

## *Introduction*

Mark Rice, August 11, 2014

As an American Studies scholar, I'm interested in photographs that—in some fashion or another—seek to speak with authority: photographs that assert that their representation of a place, a person, or a time is particularly worthy of our attention. I am interested in how such photographs come to be made, how they circulate, and how they are received by their audiences.

This was the context in which I wrote “Art/Document/History: The NEA Photography Surveys and 1970s America.” The article stemmed from my doctoral dissertation and was the first scholarly article I published. It gave me confidence in the work I was doing. Having always swum outside the main currents of my field, to be acknowledged within the photography world was especially gratifying, and it helped pave the way toward the publication of my first book.

I didn't know about the Photography Surveys when I began my research a few years prior to the article's 2002 publication. In fact, very few people did. The NEA ran that particular grant category from 1976 to 1981, but it had largely been forgotten in the years since. In the early stages of my research, still grappling toward some sense of coherence about what I was doing, I stumbled onto the surveys. While studying dozens of exhibition catalogs that I found myself drawn to in the library of the Visual Studies Workshop, I noticed that in catalog after catalog thanks were given to the National Endowment for the Arts for supporting the artists with a Photography Surveys grant.

My interest was piqued, and my dissertation suddenly came into focus. For the next couple of years I learned as much as I could about the Surveys, traveling multiple times to Washington, D.C. to view the written records at the offices of the NEA (after first having them hauled out of storage, sparing them from the shredder) and many of the photographs that were in the Smithsonian American Art Museum. I tried contacting as many of the participating photographers as I could locate, and I worked hard to find a framework for making meaning out of the photographs and the projects that gave rise to them.

My intent was to bring these projects back to light and to begin a conversation about a chapter of American photographic history that I believed—and continue to believe—deserves more attention. There is more work that can be done with the Photography Surveys, and I'm gratified that I had a role in bringing these important works back into the public eye.

I continue to work with photographs that seek to speak authoritatively about their subjects. In 2009, in the *Columbia Journal of American Studies*, I published "Arcadian Visions of the Past," an article critically examining Arcadia Publishing's seemingly ubiquitous series of sepia-toned photo-centric local history books. For the past few years I have been working with a large archive of photographs taken in the first decade of U.S. colonialism in the Philippines seeking to understand the ways in which those photographs helped shape American perceptions of their new colonial possession. Although these topics may appear diffuse, to me they are very much intertwined and are directly connected to the article presented here.

**Mark Rice** is professor and chair of American Studies at St. John Fisher College in Rochester, New York, where he has taught since 1998. He is the author of two books about the role of

photography in American society. The first, *Through the Lens of the City: NEA Photography Surveys of the 1970s*, was published in 2005 by the University Press of Mississippi. The second, *Dean Worcester's Fantasy Islands: Photography, Film, and the Colonial Philippines*, was published in 2014 by the University of Michigan Press. Since 2008 he has run an annual speaker series, "America Seen," in which a prominent photographer is brought to campus to talk about how her or his work helps illuminate American landscapes: natural, built, or social.

# Art/Document/History: The NEA Photography Surveys and 1970s America

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Mark Rice

In these early years of the twenty-first century, when the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) no longer provides individual grants to visual artists, and at times seems to barely exist at all, it is easy to forget that in the not-too-distant past the federal government was highly supportive of visual artists in the United States. A generation ago, before the “scandals” of Robert Mapplethorpe and Andres Serrano, the NEA actively promoted photography as a fine art, and just a bit earlier, in the 1970s, the government looked to the NEA as a key player in the efforts to create a meaningful and enduring national photographic record of the Bicentennial era.

The government’s interest in photography was prompted by a dramatic expansion of the medium’s significance and visibility in the 1970s. As the photographer Lewis Baltz points out, “[T]he 1970s witnessed an intensity of photographic activity in America unequalled since the 1930s.”<sup>1</sup> Merry Foresta, curator of photography at the Smithsonian American Art Museum adds that “photography came of age in America in the 1970s.”<sup>2</sup> The prominence of American photography in the 1970s was such that, in 1974, *Newsweek* carried a cover story on the subject. Quoting the photo-historian Peter Bunnell, the *Newsweek* article pointed out that the generation of photographers who were coming of age in the 1970s were “aware—and their successors will be even more so—that photography lies within the largest whole of social, political, and cultural thought.”<sup>3</sup>

The growing awareness in the 1970s of the significance of photography prompted the federal government to lend its weight to promoting photography as a part of the nation’s artistic and cultural heritage. The historian Michael Kammen has written about the government’s vigorous involvement in the arts and cultural landscape during the 1970s, noting “the desire by a few people to articulate a national cultural policy” as a component of President Jimmy Carter’s administration.<sup>4</sup> The National Endowment for the Arts played an important role in such efforts. The

NEA, founded in 1965, began funding individual photography fellowships in 1971, and in 1976 formalized a grant category called Photography Surveys. Although the Photography Surveys grant category is virtually unknown today, it was one of the most important governmental efforts in history to use photography to explore American society and culture. From 1976 until 1981, when budget cuts and shifting priorities prompted the cancellation of the Photography Surveys category, the NEA provided matching grants of up to \$25,000 to roughly seventy projects that recorded a wide range of aspects of American people and places: from statewide surveys of Kentucky, Maryland, Minnesota, New Mexico, and Wyoming, to a survey of farm workers in California, to a survey of the gentrification of Manhattan’s Lower East Side, to a survey of the Vietnamese and Laotian communities of Louisiana’s Gulf Coast. As written in the Endowment’s 1977 Annual Report,

The aims of this program are to encourage and assist in the creation of state and regional photography surveys; to bring resulting bodies of work before the public in the form of exhibitions and/or publications; and to preserve resulting visual records in appropriate institutions. Survey projects are considered that: commission photographers to document aspects of contemporary life and culture in a state or region; are designed to reveal, through existing photographs, aspects of the history of a state or region; combine newly commissioned, contemporary and historical photographs in one project.<sup>5</sup>

Each project originated locally, with photographers working singly or in groups under the sponsorship of arts commissions, historical societies, museums, and universities. The NEA strived for a democratic representation of the country through these surveys; project applications were peer-reviewed and efforts were made to select projects from as many regions of the country as



Figure 1 Joe Deal, *Boulevard Trailer Court, Long Beach, California*, from the *Long Beach Documentary Survey Project*, 1983.63.376, Smithsonian American Art Museum, transfer from the National Endowment for the Arts. Reprinted with permission of Smithsonian American Art Museum.

possible.<sup>6</sup> The Photography Surveys category was deliberately flexible in its design. The resultant projects varied greatly in their approaches; taken together, they accumulate into a textured portrait of the nation as a whole. The significance of these projects is found at multiple levels—as individual projects recording events of local and regional concern, as components of a wider effort to reveal many of the shared concerns of Americans in the late 1970s and early 1980s, and as efforts to challenge accepted notions of photographic representation, particularly in regard to the idea of documentary photography, which was increasingly being incorporated into discourses of

modernist art history.

The NEA Photography Surveys category has important roots in a proposal made in 1975 by Walter Mondale, then senator from Minnesota, that the federal government sponsor a comprehensive photographic documentation of the United States during the Bicentennial. Mondale proposed his “American Bicentennial Photography and Film Project” (ABPFP) as an amendment to an economic relief bill being considered by the Senate. In the statement of purpose for his amendment, Mondale specifically linked the ABPFP to the famed Farm Security Administration (FSA) photography of the Great Depression, saying

that “the federally supported photographic projects conducted during the 1930’s created a lasting national historic and artistic resource of priceless value.”<sup>7</sup> Mondale proposed that the NEA coordinate the ABPFP, and further proposed that “the Endowment shall assure that representative photographs and films (including, where appropriate, negatives) produced under this title are made available for the permanent collection of the Library of Congress.”<sup>8</sup> Thus, the photographs from the project were to become part of the nation’s cultural patrimony, to give future Americans “access to a period through which they did not live,” as Mondale said of the legacy of the FSA photographs. Seeing parallels between the recession of the 1970s and the Great Depression, Mondale argued that the FSA was the proper model for his proposal, and he believed that the ABPFP “could produce a legacy as important as that of the FSA.”<sup>9</sup> Emphasizing the perceived connections between the 1930s and the 1970s, and the consequent need to build a national portrait during the Bicentennial as enduring as that made during the Great Depression, one supporter of Mondale’s proposal said, “In the 1930’s, the Farm Security Administration helped make people aware of the problems and concerns of the nation as a whole. Today, as in the thirties, we are again in danger of increasing divisions in society. We need to come together as a nation—rich and poor and middle-class, black and white, Hispanic and Oriental. I think this project can lead the way.”<sup>10</sup>

During a Senate subcommittee hearing on the ABPFP, a number of leading figures in American photography voiced their opinions about Mondale’s proposal. Although there were disagreements about details—particularly regarding the role of the NEA in the project—there was general unanimity about the worth of such a project. Former FSA photographer Arthur Rothstein said that the proposal was “a great idea” and pointed out that *Parade* magazine (of which Rothstein was an associate editor) had also suggested such a national portrait.<sup>11</sup> However, Rothstein had reservations about some of the particulars of the proposal. Recalling his experiences with the FSA, Rothstein said that Roy Stryker and the FSA photographers were consistent in their “sense of history.” Rothstein was worried that photographers hired as part of a make-work program would not have “the proper background and approach” to craft the sort of historically significant document that Mondale desired.

John Szarkowski, curator of photography at New York’s Museum of Modern Art and the most

influential figure in American photography at the time, did not share Rothstein’s concerns. Szarkowski testified that such a visual legacy as proposed by Mondale “could be one of the most valuable and most permanent contributions of the Bicentennial celebration to our national future.” Szarkowski added that the project should be “a broad visual survey of this country as it now is, with emphasis on the description of that which is prevalent or typical,” and he asserted that “[t]he primary goal of the program should be the achievement of a basic resource that will serve students and servants of America for many generations to come.”<sup>12</sup>

A concern that occupied the attention of several of those who testified was the potential clash of approaches and values represented by documentary photography and art photography. Robert Gilka, director of photography at *National Geographic* magazine, was not happy about the role of the NEA as the supervisory agency for the project, and he derided what he called “the peeling paint school” of photography he felt the Endowment favored. He said that “to have lasting meaning and information of interest to the generations of Americans to follow, this project should be almost purely documentary.”<sup>13</sup> Ted Hartwell, curator of photography at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, disagreed with Gilka’s criticisms of the NEA, saying that his experience had shown him that artistic photographers could “speak with eloquence, cogency, and great insight about America, as well as [about] their own personal vision.”<sup>14</sup>

Jim Enyeart, then the curator of photography at the Museum of Art in Lawrence, Kansas, also saw no conflict between documentation and art. A passionate supporter of the Mondale proposal, Enyeart directed the committee’s attention to Enyeart’s own 1974 Kansas Survey, supported by a special grant from the NEA, that Enyeart said could serve as a “model or prototype that could generate interest in a national program.”<sup>15</sup> In the catalog for the exhibition that resulted from the Kansas Survey, Enyeart pointed out the diverse approaches to photography that could be fit into a broad conception of documentary:

[I]f there is no discernible [documentary] style, what then constitutes the tradition? The answer may be found under the larger umbrella of aesthetic motives rather than visual similarities. For example, nearly all documentary photographers manifest in their images their feelings, thoughts, and

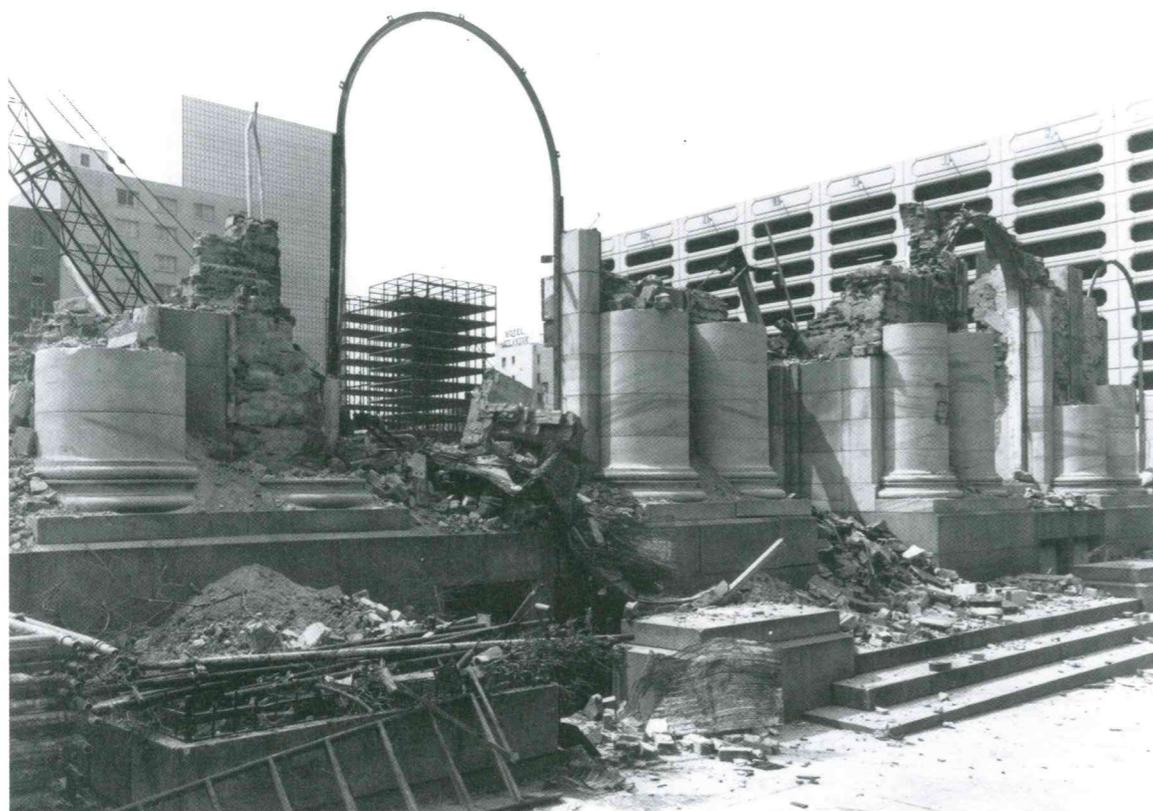


Figure 2 Martin Stupich, *Untitled (#10)*, Atlanta Historical Society, 1983.63.1556, Smithsonian American Art Museum, transfer from the National Endowment for the Arts. Reprinted with permission of Smithsonian American Art Museum.

attitudes by carefully selecting a particular aspect of the subject. There always seems to be present a self-conscious objectivity which allows the subject to be itself. . . . [O]ne usually finds in a documentary photograph honesty, empathy, and straightforward contact with the subject.<sup>16</sup>

The tensions seen in this definition are revealing. While saying that documentary photographers are self-consciously objective, Enyeart also acknowledged that such photographers are guided by individual feelings, thoughts, and attitudes, and that aesthetic motives are crucial to documentary photography. In an oblique manner, Enyeart seemed to be moving toward a recognition that documentary photography was not, in fact, *objective* but should, instead, be recognized as *subjective*. This subjectivity was manifested in the Kansas Survey by emphasizing the different perspectives of the individual photographers involved in the survey. The three photographers recorded different aspects of the state—Enyeart focused on rural architecture;

Terry Evans photographed “the strength, straightforwardness, and calm of rural Kansas people”; and Larry Schwarm drew on his recollections of growing up in western Kansas as inspiration for his patchwork of natural landscapes, signs, grain elevators, and the like.<sup>17</sup> Each photographer’s work was unique in form and style, and the idea was to create a cumulative portrait of Kansas through the intersecting perspectives found among the three. In Enyeart’s words, “[I]t was our consensus that when the three individual approaches were combined, an even greater sense of Kansas was apparent than from any one of the individual studies,” signaling a willingness to contextualize personal aesthetics within a collaborative framework, thereby providing a context for understanding the photographs outside of theories of art that asserted the primacy of the individual artist-photographer.<sup>18</sup> In other words, while recognizing the value of individual aesthetics, the Kansas Survey also presented a framework for integrating individual approaches into a broader understanding of the subject.

The approach taken in the Kansas Survey was



Figure 3 Linda Eber, *Bob and Mary With Bertie and Gloria, Sherman Canal*, from *Changing Venice: Community or Commodity? (Venice, California Documentary Survey Project)* 1983.63.407, Smithsonian American Art Museum, transfer from the National Endowment for the Arts. Reprinted with permission of Smithsonian American Art Museum.

adopted by many of the NEA Photography Surveys, and the words “aesthetic” and “subjective” became key signifiers of an underlying fabric that simultaneously shaped and resisted the national portrait accumulating through the individual projects. As written in a 1982 review of the Los Angeles Documentary Project, “the patterns point to the nature of objectivity as a sequence of subjective decisions.”<sup>19</sup> The ready acceptance of subjectivity and aesthetics in documentary work was a departure from traditional notions of documentary photography and was, in fact, the subject of much controversy in the 1970s. Indeed, the debate about whether photography should be considered as art or as document has continued to be a central feature of theoretical and critical writing on photography since the 1970s. Some have wished to maintain the distinction between art and documentation. Others have wished to collapse that distinction. Both of these attitudes were apparent at the hearing on Mondale’s proposal in an exchange between John

Szarkowski and Robert Gilka. Szarkowski stated his belief that “the distinction between photographers as artists and photographers as documentarians is a red herring” and wondered if “anyone here really thinks that this distinction would be relevant . . . to an analysis of the work of the Farm Security Administration.”<sup>20</sup> Gilka responded, “I of course do not agree with John about the red herring aspect of the difference between photographers who work in the field of art, and those who work in the documentary field. I can think of no better way to select out one over the other, than by inviting a group to visit . . . an exhibition of photographs by [Jack Welpott and Judy Dater]. I challenge anyone here to say that that’s documentary photography.”<sup>21</sup>

The debate over photography-as-art and photography-as-document

was more than an exercise in semantics. It had significant political implications that bore directly on both the Bicentennial national portrait project and the subsequent NEA Photography Surveys. The assertion that documentary photography is objective/fact/truth could help build a defense against potential criticisms that the resultant photograph (or body of photographs) was a rhetorical construction that favors one subjective perspective over other—perhaps equally valid—perspectives. As Wendy Kozol has written about the photography of *Life* magazine: “Ideology is . . . constructed and reinforced through the camera’s presumably objective gaze by mapping out a selective cultural space that privileges one way of life as representative of the nation.”<sup>22</sup> Given the intention that Mondale’s Bicentennial project should be a social balm, the assertion of the need for objectivity in creating a national portrait was understandable. Robert Gilka suggested a laundry list of images that would be expected in a documentary project: “our life, our time, our social

problems, our frustrations in governing large cities, our concern about the environment, and of course, our accomplishments." For this reason, he argued, the photographers involved should not be "so subjective that their product becomes little more than an ego trip."<sup>23</sup>

On the other hand, Enyeart's oblique recognition of documentary subjectivity suggests the fundamentally political nature of documentary photography. Frankly acknowledging that a particular documentary project is subjective increases the vulnerability of the project to multiple criticisms. Those whose politics differ from the politics of the documentary project can criticize the project for representing the "wrong" way, while those who argue that documentary photography can be and ought to be objective can criticize admittedly subjective projects for their very subjectivity. Significantly, both criticisms were leveled at various of the NEA Photography Surveys projects. Moreover, constructing documentary photography as subjective problematizes the use of photographs as historical documents. The ameliorative impulses that have traditionally undergirded much of this country's documentary photography imply that representations of social problems can lead to correctives for those problems. Without the firm footing of "truth," it becomes difficult to argue for the continuing relevance of the documentary impulse. Even Walter Mondale seemed to partially recognize this dilemma. After all, the only concrete "problem" the ABPFP addressed was the problem of underemployment for photographers and filmmakers. Although he hoped the images might comfort a nation reeling from Watergate, the Vietnam War, and the recession, Mondale proposed the ABPFP primarily as a way of creating a visual history of the United States, a significant difference between the ABPFP and the FSA project, which was primarily a record of specific social problems and cures and only secondarily a consciously constructed historical resource.

After convulsing through the political process for more than a year, the American Bicentennial Photography and Film Project was approved by Congress as part of the Arts, Humanities, and Cultural Affairs Act of 1976 and signed into law by President Ford on September 30 of that year. With the Bicentennial already passing, however, the project could no longer show the nation in the fullness of the celebratory mood of the Bicentennial. Loosed from that particular mooring, the national portrait would, instead, be a more

general reflection of the nation during the late 1970s. According to Jim Enyeart, a photographic portrait of the nation in 1977 might, in fact, have been more culturally telling than one taken during the Bicentennial itself, because "the face of this Nation during our celebration year will be subject to many cosmetic effects, and it is my belief that the following year will tell us as much, if not more, about who we are."<sup>24</sup> However, despite the widespread interest in creating a national photographic portrait of the Bicentennial patterned on the FSA project, Congress failed to appropriate the funds necessary to implement the ABPFP.

For a moment it appeared as though the efforts to create a federally sponsored portrait of the country would disappear until, in the words of Merry Foresta, "[w]here Congress held back, the NEA expanded," formally establishing the Photography Surveys category.<sup>25</sup>

Given the wide range of projects undertaken as NEA Photography Surveys, it can be difficult to find clear threads tying them together. Because of the local nature of the surveys, the concerns found in one of them may not readily appear to have bearing on any of the others. Nevertheless, when considered as part of a larger whole, echoes of shared impulses can be discerned. The individual NEA Photography Surveys often reveal a sense that something important was disappearing in late 1970s America, that authentic local cultural forms were being replaced by a more uniform national culture, typically described in survey applications or narrative reports as being "bland," or "crass," or "commercial." To Penny Wolin, who undertook a study of Wyoming as it was being transformed by energy development, "the giant fast food attitude of American culture" was symbolic of the loss of "America's last frontier."<sup>26</sup> Elsewhere, urban redevelopment was blamed for the transformation of San Francisco "into a formless, faceless Everycity" as Janet Delaney and Connie Hatch wrote in their South of Market Survey application.<sup>27</sup> While many of the surveys were fueled by a resistance to, or an ambivalence about, contemporary shifts toward a homogenized American national culture, these surveys often revealed a simultaneous sense of duty to represent (or even a fascination with) the growth of that culture. The result is that, as a group, the surveys documented both local cultures and a general national cultural trend as it was manifested in many different places.<sup>28</sup>

Taken together, the NEA Photography Surveys support James Guimond's observation that

"documentary photography flourished in the United States when there were significant fissures, or discrepancies, between the American Dream and actual living conditions; and in the 1970s and 1980s such fissures were numerous."<sup>29</sup> The surveys sought to raise important questions about what was happening in specific communities as well as in the nation as a whole in the 1970s. The Photography Surveys allowed photographers the opportunity to explore the localized fissures and discrepancies they saw through their own aestheticized and admittedly subjective lenses and filters, selecting subjects to photograph, and selecting and arranging images and texts to get their own messages across. Thus, contrary to what some critics have called "an apolitical fine art practice"<sup>30</sup> that dominated American photography in the 1970s, many photographers in the NEA Photography Surveys attempted to bridge the gulf between photography-as-art and photography-as-document in order to represent and become involved with the concerns of local communities in which they were working.

However, the tensions within the NEA Photography Surveys between "art" and "document" in the effort to build an historical record of the 1970s placed the grant category in something of a liminal zone. As an *arts* endowment, the NEA supported projects that featured aesthetics as prominently as social concerns. However, as *surveys*, such projects were expected to reveal an understanding of those concerns through the artistic exploration and interpretation of them. As Catherine Lord pointed out in her review of the Boston Photo-Documentary Project, the balance between artistic and social concerns and between social engagement and interpretative aesthetics was often difficult to attain.<sup>31</sup> The loose structure of some of the surveys unavoidably opened them to the criticisms voiced by Robert Gilka in the hearing on Mondale's ABPFP—a critical response that the projects were too subjective, too "arty." Such criticisms offer a curious counterpoint to Merry Foresta's observation that "[t]here is a popular suspicion ... that government advocacy of art, and photographic art in particular, inspires or even requires a documentary style."<sup>32</sup> The tension between aesthetics and the survey format provided an excuse for getting rid of the Photography Surveys category when the Reagan administration slashed the budget of the NEA in the early 1980s. As written in the 1981 annual report for the National Council on the Arts,

[T]he Visual Arts Program has had to assume through its Photography Surveys category support responsibility for projects in which the scope of concerns are more properly the province of the NEH [National Endowment for the Humanities]—even if the method of discourse is not. Accordingly, panelists generally felt that steps should be taken toward involving the NEH more directly in the category with an eye to their eventually assuming full responsibility. ...[T]he Arts Endowment should eventually eliminate the Photography Surveys category....<sup>33</sup>

Ironically, at the same time that the Photography Surveys category was being dismantled, it was beginning to be recognized as being at the forefront of a significant trend in American photography. The 1981 edition of Time-Life's *Photography Year* gave special recognition to a resurgence of what it called "Grassroots photography" and singled out the East Baltimore survey, the Kentucky survey, and the Baja California survey as prime examples of locally organized photography projects concerned with important questions of community. Echoing Walter Mondale, the editors of Time-Life praised these projects as being "like the classic records of Depression life shot by photographers of the Farm Security Administration, humane and sympathetic depictions of everyday existence in cities and countryside."<sup>34</sup>

The NEA Photography Surveys contain a wealth of information that can greatly contribute to a historical understanding of American culture and life in the Bicentennial era. They provide photographic and narrative sources for research in local history; they reveal the tensions between regional culture and national culture in the 1970s; they engage in debates over the meanings of photographic representation; and they reveal the interest of the federal government in taking an active role in shaping the artistic, cultural, and historical record of the United States in a fashion that seems almost inconceivable less than twenty years after the last of the Photography Surveys was completed. Written for an exhibition flier for the recent rehanging of the Long Beach Survey, the following words speak well for the legacy of the Photography Surveys as a whole:

These "factual" documents—these tokens of memory—can be and have been analyzed in terms of each photographer's formal concerns, be they symbolism,

social commentary, spatial relationships or the like. For those of us who re-experience these sites each day, however, it is the combined impact of the photographs that captures our imagination and makes us ponder the depersonalization and alienation often associated with contemporary cities. The haunting and timeless isolation permeating the collective body of work in Long Beach Odyssey reflects, like a broken mirror, faded glories of our seaside metropolis, but, look again, they also predict the challenges and opportunities that lie ahead.<sup>35</sup>

## Endnotes

- 1 Lewis Baltz, "American Photography in the 1970s," in *American Images: Photography, 1945-1980*, ed. Peter Turner (Middlesex: Viking, 1985), 157.
- 2 Merry Amanda Foresta, introduction to *Exposed and Developed: Photography Sponsored by the National Endowment for the Arts* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984), 11.
- 3 Douglas Davis, "Photography," *Newsweek*, 21 October 1974, 69.
- 4 Michael Kammen, "Culture and State in America," *The Journal of American History* 83 (1996): 796.
- 5 National Endowment for the Arts, *1977 Annual Report* (Washington, D.C., 1977), 125.
- 6 Lewis Baltz has noted that the NEA was committed to discourage "the aggregation of culture in one metropolitan centre ... in favor of a regional, pluralistic approach to the arts." See Baltz, 158.
- 7 Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, *American Bicentennial Photography and Film Project, 1975: Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Employment, Poverty, and Migratory Labor*, 94th Cong., 1st sess., 29 September 1975 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1976), referred to hereafter as Hearing. The 1970s had seen a growing interest in the photographs of the FSA with the publication of books like F. Jack Hurley, *Portrait of a Decade: Roy Stryker and the Development of Documentary Photography in the Thirties* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972); Roy Stryker and Nancy Wood, *In this Proud Land: America 1935-1943 as Seen in FSA Photographs* (Greenwich: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1973); and William Stott, *Documentary Expression and Thirties America*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), each of which was referenced during the hearing.
- 8 Section 204 of Emergency Jobs and Unemployment Act of 1974, 94th Cong., 1st sess., S. R. 1695.
- 9 *Hearing*, 1.
- 10 Louise Tate, Executive Director of the Massachusetts Council on the Arts and Humanities, in *Hearing*, 48.
- 11 *Hearing*, 9. On March 2, 1975, Jess Gorkin, the editor of *Parade*, published an open-letter to President Ford which read (in part): "Mr. President, we believe the project . . . would be one of the most useful, exciting and lasting contributions your Administration can make to the great national celebration. . . . Such a project can be, for us and for those who come after us, a record of our accomplishments, an expression of our hopes, and a reaffirmation of our faith in these United States."
- 12 *Hearing*, 10.
- 13 *Ibid.*, 12.
- 14 *Ibid.*, 15.
- 15 *Ibid.*, 25.
- 16 James Enyeart, *No Mountains in the Way: Kansas Survey: NEA* (Lawrence: University of Kansas Museum of Art, 1975), n. p.
- 17 Enyeart quotes Terry Evans in *Ibid.*
- 18 *Ibid.*
- 19 Mark Johnstone, "Documenting Los Angeles," *Artweek* 14 March 1981, 13.
- 20 *Hearing*, 28.
- 21 *Ibid.*, 29.
- 22 Wendy Kozol, *Life's America: Family and Nation in Postwar Photojournalism* (Philadelphia: Temple U Press, 1994), 10.
- 23 *Hearing*, 12-13.
- 24 *Ibid.*, 26.
- 25 Foresta, 9.
- 26 Penny Wolin-Semple, NEA Photography Survey Grant Application #A09490 78.
- 27 NEA Photography Survey Grant Application #A-81-027235.
- 28 The South of Market Survey (*ibid.*) application pointed out this dynamic well: "The flexibility of the art format provides an excellent forum for recognizing the effects of urban renewal on not only the people who live and work South of Market, but on the character of American cities nationwide."
- 29 James Guimond, *American Photography and the American Dream* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 249.
- 30 Richard Bolton, introduction to Bolton, ed., *The Contest of Meaning: Critical Histories of Photography* (Cambridge: The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Press, 1989), xi.
- 31 Catherine Lord, "Received and Noted," *Afterimage* 10 (October 1982): 20.
- 32 Foresta, 9.
- 33 National Council on the Arts, *Annual Report for 1981* (Washington, D.C., 1981), 34.
- 34 "A Resurgence of Grassroots Photography," in *Photography Year 1981* (Alexandria: Time-Life Books, 1981), 25.
- 35 Jorge Prado, exhibition flier for "Long Beach Odyssey: A Photography Survey" (1996).