, "A Revisionist History of Twelve-Tone Serialism in American Music"; Straus, Joseph N., *Twelve-Tone Music in America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). Shreffler, "The Myth of Empirical Historiography: A Response to Joseph N. Straus," 34. Peter Schmelz objects to Straus's evidence, arguing that it was "so selective as to appear tendentious." He notes in particular Straus's neglect of "influential inflammatory writings by twelve-tone proponents," like Charles Wuorinen and his article, "The Outlook for Young Composers." Peter Schmelz, "Review: Twelve-Tone Music in America," *Notes* 67, no. 2 (2010): 322. Martin Brody contends that Straus's plea was to generate "a sense of moral purpose by treating its eponymous subject [serialists and twelve-tone composers] as if it were an injured class, analogous to a marginalized social group, whose rights and dignities warrant protection." Martin Brody, "Review: Joseph Straus, Twelve-Tone Music in America," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 65, no. 1 (2012): 291.

[60] Straus, Joseph N., "The Myth of Serial 'Tyranny' in the 1950s and 1960s," 303. Italics my emphasis. Despite these criticisms, I would argue that Straus's work remains important in understanding the contentious histories and politics of new music in the United States during the twentieth century. The prodigious amount of empirical and statistical research undertaken for this project was remarkable. He reminds us that we cannot be heedless or headstrong in our histories, and he argues passionately and clearly for a music that he obviously respects and deems worthy of attention and study. As Broyles even admits, "In something as intangible as compositional style, intellectual domination [or "tyranny"] may not be malicious; it may stem from nothing more than artistic conviction articulated convincingly." Broyles, *Mavericks and Other Traditions in American Music*, 164.

officials to pay for their equipment and facilities based on arguments of scientific and technological progress. The university composers -- rather than foundation officials -- pushed the rationale of postwar scientism. Once the officials witnessed the products of their philanthropy, they then began to question the merits of the new music.

One of the most revealing examples is the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center, which was the foundation's earliest undertaking in a new studio. The Rockefeller Foundation's archives are additionally well kept for this center, in comparison to its other programs. And Babbitt, above all other composers, has had arguably the most influence in the history of serial music in the United States.[61]

Origins of the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center:

Rockefeller's experience in the field began before Babbitt entered, when Luening and Ussachevsky requested in 1953 a small grant-in-aid ($3,240; $28,000 in 2015) for the purchase of equipment "exclusively for creative research in the field of electronic music" at Barnard College.[62] With the grant, the Columbia professors bought tape recorders, an electronic switchboard, musical tapes, and other materials. Ussachevsky argued for the necessity of support in a lengthy document to officer Charles B. Fahs:

> So far all the electronic musical inventions have been snapped up by the popular field which has a way of riding any new horse to death before it ever achieves a full stride. Already a few popular arrangers are using some of the most obvious techniques of tape music, but with so little imagination that I am depressed over the effects they produce. [...] I would feel more content if the medium could be further developed by serious composers before the popular groups plunder the findings.[63]

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[61] Also see for a detailed account, Vandagriff, Rachel, "The Pre-History of the Columbia Princeton Electronic Music Center" (American Musicological Society, Vancouver, Canada, 2016). I thank Vandagriff for generously sharing her paper with me after the conference and for thoughtful and stimulating conversations about foundation support of new music.

[62] Folder: Barnard College -- Electronic Music 1952-1953, Box 296, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[63] From Vladimir Ussachevsky to Charles B. Fahs, "Memorandum on Tape Music," 12 03 1953, Folder: Barnard College -- Electronic Music 1952-1953, Box 296, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

Rockefeller aid was thus needed in order to preserve the non-commercial use and research of the new music. Further in the memorandum, Ussachevsky delved deeper into the scientific explanation describing how the tape recorder could be used to "transform the sounds it receives, enabling the composer to treat sound as a substance, measurable in feet, inches, and seconds, that is plastic as clay for purposes of further manipulation." The composer was trying no less than complete mastery and control over the medium of sound, and the language he employed was technical and rigorous. Lastly, Ussachevsky argued that a "laboratory" must be attached to the university, writing that the

> laboratory is necessary to house all the desirable electronic equipment essential to carry out experiments in sound and to develop new compositions. While such a laboratory should be under responsible composer-engineer direction, it should be available to interested composers and acoustical engineers who wish to experiment. Such a laboratory should probably be established in conjunction with an educational institution.[64]

After the initial Rockefeller funding, the Luening and Ussachevsky applied for another grant in 1955 to assist them in establishing the "studio laboratory," to hire a technical assistant, and to catalogue and organize accumulated sound material. Rockefeller officers Edward D'Arms, Fahs, and Gilbourne Gilpatric were favorable toward the grant request, but were upset with the fact that neither Barnard nor Columbia made any significant contributions. The Committee on Faculty Research agreed only to pay minimal amounts of $600 for an Ampax recorder and $350 for books, reprints, and other supplies.[65]

Around the same time, Princeton professor and composer Babbitt was also applying for funds from the Rockefeller Foundation for his own work on electronic music facilities. He too tied

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[64] Ibid.

[65] From Millicent C. McIntosh to Edward F. D'Arms, 18 05 1955, Folder: Barnard College -- Electronic Music 1954-1957, Box 296, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

music composition with the fields of science and technology, and emphasized his background in mathematics. In a long letter to Rockefeller officer John Marshall, he reminded Marshall that he (Babbitt) was also a "one-time member of the Princeton mathematics faculty," which meant that he possessed the "scientific background that has enabled [him] to keep abreast of the scientific literature in the electronic music field."[66] Babbitt emphasized that he had lectured to mathematicians and physicists of both Princeton and the Institute for Advanced Study on the mathematical and physical foundations and problems of electronic music.

The composer eventually got down to business: he had not been able to produce any music on an electronic medium because of the unavailability of equipment. But there was a solution. The answer was the latest RCA synthesizer. Babbitt argued that the new technology could eventually lead to a "shift in the balance of power" between U.S. and European electronic studios. George Marek, director of the record division at RCA, had agreed to make the synthesizer available for "serious composition and 'pure' research" on a rental basis to any foundation or educational institution for non-commercial purposes. Working with the synthesizer's developer, Dr. Harry Olson (director of the RCA Acoustical and Electromechanical Laboratory in Princeton), Babbitt argued that the synthesizer could be used to "produce music of genuinely contemporary significance, but only by composers whose musical orientation is as sophisticated and responsibly 'advanced' as the scientific orientation of the creators of the synthesizer."

Marshall's memo indicated interest in Babbitt's proposal. "It seems to me," wrote Marshall, "that this is something which we should take seriously."[67] He continued, "While I suppose all of us

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[66] From Milton Babbitt to John Marshall, 14 06 1957, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1957-May 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[67] From John Marshall, Inter-office correspondence, 27 06 1957, Subject: Milton Babbitt's proposal for further work in electronic music, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1957-May 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

have mixed feelings about electronic music we have heard, it does open up possibilities which undoubtedly deserve exploration. I should suppose that Babbitt is right that the composition of such music through the use of tapes is clumsy and limited." In a meeting organized by Marshall, with Babbitt and Luening, Marshall concluded that "there seems no question that the electronic synthesizer developed by RCA opens extraordinary possibilities for composers."[68]

Despite some initial misunderstandings and disagreements, the composers at Columbia and Princeton developed a solid working relationship by 1958. Ussachevsky and Babbitt reported to the foundation that they were permitted to work with the RCA synthesizer at Princeton for two days a week without charge, at the permission of RCA Executive David Sarnoff.[69] The next stage of development was, at the initial suggestion of Marshall, to develop a field for electronic music, in cooperation with multiple universities. Ussachevsky proposed housing a main studio complex at Columbia, since there was already an electronic studio there and that there were advantages to having it in New York.[70] Composers Henry Cowell, Peter Westergaard, Roger Sessions, Edward Cone, Donald Martino, Igor Stravinsky, Ernst Krenek, Edgard Varèse, Ernst Toch, and William Bersgma had all expressed interest in the studio.[71]

The large size of the grant meant that it needed Rockefeller trustee approval, so officers in the music division pre-circulated some recordings of electronic music to the trustees and other

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[68] Interview John Marshall with Otto Luening and Milton Babbitt, 20 08 1957, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1957-May 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[69] Interview John Marshall with Vladimir Ussachevsky, 01 05 1958, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1957-May 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[70] From Vladimir Ussachevsky to John Marshall, 18 08 1958, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) June-December 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[71] Charles B. Fahs and Robert W. July interview with Otto Luening, Vladimir Ussachevsky, and Milton Babbitt, 30 10 1958, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) June-December 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

directors. Director for Biological and Medical Research Robert S. Morison wrote in an amusing memo that he did not find one record that could be "unreservedly recommended as an enticement to the Trustees" to approve the grant. On the other hand, his wife had suggested one "as ideal for playing on next Halloween to give the macabre thrill to the more aggressive of our tricks-and-treats guests."[72] Fortunately for Babbitt, Luening, and Ussachevsky, the trustees were more convinced by the recommendations made by "distinguished composers," such as Stravinsky, Sessions, and Milhaud over the director for Biological and Medical Research and his wife (although their objections foreshadowed officer skepticism in years to come).[73] Milhaud, for example, sent a telegram of support.

> To those who lament that there are no Beethovens working in the tape medium, I retort that even Beethoven could not have overcome the lack of music paper and quills -- and we must have the electronic equivalents of these when another Beethoven comes along![74]

For Milhaud, musical genius needed to be supported with adequate resources, equipment, and funding. (Ussachevsky did not receive a response from Stravinsky, but included material from the upcoming *Dialogues* with Robert Craft.) Sessions's letter was resounding and urgent:

> It is of great importance that the project should be carried on under non-commercial auspices, in a place where both competent musicians and competent scientists are available. This seems to me to make it clear that it should be carried on under university auspices. Finally, the project seems to me a necessity if we are

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[72] From Robert S. Morison, Inter-office correspondence, 07 11 1958, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) June-December 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC. Unfortunately, I do not know which record Morison's wife was referring to, nor have I been able to locate which records were sent.

[73] Robert W. July and WW interview with Vladimir Ussachevsky, 06 11 1958, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) June-December 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC. The officers' fact sheet to the trustees included short biographies of the composers and recommenders involved. The fact sheets focused on academic credentials, prestigious fellowships, and important compositions, in that order.

[74] From Vladimir Ussachevsky to Charles B. Fahs, 28 11 1958, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) June-December 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

> to hold our own in a cultural sense, not only as regards Europe, but as regards the Soviet Union, as well.[75]

Sessions's concern that the project be "non-commercial" was based on RCA's previous use of the synthesizer for popular and profitable music making, something that Ussachevsky had also alluded to. But Sessions brought up many other issues, including the importance of the project being based at a university where there were both musicians and scientists, as well as the threat of cultural inferiority in comparison to developments in Europe and the Soviet Union. Thus it was a Princeton professor and composer -- and colleague of Babbitt -- who brought up the Cold War threat to the officers, and the cultural-moral imperative to support this kind of music. Sessions's letter came within a year of the Soviet launching of Sputnik, the first artificial Earth satellite in 1957, and the resulting panic that the United States was losing on multiple fronts, falling behind in science, and faltering in arts and culture.

At the same time, another critical event impacted the debate regarding musical composition, the university, and science, and that was the publication of Babbitt's "Who Cares if You Listen?" -- originally titled, "The Composer as Specialist" -- in *High Fidelity*, February 1958.[76] In Babbitt's article the connections between serious, advanced, contemporary music and science, research, and specialization reached their zenith. The impact on the greater public's perception of academic or foundation music cannot be underestimated. Babbitt proposed "total, resolute, and voluntary withdrawal" by the composer into "private performance and electronic media, with its very possibility of complete elimination of the public and social aspects of musical composition." By doing so, "the composer would be free to pursue a private life of professional achievement, as opposed to a public life of unprofessional compromise and exhibitionism." The university was

[75] From Roger Sessions to Charles B. Fahs, 18 11 1958, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) June-December 1958, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[76] Milton Babbitt, "Who Cares If You Listen?," *High Fidelity*, 1958.

needed to provide sanctuary and resources for composers just as it did for scientists. "It is only proper that the university," wrote Babbitt, "should provide a home for the 'complex,' 'difficult,' and 'problematical' in music." Only when music was granted the same position as other arts and sciences would it have the means of survival.

As a result of this article, Babbitt indeed became the composer-as-specialist par excellence (a reference to the article's original title): through his position in academia and his forcefulness in rhetoric and conviction, he became the spokesman for serious, advanced, contemporary music, while also becoming the arbiter for all music supported by private foundations like the Rockefeller Foundation and the federal government through the NEA. A year later in 1959, Rockefeller officer Robert W. July met with Babbitt and asked him what he thought were the new directions in modern composition. Babbitt replied that there were many possibilities, but that "the main line for the moment derives from twelve-tone theory."[77] That same year, with the support of Paul Fromm, Babbitt established the Princeton Seminars in Advanced Musical Study, which lasted only two summers, but "paved the way for the journal *Perspectives of New Music* and the founding of the Ph.D. in music composition."[78] Over the next two decades and beyond, the foundation frequently consulted Babbitt for his recommendations. He was not just a specialist in the way he composed, he was also a specialist in the way foundations and the endowment entrusted him and other composers to make decisions based on their knowledge and experience.

Thus the Rockefeller trustees and officers approached these new music projects at university centers against the backdrop of Babbitt's influence as a figurehead for serial music, the

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[77] Robert W. July interview with Milton Babbitt, 10 12 1959, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1959-1963, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC. Babbitt also discussed "experiments in increasing rhythmic complexity, chance selection of materials, and work based on highly organized, mathematically-inspired formulae."

[78] Monica Hershberger, "Princeton Seminars 1959-1960," http://frommfoundation.fas.harvard.edu/princeton-seminars (Accessed 01 05 2016).

specter of Soviet advancement, and the targeting of universities by foundations and the government for funding. The foundation agreed to $175,000 ($1.5 million in 2015) over five years for the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center, with the understanding that the two universities would take over full support of the program after the end of the grant, an important requirement of self-sufficiency and procuring other resources that the foundation enforced for all its grantees. It was the first grant to a new music center and became a point of reference for the foundation's future grants to Buffalo, Chicago, Rutgers, Iowa, and Mills.

The End of Rockefeller Support for the Center:

The foundation checked in with the center with irregular frequency over the next few years. At times, Ussachevsky came in to talk with officers about possible assistance to international composers interested in the studio, at other times about his own work and the potential for funding to go to the Soviet Union. With each visit, the foundation encouraged him to obtain other sources of funding. The officers sometimes attended concerts at Columbia's McMillin Theater. Charles B. Fahs came to one on 9 May 1961, noting in his diary that he found the concert more interesting than he had originally anticipated.[79] Robert July, who also attended, thought that Babbitt was "characteristically the most logical and successful among this group."[80] But echoing Fahs in his review, July ended with some hesitation: "It was a full house and a strangely undemonstrative one. The idea of electronic music seemed to be accepted but it was almost as if those in attendance were not terribly interested."[81]

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[79] Charles B. Fahs interview with Columbia University, Program of Electronic Music, 09 05 1961, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1959-1963, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[80] I have been unable to determine which Babbitt piece Fahs and July heard.

[81] Robert W. July interview with Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Concert, 09 05 1961, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1959-1963, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

In 1963, Ussachevsky, Luening, and Babbitt met together with Boyd Compton as preparation for the conclusion of the five-year grant.[82] In his diary, Compton noted that the goals of the grant -- "to establish a laboratory for good composers to use" -- had been reached and passed. The center had developed what was considered by some to be "the best electronic music laboratory in the world." Major composers like Stravinsky and Copland had used the facility, as well as Shostakovich and Kabalevsky.

By the end of 1963, Gerald Freund had taken over responsibilities as the acting officer in charge. Freund worked with Rockefeller consultant Martin Bookspan to oversee the program and review a new grant proposal that the composers had submitted (despite previous guarantees from their respective universities that no further funding would be sought). The new request asked for at least $200,000 ($1.6 million in 2015) from the foundation, and at most, up to $400,000, both sums much larger than the first grant the center received in 1958. After reviewing the progress of the center over the past five years, Bookspan wrote critically about it in a letter:

> Let me clearly state that I think the electronic music boys have painted themselves into a corner from which they may never extricate themselves: their fixation on sound as an end in itself is, I think, extremely naïve. Also, I have yet to hear a single piece of electronic music that is a really creative piece of musical thought: tinkering and self-absorption seem to have replaced that quality which is best described as "inspiration."[83]

Bookspan proposed a list of outside consultants to evaluate the center and the grant application, including Harold Schonberg (*New York Times*), Jay S. Harrison (editor, *Musical America*), Everett Helm (European Bureau Chief for *Musical America* and a critic and composer), conductor Eugene Ormandy, conductor Leopold Stokowski, composer William Schuman

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[82] Boyd R. Compton interview with Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center, 19 04 1963, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1959-1963, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

[83] From Martin Bookspan to Gerald Freund, 27 03 1964, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1964-1966, 1981, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

(crossed-out, then conductor George Szell handwritten), Alfred Frankenstein (*San Francisco Chronicle*), and composer Gunther Schuller (handwritten).[84] The foundation also sent letters to Alan Rich (*New York Herald Tribune*) and Darius Milhaud.

The letter to these outside consultants asked for an evaluation of the Columbia-Princeton program. It began, "we are well aware of the fact that developments in electronic music are nearly as controversial today as they were when the first workshops were established."[85] In considering further needs, Freund wanted to ascertain "the significance of the accomplishments at this center to date and to have some indication of your expectations of further developments over the next years." Reviewing the list of consultants, there was a heavy representation of music critics and conductors, with few composers, and almost none who had any extended experience working at the center. This could be interpreted in many ways -- having someone from the center could provide an insider's perspective that was deep and knowledgeable; on the other hand, the insider's perspective could be biased.

The responses from these outside reviewers were mixed. Stokowski's was short, but positive. Harrison found it "disinteresting and disconcerting" and could see "no viability to its future." Schonberg was in favor of the program and viewed it as important. Frankenstein was more cautious but still positive, noting that he needed more material to evaluate the program fairly. Ormandy was skeptical and thought that the money could be better spent on commissions for composers exploring the symphonic medium. Helm thought the future of electronic music was not

[84] From Martin Bookspan to Gerald Freund, 10 04 1964, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1964-1966, 1981.

[85] From Gerald Freund to Gunther Schuller, 14 04 1964, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1964-1966, 1981.

bright, and that there was only minor artistic significance. Szell was quite negative, suggesting that electronic music pretended to be creative in an artistic sense.[86]

Bookspan wrote to the officers after receiving the letters: "As you know the reactions are either all black or all white," he wrote, "with several of the negative ones extremely violent."[87] Bookspan suggested that a terminal grant of $10,000 ($75,000 in 2015) to the center could enable some composers to use the facilities over the next few years. The foundation needed to make clear, however, that this would be the final sum. In a handwritten marginal note by Vice President Kenneth W. Thompson, he asked if Schuller and Foss should be further pursued for their ideas. Bookspan wrote that the burden of proof would be considerable if the foundation went forward with more funding because most of the evidence thus far was "strongly opposed to continued support." Ultimately, the foundation declined the proposal and the center had to turn elsewhere.

While this marked the end of Rockefeller support for the Columbia-Princeton partnership, it marked just the beginning of funding for other new music centers. Buffalo represented forays into more experimental music, the programs at Chicago and Rutgers continued more serial work, and Mills a further exploration of electronic and tape music. The Rockefeller Foundation's false expectation, however, that it was only providing initial seed support to the centers and that they would eventually become self-sufficient followed a pattern similar to Columbia-Princeton. For this reason, the foundation saw Rutgers as a failed project, while the others never maintained the same large-scale operations as when they were recipients of the Rockefeller's beneficence. In the mid-

[86] There was no record of Schuller or Milhaud's response, if they sent one in.

[87] From Martin Bookspan to Kenneth W. Thompson, Boyd R. Compton, and Gerald Freund, Inter-office correspondence, 07 05 1964, Subject: Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center, Folder: Columbia University -- Electronic Music (Luening, Otto) (Ussachevsky, Vladimir) 1964-1966, 1981, Box 315, Subseries R, Series 200, Subgroup 2, RG1, RF, RAC.

1980s Columbia and Princeton ceased formal affiliation: the center in New York became the Computer Music Center and Princeton founded its own Princeton Sound Lab.

THE NEA'S SUPPORT OF JAZZ, FOLK, AND ETHNIC MUSIC

> If we do not have high quality orchestras that can perform Charles Ives' symphonies, or companies that can present Carlisle Floyd's operas, or theaters to mount [Eugene] O'Neill's plays, or dance groups to stage Martha Graham's *Appalachian Spring*, we cannot use our cultural resources to celebrate -- If we do not encourage our multi-national ethnic cultural groups, we will not be able to bring into interaction the aesthetic contributions of all cultures that can lead to a sense of self respect on the part of each as well as to an appreciation of the contributions of all groups to produce a strong, cohesive force to unite the country.[88]
>
> The Report on Bicentennial Planning to the National Council on the Arts, 1972

Just as the Columbia-Princeton Electronic Music Center represented a notable exception to the overall range of foundation support of Western art music, the NEA's Bicentennial grants for jazz, folk, and ethnic music represented a remarkable endeavor in opening the field of music grantmaking in the 1970s. With these grants, the bifurcation of Western high art and non-Western, indigenous, and non-commercial music began to break down. The NEA slowly shifted a structure that had predominantly supported composers writing in Western forms of classical music, into one that included more non-institutionalized groups and artists, namely those writing and performing jazz, folk, and non-Western music.[89]

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[88] The Report on Bicentennial Planning to the National Council on the Arts, 11 08 1972, Folder: Bicentennial, Box 8, A1 Entry 2, RG288, Archives II.

[89] The Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation, compared to the NEA, gave only minimal amounts to non-Western or non-classical music. Ford's contribution to jazz during the sixties and early seventies amounted to only three grants totaling $156,000: one to the jazz archives of Tulane University, and two to the New York Jazz Museum for performances and educational programs. See Iain Anderson, "Jazz Outside the Marketplace: Free Improvisation and Nonprofit Sponsorship of the Arts, 1965-1980," *American Music* 20, no. 2 (2002): 154. Initially, the Rockefeller Foundation turned down applications to support jazz, including one from the Historical Institute of Jazz at Rutgers to conduct interviews with important jazz figures. Officers Norman Lloyd and Boyd Compton stated that if the foundation "were ever to become involved in this large field of folk and jazz music, we would need to survey the field in depth -- something that cannot be done, considering the small amount of staff time available." Norman Lloyd interview with Julius Bloom, 23 08 1966, Box 266, Series F-L, RG12, RF, RAC. The problem with funding these musics, thus, was taking the path of least resistance and concentrating on their programs of Western art, which they were already supporting.

The roots of the NEA's support for jazz began in 1968, with the establishment of its first jazz panel, with Jaki Byard, Dizzy Gillespie, Gunther Schuller, Willis Conover, Dan Morgenstern, and Russell Sanjek. Their first award went to George Russell in 1969, a fellowship of $5,500 ($35,000 in 2015).[90] By 1970, the NEA had established its jazz program, which offered fellowships to jazz composers and arrangers for the commissioning of new works, as well as $500 to ($3,000) jazz students. Matching grants of $1,000 were given to colleges, schools of music, and elementary and secondary schools to present workshops and concerts.

In 1972, Director of the Music Division Walter Anderson noted to Chairman Nancy Hanks that with the establishment of the jazz program and panel, "some other minority groups in this country with a cultural contribution" might also justifiably petition for NEA support.[91] Anderson suggested that these other groups be incorporated into the jazz panel. He proposed convening a joint jazz and folk music panel which included "Indians, Chicanos, American-Japanese, and so on." Members of the jazz panel agreed in principle to the possibility of including "other cultural interests," but they also wanted it to be known that they did not want to sacrifice any funds for jazz.

A number of issues were at stake here, including the impacts of inclusion and exclusion (who received grants and who made those decisions), and the threat of homogenizing jazz, folk,

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More generally, Ford and Rockefeller's approach to assisting black or other non-white musicians was to develop programs increasing their number within high art fields. For example, Ford focused on scholarship funds to "qualified Negro instrumentalists" at 36 independent art schools and conservatories, or for internship programs for black instrumentalists to join major orchestras. Another form of support was to the New World Symphony, an integrated orchestra of white and black musicians, for special training to six black instrumentalists. Rockefeller also supported similar programs, but its most interesting grant was its support for the first performance of African-American composer Scott Joplin's opera, *Treemonisha*, put on by T. J. Anderson, Katherine Dunham, Morehouse College, and the Atlanta Symphony Orchestra. The production merits much more future research.

[90] Anderson, "Jazz Outside the Marketplace: Free Improvisation and Nonprofit Sponsorship of the Arts, 1965-1980," 150.

[91] From Walter Anderson to Nancy Hanks via Diane Lansing, Subject: "Requested Administrative Projections for Fiscal Year 1974 and Fiscal Year 1975," 31 01 1972, Folder: Harlow Heneman -- Chairman of Task Force, Box 5, A1 Entry 1, RG288, Archives II.

and non-Western musics under one single category. By folding the music of Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans within the rubric of "jazz," Anderson and the endowment were essentially treating orchestral and operatic music as an unmarked category of "Music," with all other music marginalized into a separate, "other" category.[92]

Anderson demonstrated commitment and passion in ensuring the recognition of a wide variety of music from diverse cultural backgrounds, but at the same time, struggle unfortunately occurred as inter-group competition among "indigenous musics" rather than within the "music" program broadly speaking. As "minority" programs they represented non-dominant art forms (in contrast to the more influential and powerful orchestras and opera companies) while also occupying a limited proportion of the budget. Furthermore, for what narrow funds the NEA allocated, minority groups needed to compete with one another. The fear that incorporating other communities threatened the amount given to jazz showed the degree to which the system was perceived as zero-sum -- your gain is my loss. Admittedly, however, Anderson, Hanks, and the NEA did far more to support jazz, folk, and the musics of under-represented communities than any of the private foundations, so their work was also of symbolic value. Through their programs, the endowment laid the groundwork for future funding opportunities and public recognition.

The NEA had its largest impact on non-symphonic and non-operatic music in the Bicentennial "Jazz/Folk/Ethnic" grants to individual artists and organizations, which was counterpart to the Composer and Librettist program. Beginning in 1975, artists of America's "indigenous music" and "varied folk/ethnic cultures" could apply for grants. The grant amounts, however, were a

[92] In the same year, Anderson's statement to the Advisory Music Panel noted that orchestras and opera companies would likely continue "to represent the major areas of institutional support." Walter Anderson, "Minorities, Institutions, and Schizophrenia," 14 03 1972, Folder: Music (Anderson), Box 8, A1 Entry 1, RG288, Archives II. He wrote that the National Council on the Art's initial decision to support these groups, arose from the belief that they "provide the basic forces in a community or region for the promotion of musical activity." Anderson's own view was that "thousands of individual artists" were assisted through both the orchestra and opera programs, including composers, young artists, conductors, and experimentalists.

contentious issue, especially in relation to the amounts given to orchestras. Debates concerning how much should be given to jazz, folk, and ethnic individuals and groups represented the larger battle between purportedly high art and low art genres. National Council on the Arts (NCA) members discussed the issue at great length during its 39th meeting.

One of the major proposals was to increase the maximum grant to jazz organizations from $15,000 to $40,000 ($60,000 to $170,000 in 2015) for those with budgets over $100,000 ($400,000), and to $25,000 for others.[93] Chairman Hanks noted that there was a great deal of staff discussion that went into the decision. She felt, however, that to raise the ceiling "without the anticipation of increased funds [the expected budget from the President of the United States, and congressional appropriation] was unrealistic." Most significantly, she added that "this would raise the maximum for jazz organizations above that for metropolitan orchestras," thus, she made a direct comparison between the jazz program and the orchestra program.

Council member and jazz artist Billy Taylor disagreed with this comparison and further noted that jazz organizations faced a number of difficulties that metropolitan orchestras and other music groups did not. A year earlier, Taylor had already voiced his concern that the endowment was "continuing to direct major monies to the main institutional programs [another council member had called the orchestras, opera companies, and professional theaters the NEA's "sacred cows"] at the expense of musical artists in areas such as jazz/folk/ethnic."[94] Council member and actor Clint Eastwood agreed and also remarked that jazz groups often had a hard time raising money from private sources since they were not as established as other groups. Council member and attorney Charles McWhorter felt it was irresponsible, however, to propose such a high ceiling given that the endowment "would not have sufficient monies to fund any jazz groups at this level."

[93] Folder: NCA Minutes of the 39th Meeting (May 1-4, 1975), Box 13, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

[94] Folder: NCA Minutes of the 38th Meeting (Feb. 7-9, 1975), Box 13, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

Instead, McWhorter proposed $35,000 for the largest groups and $15,000 for the smaller ones. The NCA voted and passed McWhorter's proposal, with Taylor voting against it.

Nevertheless, the "Jazz/Folk/Ethnic" program continued to grow in the years leading up to the Bicentennial. From 165 grants totaling $227,000 in 1973 ($1.2 million in 2015), the program went on to distribute over $650,000 in 1975 ($3.1 million) to 194 beneficiaries, and $1 million in 1976 ($4.2 million) to 288 grantees. Between 1975 and 1976, the number of women applicants to the Jazz/Folk/Ethnic program more than doubled from 23 to 56, and the number of grants to women more than quadrupled from 4 to 19, which showed an acceptance rate of 34% (just slightly under the overall rate of 38%). Examples of grants in 1975 included one to Rev. Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick ($3,500; $15,000 in 2015) "to compose ballads about the achievements and contributions of uncelebrated Black heroes"; a grant to the American Society for Eastern Arts ($6,500) to present programs in schools performed by musicians and artists of performing art traditions from India, Bali, Java, and Sunda; and to Kamal Abdul-Akim ($1,000) "to compose and perform works for community and college performances by the ensemble, The Sound Revolution."[95]

The chairman of the jazz section of the panel was African American composer, performer, and educator David Baker (also discussed in Chapter 2 for his role in the Rockefeller Foundation's Recorded Anthology of American Music) and the chairmen of the folk/ethnic section were folk singer Jean Ritchie in 1975, and folk musician and folklorist Bess Lomax Hawes in 1976. Hawes later became the director of the endowment's Folk and Traditional Arts Program from 1977 to 1992. (She was also the sister of folklorist Alan Lomax.) Other Jazz/Folk/Ethnic panelists included jazz artist Julian "Cannonball" Adderley, Pepe Barron (director of the Programs for Spanish-

[95] Folder: NCA 38th Meeting (Feb. 1975) 2 of 2, Box 13, A1 Entry 18, RG288, Archives II.

Speaking Americans), Ralph Rinzler (director of the Festival of American Folklife), and Mike Seeger (singer, multi-instrumentalist, and folk preservationist).

The Jazz/Folk/Ethnic grants during this period, thus, provide a revealing complement to the Western high art genres that the endowment was otherwise supporting through its Composers and Librettists grants, as well as its very large sums of money given to orchestras and opera companies. They also stood in contrast to the almost complete lack of such programs devoted to the diverse cultural and musical practices of the United States at the Ford Foundation or the Rockefeller Foundation. Therefore, while only representing a minimal part of the NEA's budget, they were important symbolic recognitions of the contributions of otherwise under-recognized groups and communities. The struggle for such acknowledgment was fought by numerous members of the NEA, including Chairman Hanks, Music Director Anderson, Expansion Arts Director Vantile Whitfield, and council member Billy Taylor.

In 1982, the NEA began its Jazz Masters Fellowship as a lifetime achievement award. Its first recipients were Roy Eldridge, Sun Ra, and Dizzy Gillespie. The same year, it also started its National Heritage Fellowships to master folk and traditional artists "recognizing individual artistic excellence" and the conservation of America's many cultures for future generations. In its first year, the NEA recognized 15 artists including Cajun fiddler Dewey Balfa, blues guitarist Brownie McGhee and Mexican American singer Lydia Mendoza. Both of these fellowships represented a continuation of the earlier Jazz/Folk/Ethnic grants to individuals, and provided a national platform to recognize the important contributions of these artists.

As a fitting closing statement, consider material the NEA sent to Congress to support appropriations for this program in 1976:

> The audience for the Jazz/Folk/Ethnic Program is not only large, it represents a segment of the population not normally reached by cultural programming. It has an enormous effect when federal funds are employed to support grassroots,

> indigenous art forms and combats the notion that arts funding is solely for elitist forms of art music. Funding both the Metropolitan Opera and Jazzmobile recognizes that one is every bit as valid as the other. The cultural diversity of the U.S. is enhanced, and our own, unique, cultural heritage is strengthened.[96]

CONCLUSION

The main objectives of this chapter have been to demonstrate how the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the NEA supported contemporary music through commissions, new music centers, and individual fellowships and residencies. For these three institutions, assistance to new music meant principally Western art music (of a wide variety of styles); and the future of serious music was tied to the continued existence of high art performing organizations such as orchestras and opera companies. For this reason, the Ford Foundation offered competitions for concert artists and composer commissions for the soloist and orchestra; the Rockefeller Foundation paid for the extension of orchestra seasons in cooperation with universities and young composers, as well as offered composer residencies; and the NEA awarded Bicentennial commissions to composers to work with regional orchestra groups like the Heavenly Seven and the Top Six. In addition, new music was also linked to the university system, and was interconnected with support for post-war scientific research and technological advancement.

Yet the fact that the Rockefeller Foundation in particular supported a kind of "foundation music," also cannot be discounted. Rockefeller boosted the prestige and legitimacy of serial and other avant-garde music written at new centers. The foundation provided a megaphone for some composers, most notably Milton Babbitt, when serialism as an art form experienced great growth from the 1950s to the 1970s. The Ford Foundation and NEA also played a significant role, but not

[96] "Jazz and Folk/Ethnic Appropriations Materials," Folder: Budget -- Jazz/Folk/Ethnic -- 1976, Box 1, A1 Entry 35, RG288, Archives II.

as strongly as Rockefeller in its support of university electronic music facilities across the United States.

The reliance of serial compositions on this funding structure thus cannot go unquestioned. Furthermore, the withdrawal of big foundation grants in music to new university centers, organizations, and individual artists beginning in the late 1970s, and the subsequent decline in the prestige of serialism, demonstrated an interconnectedness of the music to this system (in addition to, among other factors, George Rochberg's defection, Stravinsky's death, and improved relations between the Soviet Union and the United States). As the Rockefeller Foundation already noted in 1971:

> In retrospect, foundation-supported groups at universities such as Buffalo, Chicago, and Iowa helped the academically entrenched composers develop their own skills to a higher degree, and young musicians were taught to cope with the new notational problems. But wider audiences were not demonstrably created, nor did the new music find its way into the mainstream, as the new plays [that is, grants in theater] have done.[97]

The arts grantmaking system between the 1950s and 1970s functioned because the two foundations and the endowment rationalized a structure that bifurcated Western art music from all other kinds, and perpetuated a Trickle Down Theory of artistic quality. As I have argued in this chapter, despite the NEA's support of jazz, folk, and ethnic music, the vast majority of funds allocated by the NEA, and more so for Ford and Rockefeller, went to performing arts identified as both high-art and high-budget. What these grant recipients had in common was that they understood how the system worked, and the foundations and the endowment incorporated them into their structures of giving from the very beginning. Thus the bifurcation happened between those who were successful in applying and receiving grants, and those who were not. Grant recipients developed and maintained bureaucracies, administrations, and lobbies to ensure that the

[97] Rockefeller Foundation, "Annual Report 1971," 72-73.

funding never stopped. Artists and organizations that were excluded routinely lacked the knowledge, experience, or connectedness within these networks of assistance and recognition.

As has been a persistent theme throughout this dissertation, my aim is not to criticize the ideologies, judgments, or motivations of individual artists, administrators, public officials, or foundation officers. The work of all these individuals was to a great extent, a labor of love, and showed an unwavering passion and determination for what they saw as the improvement of society through support of the arts. W. McNeil Lowry's cooperation with Julius Rudel at the New York City Opera helped establish a post-war American repertory that has cemented such classics as Carlisle Floyd's *Susannah*, Gian Carlo Menotti's *The Consul*, and Douglas Moore's *The Ballad of Baby Doe*. Lowry was single-mindedly concerned with opera companies, symphony orchestras, and resident theaters to the exclusion of other cultural practices, but he was also someone who spent money in a way that he thought it should be spent. Furthermore, he worked on behalf of a *private* foundation and institution. Milton Babbitt acted similarly for the Rockefeller Foundation.[98] Nevertheless, private foundations were still entrusted with serving the *public* good, and their tax-exempt status was predicated on this principle.

Bifurcation resulted because of how foundations and the endowment justified support for high arts groups, which they characterized as assisting "the best of the best" and of upholding standards of "excellence." By contrast, officers at all three institutions were constantly worried about supporting community, amateur, or the ethnic groups as "sociological" programs or needing to make sacrifices in "quality" to support them. Instead, for the foundations in particular, the best way to help black artists was to support their incorporation into orchestras or to fund the high arts with the hope that improving overall excellence at the top would trickle down into other artistic and

[98] For me as a music historian, Babbitt's most important contribution has always been the way he has challenged my own understanding about music's ontology and role in society: he has made me think more deeply about definitions of music and creativity, about scientific and technological progress and its relation to art, and how much music can, should, or should not be supported by public or private sources.

cultural practices. Just like it was supposed to work in economic theory, by supporting those high up, quality and wealth were to be generated and distributed to the bottom. In the conclusion of this dissertation, I will further explore the realities and consequences of the Trickle Down Theory of artistic quality and the bifurcated system of arts funding.

CONCLUSION

> Yet man increasingly realizes that meeting basic physical needs falls far short of attaining the end objectives of life -- the emotional, intellectual, and aesthetic satisfactions that constitute his higher needs. The arts today are more fully appreciated as one means by which man can achieve the satisfactions he seeks, and therefore are important, even essential, to the human mind and spirit.[1]
>
> John D. Rockefeller, 3rd, *The Performing Arts: Problems and Prospects* (1965)

> The winners of public arts funding constitute a small, elite segment of the population whose cultural milieu, that is, white Western European non-contemporary art in traditional settings -- receives the bulk of the public arts subsidy. The losers are in two groups: nonelite citizens who identify with many other forms of artistic expression in less traditional and formal settings, and our indigenous creative artists.[2]
>
> Edward Arian, *The Unfulfilled Promise* (1989)

In this dissertation, I explored the Rockefeller Foundation, Ford Foundation, and National Endowment for the Arts's music programs during the decades of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. I analyzed the role of expertise in this system of arts grantmaking, from the evaluations made by outside consultants and panelists who formed advisory committees, to the large influence of program directors, chairmen, and boards of trustees. I demonstrated that experts were drawn from

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[1] Rockefeller Panel Report on the Future of Theatre, Dance, Music in America, *The Performing Arts: Problems and Prospects* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1965), v.

[2] Edward Arian, *The Unfulfilled Promise: Public Subsidy of the Arts in America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), ix.

a limited pool of individuals and that the recruitment of those individuals relied on a tight network of connections, which often involved affiliation with elite institutions. I examined the relationship between public and private sources of funding -- at times competitive, at times cooperative -- and I discussed the impacts of tax policies and congressional investigations on the actions of private foundations operating in a democracy. I argued that matching requirements further reinforced grantmaking targeted at arts organizations that were already receiving funds. And finally, I investigated two areas of support that received the lion's share of foundation and endowment funding: symphony orchestras and university new music centers. I compared the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Foundation, and NEA's large grants to these two categories, in comparison to the relative lack of funding for minority and other underrepresented music groups. The NEA's jazz, folk arts, and expansion arts divisions were the exception. In this conclusion, I tie up some loose ends, propose subjects for future research, and offer a final word to present-day cultural policy leaders and grantmakers.

A TRICKLE DOWN THEORY OF ARTS FUNDING AND SYSTEMS OF ARISTOCRACY

In 1966, at the fourth meeting of the National Council on the Arts (NCA), esteemed violinist and NCA member Isaac Stern stated that "as professional standards become stronger and more safely entrenched, they radiate downward their influence into the quasi-professionals, the amateur, and the entire field."[3] Stern argued that the government should focus on the "powerful buttressing... of the present professional apparatus," and "by their strength, they will lead and pull everything up." His rhetoric and justification of supporting only the "most powerful guns," that is, "the established professional groups," can be regarded as what I would call a Trickle Down Theory of arts funding and artistic quality. The logic was that if institutions like the NEA and the Ford

[3] Folder: Fourth Meeting (Feb. 11, 1966), Box 1, A1 Entry 18, Record Group 288 (RG288), The National Archives at College Park, Maryland (Archives II).

Foundation -- both places where Stern served as consultant -- supported artistic work of the highest merit, professionalism, and excellence, then eventually "artistic standards" would trickle down to "lower" art forms.

As I have argued, the Trickle Down Theory was predicated on closed systems of expertise and elitism. A relatively small number of experts -- such as Stern, Leonard Bernstein, Aaron Copland, and Virgil Thomson -- decided the merits and priorities of grantmaking institutions. Their experiences, education, and socialization (or, their habitus), were heavily immersed and indebted to the discourse of elitism in the professional performing arts. In the United States during the mid-twentieth century, these arts were constituted of Western European high art forms, and most specifically, orchestras and opera companies.

I should acknowledge that there is nothing wrong with striving for the highest excellence and standards of professionalism. These goals push artists to pursue a complete mastery of skill and human expression in a particular art form. But what this single-minded ambition actually translated to in practice, and the extent to which individuals after the Second World War were willing to devote extra resources to the value system of European concert music -- at the expense of other genres and styles -- was also a moral issue of equity and democracy.

The systems of arts grantmaking and expertise were both structurally "aristocratic."[4] As I introduced at the beginning of this dissertation, philosopher Gloria Origgi references citation networks as an illustrative example of another system that is "aristocratic": the more citations you receive, the more you will receive in the future, so the rich get richer. By analogy, once an artist began to garner grants, he or she was more likely to receive further support; once an individual was recruited as an expert, he or she was more likely to be sought after as an expert in the future.

[4] Edge, "What Is Reputation? A Conversation with Gloria Origgi," May 11, 2015, http://edge.org/conversation/gloria_origgi-what-is-reputation (Accessed 01 10 2015).

Sociologist Robert Merton's theory of the "Matthew Effect," which I discuss in Chapter 2, is also relevant. In our own field, one might think of a common canon of cited works.[5] The unfathomable quantity of texts written on a yearly basis means that it is impossible to read everything. Instead, the citation network privileges a limited number, of which most are expected to read and know, even if the concept serves only as part of a much larger field or discourse. I would argue that the same applies for arts grantmaking and arts expertise. The more often an expert was consulted, the more likely he was to be consulted and thus the power and legitimacy of his expertise grew (male pronouns most often applied). In the words of scholar James English, the competitive paradigm of the industry espoused an "economy of prestige" and was "winner-take-all."[6] Or in the words of my colleague Cheng Gao, expertise was a "meta-resource" that contributed to a "positive feedback loop."

Therefore, I want to ask the question of what was meant by artistic standards trickling down from the top. From my examination of the programs that Ford, Rockefeller, and NEA funded, there was in truth, little overlap between the symphony orchestras and opera companies "at the top," and amateur groups or musicians performing in non-Western art "at the bottom." More often than not, criticisms from within and without the grantmaking institutions argued that the elite groups at the top were not engaging enough with non-traditional audiences or with other musicians. Thus, very little knowledge, skill, or experience was actually trickling down. Moreover, due to the winner-take-all character of the system, those at the top accumulated higher levels of prestige and

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[5] For example, Christopher Small's *Musicking* is a main reference source regarding the idea of music as "process" and "practice," turning "music" from noun to verb. Christopher Small, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1998). The fact that musicking is so well cited -- according to Google Scholar, 2190 citations as of the year 2016 -- stands in contrast to Small's non-conventional academic pedigree and career path. Despite his lack of institutionalized credentials from elite universities, scholars continue to reference his idea.

[6] James F. English, *The Economy of Prestige: Prizes, Awards, and the Circulation of Cultural Value* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).

cultural capital than popular and minority art forms -- assets and capital that they were reluctant to relinquish. And so decision making self perpetuated in a closed and exclusionary cycle.

The outcome of this approach and funding structure was that symphony orchestras and opera companies became *doubly advantaged*, and jazz ensembles, folk musicians, and mariachi groups, inter alia, became *doubly disadvantaged*. The former group received funding from the federal government and large philanthropic foundations, *in addition to* the benefits of the recognition of excellence that these grantmaking institutions bestowed. The Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and the NEA provided their stamps of approval while the requirements for matching grants brought in even more funding at the state level, from smaller foundations, and from wealthy individuals. For example, in a speech given in 1970 to a conference on "The Future of Orchestras in America," NEA Chairman Nancy Hanks reiterated the connection between the emergence of its orchestra program and the use of Treasury Fund grants [as I discussed in Chapter 4].[7] Instead of the NEA allocating *only* $250,000 with its funds, it was able to provide almost $1 million per orchestra with the addition of money given by private donors. At the other side of the spectrum, however, community arts and music programs received neither federal government, large foundation support, nor the recognition that these grants provided. Under this system, orchestras and opera companies were doubly advantaged from *both* public funds and private funds, and from *both* grants and recognition. Those at the top of the arts world remained at the top, while those at the bottom languished at the bottom. The structural bias in favor of Western high art and supporting "quality" and "excellence" was thus proven to be at the expense of an equally laudable goal of cultural pluralism, where a diverse array of art forms representing many racial, cultural, and geographic backgrounds might have been supported.

[7] Folder: The Future of Orchestras in America Denver June 19, 1970, Box 1, A1 Entry 5, RG288, Archives II.

Some of the most recent sociological analysis of the grantmaking of the NEA from the late 1980s and 1990s further demonstrates how much the government agency still relied on a Trickle Down Theory of arts funding. For instance, sociologist Samuel Gilmore focuses on the ways in which grants to minorities (defined according to racial or ethnic U.S. census statuses as African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Latino-Americans, and Native Americans) have historically been low in number, either due to lack of awareness about grants, or lack of technical expertise to apply successfully for grants.[8] His empirical research shows,

> the percentage of grants that directly support minority artists and minority-run arts organizations is decreasing as a percentage of the minority arts category, while minority outreach and minority programming by non-minority organizations [that is, Western high art groups] are an increasing portion of the minority arts pie.[9]

Gilmore's analysis indicates that while the overall level of funding for minority populations improved slightly across NEA funding during the 1980s and early 1990s, grants to minority individuals as artists decreased relative to non-minority groups. This last trend reveals that the vestiges of a Trickle Down Theory of quality and professionalism still persisted. Rather than providing more resources to minority artists themselves, the NEA continued to support professional high art Western groups and their efforts to develop outreach programs.

There were, however, also some glimmers of structural change, including greater participation of minority artists on NEA panels. For instance, Gilmore argues that when there were more minorities serving as panelists, a greater number of grants were given to minority artists and groups. While there may have been a number of factors involved which urge caution in drawing a direct relationship, including the fact that minority panelists tended to be selected for programs

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[8] Samuel Gilmore, "Minorities and Distributional Equity at the National Endowment for the Arts," *Journal of Arts Management, Law & Society* 23, no. 2 (1993). Congress and the NEA have also defined "underserved" communities as rural populations and inner-city minority populations.

[9] Ibid.

that already had a significant number of minority applicants, nevertheless, "by simply displaying a culturally diverse panel, programs at the endowment communicate a positive predisposition for culturally eclectic work." Furthermore, an ethnically diverse panel facilitated the inclusion of wide-ranging expertise and experience in evaluating both traditional and non-traditional artistic activity.

AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There are a number of topics ripe for further investigation. One main area is the NEA's Expansion Arts and Folk Arts programs, which were unique in the field of arts funding. Nancy Hanks established the Expansion Arts program in 1971, an unprecedented and bold move which, for the first time after the Great Depression, opened government funding to minority communities. The program targeted "community-based arts organizations from America's inner-city, rural, and tribal communities."[10] African Americans Vantile Whitfield and A.B. Spellman were its first two program directors, serving through 1991. Whitfield was a teacher, performer, and theater producer from Los Angeles and A.B. Spellman was a poet and jazz writer, who had been a faculty member at Harvard. Hanks also established the Folk Arts program in 1976. Its stalwart director was Bess Lomax Hawes, who led the program from 1977 to 1992. Hawes was a folk musician (from the famed Lomax family of folklorists), and during her tenure, the program's annual budget grew from $100,000 to more than $4 million.

Yet while the Expansion Arts and Folk Arts divisions were milestones in their support of non-dominant cultural art forms, they suffered different fates. The period from the 1980s was a tumultuous and precarious time for arts funding: financial support from the Rockefeller and Ford Foundations shrank to fractions of what they had been, and the NEA's budget barely survived the cuts proposed by President Reagan. Today, the Folk Arts program continues to operate, but the

[10] National Endowment for the Arts, "Annual Report 1971."

Expansion Arts program disappeared in the 1990s in the midst of the controversial "Culture Wars" (officially, its program grants became incorporated into other divisions). The straws that broke the camel's back were the controversial art pieces of Andres Serrano ("Piss Christ," a photograph of a crucifix submerged in the artist's urine) and Robert Mapplethorpe ("The Perfect Moment," a retrospective of the artist's photographs, some of which were considered homoerotic, sadomasochistic, and pornographic). What has not been investigated, however, is the fact that the most lamentable casualties of the "Culture Wars" were not the avant-garde or high art traditions, but the local initiatives of the most socioeconomically marginalized communities.

Another area for future research is the important role of state-level arts agencies. By the 1970s, there were 55 state arts agencies in the United States: one for every state, as well as American Samoa, the District of Columbia, Guam, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands. Each agency received funding from both its state legislature as well as from the NEA. All had professional staff and a governor-appointed advisory council or commission. But they were also all unique, with varying approaches to grant appropriations and services to artists and arts organizations. In 1973, Congress required that the NEA allocate a minimum of 20% of its program funds to states, usually through state arts agencies and regional organizations. As former executive director of the National Assembly of State Arts Agencies Annie Goekjian described, state arts agencies "reflect the immense cultural, economic, and geographic diversity of the United States. Because they address themselves to the needs of their particular state, the state arts agency is able to design and implement programs to meet those needs."[11] Thus inter-state analyses can be conducted, as well as focusing on some of the largest programs, including those in New York and California.

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[11] Annie Goekjian, "State Arts Agencies: An Overview," *Bulletin of the Council for Research in Music Education* 58 (1979): 1–8.

Additional research can also examine the role of non-governmental organizations in arts funding. For example, corporations -- as private organizations with for-profit motives -- had the privilege of deducting up to 5% of pretax net income for charitable contributions.[12] In 1980, 2.1 million corporations gave more than $2.7 billion ($7.8 billion in 2014) to charities (not restricted to the arts), although only 25% of the corporations contributed over $500. Most companies gave between 1% to 2% of pretax net income.[13] The Business Committee for the Arts (BCA), an organization that promoted corporate giving to the arts, was in part, established by the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations, in addition to David Rockefeller, John D. Rockefeller III, the Old Dominion Foundation, and the Rockefeller Brothers Fund.[14] Through educational programs, counseling services, and nationwide conferences, it encouraged corporations to make financial contributions and donate their services. Corporate contributions to arts organizations had risen from $22 million in 1965 ($165 million in 2014) to over $140 million in 1972 ($800 million), just slightly larger than the NEA's annual budget the same year.[15] And further growth was expected and demanded. The relationship between the BCA, the NEA, and the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations -- especially considering the roles of Rockefeller family members -- could be further explored. Corporate contributions and the influence of such companies like Texaco, Exxon-Mobil, Coca Cola, and Sears Roebuck can also be examined.

Additional investigation should also be dedicated to the important role of Nelson Rockefeller, as the governor of New York from 1959 to 1973 (after which he was elected Vice

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[12] Bette Stead, "Corporate Giving: A Look at the Arts," *Journal of Business Ethics* 4, no. 3 (1985): 215–22.

[13] Ibid.

[14] Folder: Business Committee on the Arts, Box 10, A1 Entry 2, RG288, Archives II.

[15] "Brochure: Beyond Philanthropy Culture and the Corporation, excerpts from David Rockefeller, from the 7th annual meeting of the Business Committee for the Arts," 1974 04 03, Folder: Business Committee on the Arts, Box 10, A1 Entry 2, RG288, Archives II.

President of the United States, 1974-77). Rockefeller was a noted art collector and philanthropist.[16] He was the son of John Rockefeller, Jr. and Abigail Greene Aldrich, and with his brothers John III, Laurance, Winthrop, and David, he established the Rockefeller Brothers Fund in 1940. As governor, Nelson founded the New York State Council on the Arts in 1960, five years before the NEA. Not only did the New York council serve as a model for the later government agency, but the very actors involved were tightly connected. Nancy Hanks was a close friend of Nelson's, and she served as executive secretary for the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, leading its important report on the performing arts (published in 1965, quoted above).[17] Even after Nelson became Vice President of the United States, he continued to advocate especially for arts education and corporate patronage of the arts.[18] Thus state arts agencies like the New York State Council on the Arts were not only important for the remarkable number of artists and organizations that they supported, but also for their role in originating and shaping NEA policy.

Finally, further sociological research can be undertaken to examine changes in U.S. cultural consumption patterns since the 1970s to measure the impact of arts funding institutions. Sociologist Richard Peterson has, for example, been the leading proponent of the Cultural Omnivore Thesis. Peterson proposes that rather than a dichotomous model of elite-versus-mass culture, higher-class consumers are open to a more diverse repertoire of cultural goods. In other words, instead of a highbrow-lowbrow divide where consumers of highbrow art accumulate greater levels of cultural capital, an omnivorous consumption of *both* highbrow and lowbrow art has

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[16] Rockefeller's interventions are captured partly in Renee Levine Packer, *This Life of Sounds: Evenings for New Music in Buffalo* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), and also in the summaries of items held at the Rockefeller Archive Center.

[17] Michael Straight, *Nancy Hanks, An Intimate Portrait: The Creation of a National Commitment to the Arts* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1988).

[18] Nelson Rockefeller, "The Value of Art Education," *Art Education* 28, no. 6 (1975): 6–25.

become more socially valuable. With sufficient financial resources and time, a cultural omnivore in New York City can have dinner at a three-star Michelin restaurant, drop by the new exhibit at the Whitney Museum of American Art, attend an Indie band concert in SoHo, chill at the after-party in Brooklyn, and eat a midnight snack at a taco truck. Today, social media platforms like Instagram, Facebook, and Twitter further facilitate conspicuous consumption in the experience-based economy. The consumption of high art is only one part of the picture.

By contrast, Peterson notes that lower-class consumption patterns reflect a greater dichotomy of highbrow and lowbrow, with the predominant preference for popular, folk, and commercial (or, historically "lowbrow") arts practices. Cultural omnivores consume a wide range of experiences and products because they are more likely to have the financial resources to do so. Lower-class consumption, on the other hand, tends to be solely lowbrow fare (and thus, "univorous"), unless there are low-cost or free options of the highbrow kind. In Peterson's words, those in the lowest occupational groups "tend to engage in few activities and... strongly like one single non-elite form of music."[19]

Over the past two decades, other sociologists have taken on Peterson's thesis. For example, Tally Katz-Gerro and Oriel Sullivan coin the term "voraciousness" to measure the volume at which individuals engage in activities, rather than just their breadth.[20] Peterson's and Roger Kern's statistical analysis in the late 1990s demonstrates that older cohorts were more omnivorous than they had been as younger cohorts born after the Second World War, and were even more

[19] Richard Peterson, "Understanding Audience Segmentation: From Elite and Mass to Omnivore and Univore," *Poetics* 21 (1992): 243–58.

[20] Tally Katz-Gerro and Oriel Sullivan, "Voracious Cultural Consumption: The Intertwining of Gender and Social Status," *Time & Society* 19, no. 2 (2010): 193–219.

omnivorous than older high-status cohorts born before 1945.[21] Thus not only were the cohorts shifting overall toward being more omnivorous, but younger cohorts were becoming more omnivorous at a faster rate.

Given that some of the latest sociological research indicates that listening and consumption patterns have been changing over the past three decades toward greater variety and depth of music, then the reevaluation of government and private foundations' funding patterns might also be warranted. For instance, while the highbrow-lowbrow divide has deteriorated, the support of highbrow arts has remained, to a degree, entrenched. Other forms of non-commercially viable art, including folk music, jazz, and minority music, still remain largely out of the picture. Whether government and foundation funding should "keep up with the times" is a question worth asking, as well as whether the system of public and private funding should be restructured, especially in light of the continued growth in the number and wealth of large private foundations. Finally, the issue of whether funding should be targeted at low-status rather than high-status individuals is another one worth deliberating.

A NOTE TO PRESENT-DAY ARTS GRANTMAKERS

One of my colleagues joked that, with this dissertation, I had become an expert on experts, or at least arts experts. It is hard to disavow the degree to which I have focused on such power and influence. It certainly was gained through careful work and critical evaluation of my material, but the responsibility is not easy to accept. After all, so many of my conclusions have encouraged me to question the role of experts and the extent to which society should trust them. How can I then be the expert to urge caution of other experts, especially in the ways that we listen to, consume, and produce music and art? That would be hypocrisy at its finest. What I can offer, however, are

[21] Peterson, Richard and Roger M Kern, "Changing Highbrow Taste: From Snob to Omnivore," *American Sociological Review* 61, no. 5 (1996): 900–907.

my thoughts, which I hope will spur further debate and discussion. You can value my opinion to the extent that I have spent a significant amount of time thinking and writing about this subject, but you should also value the opinions of those who have other forms of knowledge about the topic: past and current grantmakers, government officials, scholars, artists, managers, audience members, and connoisseurs.

To conclude, I would like for the last time, to lay my cards on the table and offer my thoughts to present-day grant and policymakers. I advocate a structure of arts funding that is open to more ethnic minority artists and groups, as well as historically marginalized white and black traditions that have been excluded because they were deemed too popular, folksy, or lowbrow. The time I have spent poring over tens of thousands of pages of memoranda, letters, diaries, and guidelines, in addition to numerous hours spent interviewing past and current program directors and staff members, has allowed me to come to some of my own thoughts on recommendations that I would make.

If I were to develop a system of arts grantmaking, what would it look like, and who would be involved? What systems of decision making and leadership -- of experts and consultants -- would I advocate? One of the biggest takeaways from studying the development of the structure of arts funding structure is that leadership is important. I documented the positive impact of strong leaders in the cases of Nancy Hanks at the NEA, W. McNeil Lowry at the Ford Foundation, and Norman Lloyd and Howard Klein at the Rockefeller Foundation. Thus, in a just and diverse arts world, I would recommend finding a particular kind of leader to put in charge -- someone who is charismatic; someone empathetic; someone who cares deeply about the value of cultural expression and participation. I would give this individual the power to carry out an agenda in an independent way, that was at the same time as transparent as possible. I would also give him or her a number of years to implement that strategy.

Because I value an arts world that is multicultural, I would find someone who not only has strong leadership skills, but also is outspokenly committed to supporting racial and social justice, in all its forms, and combating inequality. The leader should be aware of historical and institutional injustice and prejudice, as well as aware of his or her own privileges in today's society. Because arts patrons have been overwhelmingly white, I would advocate the recruitment of leaders who are people of color.

Regarding the issue of consultants and experts, I would still recommend their continued use -- but with caution. The strongest contribution that experts provide is their wealth of knowledge and experience, which is invaluable. Most frequently, the experts who are consulted as panelists or evaluators have decades of experience in their field, and they know what has and has not been successful in the past. But different experiences and backgrounds should also be prioritized. We should not consider membership in elite institutions or prestigious organizations as a greater source of expertise than a significant amount of work in a local community context or in a rural setting. Otherwise, ignorance of non-dominant cultural forms amounts to their exclusion. Program directors must be as committed to, and cognizant of, issues of injustice and inequality as their leaders, because they are the ones who have a substantial impact in ensuring diversity and depth in their programs.

Minority applicants are often less equipped to directly seek grants offered by institutions such as the NEA, the Ford Foundation, and the Rockefeller Foundation. In general, their social networks are more limited than those of artists and organizations that have received public and private funding for decades. Furthermore, even for minority applicants who know about the availability of grants, they may nevertheless lack the technical experience to apply. They frequently lack development offices or grant writers that larger, more mainstream arts organizations normally employ. To truly lay the groundwork for a more democratic and multicultural system of arts

funding, it is important to reach out to those who have been routinely left out of the system. Plant seeds through initial grants; provide awards; and afford recognition. Do not just publish guidelines, but actively visit, recruit, and promote. Equip artists and organizations not only with financial resources, but also know-how to empower them to manage their budgets, reach out to other funders, and network with their peers. Do not expect arts organizations to become self-sufficient within a limited number of years, and remember that systemic inequality and prejudice have disadvantaged poor and working-class people, individuals with disabilities, women, and people of color over multiple generations.

As a final word, I would say this: do not listen only to the same voices. Do not go to the same people for consultation and expertise over and over again. Money speaks loudly on its own, and privilege affords the means to speak and be heard. Instead, listen to those who have been ignored in the past, and to those who speak in different languages and from different perspectives. Reach out to those who have been marginalized or feel that they do not have a stake or a right in the system. Those are the voices I want to hear.

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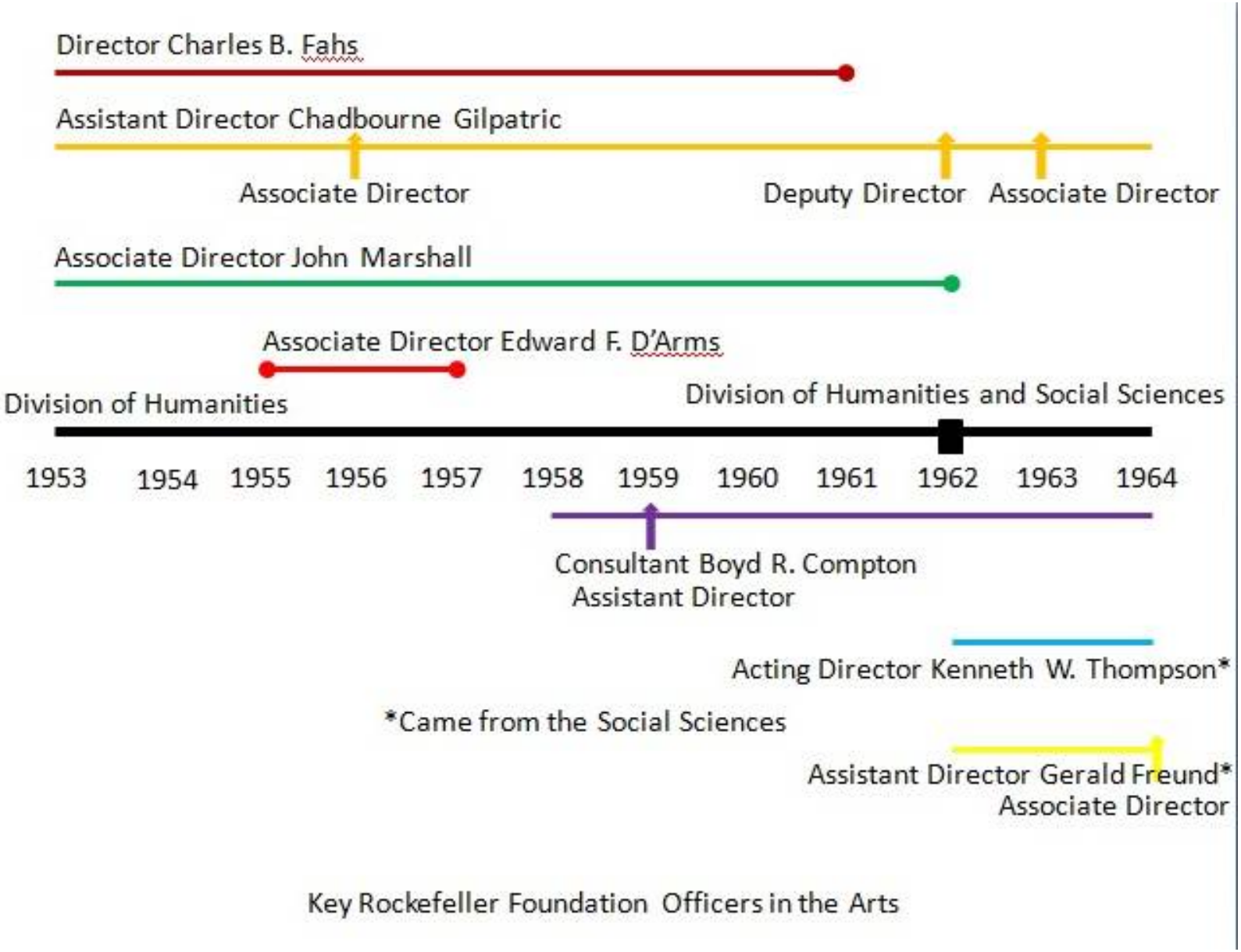
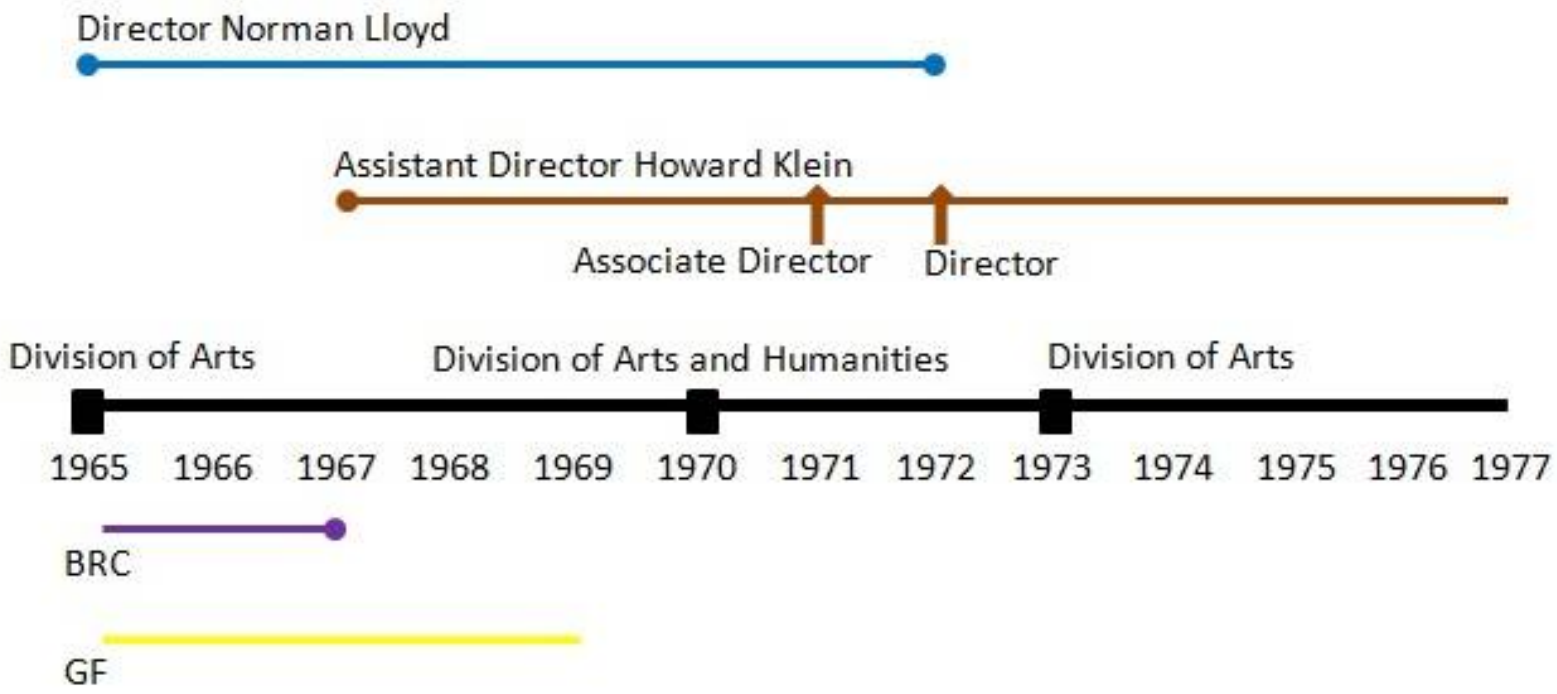
APPENDIX: KEY FOUNDATION AND ENDOWMENT OFFICERS



Key Rockefeller Foundation Officers in the Arts



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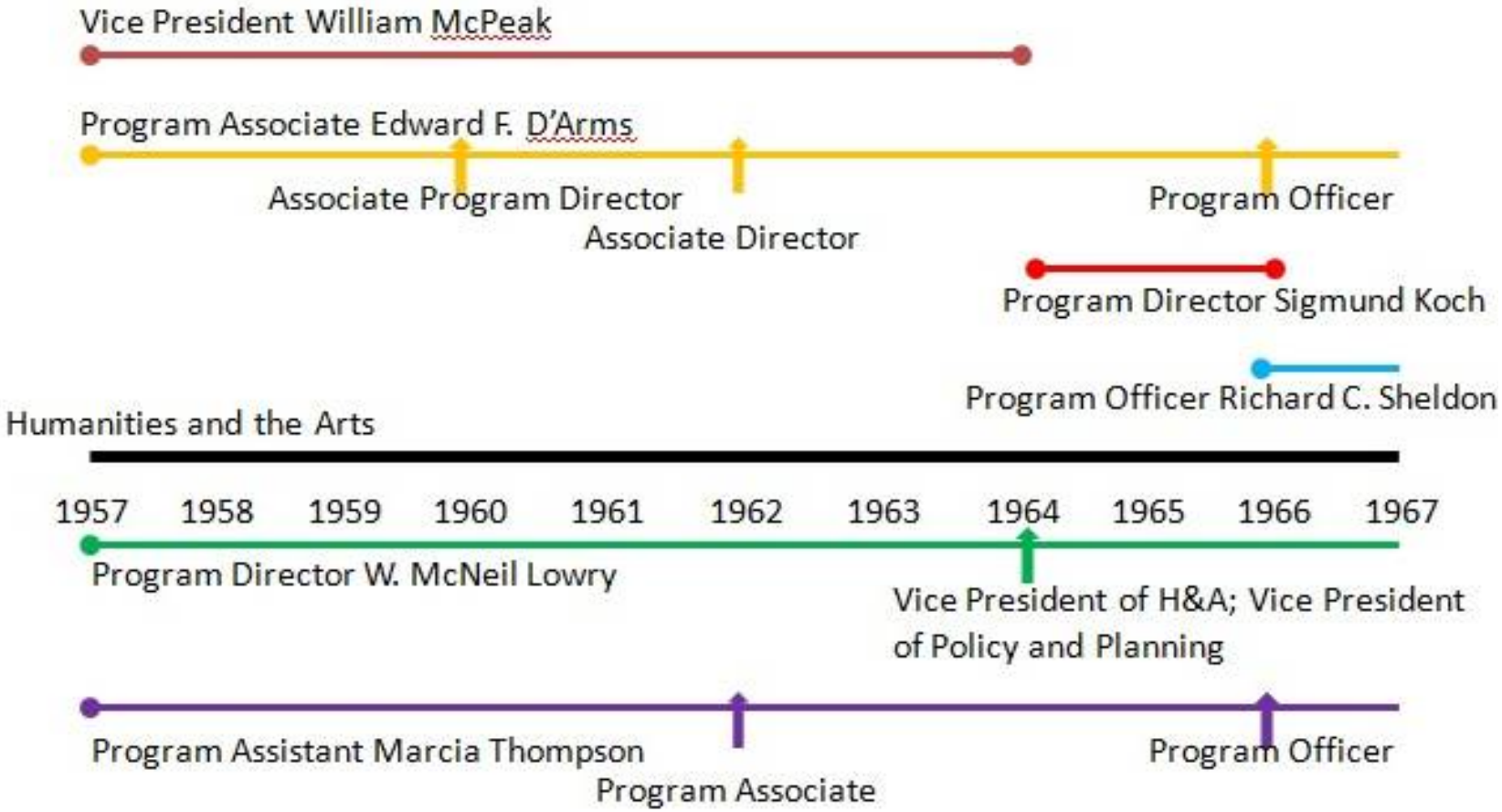

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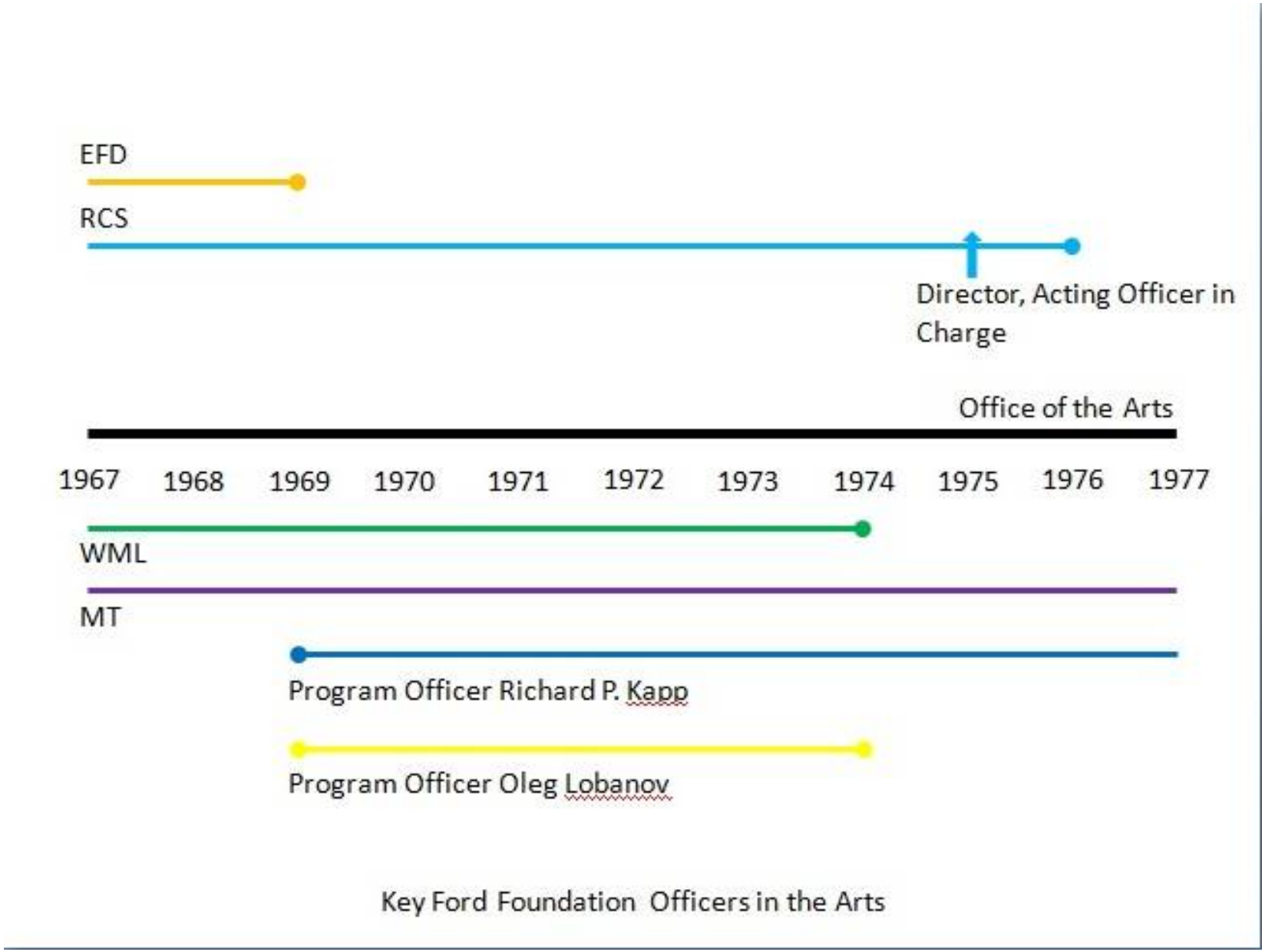

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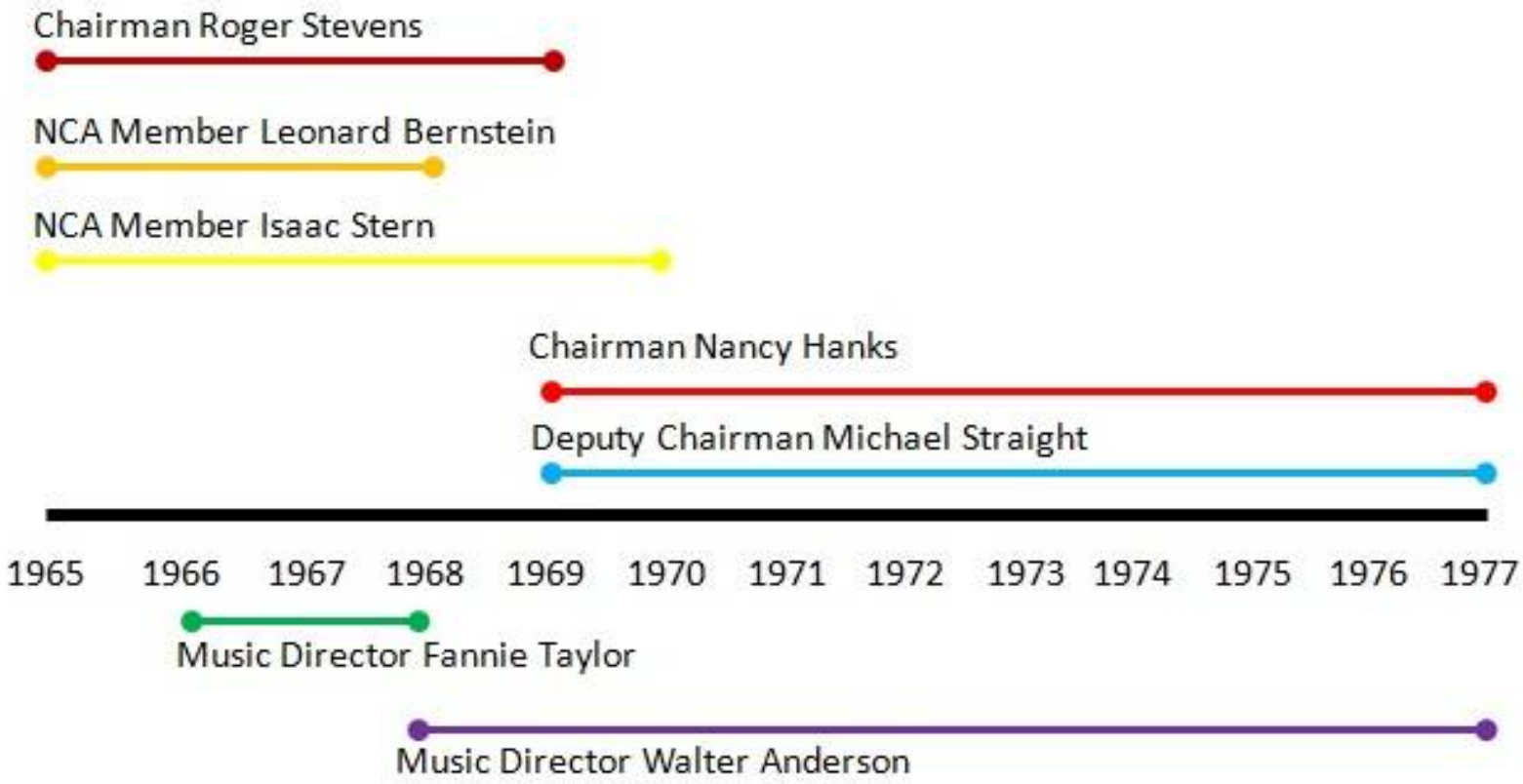

Key NEA Officers and NCA Members in Music