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Introduction to 10 Projects in Radio to which the RF contributed support

On April 10, 1935 at a Trustees' meeting the RF stated its belief, as a result of a survey, that an opportunity existed at that time to render a "valuable, intermediary service" to promote cooperative endeavor between commercial and educational interests through broadcasting. This was based on the fact that the radio industry reaffirmed its willingness to broadcast programs in regard to education, religion, labor, agriculture, and other subjects concerned with human betterment as differentiated from commercial interests.

Non-commercial agencies which were aided by the Foundation were the following (listed in order of dates when support was initiated, with amounts representing total grant to each project):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>University Broadcasting Council of Chicago</td>
<td>7/1/35</td>
<td>$106,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>World Wide Broadcasting Foundation</td>
<td>7/1/35</td>
<td>172,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>National Music League</td>
<td>3/1/37</td>
<td>14,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Research at Princeton University</td>
<td>9/1/37</td>
<td>85,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rocky Mountain Radio Council</td>
<td>10/1/39</td>
<td>64,350</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvard University (date of appropriation)</td>
<td>10/20/39</td>
<td>30,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening Center at Princeton University</td>
<td>11/1/39</td>
<td>39,820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Radio Research at Columbia University</td>
<td>3/1/40</td>
<td>156,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Listening Center at Stanford University</td>
<td>11/15/40</td>
<td>8,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Library of Congress</td>
<td>1/1/41</td>
<td>26,820</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the interests of improvement of the radio, the job for a Foundation emerged clearly as one not concerned with the financing of production unless such production contained either experimental or demonstrational value. In the opinion of Mr. John Marshall the needs which should accordingly be met were: to

1. Survey on educational use of radio, conducted by Lester W. Parker (member of the staff of the Rochester School of the Air), 1/24/35 to 3/15/35.

2. See separate reports of these projects, attached.
discover what purposes should be served by radio as used to widen public appreciation of various fields of knowledge; to discover what the public wanted, so that what was offered through radio could be related to these wants; to study propaganda.

The early interest of the RF was in experimentation in broadcasting. During the war years radio assumed a new importance in the recording and analyzing of shortwave European broadcasts. Post-war developments centered on research at Columbia University under the direction of Dr. Lazarsfeld.

Possibilities for cultural programs and sustaining radio service during the time not sold for advertising were most evident at two points: regional centers (where educational broadcasting was already established) and at the headquarters of national networks. It was thought that if forces in regional and metropolitan areas could be consolidated, waste effort would be eliminated which would aid the non-commercial groups in producing broadcasts that would compare favorably with commercial programs and which might eventually be accepted for sponsored series. Accordingly, it was considered essential to secure professional experience for those in charge of non-commercial agencies in order to raise the standard of production; personnel was also trained under RF fellowship funds at the New York headquarters of the Columbia Broadcasting System and the National Broadcasting Company, thus offering to a few talented younger men an opportunity to experiment in education, literature, criticism, social or

---

1 Regionally at Chicago and in the Rocky Mountain area;  
In music through the National Music League, N. Y. C.;  
In methods and techniques at the Office of Radio Research, Princeton;  
Through special broadcasting studies at Harvard University and the Library of Congress;  
In shortwave broadcasting through Station WIXAL (World Wide Broadcasting Foundation).

2 Listening Centers at Princeton and Stanford Universities.

3 Office of Radio Research at Columbia University, later known as the Columbia Bureau of Applied Social Research.
natural sciences.

The Foundation gave support to bring the radio industry into closer understanding and cooperation with universities, museums and local organizations, and definitely came to the conclusion that the best way to promote such cooperation was to invest in experimentation and training of personnel. In America training of personnel presented difficulties for two reasons: (1) the broadcasting companies could not provide entirely satisfactory facilities for this purpose in the beginning; and (2) it was hard to find persons with enough imagination to realize the educational potentialities of broadcasting. In this regard, Professor A. Lloyd-James of the British Broadcasting Company made the following statement:

"Radio will develop into a great public service and will require specially trained people. Now in Britain our better class schools and our universities make it one of their cardinal principles to train people for the public service...it is from this reservoir of talent that the BBC has selected its announcers and commentators. Such an idea doesn't seem to hold quite so prominent a place among the American people as with us. There is a need to train some of your brilliant young men for the cultural work made available by the radio."

As the radio had been exploited for entertainment purposes alone, the field for educational experimentation was small and its possibilities little known. For this reason it was necessary to develop techniques and to acquire practical knowledge in regard to programs and to the listening audience. In a confidential report on American broadcasting under RP auspices, Mr. Charles Siepmann (Director of Program Planning for the BBC and later a lecturer at Harvard University) summarized the situation:

"...Forced as we are in broadcasting to a study of the listener's capacity and readiness to hear, we find ourselves concerned with the determination of a priority of interests which correspond to his most urgent needs as a human being and citizen...The universities have been slow to recognize and cater for this new priority in the order of men's needs...Education has failed to recognize the new circumstances which condition the nature of the required supply...The academic world, whence theory of education emanates, is out of touch...Scholars, whose function it is also to be teachers, prefer the pursuit to the communication of knowledge...."
It was in an effort to help men from universities and other organizations learn how to relate their special knowledge to the needs of listeners that the RF gave grants to the projects which are reviewed separately.

In a statement on post-war work in radio in December, 1943, Marshall stated that mass communication was only then beginning to be understood, and the following methods were suggested for continuing activities: to raise the level of criticism of the radio; to return to the problem of training personnel; to study the art of broadcasting, based on its inadequacy as compared to that of Great Britain.
SUMMARY

The University Broadcasting Council in Chicago was the first experiment in educational radio programs to receive support from the RF. It became established in April, 1935 under the direction of Allen Miller, formerly director of the radio department at the University of Chicago. The support of the following organizations was secured:

University of Chicago
De Paul University
Northwestern University
National Broadcasting Company
Columbia Broadcasting Company
Mutual Broadcasting System (and its affiliated local stations)
Three independent radio stations

Miller's object was to produce disinterested educational broadcasts which would meet commercial broadcasting standards through the medium of a central organization in the Chicago area. His hope was that by a pooling of budgets and resources such results would be achieved. Although the Council was dissolved in October, 1940, and failed to establish itself on a self-supporting basis, it was considered to have advanced educational broadcasting both in Chicago and throughout the country and that the quality of the programs was comparatively high.

The following appropriations were made by the RF:

On June 21, 1935 for period 7/1/35 to 9/30/37 $46,000
On May 21, 1937 " 10/1/37 to 9/30/40 60,000
Total......$106,000 (Source: RF Minutes)

OBJECTIVES

In March, 1935 Miller outlined his proposal to establish a Council:

"...that a central organization to be known as 'The University Broadcasting
Council' be established to coordinate the interests of several schools and stations. Its essential purposes shall be those of supervising, constructing, and scheduling programs of an educational nature for certain cooperating schools and stations; experimenting with and developing program forms and techniques; and conducting research in education by radio."

In a statement entitled "A Plan For Education By Radio" the purposes were more fully described: "Radio is a new educational medium which requires the development of new instructional techniques...This means that if educational broadcasting is to be done it must be done effectively...All program forms now in use must be tested and perfected as methods for the presentation of educational materials and new forms, now unknown, must be developed...While a single institution cannot hope to solve the problem satisfactorily, several of them together may be able to achieve this end. The unusual concentration of major educational institutions, powerful radio stations, and population, offers both an exceptional opportunity and a solution in the Chicago area...The pooling of budgets by the schools and stations makes a total which, if matched by funds from other sources, would be sufficient to meet the needs of a well-rounded educational program...With programs organized centrally a unified series of features high in interest-holding qualities and content can replace the heterogeneous schedule which now exists...."

DEVELOPMENT

In a letter to Mr. Stevens on March 12, 1935 Miller reported on a discussion of the plan with leaders in the field of radio in Washington. Support seemed both "enthusiastic and unanimous" and it was the opinion of the Federal Communications Commission and of the U. S. Commissioner of Education that a national broadcasting problem might be solved if three or four such centers could be established throughout the country. It was also their belief that Chicago's experience, location and assurance of cooperation within its area
made it the logical location for the first experiment of this kind.

The first meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Council was on April 10, 1935. The following officers were elected:

Allen Miller, Director of Council and Secretary
William H. Spencer (University of Chicago) – President
Edward Stromberg (Northwestern University) – Vice-President
David M. Sharer (De Paul University) – Treasurer

In addition, there were to be two representatives from each of the universities. Representatives of the radio stations were to serve on the Program Committee and an advisory committee of persons prominent in local educational activities was to assist in supervision of local needs.

On June 25th the Council was notified of the first RF appropriation made at the Executive Committee meeting of June 21, 1935 for "developing radio programs of educational and cultural value towards which support has been requested for salaries of three staff writers and a production manager, together with allowance for production expenses and correspondence with listeners...":

$4,000 payable unconditionally for use during period 7/1/35 to 9/30/35
$42,000 payable during period 10/1/35 to 9/30/37, provided Council shall have secured by 9/30/35 pledges payable in cash not later than 9/30/37 amounting to at least $8,000 from sources other than the RF or the universities and radio stations participating in the Chicago area.

Arrangements for payments of the conditional portion were to be made after the end of September 30, 1935, if the RF was notified that the $8,000 was secured.

On September 30th, at the end of the first three month's experimentation, Miller reported a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of $16,500 ($7,500 for installation expenses and the balance of $9,000 for use over a two-year period). Also that formal announcement had been made on September 9th by Chicago, Northwestern and De Paul Universities of their coordinated plans to enter the field of education through radio, with additional cooperation from NBC, CBS, and the Mutual Broadcasting System. The primary aim of the Council was the presentation of subjects of immediate interest by the various devices
possible in radio. The programs contemplated included dramatizations of science, history and law as well as discussion programs in regard to current problems of informational and controversial nature and popular talks of general interest. Among the more prominent programs were:

"The University of Chicago Round Table" (extemporaneous conversation among three speakers, usually faculty men with guest speakers from fields of business, government, etc., in regard to political, economic and social problems);

"The Old Judge" (presenting common legal problems in dramatic form);

"The Voice of Science" (current happenings in all fields of science);

"Philosophers in Hades" (a dramatic show presenting philosophies of all times).

Difficulties were encountered with the cooperating local stations in arranging for broadcasting of programs. Miller found it hard to get what he considered to be adequate personnel and also to meet the program standards which had been raised so that features formerly used were no longer eligible. Marshall referred to these problems as being "symptomatic of the necessity which the Council must face in trying to establish its position and also its ability to produce programs of an educational value which would deserve preferred consideration."

The First Annual Report of the Council on July 1, 1936 stated that "An equitable division of financial responsibility among both broadcasters and universities was established, which, with grants from the educational foundations provided a workable budget. The present budget of $55,000 was derived from the three sources in the following amounts:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Universities</td>
<td>$13,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foundations</td>
<td>25,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stations</td>
<td>16,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$55,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It was the mutual recognition of what each could bring the other that made possible this significant cooperative effort...."

The following excerpts from the Report are revealing as to the kinds
of experimental problems the Council was meeting:

"...U.B.C. programs were to be interesting and stimulating, rather than pedantic and technical. They were to open up new fields of general interest to the vast lay audience, and to appeal to the persons of intellectual alertness and capacity in that audience...."

"...It is the exception rather than the rule that such persons /staff capable of combining both professional radio skill and experience and educational integrity/ are available in commercial radio...."

"...Programs surveys and increasing use of talk, however, prove conclusively that the only requisite for success of the oral program is that it be interesting and stimulating, whether lecture, conversation, or drama...."

"...The University of Chicago Round Table is the standard of educational broadcasting in the U. S. Its history in over six years on the air has been one of growing popularity and significance. The technique is simple, being a three-cornered discussion by skilled broadcasters, speaking from notes only, thus assuring a spontaneous conversational quality...."

"...a recent test by the Council provided conclusive evidence that in presenting material which might be delivered either by a so-called professional broadcaster, or faculty member, that the latter was preferred. It is apparent that educational programs require not only scholarship but talent. One of the objectives of the Council, therefore, is to develop effective radio speakers...."

In April of 1937 the RF reviewed the work of the Council, preliminary to consideration of further assistance. Its record of achievement during two years was felt to be remarkable, and Marshall stated that it was the most efficient and best organized agency producing broadcasts of educational and cultural value that he had seen, its staff including some of the ablest people in the field. The opinion of the Foundation in not wishing to recommend support for more than three years was communicated to Miller: "At the time the Foundation made its earlier grant, we stressed our feeling that the work of the Council must as soon as possible derive its support locally. We were glad, however, to consider assistance to the Council over a period necessary to establish the value of its services for present and other possible contributors. In view of what the Council has accomplished during the first two years of its
activity, it appears to us that if support by the Foundation were assured over a three-year period, the Council by the end of that period should be able to consolidate its position sufficiently to draw from local sources the funds needed for its operations...." 

At a meeting of the RF on May 21, 1937 $60,000 was appropriated for a three-year period—October 1, 1937 to September 30, 1940:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1937-1938</td>
<td>$30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938-1939</td>
<td>20,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939-1940</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$60,000 (Source: RF Minutes)

"It was the understanding of the meeting that the Council will endeavor to increase its income from other sources to the end that it may become established on a permanent basis of local support by the time of the termination of this grant."

On December 14, 1937 Miller called Marshall confidentially to report the forthcoming disbandment of the Council, due to the intended withdrawal by the University of Chicago within 90 days. The ostensible reason for this was that the University, with its larger resources, could provide a better broadcasting service on its own than with the Council under the existing set-up. Subsequently, William Benton (Vice-president of Chicago University) based the issue on what he alluded to as the mediocrity of the broadcasting efforts of the Council. He stated that the greatest hope for progress in the future was not to be found in a similar cooperative venture. The intention was that Miller should return to his former position there to direct the work in radio from the Chicago University campus.

Miller considered that this move on the part of the University of Chicago was due to a need of strengthening its public relations. This was a distinct departure from the Council's policy of joint responsibility. Other University members were of the same opinion, even those of the University which
was withdrawing.

The RF policy in this situation was one of neutrality. It refused to take a position, stating merely that support had been recommended to the Council on the ground that it had seemed the most promising agency which had appeared at the time for carrying on experimental work designed "to bring about more effective cooperation between broadcasters and educators." However, it did point out that the University of Chicago was bound by contract to continue support to the Council to July 1, 1939 and that the current Foundation grant would remain in effect for its full term (to September 30, 1940) unless the Council should itself disband before that time.

A year later—December, 1938—President Hutchins (University of Chicago) stated formally that "the University of Chicago will not wish to renew its contract with the University Broadcasting Council when the present contract expires."

In September, 1939 Miller reported to Marshall his plans for a "modified version" of the Council. Northwestern University wanted to have it continue and serve as its agent, and he intended to seek the cooperation of various educational agencies in the Chicago region such as the Field Museum of Natural History, the Museum of Science and Industry, and the Chicago Public Libraries. However, the increased local support that was required to establish the Council on a permanent basis was not forthcoming. Early in 1940 the Council was operating in half the space it had formerly occupied, the staff was drastically reduced, and it was evident that it would have to disband at the end of RF support. Miller by then had come to the point of doubting the effectiveness of broadcasting on an institutional basis, believing that concern with promotion was an inevitable one. He felt that to maintain broadcasting as an educational service its base must be in agencies primarily concerned with community or regional problems, and accordingly more directly representative.
of the interests of listeners.

CONCLUSION

On or about the first of October, 1940 the Council ceased to operate. All of its staff were advantageously placed elsewhere and Miller became the director of the radio station of the State College of Washington. Marshall wrote to Miller: "...I was sorry in a way to hear of the Council's demise, particularly of course because of the disappointment that it involved for you...At least one view is that the Council had a job to do at a time when doing it had perhaps more influence than we can yet see clearly. Perhaps ten years from now we can estimate all that more accurately...."

Two letters were written by Marshall in the following January of 1941 which were significant in clarifying both the policy of the Council and that of the RF.

To V. V. Caldwell (Dean-director of the Oregon State System of Higher Education), January 14, 1941, answering a personal inquiry in regard to Miller's status in the Council:

"...Miller, was, of course, instrumental in the Council's organization. From first to last, he believed sincerely in its opportunity to provide disinterested educational programs. To that policy, the participating universities all agreed, at first. In other words, they were to make available through broadcasting educational resources which would seldom otherwise be open to radio listeners.

"At first this policy worked well. But even from the first, Miller had to watch the amount of attention which each of three universities gained through its contributions. Then, one of them, particularly, found itself in need of strengthening its public relations by broadcasting and ultimately set up its own plan of broadcasting with that in view. This development made its withdrawal from the Council inevitable at the end of the contractual period, with the result that the Council broke up.

"Through all this, Miller refused to compromise the Council's original policy and in this refusal, unless I am mistaken, he had the support of the university members on the Council, even of those of the University which withdrew. Again, unless I am mistaken, Miller was offered an opportunity to go back to that university for work in radio, which he refused, because of his lack of sympathy with its policy of
using radio for institutional promotion...."

To William Benton, University of Chicago, January 22, 1941:

"...We still cannot recommend to our Trustees the type of project which they formerly considered wherein the Foundation virtually supports a production unit in the hope that the unit will get its own roots down locally or even nationally. To that end, the Foundation made substantial grants in the Chicago and Boston areas. And then, finally in the Rocky Mountain area. The unit there seems to be serving a useful purpose, already getting cooperation in the region that implies a definite change in regional broadcasting and continuing local support for its work. We cannot now ask our people to embark on a fresh series of grants to sustain production...."
SUMMARY

Support was given to the World Wide Broadcasting Corporation and to the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation over a five-year period, 1935 to 1940, as an experiment and demonstration in shortwave broadcasting through the means of a non-commercial station—WIXAL—in Boston. The following appropriations and grants-in-aid were given by the RF:

- Appropriated on 6/21/35 for year beginning 7/1/35: $25,000
- Appropriated on 7/1/36 for two years beginning 7/1/36: $40,000
- Appropriated on 4/6/38 for period 7/1/38 to 6/30/40 (extended to 12/31/40): $100,000

Grants-in-aid:
- Reported on 3/18/38 for survey of listener response: $1,000
- Reported on 5/20/38 for study broadcasting in Scandinavia: $400
- Reported on 6/10/38 to study broadcasting in Scandinavia: $300
- Reported on 6/10/38 for study of radio talk: $2,500
- Reported on 1/19/40 for experimental work in English: $1,000
- Reported on 9/27/40 for survey: $2,000

Total... $172,200 (Source: RF Minutes)

The Director, Mr. Walter S. Leflem owned the station which he built and equipped at his expense. The business management of the enterprise was not altogether satisfactory and Leflem had difficulty continuously in raising the amounts to meet the conditional pledges made by the RF. It was believed by the RF that recognition of the status of shortwave broadcasting had been achieved at the end of the period when their support was withdrawn.

DESCRIPTION

The World Wide Broadcasting Corporation owned Station WIXAL in Boston, which under a license granted by the Federal Communications Commission,
had the use of four shortwave channels for broadcasting to all parts of the world for non-commercial purposes. This Corporation was organized under the laws of the State of New York as a non-profit organization, its charter approved by the State Board of Education. It in turn owed the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation (a membership corporation without stockholders); Radio Industries, Inc. was the parent company of both organizations, with the controlling interest held by Lemmon. WIXAL started in December, 1929 to broadcast programs of unusual educational and cultural value, in cooperation with the faculties of Harvard and other universities. Operating on a non-commercial basis, without advertising programs it carried its motto "Dedicated to Enlightenment" to remote sections of the United States and of Europe.

OBJECTIVES

Lemmon believed that an independent educational station such as WIXAL could eventually become self-supporting and that its activities would attract sufficient support to assure the maintenance of its status. In a letter to Mr. Stevens of the RF on June 18, 1935 he outlined his intention to immediately form a non-profit organization to be international in scope in order to take care of the administration of educational programs over WIXAL.

Accompanying the initial payment to the World Wide Broadcasting Corporation, the RF stated it to be "for the purpose of experimenting with and developing radio programs of cultural and educational value in cooperation with Station WIXAL...It is our understanding that this fund shall be available for obtaining the services of qualified staff writers, for the cost of producing the programs developed experimentally, and for checking their effectiveness through correspondence with listeners; also to secure expert assistance in exploring the possibilities of the use of radio for language study and of cooperation with librarians in preparing reading lists to sustain interest created by programs...."
DEVELOPMENT

In an early report covering the period to the end of February, 1936, the belief was stated by the WWBC that the project would develop an appeal for proper endowment permanently owing to its unique position in being the only shortwave station in the U. S. solely devoted to education and goodwill programs, free from advertising announcements. The main subjects prepared by the program committee were:

- English
- Poetry
- Natural History
- Cultivation of Taste
- Astronomy
- Basic English
- French
- Sciences
- History
- Musical Appreciation
- World Peace

A complete recording system was installed in the belief that the building up of a library of educational record disks might prove valuable for instructional purposes. The summary opinion was that WIXAL had given the first example of the possibility of knitting people with special interests, distributed all over the world, into an intellectual community. Thousands of letters of appreciation were received from listeners in North and Central America, parts of South America, Great Britain, France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, Spain, Holland, Sweden, Africa, India and Australia.

The first appropriation by the RF in June, 1935 amounted to $25,000. In April of 1936 $40,000 was appropriated as follows: $25,000 for the period July 1, 1936 to June 30, 1937 and the balance of $15,000 for the following year. At the end of 1937 when the question of continued support came up in the request of a conditional grant, Mr. Marshall reviewed the situation in an inter-office
communication to Mr. Stevens dated December 14, 1937. He stated that the work had undergone considerable development during the period of the grants to date and in his opinion the standard of programs had been raised. There was official collaboration with Harvard and M.I.T., with members of faculties of other colleges and universities in New England, with the Pan-American Union in putting out special broadcasts for Latin America (thus assuming an international importance), with the Foreign Policy Association, the Institute of Pacific Relations, the International Chamber of Commerce and International House. Although it could not compete with the industry if the latter chose to take shortwave broadcasting seriously, it was considered that standards had been set which would have to be taken into account both nationally and internationally.

Mr. Edward Robinson wrote to Mr. Marshall in March, 1938 reporting on the financial set-up of the WWBF as follows: "...I find it rather difficult to arrive at a definite conclusion as to whether the WWBF can stand on its own feet...I think it rather doubtful that they would request a conditional grant unless they felt pretty sure they would be able to collect the funds to meet it...We also know that over the past 18 months the RF has provided over 44% of the funds received by the WWBF including the costs incurred by the WWBC, but not including depreciation and interest...the answer would seem to me to be on how much of the bag you want to hold...."

On April 6, 1938 $100,000 was appropriated to the WWBC for expenses during the two-year period, July 1, 1938 to June 30, 1940 with the following conditions: the first year $25,000 unconditionally and $25,000 when it should have secured an equal amount in cash from other contribution sources; the second year up to $50,000 at the rate of $1 for every $1 secured in cash from other contribution sources. With two minor exceptions WIXAL was still the only American shortwave station not used for commercial purposes. Though ownership
was still retained by the World Wide Broadcasting Corporation, Leman indicated his intention of transferring ownership to the Broadcasting Foundation if the latter could be put on a permanent financial basis. The request was to meet the following expenses:

- $24,600 for program direction
- $28,800 for production expenses
- $12,100 for relations with listeners
- $9,500 for administrative general expenses

Total: $75,000

Although reorganization progressed and programs showed improvement, the RF felt a lack of strong administration and confusion in regard to the raising of the amounts conditionally pledged as evidenced by a letter to Leman from Mr. Stevens dated November 22, 1938: "...As I recall your statement on expenditures since July 1, 1938, virtually all the money on production of programs has come from the RF. Of the unconditional pledge of $25,000 for the academic year, 1938-39 you ask that the unpaid balance of $6,000 be provided to the Station on December 1st in the sum of $4,000 and on January 1, 1939 in the sum of $2,000. If this change in your budget is approved, it means that we shall have paid all that we literally are expected to pay under this grant on an unconditional basis...I believe that it should be stressed in your meeting of trustees that securing the second $25,000, conditionally pledged for this year, requires that collections in cash to that total from other sources be received before payment is made even in part on the Foundation's pledge...I wonder whether you could give me a digest, if not the original, of the minutes of the meetings at which this is discussed as well as other matters that might be of value for our record. You have kept us well informed through conversations and through print, but we should like also to know the position of the trustees in matters of policy as they take up other questions."

On February 1, 1939 Mr. Marshall in a memorandum to Mr. Stevens stated that it seemed desirable in his opinion to ask the Executive Committee to
liberalize the grant made last year to the WWBF: "...The Broadcasting Foundation is this year operating on an annual budget of approximately $70,000. The RF's outright contribution of $25,000 and contributions in cash from other sources are sufficient to finance operations on this scale until about the middle of February. The Trustees of the Broadcasting Foundation confidently expect during the balance of the year to secure from other sources contributions totaling $25,000, but they find it difficult to raise the $6,414.85 needed to release the Foundation's contingent grant of $25,000 in time to meet current expenses of operation during the next months...

To avoid later difficulties, however, the officers recommend the release of this contingent grant on the same basis as will prevail in the second year covered by the resolution; that is, at the rate of one dollar for every dollar secured in cash from other contribution sources." As a result, at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the RF on February 17, 1939 action was taken to amend the RF appropriation so as to make available to the WWBF the conditional sum of $25,000 in the first year (at the rate of $1 for every $1 secured in cash from other contribution sources).

In June of 1939 new rules by the Federal Communications Commission changed the situation in regard to shortwave broadcasting as follows: (1) all shortwave stations were to operate on a power of 50 kilowatts from July 1, 1940; (2) all programs broadcast were to be specifically designed for a foreign audience, to represent the best of American culture aiming primarily to promote international understanding and goodwill; (3) that such programs could then be sponsored by commercial funds with the limitation that they include no advertising beyond a mere announcement of the sponsor's name and of the product which he was selling. This meant that Lemamon must find the means to increase the power of his two transmitters within the coming year which might compel him to depart from non-commercial broadcasting in order to meet the additional costs involved.
In regard to these new aspects Mr. Marshall stressed, in discussions with Lemmon, that the American pattern for financing broadcasting was after all a commercial one and that established program policies might be maintained without impairment if corporations could be found whose international interests would be served by having their name and products attached to such programs as he was then putting on. Mr. Marshall also tried to indicate to Lemmon doubt of his ability to secure continuing assistance from the RF, as well as his present difficulties in raising the amounts necessary to secure the full amount of the current grant.

On September 20, 1939 official notification was given of the change in call letters of WIXAL due to the ruling of the F.C.C. Since shortwave broadcasting had progressed beyond the experimental status, "X" for "experimental" was to be eliminated from all American shortwave call letters; accordingly the Station in Boston became WRUL - World Radio University.

On December 1, 1939 Lemmon requested a revision of the present grant to WRUL whereby he could have about half of the remaining $40,000 as an outright payment in which case he would then carry through the dollar for dollar provision on the balance up to July 1, 1940. This proposal was discouraged by Mr. Stevens on the grounds that a definite change had taken place from experimental broadcasting to studies of outcome; also because of the fact that nearly $200,000 had been given to WRUL by the RF.

In a letter to Lemmon from Mr. Marshall on December 26, 1939 the policy of the RF in regard to the WWBF and the broadcasting field in general was definitely stated: "...We are asking you to assemble for us from the Broadcasting Foundation's financial record the evidence on which you base your expectations of its financial future. Our need of such a review derives from our feeling that we are obligated in the next months to determine what further assistance to the Broadcasting Foundation this Foundation can consider.
When earlier grants were made, the support of experimentation with radio programs of educational and cultural value was regarded as one of the Foundation's principal interests in the field of broadcasting. Now other lines of interest are opening up which seem likely to claim the major part of the funds which the Foundation can make in this field. The result is that we do not expect after the next six months to be able to recommend fresh requests in support of experimentation such as the Broadcasting Foundation is carrying on. During that period, then, we must carefully appraise work of this kind which has been going forward with Foundation support and frame final recommendations to cover its anticipated withdrawal from this type of support."

CONCLUSION

It was considered by the RF that termination of its support to WWBF was inevitable and accordingly the main question was how it could be withdrawn without invalidating whatever the previous support might have accomplished. General observations by Mr. Marshall in this regard illustrate the point of view of the RF towards WWBF: that any further justified support would have to be in terms of international service due to the new international treaties, which brought up the question as to whether the aspects of American life as treated by WWBF were worth an international projection; that Lemmon's problem was to find backers who would believe his program service sufficiently important to be worth paying for, the only promising possibility being that from large industrial interests in the hope of thereby improving international public relations; that other values of the work were not of much weight, i.e., influence on New England institutions, experimentation with educational programs, etc.; that in case of war involvements international broadcasting would either be taken over or subsidized by the Government.
The final opinion of the RF was conveyed to Lemmon in a letter from Mr. Marshall of April 11, 1940: "...Our conclusion is that the Foundation by its earlier grants, has made its contribution. As you know, support of an operation program, such as that of the Broadcasting Foundation, has never been a continuing part of our program of work. Believing that five years of support have given the Broadcasting Foundation's work a fair trial, we now have no basis for recommending further support to our Trustees... We believe that the recognition of the status of shortwave broadcasting today will make it possible for you and your trustees to redefine policies in a way that will make it possible for the RF's work to continue...."

On April 25, 1940 Mr. Stevens wrote Lemmon that action had been taken amending the terms of the current grant of the RF to WWBF in order to extend the final date of possible payment of the grant until December 31, 1940: "With this added six months in which to secure cash contributions from other contribution sources as means of collecting under the Foundation grant, I hope that you can make a good adjustment of your plan of work."

As late as November of 1940 Lemmon still approached the RF in regard to plans of further development for WRUL in the hope of eliciting aid, at which time he was again informed that such support could not be recommended. Mr. Stevens explained that it was not considered that he had lost the backing of the RF but that the project had come to the point where the Foundation "thought it right to quit", and that therefore Lemmon must make his Station operate on what was pledged from other persons or himself; that the definite decision of the previous spring was clearly in order.
SUMMARY

$14,000 was appropriated for the National Music League by the RF on February 19, 1937 for the period from March 1, 1937 to December 31, 1937. (Source: RF Minutes) The grant was made to study the interests of listening in order to find out how radio could be used to increase public appreciation of good music.

A committee was formed by the League to supervise the project with Mrs. Elizabeth Calhoun (a former GEB fellow in music) as director. Harold V. Milligan (director of music at the Riverside Church) was chairman and the members included the following:

- Carleton Sprague Smith
- Chalmers Clifton
- Dorothy Gordon
- Marion Flagg
- Charles Kinney
- Alfred Wallenstein (conductor of Station WOR)
- Julius Seebach

Raymond Franzen, a specialist in radio research, was retained as a statistical consultant.

A program entitled "Music and You" was broadcast through Station WOR for thirteen weeks (April 8 to July 1, 1937), released through the coast-to-coast networks of the Mutual Broadcasting System and the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. The programs were of high calibre and distinguished musicians took part.

The results of the project were (1) knowledge gained as to existing interest in good music for which the broadcasting companies were unprepared; (2) leads as to how music should be presented by radio to meet such interest;
(3) inadequacy of musicians in failing to recognize the demands of radio, both as to programming and repertory.

It was considered, however, that the project had not been successful as it had been undertaken prematurely, before methods and techniques had been developed which were later found to be necessary for study in a new field.

DESCRIPTION

The National Music League was founded in 1925 for the purpose of assisting promising young musicians. This was done by arranging for concerts in schools and elsewhere which provided an outlet for their services and also induced a wider appreciation of music on the part of those listening. In the succeeding years the League's efforts narrowed down to getting the public to absorb trained musicians and accordingly to developing a more discriminating audience. This was the prelude to the idea of using radio as a medium for music education.

DEVELOPMENT

On October 23, 1936 Harold V. Milligan, a member of the Board of the National Music League, wrote Marshall stating that for some time the League had been interested in the possibilities of radio. He proposed an experimental evaluation to determine the usefulness of music in radio education and also how radio stations could produce such programs.

Marshall indicated that plans for a similar project would have to be regarded primarily as experimental and would have to be entirely the responsibility of the Music League, its only relationship to the Foundation being a question of funds with which to put the plan into effect.

$14,000 was appropriated in February of 1937, at which time the
understanding of the RF in regard to its expenditure was stated as follows:

That the purpose of the Music League was to establish as far as possible the range and nature of listeners' interests in music on the ground that the radio's public service in this field depended on the extent to which they were recognized in the planning and producing of broadcasts;

That the broadcasts should be produced so as to gather evidence of listeners' interests which would form the basis of a report to be published by the League;

That the series must be presented so as to be comparable to what the League believed the broadcasting industry could be expected to undertake for itself;

That the grant was recommended in consideration of the fact that Station WOR in New York City was willing to make its facilities available to the League, and also data on listener interest through its research department.

The object, in other words, was to promote cooperation between the radio industry and non-commercial agencies in order to increase cultural effectiveness of radio programs in a field to which about 65% of all broadcasting was given. The result hoped for was that if the project succeeded the industry would accept more readily the advice of competent music educators.

Early in the spring the RF was notified of the appointment of a Committee by the League, and of the personnel chosen. (See p.1.) Assurance was given by Station WOR that it would give time without cost each week, for thirteen weeks, in the evenings, providing its house orchestra and conductor, Alfred Wallenstein. A budget was calculated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Director</td>
<td>$2,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research Consultant</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>1,670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Production</td>
<td>5,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>2,830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Publication</td>
<td>1,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$14,000</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Music and You" went on the air for the first time on April 8th, and the titles of the program given during the successive weeks indicate their quality and also the variety of musical interest covered:
(Titles of program)

"Listening to Music"
"Folk Music"
"Music of the Church"
"Early Opera"
"Harpischord and Orchestra"
"Hayden Symphony"
"Mozart Concerto"
"String Quartet"
"Opera Program"
"Art Song"
"Program Music"
"Music of the Theatre"
"Music in America"

The artists included Efrem Zimbalist, violinist, Ernst Victor Wolff, Harpischordist, Jean Palmer, soprano, John Gurney, and others from the Metropolitan Opera Company. The commentators were Pierre Key, editor of Musical Digest, Nicolai Sokoloff, Director of the Federal Music Project, and Lee Pattison, Director of the spring season of the Metropolitan Opera.

Immediately after the programs telephone calls were made by Dr. Franzen, followed by face-to-face interviews with those who had listened. This information, together with data furnished by the research agencies subscribed to by WOR, was to be organized by Dr. Franzen and then turned over to Mrs. Calhoun as a basis for her final report.

CONCLUSION

A long delay followed and no report was forthcoming. Dr. Franzen was unable to submit his material in any form that could be used, and Mrs. Calhoun became too ill to continue with her end of the work. Finally in March, 1938, Milligan took up with Mr. Marshall the problem of how to get a report in shape. Mr. Marshall suggested enlisting the aid of Dr. Lazarsfeld at Princeton, who was anxious to cooperate.

In December, 1938, Lazarsfeld wrote a review of the project in which he said that in his opinion the experiment had been unfortunate in the
way the funds had been allocated: the greatest amount of money was used to put on programs, whereas the measuring of the audience had been done on only a small scale. The fact that the initially small audience did not increase as the series continued he felt to be significant, as meaning that cultural programs needed a publicity build-up since audiences do not increase of their own accord.

A memorandum from Mr. Marshall to Mr. Stevens, dated October 11, 1939, reflects the RF attitude briefly: "I suspect that from the start Mrs. Calhoun was much more interested in putting education in music on the air than in appraising the effectiveness of what she did... (1) the project was premature in that a) there was no general theory of radio listening to give it a systematic background, and b) no adequate methodology for carrying on the research it involved; and (2) that the organization and personnel which attempted to conduct it were inadequate for the job both because of the lacks noted in (1) and by their own lack of proper competence...."

The report—"Music and You"—A Study of audience reaction to programs of serious music on the air—was completed by Milligan on May 1, 1939 and subsequently published by the Music League, with a notation to the effect that it had been made possible through a grant of the RF.
Radio Research at Princeton
(Source: ZOCR, Files)

SUMMARY

Radio Research at Princeton was supported by the RF for almost a year and a half under the direction of Dr. Paul F. Lazarsfeld (trained in social psychology at the University of Vienna and an Austrian fellow), assisted by Professor Hadley Cantril of Princeton and Dr. Frank N. Stanton, of the Market Research Division of the Columbia Broadcasting System.

The following appropriations and grants-in-aid were made:

Appropriated on 5/21/37 for period 9/1/37 to 8/31/39 $67,000
" 6/9/39 (extending grant to 2/29/40) 17,500

Reported on 2/17/39 RF grant-in-aid 750
Total RF support...$85,250 (Source: RF Minutes)

In addition, the GEB made a grant-in-aid of $3,000 on 11/25/37 for a study of mass hysteria by Professor Cantril.

It was considered to be the first American project of research conducted on the basic idea of radio as a public service for the needs of the listener as an individual. The Federal Radio Education Committee, composed of forty representatives of education, radio, civic organizations, etc., sponsored and reviewed the program. The first two years were used to develop techniques and methods of social psychology in regard to new types of listener research. One of the most important outcomes was the "panel technique" by which knowledge of personal characteristics was gained through a series of successive individual interviews with the same people. Ninety studies were undertaken which involved so much accumulated material that an extension of time was allowed and an additional appropriation granted in order that it might be formulated.

The sales of Radio and the Printed Page by Lazarsfeld (published in 1940), and of other published studies, shows the extent to which such research was needed by those concerned with mass communication. (Sales totaled 1,200 copies as of September, 1941.)
INTRODUCTION (Why They Did It)

Professor Hadley Cantril, of Princeton's School of Public and International Affairs, wrote to Mr. Marshall on December 31, 1936 stating why he believed that a survey of problems in the best use of radio would be valuable to educational and commercial broadcasters, as well as to the general welfare of radio in the U. S. He believed that the time had come for a thorough investigation, as the growth of radio had been so rapid that little was known concerning the factors upon which its success depended. Techniques had not before been developed for such a survey, and therefore he felt that new methods should be tried which might culminate in a survey on the total population. Cantril estimated that a coordinated program of research by technically trained persons would take two years, and that the minimum budget necessary would be $30,000. He suggested Dr. Frank N. Stanton of C.B.S. as an assistant director and proposed that it should be officially sponsored by Professor DeWitt C. Poole, also of the School of Public and International Affairs.

Consideration by the RF of support for a project at Princeton was postponed until its relation to the research program of the F.R.E.O. had been established. The latter was a semi-official organization set up by the Federal Communications Commission in 1935, under the chairmanship of the U. S. Commissioner of Education. Included in its membership were forty representatives of most of the more important non-profit agencies interested in broadcasting, and also representatives of the more important commercial ones. Its programs were reviewed by a "committee of six", which resulted in the formulation of nine study projects. Four of these programs were to be financed by the broadcasting industry at an approximate cost of $33,000 during the first two years, and funds for the other five were to be secured from foundations and other sources.
The Princeton study was to be a part of the above larger research program, the influence of its findings to be assured because of its sponsorship by the F.R.E.C. Its central purpose was outlined as follows:

What role does broadcasting play in the lives of listeners?  
Who listens?  
Where does listening take place?  
What is listened to?  
Why do people listen?  
How do they listen?  
What are the effects of listening?

The "committee of six", responsible for this program, consisted of:

Frederick Willis, Assistant to the President of CBS
John Royal, Vice-president in charge of operations at NBC
James Baldwin, Executive Director of National Association of Broadcasters
Levering Tyson, National Advisory Council on Radio in Education
Hadley Cantril, Princeton School of Public Affairs
W. W. Charters, Ohio State University

This committee unanimously agreed that preparatory to any final solution of the problem of educational broadcasting, the answers to certain questions of basic interest to both educators and broadcasters must be obtained by systematic investigation. A well-coordinated research project, conducted by trained investigators, should be formulated to study the essential value of radio to all types of listeners. In other words, it will be necessary to determine what makes a radio broadcast 'effective' before educational broadcasting can become consistently 'effective'.

It is pertinent here to quote the RF policy as defined by the Trustees in 1935: "Limited support to cooperative efforts of the radio industry and non-commercial agencies that are directed towards the greater cultural effectiveness of sustaining programs and towards a broader range of public service." The two basic concerns for broadcasting activities were:

(1) their cultural effectiveness  
(2) their range of public service

These break down into inquiries as to what was cultural and how might effectiveness be achieved; also, directly bearing on the Princeton project, what was radio's
actual and potential service to that public.

In an interpretation of the Princeton proposal in May of 1937, Marshall said that it had to be taken for granted that almost all of the industry's activities were governed by commercial interests - "After all, we're in business". Its research divisions were those of sales promotion, concerned chiefly with the listener as a prospective purchaser. Most of their research consisted of interpreting material obtained from outside organizations, such as the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (generally known as the Crosley Survey) and the Clark-Hooper Survey. Inquiries made by these agencies were usually by telephone and did not include approximately 13,000,000 radio homes which had no telephones; no data was provided from rural listeners. In other words, the industry did not take into account research on how listeners listened for fear that it would weaken its position with the advertisers as it would imply that listeners were not giving complete attention to what was being advertised.

Marshall believed that the total audience must be taken into account if radio was to become a public service, and that the Princeton proposal was the first step in this direction aiming to study such a total audience in terms of its needs rather than in terms of what it wanted to buy. He described its purpose as setting "a new style in radio research", and one which the broadcasters could not disregard if it were to succeed. He concluded that in his opinion support seemed "a strategic move for the Foundation to make at this time".

**DEVELOPMENT (How They Did It)**

On May 21, 1937 the Executive Committee of the RF took action, providing to Princeton up to $67,000 (for a study of the value of radio to listeners) over a two-year period--September 1, 1937 to August 31, 1939--the amount in each year not to exceed $33,500.
The officers of the RF were informed (they were not consulted) of the appointment of Dr. Paul F. Lazarsfeld as Director. The Princeton School of Public Affairs assumed administrative responsibility for the project, provided quarters and allowed Cantril to give a considerable part of his time as Associate Director of the study. As Frank Stanton did not want to leave C.B.S. it was decided that he should be an associate director, also, on a part-time basis. Field quarters were to be maintained in New York. The budget for the first year was somewhat as follows: (Note: the budgets changed in detail.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Director's salary</td>
<td>$7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Two associate director's salaries</td>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secretarial assistance</td>
<td>2,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field assistants and travel</td>
<td>6,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trained interviewers</td>
<td>3,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel expense for the Director</td>
<td>3,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance for printing, office operation,</td>
<td>6,940</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>clerical assistance, equipment, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$33,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The work which ensued was of "methodological experimentation", which may be roughly classified as follows:

1. study of the characteristics of radio stations and programs on which listener interest seemed to depend;
2. studies of the characteristics of listeners attracted by programs of different types;
3. study of news broadcasting;
4. studies of broadcast music;
5. studies of the varied stimuli radio offered listeners in rural areas or during a political campaign.

Ninety studies were undertaken which indicated that "techniques of social psychology were economical and reliable for obtaining information needed in studying the value of radio to the listener". What was called the "panel technique" was developed whereby a panel of investigators held repeated interviews with individuals from the same group of people over a period of time.
This technique made it possible to study changes in the attitudes of listeners, and also to gain knowledge of their personal characteristics and of their conduct as influenced by programs.

In addition to the above inquiries into experimental methods, research was also conducted in special areas involving problems other than those of technique. The following conclusions were reached:

(1) educational broadcasting was more effective regionally than nationally;

(2) educational radio succeeded best when in an institutional set-up;

(3) people would come to like good programs if they were sufficiently exposed to them.

Two special studies also were made:

(1) a survey of listener interest through Station WIXAL in Boston. As a result of this study Lazarsfeld in March, 1938 gave the following summary opinion on shortwave broadcasting:

"Shortwave broadcasting is perfectly suited for teaching special interest groups... Even if there are only a few prospects in each community they can be tied together to an intellectual network... I feel convinced that the increasing use of shortwave stations will enforce a steadily increasing number of specialized stations..."

(2) a study of mass hysteria by Hadley Cantril--The Invasion from Mars--resulted from a broadcast by Orson Welles in 1938 (The War of the Worlds), which had created a panic among listeners who accidentally tuned in and mistook it for a real news broadcast.

In January, 1939 Marshall considered that it would be wise to have the Princeton project reviewed by a committee, in view of its concern as to future support. A Reviewing Committee was appointed: Lyman Bryson of Teachers College was chairman and other members included leaders in broadcasting and education. The report submitted indicated that the committee was pleased with the work done by Princeton to date but also that if it were to continue, the research should take a "more definite focus" toward study of radio as a "social force".
It was clear at this time that uncertainty existed as to Lazarsfeld's capacity to coordinate the material he had accumulated, and that Marshall's feeling was one of reluctance to invest further RF funds in the project until some tangible results had been achieved. This is illustrated by various comments:

James R. Angell of N.B.C.: "...his Lazarsfeld's mind is abnormally prolific of new ideas and these do not seem to me to fall naturally into significant coordinated patterns. It is easy to have the practical value of such a series of studies diluted and lost in a strong solution of technical terminology...."

Professor Robert S. Lynd of Columbia: "...I think what he Lazarsfeld needs is a stronger hand...holding him to a defined program. I don't believe he had a clear-cut set of definitions and of criteria as to priority in undertaking this job. This was in large part due to the situation: the Foundation did not know what it wanted but wanted a field of alternative possibilities opened up. This...over-wide field of interest...abetted him in following his curiosity rather than narrowing a program...."

The attitude of the RF was summed up by Marshall in a letter to Poole on March 16, 1939 in answer to a request for a further grant: "When the present status of its work is subject to scrutiny...one fact stands out, namely, that, suggestive as the project's findings are they still in large measure await formulation and final appraisal as to their full significance...acknowledging all that the Reviewing Committee sees in the project as undoubtedly valid, are we justified in recommending any further investment to our Trustees until the formulation of present findings has advanced much further...." On the same day, Lazarsfeld was notified that no recommendation was going to be made until the situation was reviewed again in June, by which time a tangible outcome of the work—one typical publication—must be submitted.

Lazarsfeld's decision in answer to this was to combine two areas of research—news broadcasting and the relation of listening to reading—into one monograph entitled Radio and the Printed Page, which he did deliver to the Foundation by the first of June. Additional support and time was requested to formulate the remaining phases of the work so that "a full return on the
original investment" could be made. The RF appropriated $17,500 on June 9th, this amount to be available through February, 1940, which represented the final grant to Princeton.

CONCLUSION (What They Did)

During the following months monographs were steadily forthcoming from Princeton, a number of which were ultimately published and widely distributed. Lazarsfeld noted, in regard to the material, that "many people do not realize how uncharted the field of radio research was when the project started. Therefore, if some of the minor studies seem rather specialized their place in a coordinated picture will become clearer as they accumulate." (See p.10 for list of publications.)

Radio and the Printed Page by Lazarsfeld, one of the most important studies, was commented on by Professor Lynd: "I believe that it is an important contribution that, both in its content and methodological versatility, will stimulate thinking and research in the whole field of communication...the study is not only important for its findings, but also for the wealth of stimulus it carries on page after page for more acutely focussed and socially significant research in the field of contemporary communication...."

In the autumn of 1939 there was a growing feeling that the project had never really found a home in Princeton, only because there was no other similar work there providing a background from which personnel or guidance could be derived. As things developed, Cantril found it impossible to give so much time to the project and Lazarsfeld felt it increasingly necessary to spend more time at the New York office. Columbia University was anxious to have the work continue under its auspices, and in December H. W. Dodds (Princeton's president) wrote to Professor Lynd (Department of Social Science at Columbia) officially confirming the agreement to surrender Princeton's
claims to continuance of the radio research project.

Marshall referred to the ending of the project at Princeton in a letter to the Assistant to the Dean of Columbia (Herbert Brucker) on November 21, 1939: "I feel that it/the project/ has now been whipped into pretty good shape. But, as that implies, some whipping was necessary. With some reason, the Directors of the Project had let their work range pretty widely - so widely in fact that it seemed fairly clear that steps would have to be taken to pull the various leads together. As a result, the terms of the grant made last spring were such as to insist on the formulation of data already in hand. So far as I can determine, that job is now progressing to a satisfactory conclusion. But 'complete satisfaction' would neglect an earlier feeling that the Project had got a bit out of hand and was, as we put it last spring, in danger of becoming the victim of its own success. Certainly an enterprise of this kind needs firm administration, and I am not satisfied that this particular enterprise has always had it. Actually of course the Project's strongest tie to Princeton has been through Cantril, who, as you point out, with Stanton originated the plan now being followed...the Project's location in New York had given it no chance to develop ties with other University activities in Princeton. In that sense, perhaps Princeton sponsorship does leave something to be asked..."
Publications resulting from Radio Research at Princeton

February, 1939 issue of Journal of Applied Psychology, first comprehensive report of Project’s findings

Station and Program research
(1) Social Stratification of the Radio Audience, November 1939 (mimeographed)
(2) The ABCD’s of Radio Audiences, Public Opinion Quarterly, June 1940

Techniques for listener research
(4) Panel Studies, Public Opinion Quarterly, March 1940

Educational Research
(5) Listeners Appraise a College Station: WOI, Iowa State College, published by F.R.E.C. in pamphlet form, 1940
(6) High School Students Judge Radio Programs, Education, Vol.6, No.10

Reading and Listening
(7) Radio and the Printed Page, 1940
(8) Radio and Reading: Do Broadcasts Compete with Books, Saturday Review of Literature, June 3, 1940

Mass Hysteria
(9) Invasion from Mars, 1940
The Rocky Mountain Council received the following support from the RF from 1939 to 1945:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Appropriated on</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4/30/40</td>
<td>8/1/40 to 8/1/43</td>
<td>$18,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/19/42</td>
<td>8/1/42 to 8/1/45</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6/15/45</td>
<td>Final outright grant to be paid 8/1/45</td>
<td>$25,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grants-in-aid
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reported on</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11/17/39</td>
<td>10/1/39 to 7/1/40</td>
<td>$5,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3/21/41</td>
<td>2/15/41 to 8/15/41</td>
<td>$850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total .......... $64,350 (Source: RF Minutes)

Mr. Robert B. Hudson, a former RF fellow in radio work, was the director of this project. Its special significance lay in its being an experiment in regional broadcasting; the RF believed that the type of service it offered should be developed both for its value in the Rocky Mountain Region and as a pattern which could be duplicated in other regions. It was ably managed by Hudson, both financially and in the quality of its programs. In his letter of resignation in August, 1945 he wrote that "The Radio Council enjoys now the strongest position, both financial and from the standpoint of acceptance in the region, in its six-year history and can be counted a permanent service agency to the educational institutions, the radio stations and the people of this region...."

DESCRIPTION

The Rocky Mountain region comprises the States of Colorado and Wyoming, an area covering 200,000 square miles with a population of about 1,250,000. The heads of various universities and organizations believed that these states constituted a definite regional area, geographically, economically
and culturally, for an advantageous purpose of educational broadcasting. Plans were accordingly initiated in 1937 to mobilize the resources of colleges and member agencies for the cooperative production of a broadcasting program to be known as the Rocky Mountain Public Radio Program, which subsequently became the Rocky Mountain Radio Council. The project was thought to have national significance as illustrating possibilities for inter-regional cooperation which might lead to a national cooperative plan.

DEVELOPMENT

In May, 1937 Mr. Arthur G. Crane, President of the University of Wyoming, approached Marshall in regard to the organization of a Rocky Mountain public radio service. Preliminary plans, he stated, had enlisted the interest of about thirty organizations active in that area which included the universities of Colorado, Wyoming, the Adult Education groups (such as the state departments of education), various citizens' organizations (such as the Congress of Parents and Teachers) and the State Grange. Marshall made it clear that he was not prepared at that time to bring up for consideration support of this kind, and stressed the necessity that local support be developed from the outset.

Subsequently, Crane became Chairman of The National Committee on Education by Radio, and proceeded with plans for the formal endorsement of a public radio program under the Rocky Mountain Radio Council. It was not until May, 1939 that there was any indication that the RF would give support. At this time Marshall wrote Crane that it would consider only such needs as the Council would incur in the preliminary phases of its work, under the heading of planning (i.e., the salary of the Director, Robert B. Hudson, the expense of a small office, over a three month's period). In the following month of June it was decided by the RF to cancel a grant-in-aid action and to consider instead a term grant at the September meeting of the Trustees, and Crane and
Hudson were advised to apply for this not later than the first of August.

On July 22, 1939 a formal application was made in behalf of the Council in two parts: one for $3,500 for preparatory work; the second, for two years (1940 and 1941) for $49,150. The annual budgets were figured at $20,000 a year and the balance was for capital expenditure. In answer to Marshall's suggestion that local support be solicited, Crane stated as the opinion of the Executive Committee of the Council that it would be unwise to do so until the practicability and service of such a central organization could be clearly demonstrated. It was hoped to start work on the project in the fall of 1939 and to have it completely in operation by January of 1940.

Attached to the formal application was an outline of the objectives, plans, activities, etc., which had been formulated:

Outline of Programs
The R.M.R.C. has the official membership of 28 institutions and agencies in Wyoming and Colorado; 12 of these are colleges and universities. These constituent members and institutions possess large resources of potential talent but the available broadcasters are inexperienced and essential local organizations have not been created for effective production. Counsel is needed in order to establish training studios, etc.

The Plan
An effort to accomplish collectively what has proved difficult individually by mobilizing resources and thus provide machinery for a united, collective effort. This will be the means by which all parties in the region may unite in the production of a composite program, to be a cooperative regional enterprise with its headquarters in Denver.

Objectives
1. To create a working organization through which educational institutions and agencies of the region can coordinate their broadcasting resources and raise the quality and amount of their presentations;
2. To demonstrate and emphasize the value of radio as an instrument of democracy;
3. To demonstrate a cooperative method of maintaining working relationships between stations and producers of non-commercial programs;
4. To give listeners in the region a wider range of "serious" broadcasts suitable to the area.

Method of Operation
The member institutions and agencies will supply many of the programs
produced by the Council; the institution will be the authority and the Council the technical adviser. The institution will pay for the time required by it (and services) and thus bear almost the entire cost of the program. Accordingly, the costs of the project are not in preparing or broadcasting, but in the demands made on the Council's staff in the planning and producing.

Programs
To deal with the region, its people, culture, inter-relationships; also documentary programs on water, petroleum, minerals, ranching, regional products, industries, social conditions, etc. Folklore and original drama of the region will be revived; pioneer towns, western history and art. Programs on world affairs as interpreted in a local setting. Educational programs.

Financial Requirements
1. A staff;
2. Headquarters;
3. Recording equipment of a quality suitable for producing transcriptions.

A memorandum from Marshall to Mr. Stevens of September 15, 1939 reflects his opinion in regard to the importance of supporting the Council for its regional significance. He stated that the then present system of broadcasting made for an "undesirable centralization" which, by drawing attention to centers of information, tended to divert people from what lay nearby; that research demonstrated that people are apt to place more reliance on news commentators in their own region than on national ones, which applied to the plans of the Rocky Mountain Radio Council in their intention to discuss regional problems; that discussion of regional problems at that time would bear on the impact of world events.

On September 22, a week later, Marshall wrote to Crane suggesting a grant in aid toward the general expenses of the Council in a sum not to exceed $5,000, available over a period not longer than nine months beginning October 1; that this decision by the RF did not reflect adversely on the promise of the Council's plans, but rather on the uncertainties caused by the outbreak of war in Europe. In his answering letter Crane wrote: "...Our Council...is so deeply interested in this project, so firmly convinced of the basic idea, its ideals and its usefulness, that we feel we must go ahead with it even in a
much smaller way and probably with much less likelihood of complete success...If the appropriation of $5,000 for a period of say from October 1st to June 30th can be made, we shall undertake to carry the best program possible with the funds. We shall continue to explore all possibilities for local support...."

In December, 1939 Hudson reported to Marshall: "The Radio Council is beginning to take on form and shape...I am glad to report that we will get at least $3,000 from the Payne Fund to be used during the 'test' period which ends the first of August...I have succeeded in getting $2,000 from a local source...The most encouraging and important phase of the work to date is the interest and enthusiasm in the project which has been developed within the schools and colleges working with the Council. The Council has already achieved one of its primary objectives in that most of these organizations are now, for the first time, seriously considering their responsibilities to the public for service by radio. I have a good working organization on each campus and we will start broadcasts from the University of Denver, University of Colorado, Regis College, University of Wyoming, Colorado State College of Agriculture, Denver Public Library, and by the Colorado Congress of Parents and Teachers, early in January...."

During the next few months the RF felt increasingly well impressed by the activities of the Council and seriously considered giving it partial support on some contingent basis for two or three years. This was evident in the following statements and correspondence:

Report by Marshall after his visit to Denver, February, 1940
Urged R.M.R.C. of advisability of getting measure of response to programs which had been on the air long enough to have reached a part of their potential audience. Record of Council "truly remarkable". Its programs on 13 of region's 17 stations. Quality of all records heard unusually high for non-commercial work. Hudson believed $15,000 to be the minimum budget for that period, as the Council was operating on approximately $1,000 a month. Boettcher Foundation granted $2,000 for 1940; further support expected and also from other local foundations, particularly if
partial support could be granted by the RF during the next two years on some contingent basis.

**Letter from Marshall to Hudson, March 11, 1940**

"...Everyone who has seen the materials feels that the outcomes of your tests of audience response are truly remarkable...the findings are positive enough to be unmistakable...In putting in this recommendation /meeting of Trustees on April 3rd/ we are taking into account, first, the brief statement of policy which your letter of March 8th brings to the effect that the Council will shortly investigate further the question of just what concerns are vital to the region; and second, the four years financial program which indicates the expectation of establishing the Council on a basis of local support and earnings by the time the grant now requested of the Foundation terminates. From our point of view, these are two important considerations...."

**Report to Marshall from The Payne Fund, March 27, 1940**

"...The Fund believes that the R.M.R.C., in its first five months of operation, has proved of extraordinary value as (1) a coordinating agency between educational and civic organizations and commercial radio stations; (2) an aid in providing programs of a high standard to small stations serving mountainous areas which geographically are unable to reach network stations; and (3) a clearing house for educational radio matters in the region...the Council is currently considered, by several members of the F.C.C. and by a number of leaders in the field of education, to be the outstanding example of cooperative effort on the part of educational and civic organizations and radio stations...if the RF will make commitments on the basis of the schedule prepared by the R.M.R.C. on which to predicate its requests for financial backing...the Payne Fund will do likewise. This calls for a grant from the Payne Fund of $3,000 for the first year, $2,000 the second year, and $1,000 the third year."

On April 5, 1940 the Council was notified of the approval of an appropriation up to $18,500 toward expenses during the three-year period beginning August 1, 1940 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>1940-1941</td>
<td>$10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1942</td>
<td>$5,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-1943</td>
<td>$3,000</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Of the amount available for the first year, $2,500 was for recording equipment.

In the following autumn Hudson asked Marshall if he would write to Mr. Quigg Newton, Jr., one of Denver's leading citizens, to explain the reasons behind the backing of the Council by the RF in the hope of eliciting further aid from foundations in Colorado. Marshall wrote as follows, on October 10th:
"...The work of the Council, it seemed to us, had recognized this opportunity for making radio of special service in a region which could profitably utilize it...The success of the Council's earlier work confirmed our belief that the type of service it offered should be further developed both for its value in the Rocky Mountain Region and as an example for other regions. To support this belief, we pointed out that the Council had already made substantial progress in its aim of bringing its service to the point where it could be maintained by support from local sources and from earnings. In that regard we noted the grants of the Boettcher Foundation, the Payne Fund, the National Committee for Education by Radio, and told our Trustees that the present recommendation was made in the expectation that the other funds the Council would need to maintain an annual budget of $15,000 could probably be secured either from earnings or from other interested agencies. We recommended the Foundation's grant on the ground that the work of the Council would provide a pattern for broadcasting of this kind which could be duplicated in other regions...."

Early in 1941 Marshall again visited Denver and reported that the Council was then established in convenient quarters in a remodeled apartment in a basement. Their schedule board showed 50 broadcasts of nine programs each week over 15 of the 17 stations of the region with a uniformly good quality. The financial outlook for the year was also favorable with an assured $12,500 in grants toward its needed budget of $15,000. (Its expectation was to earn $1,000 from service charges to its members and $1,000 from its recording service.) With a further grant from the Boettcher Foundation, the Council then planned to approach other local foundations for help toward a five-year financial program.

In February of 1941 a small grant of $850 was made by the RF "to enable the Rocky Mountain Radio Council to undertake a study of the effectiveness of various methods of building audiences for radio programs of educational and cultural value". This study was to be made by W. M. Spackman, a Rockefeller Foundation fellow and also a member of the Council's staff, under the supervision of Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld at the School for Radio Research at Princeton.

In a letter to Marshall on December 12, 1941 Hudson reported that the Council had lived within its income "all the way". He expressed uncertainty
over the effect of the war on budgets of University and other educational institutions which were suffering from loss of students, and mentioned the possibility of his having to leave as director in order to relieve the Council of his salary.

Conditions did not improve, and in May Hudson wrote again to Marshall that if financial help would not be available to the Council during the war years the only course left would be for it to function without a director and accordingly provide merely a technical service to its members and to the region. "If we can successfully get through these critical war years, I believe we can look forward to the Council becoming a fully accredited and supported regional institution, serving well the educational needs of this region and becoming a potent influence in American radio."

In June, 1942 after reviewing the situation the RF felt ready to propose a further grant of $5,000 a year for a three-year period to start August 1, 1942, with the understanding "that if, for any reason, Mr. Robert B. Hudson ceased to be in active direction of the Council's work, the situation would be reviewed by the officers of the Foundation." In a letter to Hudson at this time Marshall wrote: "You have given us so strong a case for it that its desirability was unquestioned."

In his answering letter, Hudson assured Marshall that he would stay with the Council for an "indefinite period of time" if the Payne Fund would stay in the picture with a substantial grant enabling the budget requirements to be met. (In August the Payne Fund came through with a grant close to $4,000 for 1943, and hoped to repeat this for the two following years.) "This new era in radiobroadcasting was publicly inaugurated by the FCC rulings, based upon its monopoly report of about a year ago," Hudson wrote. "Those rulings principally affected network organizations with local stations being concerned only through network affiliation and option time contracts. Now the war-induced
economic 'squeeze' is beginning to tighten on small stations and, as it looks from here, many of them will be forced out of business unless they get help from some source - possibly government subsidy on a per program basis for government broadcasts."

A year later (May, 1943) Marshall reported Hudson's account of the position of the small radio stations at that time. There was still no substantial business from national advertisers; with the decline of products for local sale their income had fallen off sharply. Accordingly, they were looking for help to the government; government subsidy was not approved of by the National Association of Broadcasters, but at the same time they did nothing for the small stations that were in difficulty. The future of the Council beyond the period of the current RF grant was still uncertain financially, particularly owing to the uncertain situation of University members. Income from the Council's recording service was then meeting all technical expenses, but permanent provision had not yet been made for other costs.

In September, Hudson submitted the 4th annual report of the Council, and in its introduction he summarized his concept of the work as follows:

To develop a practical program service, harmonized with the American System of Broadcasting, through which more effective public service broadcasts can be brought the people of the Rocky Mountain region by their own local and regional radio stations.

To interpret the region.

To help its members.

To demonstrate for educators and for the radio industry alike that educational materials lend themselves to radio as a medium of communication, and that integrity in education and professional standards in radio are not incompatible.

To set high standards.

To help radio stations in performance of their public service functions for the people in their respective listening areas.

In commenting on this report to members of the RF staff, Marshall
said: "I think this annual report of the Rocky Mountain Radio Council truly impressive...particularly striking are the figures on the audience its programs have attracted...also striking is the account...of how Hudson has come to represent nationally the small-station problem."

In April of 1944 Mr. Stevens reported that an increase had been recommended of a salary of $6,000 to Hudson instead of $5,000 which he had previously received, because of the certainty that the Council "would deteriorate under any other director".

A year later in April of 1945 the Council applied for a renewal of the grant. Hudson wrote: "It means that with a little more help from the Foundation the whole investment has good promise of paying off in accomplishment...."

CONCLUSION

On June 19, 1945 $25,000 was appropriated to the Council as "an outright final grant toward expenses and equipment, payable in full on August 1, 1945." Marshall wrote: "In recommending this grant, it is our hope that it will leave the Council free in formulating, long-range plans for permanent financing such as we know you and groups in the region interested in the work of the Council will be developing in the next years. It is, of course, our hope, as always, that the Council may very soon find some way to carry on its work on a self-supporting basis...."

In July, Hudson came to tell Marshall of an offer received by him to be Director of Education for the Columbia Broadcasting System. He stated his belief that the real strength of the Council had been in its Directing Committee, made up of the presidents of leading institutions of the region. Therefore he felt that he could leave it without damage to the work he had built up. He said that the RF final grant had "consolidated the financial position of the Council".
In his closing letter to Marshall on August 9, 1945, Hudson wrote: "The Radio Council enjoys now the strongest position, both financial and from the standpoint of acceptance in the region, in its six year history and can be counted a permanent service agency to the educational institutions, the radio stations, and the people of this region. The Executive Committee proposes to use the Rockefeller Foundation money as a five-year grant, and by the end of that period the Council should be on a well established local support basis..."
SUMMARY

In October, 1939 President Conant made the first move on the part of a major university to establish broadcasting as a subject of serious study in requesting an appropriation from the RF for the salary of a lecturer in broadcasting over a three-year period. The purpose of the proposal was to give broadcasting the place it seemed to deserve at that time in the university, and the primary responsibility of a lecturer would be to develop such a study as a means of mass communication. It was thought that he could also give assistance to undergraduates and members of the faculty who were concerned with broadcasting.

Mr. Charles Siepmann of the British Broadcasting Company accepted the appointment, highly recommended for this position by the Foundation. The outcome was not satisfactory and in February, 1942 the university released Siepmann for service to the Office of Facts and Figures at the Library of Congress, also with the approval of the RF.

A series of grants-in-aid was made by the RF to Harvard for studies under Professor Carl Friedrich in regard to broadcasting controls and foreign language broadcasts. Friedrich had difficulty in completing his work under the limits of time set by the RF. In June of 1942, when he applied for further assistance, the decision of the Foundation was that he had not devoted himself with the necessary seriousness to his work to warrant an additional grant.

(See page 2 for amounts appropriated.)
The following amounts were given to Harvard by the RF:

Appropriated on 10/20/39 for three years $24,000
($8,000 a year for salary of lecturer)

Grants-in-aid
Reported on 9/27/40 2,950
Approved on 1/17/41 2,700
Approved on 1/29/42 1,000

$30,650 (Source: RF Minutes)

As the amounts were for separate projects they are reviewed individually.

Work under Mr. Charles Siepmann

During the five preceding years at Harvard interest had developed in different departments: the Cruft Laboratory figured prominently on the technical side; Professor Allport was co-author of the best available work on the psychology of broadcasting; the School of Education had explored the possibilities of radio in formal education; there had been collaboration with the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation for purposes of adult education; a radio workshop had been organized for exploring radio as an art form through Archibald MacLeish.

In August, 1939 Conant believed that the time had come for Harvard to make a definite entry into the field of broadcasting if someone of "unusual competence" could be added to the faculty, experienced in its practical aspects. Accordingly, he made a formal request to the RF for a grant in support of such work and suggested Charles Siepmann as a lecturer, to be given free rein in investigations over a period of three years.

Siepmann took up his work at Harvard on December 1, 1939. The assignment, which had held much promise from every point of view, became increasingly unsatisfactory. From the available correspondence the underlying reasons were hard to understand because of Siepmann's previous record of work as Director of Program Planning for the B.B.C. Over a year later--February,
1941—he outlined in an account to Marshall his opinion as to what Harvard should undertake in the field of broadcasting:

(1) that there was still much to be done in research which had not been covered by the activities of the Office of Radio Research at Columbia University;

(2) that Harvard’s major opportunity lay in the development of a critical approach to radio programs;

(3) that if Harvard wanted to engage in broadcasting, its activities ought to be strictly limited and supervised, making them “the subject of special critical scrutiny”.

Siepmann’s interests lay in radio activities whereas he felt that Conant expected him to work in the field of thought and writing, to result ultimately in some publication. Conant, on the other hand, considered that Siepmann had not succeeded in establishing himself at Harvard, possibly for the reason that the college was not ready for a person of his interests or that he had not realized that he must win authority by the administration rather than be given it.

In February, 1942 MacLeish wanted to secure Siepmann’s services for important work for the Federal Government. As there was no chance of a further appointment for him at Harvard after December 1, 1943 the outcome was that the Foundation expressed its willingness to have any remaining funds diverted in order to pay Siepmann’s salary at the Library of Congress. Siepmann’s only remaining commitment to Harvard was to complete his pamphlet for the Oxford University Press - Radio in Wartime - which he did.

Work under Professor Friedrich

The first grant of $2,950 was made to Harvard for a study of the controls of broadcasting under Friedrich for a period of twelve months, beginning on July 1, 1940. Subsequently, this was extended for one year to June 30, 1942 as approved on March 16, 1941. The need for such a study was outlined as follows:
(1) that the political and social scientist should know how radio broadcasting functioned in regard to the forming of opinion;

(2) that educators, labor leaders, philanthropists, etc., could be more effective if their approach were more realistic;

(3) that a pattern of control relationships was needed for broadcasting, due to national mobilization being imminent.

In December, 1940 Conant requested another grant for a study of the attitude of recent immigrants to the U. S. in the war emergency (German, Italian, Spanish and Japanese). The amount of $2,700 was approved on January 17, 1941 for a period of six months to June 30th. Friedrich believed that a study of foreign language broadcasts should center around three main points:

(1) were the programs serving the needs of listeners in a way which could not be replaced by any other service?

(2) were the programs maintaining attitudes which were undesirable from a democratic point of view?

(3) were the programs being used by organizations of various nationalities in a way not compatible with the interests of the community?

The following April, Friedrich announced in a letter to Marshall that plans for the language study had been changed to an analysis of the reaction of Italians in New York City to Italian broadcasts, owing to the "limitations of the grant". Marshall agreed to this use of the grant but commented on Friedrich's reference to the necessity of curtailment: he had understood that a feasible plan had been worked out to carry through the study within the limits of the grant.

In December, 1941 a supplementary grant was requested in order to continue these studies through to the end of June, 1942. Mr. Roger F. Evans stated that "over-end and overlapping grants" were contrary to RF policy, and therefore he hoped that a terminal grant of $1,000 would ensure completion of
the work. He added that in order to deserve RF support he felt that the project called for a more comprehensive approach than had been used, and for which there was no place at that time in the RF program.

The amount of $1,000 was approved in January of 1942 for six months ending on June 30th, and the particular studies which it was intended to cover were listed as:

1. An Analysis of Broadcasting by Educational Institutions;
2. The Radiobroadcasting Activities of Special Interest Groups;
3. The Radiobroadcasting Activities of Congress.

In June, Friedrich came in to the Foundation to ask for the financing of still further studies "of economic, social and political implications". He acknowledged that RF support had seen him through what he alluded to as the "exploration stage" and also that it had provided groundwork. It was the consensus of RF opinion at this point that Friedrich was not equipped to undertake such a program, and that it would be better if it were to be done by the Federal Communications Commission. Accordingly, no further grant was recommended.
The Listening Center was established at Princeton in late October, 1939 primarily for the purpose of recording and analyzing foreign shortwave broadcasts as a means of forming public opinion about the war and of providing a permanent record. The experiment lasted a year and a half. It was conducted as a project of Princeton's School of Public and International Affairs under an Executive Committee of which Professor John B. Whitton was chairman. The following support was given by the RF:

Appropriated on 5/17/40 for period 6/1/40 to 12/31/41 $25,000

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<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; &quot; 3/15/40</td>
<td>3/15/40 to 6/30/40</td>
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<td>&quot; 1/17/41</td>
<td>1/1/41 to 12/31/41</td>
<td>6,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>&quot; 3/21/41</td>
<td>1/1/41 to 12/31/41</td>
<td>1,320</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$39,820 (Source: RF Minutes)

Basic methods and trends were developed at Princeton which resulted in the establishment of the Foreign Broadcasting Monitoring Service in the Federal Communications Commission, of which Mr. Harold N. Graves (formerly director of the Princeton Center) became the administrative head.

OBJECTIVES

In October, 1939 John B. Whitton (Professor in the Department of Politics at Princeton) initiated a request for a grant-in-aid from the RF for an experimental period of three months for a proposed analysis of propaganda from Europe through the establishment of a Listening Post. The aim was to study to what extent foreign shortwave broadcasts were being used by American newspapers, publicists and radio broadcasters, with attention centered on news
broadcasts and topical talks, particularly as pertaining to the war.

The RF considered this to be an important and urgent request as no other agency had evidenced interest in such work and it was believed that it could not be more competently undertaken than at Princeton. Accordingly, a grant-in-aid of $3,700 was approved as of October, 1939 to enable Princeton to set up a listening post equipped with a proper radio receiver and an automatic recorder for taking down transcription of all transmissions from Europe directed towards the U. S. which would be significant for purposes of analysis. Such programs were to be reported after analysis, in bi-weekly mimeographed bulletins sent to individuals and agencies for better understanding of current international relations and of problems connected with the formation of public opinion.

In November, Dr. Harold W. Dodds (President of Princeton University) announced that a study of the influence in this country of shortwave broadcasts from Europe was to be undertaken at Princeton and alluded to it as "a new and significant weapon in international politics".

DEVELOPMENT

During the first few months there were difficulties in getting the work underway. The two preliminary reports brought considerable criticism and it was felt that the standards by which it would have to be judged had not been met. Hugh O'Connor of the N. Y. Times, when requested for an opinion, wrote that he considered the project "unbusinesslike...inaccurate...incompetent", etc. Marshall contended that such a judgment did not bear on the main issue which was the importance of having a listening center by an agency in a position to undertake such work, as opposed to papers and broadcasting companies which watched for shortwave transmissions primarily from the angle of newsworthy material.

Early in February, after the third report was published, it was
conceded that there was improvement both in style and substance; that a unique opportunity existed for scholars to follow foreign policies simultaneously and daily with firsthand reliability. Professor Whitton believed that the focus of the study should be the appeals, devices and systematic efforts of conflicting governments to secure listener acceptance, and that it should be conducted as a major research.

On February 20, 1940 the RF gave another grant-in-aid in the amount of $3,800 for expenses of the center to June 30th, stating that further support would depend on the experimentation worked out in regard to reliable procedures and a clearer definition of the procedures involved.

In considering a request from Princeton for further help Marshall stated it as his opinion that in March and April the Center had defined its task to a point which assured useful outcomes; that a method of analysis had been worked out by which listeners were told what they could expect from foreign broadcasts, a method which had become a basis for appraisal of the validity of announcements. The Center had grown in importance due to its analysis of developments of propaganda without which the people of the U. S. would not be fully informed in regard to that phase of the war.

On May 17th a grant of $25,000 was approved by the RF for continuation of work at the Listening Center to June 1st, 1941. In a memorandum at this time Marshall listed its five objectives as follows:

1. to study the significance of shortwave radio as a means of moulding public opinion about the war;

2. to study aspects of shortwave broadcasting to which the listening public should be alive in order to avoid dangers inherent in this type of international communication;

3. to determine the "axioms" of international communication by radio in war time;

4. to follow developments during war time to provide a basis for establishing policy;

5. to discover a basis in war time experience for control of shortwave broadcasting by international agreement in time of peace.
An excerpt from a confidential bulletin of the Trustees of the RF describes how the work was carried on: "...As the broadcasts are received, they automatically record themselves on the rotating wax cylinders of the dictaphones; thereafter these recordings go to typists for transcription. Thus, there is the dictaphone record which makes it possible to study the broadcaster's use of pause, inflection, and other tricks of the orator, and in addition the transcription which provides a permanent record in typed form. All transcripts are deposited in the Princeton University Library and with provision made for microfilming it will be possible for persons desiring to do so to obtain copies for study. This Library deposit constitutes a permanent record of a phase of the war which, if not caught now, would not be available for study for some time, if ever...."

In the autumn of 1940 it was agreed between Mr. Marshall and members of the Center that in addition to its regular work (classification of materials recorded and analysis of the strategy of propaganda) another aspect of analysis should be studied, i.e., the effect of belligerent shortwave propaganda on American public opinion. It was further agreed that such a study should define the extent to which listeners were interventionists, sympathetic or isolationist. A supplementary grant was authorized on December 11, 1940 for "a study of shortwave listeners and listening in the United States, as a weapon of international politics".

An additional small grant of $1,320 was made in February, 1941 for a study of the development of radio propaganda from 1914 to 1939 by Professor Whitton. This was based on the belief that an historical survey of the evolution of radio propaganda in world politics would be a valuable addition to the Center for its study of belligerent radio propaganda in World War II.

On April 1st Mr. Graves was appointed assistant administrator of the Federal Communication Commissionslistening post in Washington. Later on
four other members of the Center's personnel became employed with the Foreign Broadcasting Monitoring Service. The following statements reflect the opinion of the F.C.C. in regard to the Listening Post: "...a pioneering work which had rendered notable services. The work...has been of great assistance to the Monitoring Service; first the Center's contribution of trained personnel...second, its reports of broadcasting have proved to be valuable. And, thirdly...the techniques developed...have served us in good stead...."

In May, Professor Whitton applied for an extension of time for the spending of an unexpended balance of approximately $3,000 of the RF grants in order to prepare a final report. The RF set the date at December 31, 1941 and added, "We are glad that the Foundation's grant could be utilized to open up this type of inquiry, but with things as they are--and particularly with the development of various governmental inquiries--I doubt that it is the Foundation's function to carry such inquiries further than you are able to with the funds now available." The following November Professor Whitton wrote to Marshall that the University Research Committee had made a grant of $1,000 toward the publication costs of Propaganda by Short Wave, which was to be published by the Princeton University Press early in 1942.

CONCLUSION

Mr. Marshall appraised the work of the Listening Center in a statement of October 14, 1942, excerpts of which are quoted: "By the time this grant approached its terminating date, May 30, 1941, the work of the Listening Center had come to unusual fulfillment for a project of this kind; Government requirements in war time by that date had recognized the need for a full-scale government agency to monitor and to analyze broadcasts from abroad which could be heard in this country. The result was the establishment of the Foreign Broadcasting Monitoring Service in the Federal Communications
Commission. The role of the Princeton Listening Center in preparing for this development was strikingly illustrated by the fact that its Director was placed in charge of the organization of the F.B.M.S. and that virtually its entire staff was taken over by the F.B.M.S. .

"Though the Princeton Listening Center had never attempted a complete coverage of broadcasts from abroad, the methods it developed and the basic trend lines it established during its year and a half of operation are generally accepted to have laid the foundation for the large scale coverage of the F.B.M.S. .

"A full appraisal of the work of the Princeton Listening Center actually involves the history of the establishment of the F.B.M.S... From the Princeton Listening Center, operating on an annual budget of $25,000 a year, emerged the F.B.M.S. with a budget during its first year of over $800,000. The Princeton Center never had a staff of more than ten persons; the initial staff of the F.B.M.S. numbered over 400. The Princeton Center depended on what could be heard in Princeton; the F.B.M.S. as soon as possible established listening posts in Puerto Rico and Seattle, with facilities for immediate reporting to Washington by teletype. This entire expansion was effected within a period of less than four months, and was... a monument to the energy and intelligence of Mr. Harold N. Graves, the Director of the Princeton Center who became the administrative head of the F.B.M.S...."
Office of Radio Research - Columbia  
(Source: 200R, Files)

SUMMARY

The RF initiated support to the Office of Radio Research at Columbia University on March 1, 1940. The current grant will end on September 30, 1949. Appropriations and grants-in-aid were made as follows:

Appropriated on 1/19/40 for period 3/1/40 to 8/31/41 $35,400
  "  " 5/16/41 "  " 9/1/41 to 8/31/45 60,000
  "  " 2/21/47 "  " ending 12/31/48 20,000
  "  " 9/19/47 "  " ending 9/30/49 27,000

Grant-in-aid
Reported on 6/14/40 for period 4/10/40 to 1/10/41 900
Approved " 8/14/40 "  " ending 12/31/40 500
  " 8/15/40 "  " ending 12/31/40 1,000
Reported " 1/17/41 "  " 1/1/41 to 1/1/42 2,900
  " 3/21/41 "  " 2/1/41 to 8/31/41 3,500
Approved " 3/21/46 "  " ending 6/30/46 5,000
Total..................$156,200 (Source: RF Minutes)

The Office of Radio Research became reestablished at Columbia on March 1, 1940, under the direction of Dr. Lazarsfeld (as at Princeton). The work was under the supervision of a committee composed of Professor Robert S. Lynd, Chairman, Professor Herbert Brucker of the Columbia School of Journalism, Professor Lyman Bryson of Teachers College and Dr. Frank N. Stanton of the Columbia Broadcasting System (formerly associate-director of the Princeton project).

It was considered that the work matured steadily at Columbia, "academically, scientifically and financially", and the Office was increasingly consulted as a source of expert and impartial advice. One of the most important developments was the retaining of Lazarsfeld by newspaper owners of radio stations to bring out facts in advance of public control of broadcasting.
in the U. S. A study of the influence of radio in the presidential
campaign of 1940, published in *Fortune* magazine, was another major con-
tribution. A substantial income was derived from its consulting services
which were rendered to government agencies (the OWI, the War Department, etc.),
who reported that the work maintained high standards as well as originality
of treatment.

Lasarsfeld was given a permanent appointment as Associate Professor
in the University's department of Sociology in 1941. During the following two
years the work was affected by the war, as much of the kind of research in
which Lasarsfeld had pioneered was being done by government agencies on a
large scale. As a result, the policy of the Office changed in regard to the
work undertaken.

In June, 1944, Columbia authorized the establishment of what was to
be known as the Bureau of Applied Social Research, to be one unit with the
Office of Radio Research. This was the beginning of the trend toward a
program of Social Science rather than the Humanities.

In July, 1945 a statement was made as to the Objectives and Purposes
of the Bureau of Social Science. Three studies of social problems were
financed by the RF appropriation of February 21, 1947. The current grant,
terminating as of September, 1949 was appropriated toward the expenses of a
study of panel methods in research on public opinion, attitudes and consumer
wants.

**DEVELOPMENT**

On December 22, 1939 Frank D. Fackenthal (Provost of Columbia
University) wrote Marshall that Columbia was anxious to undertake a research
project in radio if funds could be given for this purpose. The intention was
"to relate the work to the program of the Council for Research in the Social
It was stated that it should be under the direct supervision of Professor Lynd.

In his answering letter Marshall wrote that he did not feel able to recommend assistance for longer than eighteen months (March, 1940 through August, 1941) and suggested a grant of approximately $35,000 as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salary of Director</td>
<td>$12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expenses of central office</td>
<td>3,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Analysis of effects of radio listening</td>
<td>9,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Field work</td>
<td>8,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contingent</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>$35,500</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This proved acceptable to Columbia, and on January 19th the amount of $35,400 ($100 less than the amount estimated) was appropriated for that period. In addition there were the following grants-in-aid:

- $900 for tests of panel technique, April 1940;
- $500 for an appraisal on radio listening of children, at request of a non-profit organization—the Radio Council—composed of women who were interested in promoting desirable children's programs, April 1940;
- $1,000 for testing the feasibility of developing a radio map of the U.S. in order to investigate what the total regional coverage might be at any one period (a standard basic requirement in all communication research), April 1940;
- $2,900 for further studies of the poll and panel as methods of research in radio listening and public opinion, January 1941;
- $3,500 for a survey of program schedules from representative small stations in regard to listening to foreign language programs. (The latter was felt to be important in its relation to the entire question of the way in which small independent stations differed from the better known schedules of the big networks.)

During the first year at Columbia several projects which had been started at Princeton were completed and new studies also were made as follows:

- Radio Research, 1941 (published by Duell, Sloan and Pearce);
- Technical Articles (Journal of Applied Psychology, December 1940 and Studies in Philosophy and Social Science, April 1941);
Two pamphlets, prepared for publication by the F.R.E.C.
1. Repeated Interviews in Audience Research;
2. Listeners Appraise a College Station;

Book reporting in detail on influence of radio during presidential campaign, scheduled for publication; this material appeared in Fortune magazine previous to publication in book form, and was considered important in the information it gave on various mediums of mass communication.

That there was a demand for the work engaged in by the Office was evidenced by a total income of $31,500 from fees over one year, which was more than the RF support for that period.

In the spring of 1941 a further grant was requested. This made it necessary for the RF to consider what future course Lazarsfeld's work should take. Former grants had been made for the promotion of research in radio. As the value of such research was by then established to a degree (as indicated by the extent to which Lazarsfeld's services were sought), it was felt that a request for continuation of the work should be based on the study of radio as a means of sociological communication. Formal application was made by Columbia on April 29th for a grant of $60,000 for a period of three years:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Administrative overhead</th>
<th>Research</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941-1942</td>
<td>$15,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942-1943</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1943-1944</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$60,000 (Source: RF Minutes)

The foregoing budget was in line with Marshall's idea that Lazarsfeld should earn from consultation services (which he provided for various government agencies and others) enough to make his office self-supporting against a tapering grant.

Professor Lynd submitted a statement at this time as to why he
believed that a need for fundamental radio research continued to exist: "The necessity that impends for the U. S. is to learn how to hang American economic and social life more securely and efficiently together, without losing our basic democratic ways of operating. In such a prospect, the role of communication looms large. Public education and the stimulation of better-informed discussion are essential democratic safeguards as well as public administrative necessities...The demand upon communication research is to discover how needed information and new learning can be effected and how democratic discussion can be created among large socio-economic and regional blocks of our population now sharing inadequately in democratic discussion and decision...."

He summed up the opinion of his committee in stating that major problems relating to the effective use of radio communication could not be coped with in competing for commercial jobs; therefore, the need was felt to continue a study of "non-partisan research on non-commercial problems" as long as funds were available with which to do so. This, in the opinion of the Columbia committee, justified three further years of work on the limited terms as outlined.

On May 20th Fackenthal was notified of the approval of the appropriation as requested, with the understanding that at the end of the period the support of the Office of Research would be provided for by its earned income.

An illustration of the value of having an office such as Lazarsfeld's was presented when he was retained in May of 1941 by newspaper owners of radio stations to collect and formulate data preliminary to a hearing by the F.C.C. This involved a general questionnaire to be sent out jointly with the F.C.C., to determine the meaning of "association between newspaper and radio" and an analysis of the newspaper-radio problem. The work was remunerative and
significant in that it was the first time that those to be called to
hearings by the F.C.C. had in advance turned to an impartial investigator
for facts.

The following years imposed a heavy load of service on Lazarsfeld's
office. The techniques which he had devised were being generally applied,
and there seemed no need for their further development. Accordingly, the
work was concentrated on a "codification" of what had been accomplished by
the office and by related agencies, with the intention of publishing the
results. Lazarsfeld felt it to be a mistake to try to carry on research at
a time when the cost of general expense and personnel was so high, and there-
fore it was decided to suspend the RF grant for a year in order that the money
might be available at a more advantageous time. This was made possible by an
extension to August 31, 1945.

By the fall of 1944 it became clear that Lazarsfeld would from then
on be approaching Mr. Willits for help, as the work was coming closer to the
Social Sciences than to the interests of the Humanities. It was at this time
that the Radio Research Office merged with the Columbia office of Applied
Social Research, to be known as the Columbia Bureau of Applied Social Research.

On July 5, 1945 a statement of the Bureau's Objectives and Purposes
was made in the following classifications:

I. Training of students in research techniques;
II. The theoretical integration of empirical social research;
III. The development of an institutional pattern for a social
    science laboratory;
IV. The collection of sociological data;
V. Research in specific subject matters.

The areas mapped out for research attention were Communications, Public
Attitudes, Motivation of Social Behavior, The Structure of Social Organization,
and Community Attitudes.
The concluding idea was summarized by the Columbia committee as follows:

"Social Research today has three tasks. It should contribute to the methodological progress of the Social Sciences; it wants to help in the solution of the urgent social issues of our times; and it has to prove its usefulness in the handling of practical, everyday problems. The Bureau tries to strike the best possible balance between these three tasks."

In a letter to Mr. Willits on February 1, 1946 Lazarsfeld applied for a new grant of $20,000 in order to accomplish three purposes:

1. to prepare a document on the special role of the media of mass communication;
2. to codify certain methodological procedures which had been worked out;
3. to study the application of certain research techniques to new fields.

This amount was appropriated on February 21st toward the cost of these special studies, to make the results available to other students of social problems. Publication of the documents outlined in (1) and (3) was assured by Harper and Brothers.

In March, Lazarsfeld informed Marshall of an essay on the social responsibilities of broadcasting stations shortly to be published by the Federal Communication Commission. This marked the first time that a comprehensive effort had been made to formulate criteria for a socially desirable broadcasting schedule, and also that a government agency had given definite directives in regard to the content of a medium of mass communication. For this reason Lazarsfeld believed it important to bring a group of scholars to New York (from the colleges and universities) in order that a record of the conference could be kept to be made available to those participating and to others concerned. He asked for a grant of $5,000 to meet such expense. This was approved as an additional grant-in-aid on March 25, 1946.

In September, 1947 the final grant of $27,000 was made, extending
to September of 1949. This was for a study of panel methods in research on public opinion, attitudes and consumer wants. It was considered to be a necessary step in the improvement of the methodology of polling (as one of sampling and interviewing). It was believed that its result would be of wide interest to publishers, businessmen, politicians, government administrators and students of the processes of public opinion. One of the specific studies to be made in this connection was that of the problems and evidence available in regard to what influenced formation of opinion and also change of opinion. Lazarsfeld was well-qualified for such an investigation since panel methods had been one of his major interests for many years.

(Note: as of June 15, 1948 there is no material in the files relative to the two last grants. The only available source is from the RF Minutes which do not give an account of the results.)

CONCLUSION

The work at Columbia does not fall into any definite pattern of development and accomplishment as did the research project at Princeton. It consisted rather in an application of the former experiment.

There were three phases: the first, the accomplishment of what was undertaken and not completed at Princeton; the second, when it became a consulting and financially independent service (a distinct result of the period of experimentation); the third, when it turned to the interests of social science. The latter was due to the growing importance of communication in order to correlate economic and social forces in the U. S., to the recognition of this by the RF, and to Lazarsfeld's background and training which influenced the trend of his research in this direction from the start. The study of the role of radio as a medium of sociological communication involved
the following questions:

How could broadcasting convey to listeners of low economic status information which they would need as citizens?

How could broadcasting explain to various sections of the population the changes in the country due to the emergency and reconstruction period?

What was the role of local radio stations as contrasted by that of the national chain programs?
Summary

The Stanford University Listening Center was established in November, 1940 in connection with the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace under the chairmanship of Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, President of the University. It received the following support from the RF:

**Grants-in-aid**

Reported on 1/17/41 for period 11/15/40 to 2/15/41 $2,500

" " 3/21/41 " " 2/15/41 to 5/15/41 750

Appropriated on 3/21/41 for 1941 expenses 5,000

$8,250 (Source: RF Minutes)

The purpose was to record and transcribe short-wave broadcasts from the three principal stations in the Orient (Tokyo, Chungking and Saigon) and thereby furnish an historical tracing of developments in the Pacific Area related to international affairs. It closed on June 1, 1941 when the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service was established with facilities for Far Eastern broadcasting. The Listening Post at Stanford was considered to have provided valuable trend lines and experience, which was corroborated by the fact that the Federal Communications Commission turned to it for assistance in August of 1942. The project continued to function once more under F.C.C. auspices, doing much the same work as that which was supported by the RF.

Plan

On November 4, 1940 Wilbur wrote to Marshall giving him (as requested) a more complete description of the proposed project for which $2,500 was needed in order to carry on the work with which the University had been
experimenting.

The Listening Post was sponsored by the Hoover Library and by the following faculty committee:

Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D., President of the University, Chairman
Chilton R. Bush, Professor of Journalism
Eliot G. Mears, Professor of Geography and International Trade
Graham Stuart, Professor of Political Science
Payson J. Treat, Professor of History

It was to be under the direction of Mrs. Inez G. Richardson, curator, and Dr. Wilbur; Oswald Villard, Jr., was the technical supervisor. Its purpose was to record and transcribe shortwave broadcasts from three principal stations in the Orient which broadcasted English programs regularly for the influencing of English speaking people: Chungking, China; Radio Saigon, French Indo-China; Tokyo, Japan. Also to check other broadcasts in the Pacific Area to discover the extent of radio's use in various languages. As the project must be an exploratory one—a problem of analysis and interpretation—it was desired to carry it as an experiment for three months.

The reason for conducting such an experiment at Stanford was because of its strategic location for radio work in the Pacific and because it was technically equipped to handle reception without an extra large expenditure.

DEVELOPMENT

On November 7, 1940 Marshall wrote to Wilbur telling him that a grant-in-aid had been approved for expenses at Stanford over the next three months, beginning on November 15th.

Early in January, Marshall visited the Center. He found the Listening Post set up in a "shack" belonging to the Stanford Radio Club, about a mile from the college campus and in an open space ideal for good reception. At a meeting with the Committee he made the point that although privately supported work could not be as comprehensive as a government service, a variety of private services would result in the training of
personnel and establishing of records useful to any government service which might develop. This was the actual outcome of the Listening Centers, both at Princeton and at Stanford.

On January 24th members of the Stanford Committee made another application for continuing the work there, this time for $25,000 for 10½ months (February 15th to the end of December, 1941). "A new medium of communication is being used in an area which has had comparatively little attention. Because of the unusual conditions which prevail, and because Stanford has leadership, technicians, facilities, and equipment to do the immediate, intensive job, we believe it is desirable that the work be carried at the University through the current year...In addition to the continued accumulation of these broadcasts, the committee proposes to extend the schedule of regular recording to include the news and commentary transmissions to the Americas recently initiated by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation, and to provide for a monitoring schedule that will enable the Listening Post to undertake systematic recording of new transmission ventures as they are initiated from other stations in the Far East...."

As this application could not be considered until the March 21st meeting of the RF Executive Committee, it was decided to give a further grant-in-aid of $750 to tide the work over without interruption for three months beginning about February 15th. On February 28th Marshall wrote to Wilbur that since there was as yet no certainty that the work of the Listening Post would be duplicated in the immediate future (referring to the possibility of its being taken over by the Federal Communications Commission) it "seems clear that we should go ahead with preparations to bring the University's request for support of this work before the meeting...on March 21." He suggested that some recommendation be included making the work and the RF support of it contingent on its not being duplicated, as well as a provision
that it would end whenever the work of another agency began. He also suggested a memorandum on the development of the project which he could submit to the trustees, i.e., the extent to which it had developed in engaging the different resources of the University.

Answering Marshall, Wilbur wrote on March 6th that he was aware that a more comprehensive plan might be undertaken by the Federal Government, but that as it was apparently not ready to proceed he felt that Stanford should go ahead, making provisions to merge their work with that of the Government when their plans crystallized and at such time returning remaining funds to the RF. He stated further that the F.C.C. had given assurance that it would consult with Stanford when it was ready to act and accordingly duplication could be avoided, Stanford experience utilized and the work terminated with protection both for it and for RF funds. In view of the then existing conditions in the Pacific he considered it important to increase rather than to decrease station coverage and to go into several languages other than English, i.e., Spanish (directed at Central and South America), Chinese and Japanese (directed at the Pacific Coast).

The following notes by Mrs. Richardson were attached to the above letter: "...Even in their present form the transcripts are proving serviceable in a variety of ways. We are supplying them to the State, War and Navy Departments, to the F.C.C., the Library of Congress; to the Institute of Pacific Relations; to Leonard Doob for the American Social Surveys' studies and to Harold Lasswell for his studies of propaganda; sets are ready to go to Princeton and to the Foreign Policy Association. Our own faculty men are using them as current source material for a Political Science course on Far Eastern governments...the use by these men of course will be of practical service as we undertake the task of analysis which is planned for in the budget. On the technical side not only have we had assistance from Electrical
Engineering but the Listening Post has provided opportunity for experiments with antennae and receiver attachments..."

On March 21st, the day of the trustees' meeting, Marshall notified Wilbur that in view of the establishment of a listening post by the F.C.C. which had been announced on the previous Wednesday the grant approved for Stanford was only for $5,000. The F.C.C. post expected to be in operation within two months and its announcement described a service requiring a staff of about 350 people working 24 hours a day; also for analysis by a staff in Washington of all materials to be recorded. Their concluding statement:

"This necessary step to deal with vital national defense problems developed by radio is taken on recommendation of the Defense Communications Board, as approved by the President and the Bureau of the Budget. It has a high degree of cooperation from other Government agencies, who want to be correctly informed on the extent and character of foreign broadcasts reaching this country. Broadcasters and private propaganda analysis organizations are cooperating in this patriotic endeavor to keep the Government fully informed on the situation in the air." Marshall explained that the grant had been given in order to avoid interruption in the record being made by the University and that part of it could be drawn on for preparation of a publication of the record of the Center's work. It was the F.F.'s hope that this amount would prove sufficient to bring the work of the University to a "proper termination" and also to enable those involved to sum up its results in a way that would make them available for other uses.

Accordingly, Stanford University planned to bring their work to a close and to discontinue recording on June 1st. Dr. Wilbur stated that at the end of May the Center would have spent slightly more than $5,500 of the total amount of the appropriations--$5,500--and believed it possible to complete a satisfactory study with the remaining balance. All members of the
committee considered it worthwhile to make some comparison of the press reporting and the direct radio reporting during the eight months' which the experiment covered, in addition to a separate analysis of transcripts.

A preliminary analysis of a Final Report was outlined in the following way:

**Classifying statements**
in relation to Far Eastern developments
in relation to world events
in relation to friendly gestures to the U. S.
in relation to unfriendly gestures
in relation to persons singled out for special attention

**Specially relevant to Stanford material, i.e.**
the attempt to influence American attitude
the tracing of attempts to influence America
the receiving of ideas as to what is important in different countries from pictures of internal problems as conveyed by radio

**Significance of understanding actual problems and methods of countries through listening to**
China's efforts to maintain and develop health and education
China's persistent economic and political reconstruction in spite of war
Japan's southward penetration
indications of German "advisors" and influence on Japan's reporting
Japan's internal picture
Japan's control of occupied China
Saigon's hints of actual relationship between Vichy and Germany
Saigon's approach to the news as a colony (compared with national attitudes)

**Japan's use of propaganda in gaining objectives by**
dividing Britain from her colonies
keeping Russia from Anglo-American-Chinese tie-up
dividing, placating, warning, threatening America

**An evaluation of the growing emphasis on use of radio in Pacific Area**

**CONCLUSION**

The end of December, 1941, Mrs. Richardson wrote to Marshall in answer to a request from him for information as to the number of those trained at the Listening Post who had gone into government agencies: "The Stanford
Listening Post functioned, as you know, for only a short period and on a modest scale. We utilized the volunteer help of interested staff members and faculty with a minimum of paid help while we were trying to discover the extent of radio's use in the Pacific area, and to work out adequate but inexpensive means for receiving and recording shortwave transmissions. Actually, therefore, we utilized and adapted facilities at hand and enlisted the aid of people who could contribute knowledge to us, rather than doing what could be termed training. Several of the group that assisted on the project are working on defense jobs that are confidential in character...I think it could be fairly said for each of these men that on the technical side as well as in connection with current developments, they gained in the Listening Post work knowledge and experience which is proving useful in present confidential tasks related to the war. However, I think we could not honestly say that we trained them. None of our people has been drawn into the F.C.C. Listening Posts, but the fact that the Government and both of the major networks have established listening posts on the West Coast for 24 hour monitoring of Pacific Area transmissions would seem to be conclusive evidence that our project demonstrated an important job to be done. Again for the actual service of our Post to government agencies: Instead of attempting interpretation we furnished full transcripts to several departments and agencies - State, War, Navy, FBI, FCC, Library of Congress - but we have no way of knowing how far each went with analysis or what purpose within the department the transcripts may have served...."

In August, 1942 the F.C.C. and the O.W.I. got Stanford to set up a sub-station listening post. Two F.C.C. technicians arrived there one day to ask that the University as soon as possible "get back on the job" of listening to and analyzing shortwave broadcasts from the Far East. Arrangements for reviving the work were completed by November. Reception was through a radio
amateur nearby who "piped" programs into the Hoover War Library where they were recorded, analyzed, and sent toward Washington by teletype to San Francisco; Stanford was also used for outgoing information. Mrs. Richardson was again active in monitoring foreign language broadcasts from enemy stations across the Pacific, and also supervised two Thai students who translated and broadcasted O.W.I. materials to Thailand.

In an appraisal dated October 14, 1942, Marshall stated that the work of the Radio Listening Center at Stanford had much the same fulfillment as that of the Princeton Listening Center, except that because of its set up it was not called on for personnel by the Foreign Broadcast Monitoring Service. Its base record of broadcasts from the Far East provided valuable experience before the establishment of the F.B.M.S., which was at that time monitoring from Seattle. Subsequently, it brought the Stanford Center back into existence. As at Princeton, members of the Stanford faculty undertook to prepare a book on their findings which was to be published by the Stanford University Press.
SUMMARY

In October, 1939 Archibald MacLeish, of the Library of Congress, applied to the RF for aid in a program of "popular education" on the part of the Library: "The Library of Congress, which possesses rich deposits of materials expressive of the democratic culture of this country, should be able to make its influence as the depository of such material felt through the agency of the library system."

In considering the request the RF believed that the Library of Congress had facilities, both in its materials and its staff, for interpreting the "American tradition" which the broadcasting companies lacked. Such material included twenty thousand recordings in its Archives of American Folk Song, collections of writings (including 37,000 unpublished pages), source materials in its Division of Manuscripts, and surveys of the Federal Writers Project which covered local, state and regional folklore as well as history. MacLeish was among the most able of American writers for the radio, his Fall of the City (first broadcast in 1937) being a "landmark" of radio drama.

The following support was given by the Foundation:

Appropriated on 12/3-4/40 for one year beginning 1/1/41 $23,320

Grant-in-aid
Approved on 12/8/41 for period 1/1/42 to 3/1/42 3,500

Total ....... $26,820 (Source: RF Minutes)

The concluding opinion was that the project had been a useful experiment but that its rate of accomplishment did not justify its continuance.

OBJECTIVES

In his letter of application to the RF on October 25, 1939, MacLeish
referred to a "cultural crisis", to meet which he wished to provide an effective use of the cultural resources of the Library of Congress. He believed that a program of popular education was needed in order to familiarize the people of the U.S. with their own tradition and heritage "as citizens of a democracy", and that in such a program the libraries of the country must play a part. He outlined two ways in which he felt this could be accomplished: to circulate through the libraries recordings of literature, music and educational material made in the Library, by the use of its own resources; to broadcast programs emanating from the Library and interpretative of its collections. He proposed a staff to consist of a general director of information, a director of radio programs, a director of phonoduplication, three editorial assistants and three stenographers.

DEVELOPMENT

The reaction of the Foundation was that MacLeish had presented nothing sufficiently definite to act on, although it was anxious to explore radio possibilities in connection with the Library. It was felt that the proposal had been a very general one, lacking the essential elements of leadership and the routine of preparing material.

In March, MacLeish wrote to Mr. Stevens informing him that the Carnegie Corporation had given phonoduplicating equipment and added, "Will that fact move the RF to give us the small staff necessary to run it as it should be run?" Mr. Marshall answered, expressing the attitude of the RF as follows: "...we are ready to see what we can do here to help you in getting the services of these men/a good writer and a good radio script man/ for an experiment in the preparation of materials. The next step still remains to give us some formulated proposal which would be the basis for the discussions of the idea which we should have to have here in the office, telling us more of the men you would wish to get and of the expense that getting them
would involve you in...

In April there was a meeting between MacLeish, Mr. Stevens and Mr. Marshall at which MacLeish presented what seemed to be a "promising opportunity". He did not intend to ask the RF for any assistance in his work at the Library which could be obtained from Congress; the recent Carnegie grant had provided all the needed equipment for making and for duplicating phonographic recordings; the request to the RF would probably cover only the services needed in the preparation of materials; the main purpose of the project was to acquaint the American radio listeners with the best of American traditions as represented in the holdings of the Library. The result was the appointment of two fellows to the Library the following August, for a period of six months; no further action was possible until the October meeting of the Executive Committee of the RF.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of the RF on December 4, 1940 $23,320 was appropriated to the Library for its work, beginning January 1, 1941. Of this amount $12,700 was for salaries and approximately $10,620 for special writers and general expense, the payments to be made on a semi-annual basis.

Mr. Philip H. Cohen, formerly production manager of the New York unit of the Federal Radio Project, was chosen to direct the work as he was one of the foremost producers and writers outside the regular staff of the broadcasting companies. The project was installed on the ground floor of the main library building, with a recording equipment which Mr. Marshall considered the most complete he had seen outside of commercial studios.

Programs were prepared on the following subjects:

Current books (for use by local libraries);
American traditional material (for use by regions);
The Library's information service;
History and traditions of American cities;
The Public Health Service;
The functions of the Library of Congress.
Program series were given, entitled:

"Hidden History";
"Books and The News";
"The Ballad Hunter" (Alan Lomax transcriptions);
"America in the Summer of 1941" (thought, speech and music of that period).

The following autumn it was agreed that the concept of the project had broadened from that of using materials in the Library to interpreting the American people, past and present. It was believed that it would serve to demonstrate the American way of life to peoples in other parts of the world as well; Mr. Marshall called it "a unique and highly promising venture in the interpretation of this country".

The fact that MacLeish was appointed Director of the Office of Facts and Figures complicated further support to the project. The RF felt that it might appear that its funds were being used to pay for the work of the O.F.F. The result was that early in December of 1941 it was decided that a grant-in-aid of $3,500 for the first two months of 1942 would have to be regarded as a final contribution.

Mr. Charles Siepmann of the O.F.F. at the Library of Congress evaluated the experiment at the request of the Foundation in March, 1942. He estimated its achievements as proving that the Library was a unique source of program material for the radio, but dependent upon the treatment of such material by original writers; that there had been pioneer work in previously unexplored radio techniques; that carrying knowledge of its services to citizens all over the country had established good public relations for the Library. The handicaps of the project were attributed by Siepmann to the limited financial grant and the failure of cultural programs generally in America.