

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEW
CHARLES POLLOCK
OF THE
FEDERAL ARTS PROJECT

INTERVIEWED BY
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Charles Pollock of the Michigan Federal Arts Project, interviewed by Paul Sporn of Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan in Paris, Sept. 6, 1979.

SPORN: I went through your material in the Archives of American Art and I found it all very interesting. To start, I would like you to go into some more detail on how you got into the Federal Arts Project in Michigan.

POLLOCK: That's very simple. I was living in New York in the thirties and I was faced with the problem of — what are we going to do?, how are we going to live? I had an opportunity to go to work in Washington for the Resettlement Administration, in something called the Special Skills Division. They sent me out to several parts of the country, presumably to make studies of sharecroppers, the miners, and this sort of thing, and be of some help in various resettlement communities. The whole program was hopelessly unrealistic, and it appeared very shortly that it wasn't going to work. Then I met an editor of the United Automobile Workers newspaper, who invited me out to Detroit as make-up editor and political cartoonist. I went to Detroit, but soon discovered that, as interesting as it was, there did not seem to be much of a future there. The United Automobile Workers really were not interested in art or culture, they were interested in bowling, parliamentary law and labor economics. By chance, I met Sylvester Jerry, a former colleague at the Art Students League in New York, who was head of the project in Michigan. He said, "Why don't you come work for us as supervisor of mural painting and graphic arts?" This must have been 1937. Well, that's the story.

SPORN: You were in the Project from 1937 on to its very end.

POLLOCK: Yes, until it was terminated by Pearl Harbor.

SPORN: How many people would you say were in that Project, as a whole?

POLLOCK: I really don't know, to tell you the truth. When I first went there, I suppose there may have been twenty-five or thirty, or forty or fifty.

SPORN: Do you know more precisely, say, how many were in the mural and graphics division?

POLLOCK: Four or five mural painters; one or two graphics people, plus a few printmakers. Shortly after I joined, we took over a handicraft project, so that we had quite a large group of people working with us. Weavers, and cabinetmakers, furniture makers of one kind or

POLLOCK: another doing all sorts of craft things.

SPORN: That sounds unusual, did most states have this?

POLLOCK: I suspect not. I believe these people were for the most part former tuberculosis patients. This handicraft project had been started as a way of rehabilitating them.

SPORN: My research indicates that there were a number of states that had very, very active handicraft programs and art education centers, which I don't think Michigan had.

POLLOCK: Yes. Well, of course we had, as most projects did, what was called an Index of American Design project. A number of people were making renderings of folk art of the area. Barbershop signs, pottery, weaving and things like that. I suppose we had maybe five or six people in that phase of the Project. We had a silk-screen department with perhaps a dozen people doing posters. We had a sculpture section that was directed by Samuel Cashwan and we had woodcarvers, very good ones. There was a ceramic section and a mural section. Are you familiar with any of the names of people that were working in that area at the time?

SPORN: George Fisher did some murals under the FAP. I met him. He lives in a suburb of Detroit.

POLLOCK: Well, he wasn't on the Project. He must have done something for the Treasury Department program.

SPORN: But he also did one mural, I believe, in a high school. He may not have been on the Project but he did one for the Project. I know he did one for the Treasury Department.

POLLOCK: Beerbohm did a mural for the Detroit Library, their Technical Wing. I think Yaeger did a mural.

SPORN: Yes, Edgar Yaeger did. There were a number of other people.

POLLOCK: Frank Cassara did a mural, along with me in the Water Works in Lansing. I can't think of any others.

SPORN: Maury Merlin?

POLLOCK: I don't believe he did any murals. He did some posters and graphics at one time or another.

SPORN: His wife says he did a mural for a high school in Highland Park.

POLLOCK: Perhaps he did. Yes, perhaps he did.

SPORN: But I have not been able to locate it, so maybe you're right. I don't know, I'll have to check. But he was in your division then,

SPORN: doing graphics?

POLLOCK: Yes.

SPORN: Speaking of the mural and graphics group, how did the various artists within that group function on a day to day basis? Did they come together everyday?

POLLOCK: Well, we all worked in the same general area.

SPORN: In a studio?

POLLOCK: Of sorts. Big working areas, not separate studios. As I remember, the headquarters on lower Woodward Avenue was simply a big loft building, there were various corners where you worked, but not separate studios. Later, we had a big loft in a former factory on Hastings Street, north of Vernor. It was just big warehouse space.

SPORN: Did the Project require the artist to come to the loft every single day?

POLLOCK: Oh yes, we were supposed to.

SPORN: And put in a certain number of hours.

POLLOCK: Yes. There were people on the Project, on what was called the Easel Project. These people theoretically had a certain freedom to, let's say, go away for two weeks and do what they wanted to do and come in and report and perhaps show what they had been doing. I remember we had one guy, I can't remember his name anymore, who was a difficult man to deal with because he wouldn't show up for weeks on end. It turned out he'd gone down to Florida.

SPORN: When you got together with other people, in this loft, on a day to day basis, do you recall that you and the other artists had much discussion about art in general or did you tend to speak about the specific works you were working on at the time? The problems you may have been having executing a particular mural? Was there a discussion back and forth about art, about theory of art, about what each of you thought you were accomplishing or trying to accomplish in terms of art?

POLLOCK: I can't recall that there was. The only thing I really remember talking about was politics for the most part. Although, I suppose, there must have been, here and there, some art talk but if there was, I don't remember much.

SPORN: No talk about how politics might be related to art? What effect it might have on how one painted, what one painted?

POLLOCK: I can't recall if there was anything of that sort. Although, again, there must have been. Of course, I at that time was involved with a kind of social realism. I had been a student of Tom Benton. The paintings that I was making at that time were of a social realist nature and I guess that most of the painting that was being done on the Project had that character. I can't recall that we had any extended discussions of the problems of painting.

SPORN: So the influence of Benton, you can attribute to your interest in social realism, for one thing.

POLLOCK: Well, yes. I grew up in the Southwest and I got interested in the Mexican mural painters and became familiar of course with Benton's work and I went to New York to study with him. Well, that's a long time ago.

SPORN: It is. You mention in your chronology, by the way, that you came to New York in 1926 and met Benton there and you studied with him. You mentioned at the same time that you had become acquainted with the Mexican muralists in that same year or before. Which muralists are you speaking of?

POLLOCK: Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros. It was a romantic notion really. At the same time, I discovered Dial magazine when I first went to Los Angeles, or very shortly after. I've forgotten when it first began publishing. I went to Los Angeles first in 1922 and I'm sure I discovered the Dial very soon after. So that I was aware of what was going on in Paris, in the modern art world. But I grew up in Arizona at a time when Pancho Villa was raiding across the border and I grew up among Mexicans. I had romantic ideas about wanting to go to Mexico and live. I remember seeing a big exhibition of painting at Exposition Park in Los Angeles, very soon after I moved there, which included Rivera, Orozco, and Benton, and Boardman Robinson. I had also seen an article in a movie magazine called Shadowland, an article on Benton which had impressed me. Shadowland magazine was a movie magazine, but it also dealt with the plastic arts and with various other cultural matters. I was working for the Los Angeles Times and got fed up, so in 1926 I quit and went to New York to study with Benton.

SPORN: I noticed that, as far as into the thirties, you were still talking about the Mexican muralists. For example, you mentioned Rivera and

SPORN: having seen his "Prometheus" in Pasadena, is it? You went back to the West Coast.

POLLOCK: That was Orozco at Pomona College.

SPORN: I must have copied that incorrectly in my notes.

POLLOCK: Yes, it was Orozco, not Rivera. And then Orozco painted that mural in the New School for Social Research in New York in the thirties, or perhaps it was in the late twenties.

SPORN: Were you aware of the Rivera mural in the Detroit Institute of Arts when you were invited by the UAW editor to go out there?

POLLOCK: I suppose I must have been. When was that painted? Do you recall?

SPORN: About 1932. It was 1932 or 1933, perhaps.

POLLOCK: I knew, of course, the mural Rivera did for the Worker's School on Fourteenth Street?

SPORN: Rand?

POLLOCK: No. What was that school called?

SPORN: Jefferson?

POLLOCK: No. It was run by a group called the Communist Party Opposition. Jay Lovestone. Bertram Wolfe.

SPORN: Oh, the Lovestone group.

POLLOCK: Yes. Rivera did a fresco. It was for their headquarters on Fourteenth Street.

SPORN: So, these were the art influences in your life, with regard to social realism. Were there any...?

POLLOCK: There was a curious opposition here because at the same time I was very well aware of what was going on in Paris. After all, the Museum of Modern Art opened in 1929. There were international magazines of art that kept one informed about what was going on. So that I was seeing several kinds of art. My interest in social realism was, first of all, a sentimental interest in Mexican art and my generally populist upbringing.

SPORN: Sort of the social-political side of it.

POLLOCK: Yes, yes.

SPORN: I noticed that when you were in New York in about 1932, I can't remember the exact date, but at one point you took a job with the City and Country School and you mention Leo Huberman who later became one of the editors of the Monthly Review.

POLLOCK: Yes, I taught there from 1930 to 1935.

SPORN: Who was the editor of the UAW magazine that invited you to come to Detroit?

POLLOCK: Bill Munger. William Munger.

SPORN: Do you know a Henry Kraus?

POLLOCK: The name sounds familiar.

SPORN: I was just curious about it because he was the editor of the UAW newspaper, I guess, put out in Flint, called the Flint Autoworker and very much involved in the sit-down strikes there in 1937. He lives in Paris. He and his wife live in Paris now on the rue de Grenelle. Probably not very far from here.

POLLOCK: No. I don't believe I know him, although I knew a number of people in Flint. We had two or three people working there on the project. Doing prints and painting. I knew some of the organizers, but I don't remember that I knew that name.

SPORN: Some of the UAW organizers?

POLLOCK: Yes. I knew Lester Washburn, a UAW organizer in Lansing. Well, what is Kraus doing in Paris? Is he a writer?

SPORN: Indeed so. He was a writer then, of course, but then he was mostly a labor writer and, in fact, published a book way back on the sit-down strikes and so on. But after he came here, he became very interested in medieval art and has since published four books on medieval art.

POLLOCK: Wait a minute. Wasn't there a story about him in the Tribune a week or so ago?

SPORN: Maybe, I didn't see the Tribune, so I don't know. But, he wrote something called the Living Theater of Medieval Art and then Gold Was the Mortar.

POLLOCK: Yes, I'll be damned. It did say in the article that he was originally interested in the labor movement, but it didn't identify him with Flint.

SPORN: He was deeply involved in all of that, but at the age of fifty he became a self-trained art historian. In fact, I was supposed to interview him too, because he presumably knows something about this period, obviously. He was interested in art then too, although, his main work was in the labor movement. So, we called him and wanted to get together and he was very unhappy that he couldn't because, yesterday, he left for Spain. He is going to do a study of some

SPORN: medieval cathedrals there and write a book about it. So, he's found a new great interest in life. I thought possibly you might know, since he lives on the rue de Grenelle, near the rue Bosquet, which isn't terribly far from here, is it?

POLLOCK: No, it's not.

SPORN: That's interesting. Since you've or I've touched upon the sit-down strike, in fact, that you knew some people in Flint, did that particularly historical event stimulate any interest in the artists on the Project or in yourself for using that incident as subject matter for your work?

POLLOCK: I don't believe so. In the work that I did, I can't see that it contributed particularly. I don't know that it was used by any of the other artists either.

SPORN: Did any of the political movements, like the various groups on the left, try to influence any of the artists to do any kind of specific kind of work to stress specific subject matter?

POLLOCK: Unlikely. There were a number of people in the project who were left-leaning. I don't know whether there were any Party people on the Project or not. But I do remember having discussions, rather desperate discussions, at the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact. I, myself, after leaving New York had had friendly relationships with a number of people in the Lovestone camp. But that had nothing to do with what I was really involved in as an artist. I worked for the government and found their idealist proposals — that an artist could make some contribution to the textile workers in Tennessee or the coal miners in Pennsylvania or West Virginia — just didn't work. I mean, the forces that were controlling things didn't want any of this nonsense. Charles Seeger, the musicologist, was on that Project in Washington. One of the things he came up with was a series of publications of old Appalachian songs. Some had been rediscovered, recovered in the field by his people and he began publishing them on an office offset machine. He did six or eight, perhaps, and one day the government printing office said, "Look, you can't do this." There were projects underway to do posters, showing the devastation of the dust bowl and other disasters. Legislators from Kansas and elsewhere said they didn't care for this sort of thing. Ben Shahn was also on the Project at that time. What came out of that, most

POLLOCK: importantly, were the documentary photographs made for the Farm Security Administration. The most famous contribution that Shahn made for Resettlement was not posters that never got published, but the documentary photographs he made.

SPORN: Dorothea Lange, did you meet her?

POLLOCK: I don't know whether I met her or not, but of course I was familiar with her work.

SPORN: Those were very, very fine works that those people did for photography. So, when you say that in your general view of that experience, this idealistic notion that somehow or other the work of artists could contribute to the coal miners or to the textile workers, to the automobile workers and so on, didn't quite work out because of interference by government forces, like legislators, bureaucrats...?

POLLOCK: As for the Special Skills Division of Resettlement, it was partly lack of enthusiasm and, in some cases, actual interference by congressmen. They didn't like to see posters of the dust bowl. At any rate, it seemed to me that there was not much hope that any of these efforts could be fruitful. We did send a few young artists into some of these communities, to live there with local people and we hoped that some of their artistic culture would rub off on these people, but I don't think much came of it. I thought when I went to work for the UAW, that it was possible to do something there, in terms of posters and political cartoons and general publications. But in the end automobile workers are much too involved with the business of earning a living, getting better wages and enjoying themselves to give a damn about culture. Then I got into "academia" (by the back door, so to speak), and I'm not sure that the academic world cares much about culture, either.

SPORN: Who does, aside from some artists? In the art project itself, how did you arrive at the subject matter of a mural — you specifically or any other artist?

POLLOCK: I don't know how others did it. Frank Cassara and I did paint three murals for the Water Works in Lansing. Our methods were so different that subject-matter never became a problem.

GAP IN TAPE

SPORN: But, you say you pretty much arrived at it by yourself?

POLLOCK: In the case of the MSU mural, no one gave me a program. Sketches were submitted to the president of the University and the president turned them over to the dean, and the dean to the art department. I do remember that Jesse Garrison, an art historian in the department at the time, did, in fact, criticize some detail of one of my murals and suggested it was a bit too corny — a criticism which I accepted. But, for the rest, I had complete freedom to do precisely what I wanted.

SPORN: Did he point to something precisely as corny?

POLLOCK: Yes, if you remember, there were three sort of billboards in the mural. In one of these, I had a butcher's diagram of cuts of meat from a carcass and Garrison thought this was a bit corny. I had to agree. I eliminated that and substituted something else.

SPORN: I went through your etchings and sketches that are in the Archives and noticed that, at that time, the kinds of sketches that are represented there, for example, a portrait of a man in a cap and a vest, a portrait of a man in a shirt, and an arm study that went along with it. There was a man in a sweatshirt, this is in 1937, 1939. A sketch of an oil barrel, pipe fittings, and a furnace. I guess, the Reichold plant? A man in a shirt and so on. A man with a cap and apron, leaning over. Some of them look as if they might be sketches of workers, in fact. I don't know if you were doing any of these sketches for the mural...?

POLLOCK: When I was working for the Resettlement Administration, I made tours; in North Carolina and South Carolina I made a number of drawings of the farm workers. I spent a summer in Chicago, at the time of the World's Fair in 1937, and I made some sketches of workers around the docks and the shipyards there, the grain elevators and foundries. I visited the foundry at Dearborn and made drawings there. Many of these drawings and early paintings, which belong to my first wife, have been given to the Smithsonian.

SPORN: That's it. The Charles Pollock Papers, owned and filmed by the Archives of American Art. Smithsonian Institution. A gift of Elizabeth Pollock. That's how they came there. It includes a letter from you to her, a chronology by you, it includes book jackets and other printed items, an exhibition catalog of 1963, a sketch-book (that's what I'm referring to now), etchings, sketches and

SPORN: drawings. Some of your political cartoons. I went through those, too, and several copies of the United Automobile Worker newspaper with some of your political cartoons. That's where it came from. At the time you were doing this mural work for the Federal Arts Project, were you doing any work outside the Project, on your own? Oil paintings, or anything of that sort?

POLLOCK: Oh, yes. There were several paintings in the collection I did while I was on the Project. One of them is called "Look Down that Road." Another one is "Man at the Well." I don't know whether you saw those there.

SPORN: The easel paintings I have not seen at all.

POLLOCK: They must be at the National Gallery then, not in this collection you are referring to.

SPORN: I only had the microfilms available, it may be that the paintings are in the Smithsonian but down in Washington and I did not get to see them. The paintings you were doing on your own, at home, during the same period, did they tend to be social realism also?

POLLOCK: Yes, pretty much. (Shuffling through materials) 1934, You've seen these cartoons?

SPORN: Yes, these are much better though, in terms of reproduction. These are all sketches, did you ever actually do them in oils too, or in some other medium?

POLLOCK: No, some elements of them may have been used in painting. This. (Shows painting) I made a painting of that.

SPORN: This is while you were with the RA?

POLLOCK: No. That was a drawing made in 1935 or 1936, but the painting was done in Detroit, at home I believe, not on the Project but while I was working for the Project.

SPORN: Do you know where that painting is now?

POLLOCK: Yes, I believe that we gave it to the Urban League in New York. I'm trying to think where I have a photograph of the painting, somewhere here.

SPORN: What kind of art training did you have, before getting to New York?

POLLOCK: I studied at Otis Art Institute in Los Angeles for a couple of years, before I went to New York. Then with Tom Benton.

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BEGINNING OF TAPE. SIDE B.

POLLOCK: I had a great deal of respect for him as a man. I have some works of his here. That's a Benton there, and there's one here above the piano. He was a remarkable teacher, and his early work continues to interest me.

SPORN: I noticed in some of the reproductions of the Exhibition of 1963, that by that time, you were doing some abstractions. Did you switch away completely from social realism, since say the 1940's? What kind of work do you do now, or have you done since?

POLLOCK: Nearly everything you see here in the apartment is new. Here are some things of the early 1940's. I started into abstractions as soon as I started teaching.

SPORN: So by then, you had lost interest in more realistic forms?

POLLOCK: Oh, yes. Completely. The Project was closed down on account of Pearl Harbor in 1941. We had already contracted to do these murals for Michigan State. I said to them, "Look, you've spent a little bit of money on this, and I've spent a lot of time, can't we do something about it?" In the end, they said, "Come up to finish the murals and teach." So I did. That was in the summer of 1942. I finished those murals at the end of 1944. I was fed up; actually, I was sick, took a term off, and went back to Arizona. I'd gotten the mural and all it represented out of my system and I was interested in something else.

SPORN: How would you sum up the Federal Art Project experience? What was its value, if any at all, to yourself? We've pretty much questioned its value socially speaking.

POLLOCK: It's hard to say. For me, it was an interesting experience. I can't say that I regret it. I don't know, in the end, how important the whole business was. Certainly, it contributed to the morale of a number of people, here and there, throughout the country, at a very difficult time. The actual contribution is hard to state. I suspect, that its real value was in areas one thought of at the time as minor. That is to say, for example, the Index of American Design. Perhaps even in some aspects of the Writers' Project, I'm not sure that any great essays or novels came out of it, but many of the documents they collected, in various areas of the country (especially in the South) seem to me to be tremendously worthwhile. I think the Project was especially significant in New York City, in contrast

POLLOCK: to other cities. There, it was large enough and it included enough people, in a violent, active environment, that I think it helped produce American Abstract Expressionism. It contributed significantly.

SPORN: The Project itself contributed?

POLLOCK: Yes, by providing these people with the chance to work at their art. There was a great interchange amongst artists about what they were about, what they were trying to do. Plus the Museum of Modern Art and the Metropolitan. Plus the influx of European artists. These conditions didn't exist in Detroit. I don't know whether they existed anywhere else in the country, except in New York.

SPORN: That's interesting. William DeKooning, quoted by Holger Cahill, who was head of the Project, said that the Project kept him alive and allowed him to continue as a painter. It gave him a steady income, although very small. Arthur Miller, for example, said that the Project accelerated his development as a playwright and others have made comments of a similar sort. You don't find that was true, as a personal matter, in the Detroit Project? Did it help you as a painter, aside from any social contribution or cultural contribution?

POLLOCK: Well, yes, of course it did. I did work as a painter during that period. I wasn't working in a factory. In this sense, it certainly helped me. I suppose that if you asked any of the other artists who were on the Project, they would say the same thing. But somehow it didn't add up collectively as much as it did in New York.

SPORN: Some other artists report that when they were doing murals, they had an interaction with the viewers. For example, one muralist, while doing a mural at Evander Childs High School in New York City, reports that it was very, very interesting to hear the students' comments while the mural was in process, as they viewed the painter painting the mural. They would say such things as, "I don't like the way you painted that hand" and they would have a discussion about why they didn't like the way he painted the hand, why he painted the hand that way. There was this kind of interaction. In fact, I believe Samuel Cashwan, who was a sculptor (you must have known him in the Michigan Project), comments that he was asked to do a statue for the Lincoln High School in Ypsilanti, obviously in the motif of

- SPORN: Abraham Lincoln, and there, too, he consulted with the faculty and students, and there was an interaction that he felt was very, very stimulating. When you were doing the Water Works mural, did you encounter any of that?
- POLLOCK: Not that I recall. Nor do I remember what went on when I was doing the murals for Michigan State. The panels were begun in the basement, installed in the foyer of the auditorium, some scaffolding was put up and I completed them there. I remember a fair amount of traffic through the foyer and a fair amount of comment, but not discussion.
- SPORN: Are you familiar with Francis O'Conner's most recent work about your brother?
- POLLOCK: Yes. You mean the catalogue raisonné? No, I haven't seen it.
- SPORN: He has a thesis that abstract expressionism, in a certain sense, was influenced by the Mexican muralists, particularly Rivera. Of course, abstract expressionism transforms that influence into a completely new thing. It's a kind of interesting thesis of his.
- POLLOCK: I think that there is a connection there. I'm not so sure that it is Rivera, as much as it is Orozco and Siqueiros. Certainly, both of these artists had an influence on my brother. No question about it.
- SPORN: More so than Rivera?
- POLLOCK: Oh, yes.
- SPORN: One of the things that we are doing on this particular project that I'm on, I'm working with some people in the Detroit Institute of Arts, we're planning an exhibition of some of the art works executed by the people in the Michigan Project. We plan, also, to reproduce some of the plays that were done by the Michigan Theatre Project and to put on display manuscripts from the Federal Writers' Project. Would you be willing to have us put on exhibitions of your...?
- POLLOCK: Oh, sure. This is at the Institute?
- SPORN: We hope to put it on at the Institute and, also, have it travel around the state. We'd put it on in Lansing, Ann Arbor and various other places.
- POLLOCK: Certainly. I'll contribute in any way I can.
- SPORN: I notice you have some sketches here and things of that sort. If we wanted to get them on a loan from you, would that be possible

SPORN: to arrange in some way?

POLLOCK: Yes. No problem.

SPORN: Do you know of any other materials of yours, works of art, where they are? Where we might get to see them? So that, these would help us in our project.

POLLOCK: I don't have very many of my early works myself, and what I do have is fairly inaccessible, in storage. I'm not even sure where. There are those works that have been given to the Smithsonian or the National Collection. Michigan State doesn't own anything of mine, as far as I recall. There is one early painting owned by Earl Leichty, of the English Department at Michigan State. However, I could undertake to find out where some of these things are.

SPORN: Great. That would be helpful to us. Alright, supposing I write to you and you can perhaps work out something on it?

POLLOCK: Oh, yes. Here's a study of that painting, "Man at the Well," which is at the National Collection. This is a photograph of "Look Down that Road." These were painted just before I went to Michigan State.

SPORN: I saw one of your sketches that kind of intrigued me, I thought it was very nice. It was, I guess it was, an old beat up car, a flivver. A Ford flivver in a field, right next to a shed. This reminded me of, in some ways, of an accident.

POLLOCK: I have a sketch for that.

SPORN: Beerbohm would have been in your division, the mural and graphics, right?

POLLOCK: Beerbohm was. Cashwan was the head of the sculpture and wood carving sections. Yaeger was, I think, an easel painter. There ought to be a good deal of project stuff at the Naval Armory, are you aware of it?

SPORN: We've photographed a lot of that stuff, Very interesting carvings there and so on. We've photographed a great deal of that material. The other works are all over the place. It's amazing, the strangest post offices, you just run on. We've sent letters to all the high school principals, to see if they know of any within their particular high schools, and to postmasters of each post office.

POLLOCK: Have you talked to Cassara?

SPORN: I've spoken to Cassara and we have an interview set up with him, when I get back from this trip. We're going to interview as many people as we can, who are still around, still in Michigan. The ones in Michigan, of course, are easiest to get to, but a good many of us get around every once in awhile, so we can get to others as well. We hope that way to get as complete a record as we can. Obviously, there are going to be big gaps. Let me thank you for giving us your time. What you did have to say was very, very helpful, in fact. Yes, indeed.

POLLOCK: I don't know. Rambling, I'm afraid.

SPORN: No, it was very, very helpful.

END OF TAPE. SIDE B.