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Contents

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Contents

Communications

Book Reviews

Editorial Statement

THE WAR, with its complex demands for indoctrination, propaganda, and specialized training, emphasized the social function of film and radio. One of the first casualties of the conflict was the "pure entertainment" myth, which had served to camouflage the social irresponsibility and creative impotence of much of the material presented on the screen and over the air.

The motion picture and the radio reflected the anxieties and hopes of the long crisis, and reported the tumult and prayer that marked the day of victory. What part will the motion picture and the radio play in the consolidation of the victory, in the creation of new patterns of world culture and understanding?

The editors of the *Hollywood Quarterly* are not so incautious as to attempt an answer to this question. Rather, the purpose of the magazine will be to seek an answer by presenting the record of research and exploration in motion pictures and radio in order to provide a basis for evaluation of economic, social, aesthetic, educational, and technological trends. The first issue of the *Hollywood Quarterly* is necessarily experimental: the scope of subject matter, and the stimulating but somewhat unsystematic diversity of style and viewpoint that characterizes the various articles, suggest the difficulty of selection and arrangement, and the lack of precedent even in limiting and defining the field of investigation. If a clearer understanding, not only of current techniques of the film and radio, but also of the social, educational, and aesthetic functions, is arrived at, the editors will feel that the *Quarterly* has justified itself indeed.

The Hollywood War Film: 1942-1944

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TRADITIONALLY, the motion-picture industry has maintained that the primary function of the Hollywood film is to entertain. However, in a world shattered by conflict it has become increasingly evident that only through solidly founded and dynamic understanding among the peoples of the world can we establish and maintain an enduring peace. At the same time it has become clear that the film can play an important part in the creation of One World. The motion picture can help the people of the world to share and understand one another's viewpoints, customs, and ways of living; it can interpret the common needs and hopes of all peoples everywhere. It is well within the power of the film to reduce psychological distance between people in various parts of the world, just as the airplane has reduced physical distance. Whether or not the picture makers of the world will meet this challenge remains to be seen. In the case of the Hollywood picture makers perhaps some indication of the answer to this question may be found in an examination of the way in which they met their responsibilities to their nation and to the United Nations during wartime.

The present article reviews the Hollywood feature product of three years of war. It makes no attempt to examine or evaluate any other part of Hollywood's many-faceted war program. Furthermore, it does not presume to explore the entertainment function of the film in wartime as such, although the entertainment quality of films is taken into account in assessing their value to the war program. By an analysis of the war features released during 1942, 1943, and 1944 an attempt will be made to evaluate how far Hollywood has aided in interpreting the war at home and giving a better understanding overseas of America's role in the conflict.

WHAT IS A WAR FILM?

Any analysis of war films immediately raises the question, What is a war picture? The term "war film" has been bandied about very loosely in Hollywood. Usually it has referred to films depicting battle action. When Hollywood producers said, "The public is tired of war pictures," this is usually what they meant. By this definition *Wake Island* would be considered a war film, whereas *Forever and a Day*, which was produced in the hope of increasing Anglo-American understanding, would not.

Topics relating to the war were much more broadly defined by the late President Roosevelt in his address to Congress on the State of the Union one month after Pearl Harbor. Emphasizing the necessity for increased public information and understanding about the war, he outlined six aspects which needed to be more fully understood:

the Issues of the War; the Nature of the Enemy; the United Nations and Peoples; Work and Production; the Home Front; and the Fighting Forces. This classification was subsequently adopted by the Office of War Information, and, because of its comprehensive nature, has proved useful generally in the dissemination and analysis of war data.

For purposes of the present survey, any film in which the main theme or plot is concerned with one or more of the topics just named is considered a war film. This definition has led to the inclusion of some films in which the war is not even mentioned. For example, *The Ox-Bow Incident,* a story of the West in which several men are hanged without trial and all are later found to be innocent, is included because it treats one of the Four Freedoms (freedom from fear) by exposing mob rule comparable to that used by fascists everywhere. Likewise, spy pictures laid in wartime are classified as war pictures because the plots of such stories center around fifth-column activities or acts of espionage or sabotage. Thus the Bob Hope comedy, *They Got Me Covered,* which revolves around an espionage plot in the Nation's capital, is included under the heading of The Enemy. On the other hand, many stories which are laid in wartime but which are not primarily concerned with a war problem are not classed as war films although they may contain incidental references to rationing and other wartime restrictions. Other pictures which contain only isolated sequences relating to the war are also omitted from the list.

Some motion pictures deal prominently with several war topics. Thus, *This Land Is Mine* presents a full portrait of the Nazi enemy, and at the same time tells a great deal about methods of resistance in a newly occupied country. This document could therefore be classified under The Enemy, or under The United Nations, because people of conquered countries are regarded as allies. In such cases the film has been given whatever classification applies to the predominant theme of the picture. *This Land Is Mine* is classified under the heading of The Enemy because it is concerned primarily with Nazi tactics and the nature of the collaborationist. In classifying films there was rarely any difficulty or confusion in establishing the major theme or story point. Innumerable films were viewed independently by two or more persons, who almost invariably made the same classifications.

In order to segregate war films for the years 1942–1944 it was necessary to review the entire feature product of this period, a total of more than 1,300 films. Most of these films were viewed before being classified. The classification of some was made on the basis of a final script, and, of a much smaller number, from reviews appearing in the press. Approximately two-thirds of the entire three-year product was either viewed or read in the final script.

How Many War Films?

During the three years following American entry into World War II the motion-picture industry released a total of 1,313 feature films. Of this number 374, or approximately three in every ten, were directly concerned with some aspect of the war. These were distributed over the three-year period as follows:

	1942	*1943*	*1944*
Number of war films....	126	133	115
Per cent of total releases	25.9	33.2	28.5

Considering the far-reaching effects of the war upon the lives of almost everyone, it may surprise some that only one-fourth to one-third of Hollywood's output was concerned with the conflict. However, to those who are familiar with the nature of the industry's product, who know the proportion of formula westerns, murder mysteries, domestic comedies, and musicals which go to make up the bulk of pictures turned out each year, it would appear that Hollywood gave a remarkably large proportion of its output to war topics.

Obviously the test of the industry's war effort in feature films cannot be made by considering the quantity of war films. As was frequently pointed out to the picture makers by their government, a flood of pictures which might misinterpret important war topics could prove harmful. The important thing, of course, is the quality of war films produced, which does not necessarily mean picture budget (though this is undeniably one factor), but picture content—the theme selected for screen treatment, its manner of presentation, and especially its timeliness.

Films Telling Why We Fought

When the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the American people were psychologically unprepared for war. Relatively few people understood why the conflict in Europe, like the war in Asia which had been going on since 1931, had inevitably been our concern from the beginning—why the very existence of fascist nations anywhere in the world was a threat to our democracy. Once this country had been attacked, most people favored a declaration of war. But unless Americans could come to a true understanding of what the shooting was all about, there was little hope that they could wage an all-out war and win an all-out peace.

During the first three years of American participation the motion-picture industry released 43 features dramatizing why we fought. This included films depicting the Four Freedoms, those which examined the American way of life, and those concerned with the problems of the peace. Films on these topics, representing 12 per cent of all war films and 3 per cent of the entire 1942–1944 product, were released as follows:

	1942	*1943*	*1944*
Number of films dealing with the issues of the war	10	20	13
Per cent of total war films	7.9	15.0	11.3

These figures indicate that the number of pictures telling why we fought doubled between 1942 and 1943, and that the latter was the top year for films of this type. A further breakdown shows that the high point for release of such pictures came in the third and fourth quarters of 1943, six such films appearing in each of these three-month periods.

Most of the films of the year 1942 dramatized this country's stake in the war by reassessing our way of life. Outstanding among such films was *Joe Smith, American,* which brings vividly into focus what the average American would feel about democracy should he find himself, as does Joe Smith, in a situation which compels him to reevaluate the many things about American living which he normally takes for

granted. *This Above All,* released in 1942, tells the story of a young British soldier fresh from combat tormented by the question, What does the common man have to fight for in this war? The failure of the film to answer this vital question greatly limited the value of what could have been an exceedingly useful and timely picture. Nevertheless it excited intense controversy, which in itself had a salutary effect.

Films presenting in new perspective the American way of living, for example, *Happy Land, The Talk of the Town,* and *The Human Comedy,* continued to appear in 1943. These pictures have a special value for audiences abroad because, unlike the average Hollywood productions, they give the true flavor of American life, thus telling the world what Americans feel they have to fight for. *The Ox-Bow Incident,* another 1943 release, gives a moving portrayal of a problem of civil liberties closely related to our fight against fascism. And *Power of the Press,* an unheralded "B" picture, undertakes to dramatize the responsibility which freedom of the press entails. Unquestionably the outstanding 1943 film on the Issues was *Watch on the Rhine,* Lillian Hellman's stirring story of an antifascist. New York critics voted this the best picture of the year.

It is a significant comment on the changing values in film making that films focusing attention on the peace began to appear in 1944. The most challenging was *Wilson,* a film biography of the World War I President, screened against the factual background of the political and diplomatic events in which he played so prominent a part. Because of the historical parallels implicit in the parts of the film dealing with Wilson's losing fight for the League of Nations, *Wilson* was a particularly potent and timely screen contribution. Another film oriented toward the postwar period was *None Shall Escape,* which looked ahead to the United Nations trials of the Nazi leaders, reviewing in flashbacks from the court the case history of a typical Nazi criminal. *Tomorrow the World,* based on the New York stage play of the same title, examines the question of what to do with the Nazi youths whose minds have been poisoned by the teachings of fascism.

Hollywood also showed itself to be postwar-minded in its production, in 1944, of several films spotlighting the problems of returning servicemen. Unfortunately the several pictures of this type (*When the Lights Go On Again, My Buddy,* etc.) gave only the most casual and superficial treatments of this problem, and added little or nothing to public understanding of the question.

Films about the Enemy

Films dealing with the ideology, objectives, and methods of fascism, both at home and abroad, have been included under The Enemy. Such films were most acutely needed during the days immediately following Pearl Harbor, when Americans not only knew little about the nature of fascism, but also had small comprehension of the fact that we faced enemies much stronger and better prepared for war than ourselves.

During 1942–1944, Hollywood released 107 motion pictures depicting the enemy. These films represented 28.6 per cent of the war product of these years and more than 8 per cent of the total output of Hollywood:

	1942	*1943*	*1944*
Number of films depicting the enemy.....	64	27	16
Per cent of total war films	50.8	20.3	13.9

It is immediately clear that the number of pictures dealing with the enemy decreased as the war proceeded. The high point occurred in the third quarter of 1942, when no fewer than 23 new pictures of this type reached the public; this represented 64 per cent of the war product and almost one-fourth of the entire output of the quarter. Although there was particular need at the beginning of the war for films about the enemy, most of these early films were inconsequential, and many were misleading to the American public. Of the 64 films about the enemy released in 1942, all but two dealt with sabotage and espionage activities, following the timeworn spy formula. For several reasons, particularly at the outset of the war, this type of screen treatment of the enemy was unfortunate. It tended to focus attention on and to arouse suspicion toward aliens in this country (the movie spies were often identified merely as "foreigners"). It contributed to a sense of danger on the home front that was out of proportion to the actual situation, thereby detracting from public realization of the real threat of Nazi and Japanese military might. Furthermore, the overemphasis on an unseen enemy at work within this country was poor diet for a nation striving to become fully united in order to fight the most important war in its history. However great was the threat from fifth columnists in this country, danger from spies and saboteurs was greatly exaggerated on the screen. Public statements of the Department of Justice in the fall and winter of 1942–1943 indicated that in this country no major acts of sabotage or espionage had been uncovered that were definitely traceable to enemy sources.

Therefore, despite the great volume of pictures about the enemy during our first year of war, there were few which contributed to an understanding of our foes. As a whole, they tended to stereotype them as the usual gangster "heavy," identifiable by the fact that he either "heils Hitler" and speaks with a guttural German accent, or has slant eyes and hisses his "s's." This new screen villain (presumably our adversary in this war) turned up in all types of Hollywood movies. Several studios grafted the spy plot onto the western formula, resulting in films like *Riders of the Northland,* a typical western except that the locale is shifted to Alaska and the "heavies" are enemy agents attempting to establish a military base in this territory and defeated in doing so, needless to say, by the Texas Rangers. The serials, which, like westerns, are part of the regular weekly diet of American youngsters, also picked up the enemy spy theme. For example, in a serial entitled *G-Men vs. the Black Dragon,* a Japanese sabotage plot to blow up Boulder Dam is exposed, and the saboteurs are shown damaging shipping and arms production. Nor was the spy menace a theme solely for "B" pictures. In 1942 it also appeared in such productions as *All Through the Night,* starring Humphrey Bogart; *My Favorite Blonde,* with Bob Hope and Madeleine Carroll; and *My Favorite Spy,* a Kay Kyser vehicle.

In 1943 there were fewer than half as many films about the enemy as in the previous year, and quality began to improve. Although the majority

were still melodramatic stories about the fifth column, this cycle pretty much spent itself during the first half of the year, ending with such glorified versions of the spy theme as *Northern Pursuit,* a story of Nazi attempts to establish plane bases in the wastelands of northern Canada, and *Background to Danger,* a tale of intrigue in the Balkans. At the same time, a new type of story about the enemy begin to appear. In films like *Hitler's Children* and *This Land Is Mine* the industry began more seriously to examine enemy ideology. There were also several attempts to portray American fascism on the screen, notably in *Pilot Number Five* and *Keeper of the Flame.*

As indicated above, only sixteen films about the enemy were released in 1944. These for the most part still repeated the spy theme (*Waterfront, Secret Command, Crime by Night, Storm over Lisbon,* etc.). There were a few exceptions. Most noteworthy was *The Hitler Gang,* a documentary-style film which examines the Nazi ideology and dramatizes the rise of the Party.

Although there were more films about the enemy than in any other category, this subject by and large received a distorted and inadequate portrayal on the screen. Features of this type were the first to be produced in any quantity in Hollywood, because they required only a slight adaptation of the usual mystery formula and thus provided an easy means for capitalizing at the box office on interest in the war. As the war proceeded, films treating the enemy more seriously began to appear. When taken in relation to the total number of films about the enemy, however, such constructively oriented pictures were relatively few.

Films about Our Allies

The United Nations theme in pictures is important for several reasons. With American entry into the war, it was necessary that the American public to whom the war was a distant, far-off event should come to a more intimate understanding of the role that was being played by allied nations. Most Americans knew little of what had been going on in China for many years. Their knowledge of what the British people had been enduring under the Nazi blitz was meager. They had no comprehension of the horrors suffered by the Russians when their lands were invaded by the Nazis. Films about our allies were needed to broaden American understanding of the many aspects of the United Nations battle. They were needed abroad as testimony of our appreciation of the role these people had played in our mutual fight against the enemy.

During the first three years of the war, the motion-picture industry produced a total of 68 films about the United Nations and peoples. This number represented 18 per cent of the war films released during these years, and 5 per cent of the total product. These 68 films were released as follows:

	1942	*1943*	*1944*
Number of films treating United Nations.....	14	30	24
Per cent of total war films	11.1	22.6	20.9

The number and proportion of films about our allies more than doubled between 1942 and 1943. The high point in United Nations releases came in the first quarter of 1943, when twelve such films were released, this number accounting for one-third of the war product for that quarter.

In 1942 most of the United Nations pictures treated of life in conquered countries and included such films as *Paris Calling* and *Joan of Paris*. An important picture in the United Nations category, and in many respects the outstanding film of the year, was *Mrs. Miniver*. Despite its faulty portrayal of middle-class Britain, this picture did much toward bettering an understanding between the American and British peoples.

The year 1943, with its total of thirty United Nations productions, was the big year for films about our allies. Pictures about conquered Europe continued to be prominent, including *The Moon Is Down, Tonight We Raid Calais,* and *Edge of Darkness*. There were also several films about China, most lavish of which were *China Girl* and *China,* both of which give an inadequate and melodramatic portrayal of the Chinese. Among the films about Britain, *Journey for Margaret,* a story about Britain under the blitz, and *Thumbs Up,* concerned with British war production, are exceptional and useful pictures. Films about Russia appeared for the first time. The most talked about was *Mission to Moscow,* which adapts the documentary form to a dramatization of Ambassador Davies' book of the same title. While this picture was criticized for the dramatic license which it took with certain facts, it was an extremely useful document particularly from an international standpoint because it gave the first fundamentally sympathetic screen portrayal of our Russian allies, who, for decades, had been ridiculed and maligned on the screen and in the press of this country. *The City That Stopped Hitler,* the story of the battle of Stalingrad, based on documentary footage obtained from the Russians, is also worth noting.

In 1944, four more films about Russia were released, including *Song of Russia* and *North Star*. The latter characterizes the Russian people in strictly Hollywood terms, but nevertheless stands out as an effective and moving tribute to the strength and courage of the Russian people in the face of Nazi invasion. Prominent among films of 1944 was *Dragon Seed,* portraying the heroic Chinese with warmth and dignity and paying high tribute to them in their battle against the Japanese. *Corvette K-225,* on the Canadian navy's convoy system, was one of the best war films of the year, deftly combining document and fiction. This same year also brought four films about the Free French, hitherto untreated on the Hollywood screen—*The Impostor, Passage to Marseilles, Uncertain Glory,* and *Till We Meet Again*. Unfortunately, three of these (all but the last-named) dramatized the fight of the Free French through the story of escaped criminals who fought for the French cause. *The Seventh Cross* gives an impelling portrayal of a German anti-Nazi and his escape from a concentration camp.

Some of the best war pictures produced by Hollywood dealt with the United Nations. Usually, however, Hollywood writers, producers, directors, and actors were severely handicapped by their lack of firsthand knowledge of the people and conditions they were portraying. Even the meticulous advice of researchers and technical experts, upon which Hollywood relies so heavily for authenticity, failed to overcome this hazard. The correctness of every physical detail could

in no way substitute for the lack of insight into political events, or for the lack of understanding of the spirit and attitudes of people in Allied and conquered countries. Despite this, there is little question that some of the films already mentioned did contribute both at home and abroad to a better understanding among the people of the United Nations. The sympathetic portrayal of our allies aided in increasing American world-mindedness. And the tribute to our fighting allies in pictures like *North Star, Dragon Seed,* and *Mrs. Miniver* were warmly received by audiences in the countries portrayed. What was often recognized by them as caricatures of themselves was usually overlooked or accepted in good humor because of the underlying spirit of admiration and friendliness implicitly expressed. However, in some liberated countries where populations had suffered severe deprivations there was not the same tolerance toward Hollywood misrepresentations of life under the Nazis. When such films were shown, they tended to cause resentment and bitterness at American lack of comprehension of privations endured under the Nazi yoke.

Films on American Production

Between the end of 1941 and the beginning of 1945, hundreds of thousands of Americans who had never worked before, or who had not been employed in industry for many years, were recruited for war production. Many of these were women who left their homes for the first time to fill jobs on the production line. Considerable effort on the part of government and industry was required to stir up sufficient interest and enthusiasm to bring about this change in American living. To what degree did the motion picture stimulate interest in the production of war materials and thereby aid in the recruitment of workers to industry? Did Hollywood provide films which would answer the many questions of people overseas where American war equipment had aroused intense interest and curiosity about our production methods and the life of our factory worker?

There were relatively few films about American production—only half as many as in any other category of war features. During the three-year period, the industry released only 21 production-front pictures:

	1942	*1943*	*1944*
Number of films dealing with the production front	5	9	7
Per cent of total war films	4.0	6.8	6.1

The proportion of films about war production remained approximately the same for the three years studied. An analysis of the films themselves reveals that there were also no definite changes from year to year in the type of pictures made on this subject. Of the twenty-one films, more than one-third were musicals (*Mountain Rhythm, Priorities on Parade, Hers to Hold, Meet the People,* etc.). One of the best production-front stories, and one of the first, was *Wings for the Eagle,* the background footage for which was taken on the production line at Lockheed Aircraft. Also deserving mention is *Good Luck, Mr. Yates,* the story of an instructor in a boys' academy who leaves his teaching job to work in a shipyard. Another shipbuilding story, *Man from Frisco,* dramatizes one of America's miracles of production, the building of prefabricated

ships. Although preoccupation with a timeworn Hollywood plot caused this story to fall far short of its potentialities, it does give an interesting glimpse of life in a war-industry town and has exceptional value for overseas audiences. There were several films about women on the production line (*Swing-Shift Maisie, Beautiful but Broke,* etc.), but these films contributed little because of their generally flippant approach.

Production-front films were not only few in number; they were also poor in quality. The story of the American worker has always been one which Hollywood has dodged, and the heightened interest in production due to the war did not counteract this tendency. Some writers have suggested that the meager number of war films on this topic has been due to the difficulties inherent in developing stories around factory life. Some producers have pointed out that war workers want to escape from anything which reminds them of their jobs when they go to the movies. Neither of these reasons answers adequately the question of why so few production-front films were made. Certainly aircraft workers flocked by the hundreds of thousands to see *Wings for the Eagle* and enjoyed this screen dramatization of their role in the war effort. And while no production-front epic emerged from the war, it is hard to believe that Hollywood writers would not have been capable of developing such a story, had the right combination of circumstances allowed. Perhaps the answer lies in the fact that we in America are too close to the miracle of American war production to realize the true dramatic values of this story, and to recognize the gains which might have been made had this story been told on the screen for the benefit of workers all over the world. Such films would have been eagerly welcomed overseas, where men's lives depended on war equipment labeled "Made in U.S.A." Could our allies have seen what went into the making of these weapons, it would have benefited us much. Furthermore, such films could have aided in cementing understanding between American fighting men and their brothers on the production line. It is beyond question that Hollywood failed deplorably in its responsibility to portray and interpret the role of management and labor in the winning of this war.

Films about the Home Front

In a country like ours, which did not actually witness the hostilities, one of the most difficult problems was the mobilization of the home front. Early in the war, civilians were called upon to volunteer for civilian defense. American families were asked to conserve food, save scrap metal and waste paper, and in many other small ways to assist in the war effort. The public was asked to coöperate in the prevention of inflation and to buy war bonds. To mobilize the country for these and other war activities was no small task. There was a place for films which would stimulate interest in and dignify these chores, and convince the public of their importance. In addition, it was extremely important that films destined for overseas audiences which depicted America in wartime should tell something about these home-front activities. In many countries, populations had experienced enemy invasion or bombings. These people needed to

know that we in America were not continuing with business as usual, but that the American people were aware of the demands of the war, and were doing something about it.

During 1942–1944 the industry released 40 features concerned primarily with home-front problems. These pictures accounted for 11 per cent of all war films produced during these years, and for 3 per cent of the entire film product of this period.

	1942	*1943*	*1944*
Number of home-front features	4	15	21
Per cent of total war films	3.2	11.3	18.3

In the first year of war, when such films were most needed, only four were released; 1943 brought almost four times this number of pictures with home-front themes; and 1944 showed a still further increase.

During 1942 and 1943 the quality of home-front stories was consistently low. In most films, such activities were given a comedy treatment. This was constructive when the subject was the housing shortage or other wartime inconveniences, as in *The More the Merrier*. However, when Red Cross work, the duties of air-raid wardens and other civilian-defense activities were ridiculed, it was a different matter. Films like *Blondie for Victory, Dixie Dugan,* and *Air-Raid Wardens* belittled the seriousness of civilian war activity and tended to hinder the recruitment of volunteer workers. From the standpoint of the bombed populations of Allied countries, such films were in particularly poor taste and must have aroused bitter comment.

Among the home-front films of 1943 and 1944 was a cycle of pictures portraying life in wartime Washington (*Government Girl, So This Is Washington, Standing Room Only, The Doughgirls,* etc.). The majority of these films were harmless enough as fare for American audiences. However, for audiences abroad which were unfamiliar with the American scene and unable to distinguish between what represented burlesque and what reality, these films gave a volatile and highly uncomplimentary picture of our wartime capital. *The More the Merrier,* already mentioned, was an exception, providing good laughs without belittling the capital's war activities.

Also during 1943–1944 there was a series of films that centered around entertainment provided to servicemen. The list includes such films as *Stage-Door Canteen, Hollywood Canteen,* and *Follow the Boys.*

During 1944, Hollywood released a cycle about delinquency in wartime America: *Where Are Your Children?, Are These Our Parents?, Youth Runs Wild, I Accuse My Parents,* etc. These films gave a sensational treatment of this problem, and offered little or nothing constructive toward a solution. Rather, such pictures caused concern because they tended to hinder the recruitment of women to industry. Conscientious mothers, fearful that their children might become delinquent, refused to enter industry where they were badly needed to release men for the armed services. It was generally agreed that delinquency films of the type produced by Hollywood created fear and hysteria, thereby intensifying the delinquency problem.

Thus the feature film did little to dignify and interpret for American audiences the home-front war. Instead, Hollywood pictures tended to ridicule,

exaggerate, or sensationalize these problems. This treatment was particularly unfortunate in its effect on audiences abroad.

Films about Our Fighting Forces

With the exception of films about the enemy, more features dealing with the American fighting forces were produced by Hollywood during 1942–1944 than on any other war topic. In these years, 95 pictures about the Army, Navy, and Merchant Marine were released:

	1942	*1943*	*1944*
Number of films about American fighting forces	29	32	34
Per cent of total war films	23.0	24.1	25.4

Approximately one out of every four war films produced during the three years following American entry into the war dealt with the fighting man, his training, his combat experiences, his adventures when on leave, etc.

In 1942, films about our fighting men were primarily comedies and musicals, many of which were concerned with life in the training camps (*Top Sergeant, Private Buckaroo, True to the Army,* etc.). Such pictures generally used the army-camp background for a continuous musical-comedy routine which had little to do with the serious business of preparing young men for battle. Many of these early films centered their comedy around the blundering, blustering, tough top sergeant.

At the same time, however, there were several efforts to portray our servicemen more realistically. Of these, *The Navy Comes Through,* telling the story of American seamen delivering war materials, is worth mention. An important film, and the first to approximate the documentary form in the telling of a combat story, was *Wake Island,* a tribute to the Marines who held out there against overpowering odds.

In 1943 the saga of the buck private continued, with variations: *Fall In, Adventures of a Rookie, Yanks Ahoy,* etc. Also, a new type of screen story about the armed forces began to appear, with such films as *Air Force, Bataan, Guadalcanal Diary, Sahara, Gung Ho, Bombardier, Action in the North Atlantic.* These films attempted to approximate the documentary form, striving for a realistic and dignified portrayal of the American serviceman.

In 1944 there was a tendency to swing back to comedy and musical presentations of the Armed Forces (*Thousands Cheer, Up in Arms, Rainbow Island, This Is the Army, Here Come the Waves,* etc.). However, the general tenor was far different from that of 1942—the war was treated less casually, and the humor was generally in better taste. *Destination Tokyo,* the story of an American submarine in enemy waters, is an excellent war film, paying high tribute to the men of the submarine service. The screen version of *The Eve of St. Mark* also appeared in 1944, dramatizing effectively the experiences of a group of young Americans from their days in training until their losing battle in the Philippines. *A Guy Named Joe,* the story of a dead flyer who comes back to teach what he knows to a younger pilot, made the valuable point that nothing is lost, that the mistakes and tragedies of our day contribute to a better future. Other serious attempts to dramatize the role of our fighting men were not so successful. For example, *Fighting Seabees*

makes the oft-repeated error of using the war as background for a threadbare Hollywood plot, the war with the Japanese playing second fiddle to romance. Likewise *The Story of Dr. Wassell,* which could have been a real epic, suffers from overstaging, overromanticizing, and overstereotyping of the parts and situations.

Analysis of the 95 films about the fighting forces released in the period 1942–1944, according to the service portrayed in each film, reveals the following:

	No. of films	*Per cent*
Army	51	53.7
Navy	26	27.3
Merchant Marine	8	8.4
Women's units	5	5.3
Miscellaneous	5	5.3
Total	95	100.0

The proportion of Army to Navy films was about two to one. Eleven pictures dealing with the Air Corps are included in the 51 Army films. Almost half of the Navy pictures (12 in a three-year total of 26) dramatized the work of the Marines. In stories about Army life the primary emphasis was upon training (about two such pictures were made to every one about combat), whereas for the Navy this ratio was reversed.

In summary, the portrayal given our fighting forces on the screen was unfortunate in several respects. The musical and comedy treatment tended to underestimate the seriousness of war. Such pictures had a particularly adverse effect upon audiences in Allied countries. Not that comedy itself, nor the wonderful American propensity to laugh at ourselves, did not have its place in service films. But the slapstick treatment given to army training and in some films even to combat sequences was in extremely poor taste. Other films about our fighting units were played strictly as melodrama—blood-and-thunder stuff usually without one glimpse of understanding about the meaning of the war itself. In such films there was often a swashbuckling American hero who conquered single-handed. This particular type of arrogance won us much criticism abroad, where we were accused of underplaying the contribution of our allies and exaggerating our own role in this war. Also, Hollywood films tended to highlight instances of individual heroism to a degree out of all proportion to their importance in a war that relied mostly upon teamwork.

On the other hand, Hollwood also produced some fine films that dramatized honestly and constructively the fine job being done by American fighting men. Films like *Air Force, Bataan, Guadalcanal Diary, Gung Ho, Sahara,* and *Action in the North Atlantic* contributed much toward a better understanding, not only of our fighting services, but of the whole meaning of this war.

Hollywood's War Job

The analysis of Hollywood's war product shows that, of a total of 1,313 motion pictures released during 1942, 1943, and 1944, there were 45 or 50 which aided significantly, both at home and abroad, in increasing understanding of the conflict. This means that approximately 4 per cent of the film output of these three years, or about one out of every ten war pictures, made such a contribution.

There were many causes for Holly-

wood's failure to make maximum use of the feature film in the war effort. To begin with, the Hollywood industry, like most others in America, was unprepared for the war emergency. For years, motion-picture studios had been turning out six or seven hundred films a year, the great majority of which were musicals, domestic comedies, westerns, and murder mysteries based on well-worn formulas. For years producers had been adamant in their opinion that what the American public wants, above all else, is to be entertained. It is small wonder, then, that, faced with the task of making films which would educate the public about the war, most Hollywood movie makers did not know where to begin. They lacked experience in making films dealing with actual social problems. And, like the rest of America, they themselves lacked real understanding of the war.

The formula picture, and the tendency of many producers to cling to it as a safe and sure bet at the box office, proved a serious handicap during the war years. Whenever Hollywood lapsed into its usual formulas in the making of war pictures, the results were disastrous, since the material itself became secondary to the development of the stereotyped plot. That is one reason why most of the war films produced by Hollywood were inconsequential, misleading, or even detrimental to the war program (for example, the spy series, or the blood-and-thunder combat pictures).

Another important factor limiting Hollywood's effectiveness was lack of knowledge and concern about audiences abroad. Primary attention in production has always been focused on domestic box office, the main source of industry revenue. With the advent of the war, however, Hollywood's indifference about foreign audiences became a critical factor. Every film made in Hollywood either contributes to or detracts from the reputation of America and the American people overseas. In the case of pictures portraying the role of this nation and of our allies during this war, the influence of Hollywood was multiplied a thousandfold. Yet most film makers failed to realize that the melodramatic blood-and-thunder combat film, with the American hero singlehandedly disposing of a score of Nazis, would bring jeers and hisses in a London movie house, or that a musical singing out that the Yanks had done it once and would do it again would cause a riot between American and British soldiers in a theater in Bombay.

The problem of timing was perhaps the most difficult one facing the industry in its production of useful war films. A feature film cannot be written, photographed, edited, and released overnight. Production of an "A" feature takes from nine to twelve months, sometimes longer. The releasing problem itself caused further delays, particularly in recent years when the large backlog of unreleased pictures meant that completed films might stay in the can for many months before reaching the screen. As a result, by the time they reached the screen many war films were outdated, or the time when they would have had maximum usefulness was passed. The industry as a whole did little about meeting this serious problem. It might have been possible to speed up production on a series of "B" pictures treating immediate problems,

and let the "A"-budget war films treat long-range subjects which would not become outdated. Then, too, the releasing structure could have been adapted to bring timely films to the screen more rapidly. However, the release of some important war films was excellently timed, notably *Mrs. Miniver, Wilson,* and *Mission to Moscow.*

Hollywood's experience with the making of war films has led forward-looking writers, producers, story editors, and others to the realization that something must be done about these problems if the film is to play the vital role in world affairs for which it is so admirably suited.

There are many indications that important changes are taking place in the motion-picture capital, that the traditional notions about film making which have so long governed the industry are slowly yielding to more progressive ideas about the function of the film in the world today. This is reflected in some of the fine films which were produced during the war, and in certain noticeable changes in the content of films generally (a more constructive portrayal of minority groups, more films realistically portraying American life for foreign audiences, etc. The changes taking place in Hollywood will be accelerated by the return of film makers who have been in the Armed Services making day-to-day use of the film as a dynamic weapon of war.

Hollywood has gained immeasurably in social awareness and in new techniques of film making as a result of the war. Now that the smoke of battle is clearing away, a world public is waiting to see whether Hollywood will accept the greater responsibilities and opportunities that lie ahead by helping to create One World dedicated to peace, plenty, and the pursuit of happiness.

[The following films are cited specifically by Mrs. Jones. Writer credits only are given. Our forthcoming bibliographical supplement, however, will list the entire 374 pictures which form the basis of this article, and will include producer and director credits.—THE EDITORS.]

Action in the North Atlantic; WB; 1943
- Unpublished story: Guy Gilpatric
- Screen play: John Howard Lawson
- Additional dialogue: A. I. Bezzerides, W. R. Burnett

Adventures of a Rookie; RKO; 1943
- Original story: William Bowers, M. Coates Webster
- Screen play: Edward James
- Adaptation: William Bowers and M. Coates Webster

Air Force; WB; 1943
- Screen play: Dudley Nichols

Air-Raid Wardens; MGM; 1943
- Original screen play: Martin Rackin, Jack Jevne, Charles Rogers, and Harry Crane
- Contributor to treatment: Howard Dimsdale
- Contributor to screen-play construction: William R. Lipman

All Through the Night; WB; 1942
- Original screen story: Leonard Q. Ross, Leonard Spigelgass
- Screen play: Leonard Spigelgass, Edwin Gilbert

Are These Our Parents?; Mono; 1944
- Original screen story: Hilary Lynn
- Screen play: Michel Jacoby

Background to Danger; WB; 1943
- Adapted from novel by Eric Ambler
- Screen play: W. R. Burnett

Bataan; MGM; 1943
- Original screen play: Robert D. Andrews

Beautiful but Broke; Col; 1944
- Unpublished short story: Arthur Housman

Screen play: Monte Brice
Adaptation: Manny Seff
Contributor to screen-play construction: Wm. A. Pierce

Blondie for Victory; Col; 1942
Original screen story: Fay Kanin
Based on cartoon, "Blondie," by Chic Young
Screen play: Karen DeWolf, Connie Lee

Bombardier; RKO; 1943
Original screen story: John Twist, Martin Rackin
Screen play: John Twist

China; Para; 1943
Unproduced play: Archibald Forbes
Screen play: Frank Butler

China Girl; Tw; 1942
Unpublished story: Melville Grossman
Screen play: Ben Hecht

The City That Stopped Hitler; Para; 1943
Documentary: compilation from newsreels
Narration written by John Wexley

Corvette K-255; Univ; Howard Hawks; 1943
Original screen story: John Rhodes Sturdy, Lieut., RCNVR
Screen play: John Rhodes Sturdy, Lieut., RCNVR

Crime by Night; WB; 1944
Adapted from novel, *Forty Whacks,* by Geoffrey Homes
Screen play: Richard Weil, Joel Malone

Destination Tokyo; WB; 1944
Original screen story: Steve Fisher
Screen play: Delmer Daves, Albert Maltz

Dixie Dugan; Tw; 1943
Based on character created by Joseph P. McEvoy
Screen play: Lee Loeb, Harold Buchman

The Doughgirls; WB; 1944
Adapted from play by Joseph A. Fields (prod. Max Gordon)
Screen play: James V. Kern, Sam Hellman
Additional dialogue: Wilkie Mahoney

Dragon Seed; MGM; 1944
Adapted from novel by Pearl S. Buck
Screen play: Marguerite Roberts, Jane Murfin

Edge of Darkness; WB; 1943
Adapted from novel by William Woods
Screen play: Robert Rossen

The Eve of St. Mark; Tw; 1944
Adapted from play by Maxwell Anderson
Screen play: George Seaton

Fall In; UA-Roach; 1943
Original screen story: Eugene Conrad, Edward E. Seabrook
Screen play: Eugene Conrad, Edward E. Seabrook

The Fighting Seabees; Rep; 1944
Director, second unit: Howard Lydecker
Original screen story: Borden Chase
Screen play: Borden Chase, Aeneas MacKenzie
Contributors to screen-play construction: Ethel Hill, Dale Van Every

Follow the Boys; Univ; 1944
Original screen play: Lou Breslow, Gertrude Purcell
Interpolated speech, "Soldiers in Grease Paint," by Joe Schoenfeld

Forever and a Day; Anglo-American Prod., Inc., RKO; 1943
Screen play: Charles Bennett, C. S. Forrester, Lawrence Hazard, Michael Hogan, W. P. Lipscomb, Alice Duer Miller, John Van Druten, Alan Campbell, Peter Godfrey, S. M. Herzig, Christopher Isherwood, Gene Lockhart, R. C. Sherriff, Claudine West, Norman Corwin, Jack Hartfield, James Hilton, Emmet Lavery, Frederick Lonsdale, Donald Ogden Stewart, Keith Winter

G-Men vs. the Black Dragon; Col; 1942
Original screen play: Ronald Davidson, William Lively, Joseph O'Donnell, Joseph Poland

Good Luck, Mr. Yates; Col; 1943
Unpublished story: Hal Smith, Sam Rudd
Screen play: Lou Breslow, Adele Comandini

Government Girl; RKO; 1943
Adapted from serial by Adela Rogers St. John
Screen play: Dudley Nichols
Adaptation: Budd Schulberg

Guadalcanal Diary; Tw; 1943
Adapted from nonfiction story by Richard Tregaskis
Screen play: Lamar Trotti
Adaptation: Jerry Cady

Gung Ho; Univ; 1943
Based on factual story by W. S. LeFrancois, Lieut., USMC
Screen play: Lucien Hubbard
Additional dialogue: Joseph Hoffman

A Guy Named Joe; MGM; 1944
Unpublished story: Chandler Sprague, David Boehm
Screen play: Dalton Trumbo
Adaptation: Frederick Hazlitt Brennan

Happy Land; Tw; 1943
Adapted from novel by Mackinlay Kantor
Screen play: Kathryn Scola, Julian Josephson

Here Come the Waves; Para; 1944
Screen play: Alan Scott, Ken Englund, Zion Myers

Hers to Hold; Univ; 1943
Based on story by John D. Klorer
Screen play: Lewis R. Foster

Hitler's Children; RKO; 1943
Adapted from book, *Education for Death,* by Gregor Ziemer
Screen play: Emmet Lavery

The Hitler Gang; Para; 1944
Original screen play: Frances Goodrich, Albert Hackett

Hollywood Canteen; WB; 1944
Original screen story: Delmer Daves
Screen play: Delmer Daves

The Human Comedy; MGM; 1943
Director: Clarence Brown
Adapted from novel by William Saroyan
Screen play: Howard Estabrook

I Accuse My Parents; PRC; Alexander-Stern Prod; 1944
Original story: Arthur Caesar
Screen play: Harry Fraser, Marjorie Dudley

The Impostor; Univ; 1944
Original screen play: Julien Duvivier
Dialogue adapted from the French: Stephen Longstreet
Additional dialogue: Marc Connelly, Lynn Starling

Joan of Paris; RKO; 1942
Unpublished story: Jacques Thery, Georges Kessel
Screen play: Charles Bennett, Ellis St. Joseph

Joe Smith, American; MGM, Loews; 1942
Based on *Cosmopolitan Magazine* story by Paul Gallico
Screen play: Allen Rivkin

Journey for Margaret; MGM, Loews; 1942
Adapted from novel, *Journey for Margaret,* by William L. White
Screen play: David Hertz, William Ludwig

Keeper of the Flame; MGM; 1943
Adapted from novel by I. A. R. Wylie
Screen play: Donald Ogden Stewart

Man from Frisco; Rep; 1944
Original story and adaptation: George Worthing Yates, George Carleton Brown
Screen play: Ethel Hill, Arnold Manoff

Meet the People; MGM, 1944
Suggested by story by Sol Barzman, Ben Barzman, Louis Lantz
Treatment: Sol Barzman, Ben Barzman, Louis Lantz
Adaptation contribution: Virginia Kellogg
Screen play: S. M. Herzig, Fred Saidy

Mission to Moscow; WB; 1943
Adapted from nonfiction story by Joseph Davies
Screen play: Howard Koch
Contributor to treatment: Erskine Caldwell

The Moon Is Down; Tw; 1943
Adapted from novel by John Steinbeck
Screen play: Nunnally Johnson

The More the Merrier; Col; 1943
Original screen story: Robert Russell, Frank Ross
Screen play: Robert Russell, Frank Ross, Richard Flournoy, Lewis R. Foster

Mountain Rhythm; Rep; 1943
Original screen story: Ray Harris
Screen play: Dorrell McGowan, Stuart McGowan

Mrs. Miniver; MGM, Loews; 1942
Adapted from novel by Jan Struther
Screen play: Arthur Wimperis, George Froeschel, James Hilton, Claudine West
Contributors: R. C. Sherriff, Paul Osborn

My Buddy; Rep; 1944
Original screen story: Prescott Chaplin
Screen play: Arnold Manoff

My Favorite Blonde; Para; 1942
Unpublished story: Melvin Frank, Norman Panama
Screen play: Don Hartman, Frank Butler
Contributor to dialogue: Barney Dean

My Favorite Spy; RKO; 1942
Original screen story: M. Coates Webster
Screen play: Sig Herzig, William Bowers
Contributor to dialogue and on special sequences: Frank Ryan

The Navy Comes Through; RKO; 1942
Based on *Saturday Evening Post* story, "Pay to Learn," by Borden Chase
Screen play: Roy Chanslor, Aeneas MacKenzie
Adaptation: Earl Baldwin, John Twist

None Shall Escape; Col; 1943
Original screen play: Alfred Neumann, Lester Than
Screen play: Lester Cole

The North Star; RKO; 1944
Original screen story: Lillian Hellman
Screen play: Lillian Hellman

Northern Pursuit; WB; 1943
Adapted from short story, "Five Thousand Trojan Horses," by Leslie T. White
Screen play: Frank Gruber, Alvah Bessie

The Ox-Bow Incident; Tw; 1943
Adapted from novel by Walter Van Tilburg Clark
Screen play: Lamar Trotti

Paris Calling; Univ; 1942
Original story: Benjamin Glazer, John S. Toldy
Screen play: Benjamin Glazer, Charles Kaufman

Passage to Marseilles; WB; 1944
Adapted from novel, *Men without Country,* by Charles Nordhoff, James Norman Hall
Screen play: Casey Robinson, Jack Moffitt
Contributor to screen play: Elick Moll

Pilot No. 5; MGM, Loews; 1943
Original Screen story: David Hertz
Screen play: David Hertz
Contributor to screen-play construction: Robert D. Andrews

Power of the Press; Col; 1943
Original screen story: Sam Fuller
Screen play: Sam Fuller

Priorities on Parade; Para; 1942
Original screen play: Art Arthur, Frank Loesser

Private Buckaroo; Univ; 1942
Original screen story: Paul Gerard Smith
Screen play: Edmund Kelso, Edward James
Contributor to screen-play construction: Jerry Cady; to dialogue, Lloyd French

Rainbow Island; Para; 1944
Unpublished story: Seena Owen
Screen play: Walter DeLeon, Arthur Phillips

Riders of the Northland; Col; 1942
Original screen story: Paul Franklin
Screen play: Paul Franklin

Sahara; Col; 1943
Original screen story: Philip MacDonald
Screen play: John Howard Lawson, Zoltan Korda
Contributor to treatment: James O'Hanlon

Secret Command; Col; 1944
Adapted from novel, *The Saboteurs,* by John and Ward Hawkins
Screen play: Roy Chanslor

The Seventh Cross; MGM; 1944
Adapted from novel by Anna Seghers
Screen play: Helen Deutsch

Song of Russia; MGM, Loews; 1944
Unpublished story: Leo Mittler, Victor Trivas, Guy Endore
Screen play: Paul Jarrico, Richard Collins

So This Is Washington; RKO; 1944
Authors: Roswell Rogers, Edward James
Screen play: Leonard Praskins, Roswell Rogers

Stage-Door Canteen; UA–Principal Artists; 1943
Original screen story: Delmer Daves
Screen play: Delmer Daves

Standing Room Only; Para; 1944
Unpublished story: Al Martin
Screen play: Darrell Ware, Karl Tunberg

Storm over Lisbon; Rep; 1944
Original screen story: Elizabeth Meehan
Screen play: Doris Gilbert
Adaptation: Dave Lussier

Story of Doctor Wassell; Para; 1943
Based on nonfiction story of Dr. Wassell as related by him and fifteen of the wounded sailors involved and also upon the story by James Hilton
Screen play: Alan LeMay, Charles Bennett
Contributor to treatment: Jeanie Macpherson

Swing-Shift Maisie; MGM; 1943
Based on characters created by Wilson Collis
Original screen play: Mary C. McCall, Jr., Robert Halff

The Talk of the Town; Col; 1942
Original screen story: Sidney Harmon
Screen play: Irwin Shaw, Sidney Buchman
Contributor to treatment: Dale Van Every

They Got Me Covered; RKO; 1943
Original screen play: Leonard C. Ross, Leonard Spigelgass
Screen play: Harry Kurnitz

This Above All; Tw; 1942
Adapted from novel by Eric Knight
Screen play: R. C. Sherriff

This Is the Army; WB; 1944
Adapted from play by Irving Berlin
Screen play: Casey Robinson, Captain Claude Binyon

This Land Is Mine; RKO; 1943
Original screen play: Dudley Nichols
Screen play: Dudley Nichols

Thousands Cheer; MGM; 1944
Based on story, "Private Mis Jones," by Paul Jarrico, Richard Collins
Original screen play: Paul Jarrico, Richard Collins

Thumbs Up; Rep; 1943
Based on story idea: Ray Golden and Henry Moritz
Original screen play: Frank Gill, Jr.

Till We Meet Again; Para; 1944
Adapted from play, *Tomorrow's Harvest,* by Alfred Maury
Screen play: Lenore Coffee

Tomorrow the World; UA; 1944
Adapted from play by James Gow and Arnaud D'Usseau
Screen play: Ring Lardner, Jr.; Leopold Atlas

Tonight We Raid Calais; Tw; 1943
Original screen story: L. Willinger, Rohama Lee
Screen play: Waldo Salt
Contributors to adaptation: Arthur Caesar, Rohama Lee

Top Sergeant; Univ; 1942
Original screen story: Larry Rhine, Ben Chapman
Screen play: Maxwell Shane, Griffin Jay

True to the Army; Para; 1942
Adapted from novel, *She Loves Me Not,* by Edward Hope, and play by Howard Lindsay
Screen play: Art Arthur, Bradford Ropes
Adaptation: Edmund Hartman, Val Burton

Uncertain Glory; WB; 1944
Original screen story: Joe May, Laszlo Vadnay
Screen play: Laszlo Vadnay, Max Brand

Up in Arms: Avalon Prod., Inc., RKO; 1944
Adapted from character, "The Nervous Wreck," by Owen Davis
Original screen play: Don Hartman, Allen Boretz, Robert Pirosh

Wake Island; Para; 1942
Based on records of the U.S.M.C.
Original screen play: W. R. Burnett, Frank Butler

Watch on the Rhine; WB; 1943
Adapted from play by Lillian Hellman
Screen play: Dashiel Hammett
Additional scenes and dialogue: Lillian Hellman

Waterfront; Alexander-Stern, PRC; 1944
Developed from original screen story by Martin Mooney and Irwin R. Franklyn
Screen play: Martin Mooney and Irwin R. Franklyn

When the Lights Go On Again; PRC; 1944
Original screen story: Frank Craven
Screen play: Milton Lazarus

Where Are Your Children?; Mono; 1944
Original screen story: Hilary Lynn
Screen play: Hilary Lynn, George W. Sayre

Wings for the Eagle; WB; 1942
Original screen story: Byron Morgan, B. H. Orkow
Screen play: Byron Morgan, B. H. Orkow
Additional dialogue: Richard Macaulay

Wilson; Tw; 1944
Original screen play: Lamar Trotti

Yanks Ahoy; UA; 1943
Original screen story: Eugene Conrad, Edward E. Seabrook
Screen play: Eugene Conrad, Edward E. Seabrook

Youth Runs Wild; RKO; 1944
Original story: John Fante, Herbert Kline
Screen play: John Fante
Additional dialogue: Ardel Wray

Creativeness Cannot Be Diffused

IRVING PICHEL

IRVING PICHEL'S varied career has included stage directing on Broadway and in the little theater, and acting and directing for motion pictures. His most recent pictures include *A Medal for Benny* and *Tomorrow Is Forever*. Currently he is directing *The Bride Wore Boots*.

THE TITLE PAGE of a book usually makes no more than three statements—the name of the book, the name of the writer, the name of the publishing firm. In small print, on the reverse side, there may be a copyright notice which need not be read. Somewhere in the back of the book, there may be a note on the style of type and perhaps the name of the firm that set the type.

Not so a film. First, accompanied by a fanfare, the name of the firm that presents the film. Then, the title of the picture; or, more often, the names of the stars preceding the title, then the title, then the names of the secondary or featured players. Then, as though to temper the excited anticipation of the audience, comes a series of credit titles informing the public who wrote the story, who adapted it to the screen, who wrote the screen play, who wrote additional dialogue, who wrote the musical score, who orchestrated it, who conducted the orchestra, who designed the women's clothes, the men's clothes, who directed the make-up, who directed the dances (if any), who directed the photography, who produced the picture, who was associate producer, and, finally, who directed it. On occasion, these credits are only a little less fictional than the content of the picture they precede. Even when they are literal statements of fact, the facts fail to impress the public that views the picture, largely because the public which sees entertainment through the eye has no interest in the invisible personalities concerned in its making.

Nevertheless, the battle for credit is an intense one. Even though the public remains indifferent to the identity of the film creators and technicians, the film manufacturers are not, nor are the creators and technicians. The glow which suffuses a successful picture lights up the names of those who contribute to that success. It follows that screen credit becomes an end in itself, and that the size of type, the position of the credit card in the sequence of credits, and the number of times an individual's name appears on the screen become matters of contractual negotiation. This accounts to a large degree for the fictional character of many screen credits. It explains why there are producers who do not produce, directors who do not direct, and writers who do not write the films on which their names appear. This is contributed to by the circumstance, as it applies to these three categories at least, that the functions of producer, writer, and director are not and cannot be clearly differentiated. So it is not uncommon, however the screen credits may read, for a producer to feel some indignation at the contractual necessity for putting a director's name on the screen, or for a writer to feel some bitterness at what the producer has required him to write or the liberties a director has taken with his script, or for a director to as-

sure his colleagues and friends that one of his pictures might have been a better job if he had not had producer interference or had had better writing. On the other hand, there are times when unearned credit is given as a generous gesture to help a lad up; at others, with a gesture that looks equally generous, credit is surrendered because the man to whom it belongs wants to evade the responsibility for what he fears will be a bad picture.

It is a truism to say that a work such as a film with the attributes of a work of art should have the unity and style of a single imagination. A Leonardo da Vinci might divide the labor of covering a wall space with an expansive mural by letting pupils and apprentices paint in details, but the idea, the design, and the composition, the cartoon and the palette, were all stipulated by the master himself. While a film may be given a factitious visual unity by uniform photography and cutting, it happens too often that the concept, the design as a whole, and the major elements of character and event are not the stipulations of one imagination or of the collaborative pooling of several, but represent the compromised quotient of divided minds or the imposed dicta of the compunctions, cautions, or plain misunderstandings of a noncreative authority.

The reason for this is simple enough. When the fiction film came of age during the second decade of this century, it was conclusively the work of a single imagination. Whether D. W. Griffith evolved a story of his own like *Intolerance* or used a book like *The Clansman* as a basis for *The Birth of a Nation,* the resulting film from concept through shooting and editing was indisputably his work. The term director as applied to a man like Griffith was inclusive. He was a storyteller in a new medium of which he was the complete master. His films had the greatness and the limitations of an individual mind. Whatever reservations we may have today concerning their content, they were stamped on every foot with the concise and integrated mastery of a new language of which Griffith was to a vast extent the inventor.

Griffith's contemporaries and their successors, almost to the time of the introduction of sound, were, like him, the sole makers of their films. During this entire era, films were not written or produced; they were "directed." Though successful stage plays and novels were adapted to the screen, the act of adaptation was the process of translation into this new language in which visual images replaced description, in which speech was seen and not heard, and in which words played a minute part as printed "titles," conveying only the minimum of speech or narration necessary to the advancement of the story.

Writers, during this same period, were little more than recorders of the expressed intentions of the director, or creator, of the film. They developed a technical vocabulary for the indication of shots, of actions and reactions, and, from association with directors, became knowing in the ways of the screen and the film play. Equipped with the special vocabulary and knowledge of directorial practice, they were presently able to make "adaptations" of their own, screen plays which were, as writing, as literature, no more than pictures directed on paper. This was not, of course, a valueless evolution.

It crystallized not only the form of the screen play; it tended to crystallize also the practice of creative directors and enabled less-gifted men to compound pictures from these prescriptions. Above all, the division between two men of the creative function saved time. Instead of waiting for a director to prepare a script in collaboration with a writer, the writer could prepare a script while the director "shot" another, greatly shortening the intervals between a director's pictures and shortening also the time spent on the set.

Two related disadvantages grew out of the separation of the two functions. The actual process of making a film became, at worst, a less creative process, and, therefore, film making could be carried on by less creative men.

The translation to screen terms of a story written originally in another form is not in itself a highly creative procedure. Nevertheless, when a film is to be made, the creative process begins with the concept of the terms in which the film story is to be told. So far as screen-play writing was removed from the supervision or control of the director of silent pictures, he was stripped of part of his creative function. He suffered a further loss through being relieved of the need for improvisation on the set, the need for instant invention, for intense thinking and feeling at the moment of work without reference to thinking and feeling done weeks before by another person or even by himself, alone or in collaboration with another person.

The advent of sound did more than confirm this separation of function. If it had not already taken place, it would have become necessary when spoken drama supplanted pantomime. For with sound there came not only the need of good writing; there came plays from the theater, altered it is true for the screen, but nonetheless plays written by writers. And quickly the playwrights themselves followed to adapt their own plays or others to the screen. Even where the director remained the chief functionary in making a film, he was now definitely teamed with and, in a new sense, dependent upon another kind of creative worker with an assured and essential place in the studios.

The new writers brought with them, also, their own *amour-propre*. They could not accept readily the secondary place occupied by their predecessors and assigned to them by the established traditions of their new field. Moreover, those who were experienced dramatists were able after a time to penetrate the differences between stage and film form, acquire skill in adaptation for film, and, indeed, to contribute to the evolution of the screen play. A large number of them, it is true, learned to collaborate with creative directors. A good number of intelligent directors, likewise, felt no loss of dignity or authority in working on equal terms with their writers. And, along with the writers, of course, a good many directors came from the theater to learn their way about in the new medium and acquire its technique. These men accepted as a matter of course the primacy of the writer in originating and formulating the screen play. Between such directors and writers there has grown up that collaboration peculiar to motion pictures which, at its best, brings about the creation of screen plays in which the contribution of writer and director is indistinguishable. Theirs should be

a relationship which recognizes the fusion that must be achieved between ideas verbally expressed but visually realized. Their relationship is one of interdependency – the director and players, upon good writing; the writer, upon players skillfully and sympathetically directed.

Such collaboration, though dictated by historic circumstance and economic conditions of the industry, did not become the universal pattern. There were writers enough who found their work altered in sense by directors. There were directors who could not welcome "mere" writers as partners or share their function and importance. And being their first with experience, great reputation, great earning power, and, let it be admitted, superior adeptness in *film* storytelling, they held their ground and fought, not only while they worked, but in the negotiation of their contracts, for the importance of their position and for its recognition in terms of screen "credit" and the position and size of their names in paid advertising.

The writers, too, have had to fight for their position. They have insisted, and rightly, that the story comes first, that without stories there are no films and that the creators of stories have a basic and indispensable function, as have the adapters of stories into filmic terms. They have worked for greater responsibility and greater respect and, as much as any other creative group, for a greater use of the screen as a first-hand medium rather than as a form of reissue, comparable to drugstore reprints of best sellers.

On the economic side, they have struggled to achieve proper standards of pay and screen credits that accurately represent their contribution. Thus, in place of the half dozen or so writers whose names once appeared on the credit cards, now no more than three may be used. Even this, we may feel, is a misleading improvement. It may suggest to the uninitiated that one writer alone was unable successfully to adapt a play or novel to the screen, or, at least, had not been trusted by the producer to do so.

More successful has been a certain writer whose name precedes that of the title of the screen play, thus:

So-and-so's
"Such and Such"

and then, in very small letters,

from a story by What's-his-name.

In spite of a single, extravagant victory like this, the fight to establish the primacy of the story and its authorship is far from won. With the notable exception of a few writers for the screen—secure by reason of exceptional skill or exceptional success—the writer has little recognition and little authority.

It was inevitable, so far as this struggle was not merely an abstract one for position but lay between two contenders, the writer and the director, that an umpire should be appointed. Known at first as a supervisor, later as an associate producer and, in his own reach for position, eventually as the producer, he functioned legitimately as a coördinator of the elements of a production. He functioned also as an adjudicator of disagreements between writer and director, sometimes with acute intelligence, sometimes with crafty diplomacy, sometimes with unabashed despotism. He represented the authority of the "front office"—generic term for the vice-presidents in charge of produc-

tion, distribution, and finance — and used his delegated powers, according to the measure of his own personality and talent, for the sake of agreement, economy, and efficient progress in the job of film making by eliminating the sources of delays. Working with writers, he might do no more than insist on ten pages a day, or he might aid in the solution of a story problem which was holding the writer up. With the picture in production, he might do no more than keep temperaments from boiling over, or he might contribute valuable suggestions and criticism.

Today, the position of the producer has grown in importance until it outranks that of either writer or director. The producer, to begin with, either represents or actually is the "front office." He has authority. But more important is the fact that, working in a creative medium, he has come to be creative himself; or, more often, creative men are appointed to the job—men who can make up for the deficiencies of less-talented writers and less-talented directors by spreading their own talent over both. They may themselves have once been writers or directors who have escaped from the restrictions and controls imposed upon *them* to the greater freedom and authority of this semi-executive function. Or they may be executives with an aspiration to have a hand in the pleasurable work for which they have in the past been paying.

Fortunately, some of them have the necessary talent. Frequently, they are men who can work collaboratively with writers and directors, releasing the capacities of both to a fuller expression, winning the respect and gratitude of both without diminishing the function of either. Other producers, however, are writers by proxy and directors by indirection; that is to say, they engage writers to do their writing and directors to do their directing. They assume a portion of the creative function of both the writer and the director and so remove by one more step the creative process from the actual place and moment at which film is being made. Such producers, supplying the talent their writers and directors lack, can make good pictures with mediocre men under them. The curious thing is that they usually employ the most highly paid writers and ablest directors—which should, it might be supposed, be a guarantee of superlative pictures. That it is not is due to the simple human fact that first-rate writers and directors cannot work best when such creativeness as they may have is subtracted from to be exercised by another, perhaps equally talented, man.

It is clear, I believe, that for three men to work as one is all but impossible.

For them to agree intellectually is possible. For them to work together harmoniously is possible. For them to make a better picture than any one of them working alone could make is conceivable. But for them to achieve the unity and singleness of aim, of feeling, and of style that a work of art should possess, each functioning creatively, is hardly achievable. One of the three will dominate the other two, will usurp the creative function of one or both of the others. Two of the trio will execute the intentions of the third.

Upon brief reflection, it will be realized that this is what takes place and that, therefore, there are three kinds of pictures made in Hollywood—

those which are distinctly "directors' pictures," those which have been "produced," and those which owe their distinction to the work of the writer. In each category, one man has given his stamp to the work. If he is the director, he has used a writer to his own ends, imposed his feeling or his wit upon the writers as definitely as he transmits it through the players. His producer, if he has one, is a coördinator of production who may contribute "suggestions" which are accepted and transmuted by the director into something of his own. Such directors have occasionally been successful enough to demand and secure the title of producer-director, which means that by combining two functions within himself he is able to dominate the third.

A few writers have likewise absorbed the producer function in order to protect the execution of their work and, sometimes, to preserve the collaboration between themselves and their directors. This is true notably of the team of Charles Brackett and Billy Wilder. Both began as writers, Brackett becoming a producer as well, Wilder a director. Within the past several years a number of writers have become directors, among them George Seaton, Joseph Mankiewicz, Delmer Daves, John Larkin, and Oliver Garrett. One man, Preston Sturges, originally a writer, has absorbed all three functions and is solely responsible for the realization in film of the screen plays he writes. Writers who produce their own scripts include Brackett, already mentioned, Nunnally Johnson, Dudley Nichols, Lamar Trotti, Seton I. Miller, Sidney Buchman, and Karl Tunberg.

Occasionally a producer has turned to directing. Another, David Selznick, has written the script for one of his most ambitious productions and seriously contemplates directing. His productions are all stamped more clearly with his own character than with that of either his directors or his writers.

The significance of these strains and contests is this: creativeness cannot be diffused. A good film grows from an idea, and the idea unifies it and gives it its integrity. Ideas can be developed and nurtured by the interplay of minds, but they are the initial offspring of individuals. Whether the idea originates with the man who sponsors the production or the man who writes the script or the man who directs the picture, the possessor of the idea will be likely to want control of its expression and will enforce it if he can. If he is the producer, he can do so by authority. If he is the writer, he can fight for his credits and build his power out of his success. Or, as many writers have done, he can learn the director's function and perform it. The director who wishes to survive will learn to write and will absorb the producer's function. The producer who wishes literally to produce a film and not merely dictate its production will learn to write and to direct.

The end product of the varied activities of all the people who work on a picture is a finished film projected in a theater. It is inevitable that there should be a concretion of all the creative steps into a single executant. In the end, there will be only one man, the producer-writer-director. It will not matter what he was in the beginning, as long as, at the end, he has a story to tell and knows the language of film.

Eisenstein and the Historical Film

BEN MADDOW

BEN MADDOW is a sergeant in the Army Air Force. He wrote the script for *The Bridge* and *Silent War*.

IVAN THE TERRIBLE is so huge a film, so studied and so cumbersome, that it is easy for us to scoff at it. We are ill at ease before it: we are foreigners to its purpose. It neither fills our needs nor, as do some great new films, does it break through with unique energy to create its own special importance. But its failure with us is less interesting than the closer reasons for this failure, the study of its strange, awkward, and impressive disappointments.

It is clearly a film impossible except in a time of intense Russian patriotism. Though conceived before 1941, it was written and produced during the war. Its darkness and rhetoric should be projected against the war as it appears, not to ourselves, but to the Russians. It was a desperate war against a cruel and ingenious invasion, whose defeat cost the early death of millions, and every Russian audience for this film will have its quota of those who wear the stumps of the battle-maimed, the tattoo of a Nazi labor camp, or the unnatural scars of the tortured.

We should think of this audience when we read Eisenstein's intention: that "this image [of Ivan the Dread] fearful and entrancing, attractive and terrible, utterly tragic in the inward struggle with self, waged by Ivan concurrently with his struggle against the enemies of his country, will become comprehensible to the man of our own day." Thus it was Eisenstein's plan to present Ivan neither as the Monster nor as the Gentle, but as the protagonist of mammoth forces which were creating around Moscow as a center, and out of many narrow, grotesque, and medieval states—a Russian unity.

There are two choices open to the artist who wishes to recreate such gigantic blocks of history: selection, or compression. We ignore, here, the ingenious solutions of such films as *The Sign of the Cross,* in which Elissa Landi is pursued by Fredric March but caught by a historic lion, and in which is recorded not only the persecution of the early Christians but also the historic milk bath containing Miss Colbert; and we omit, too, the special solution in *Marie Antoinette,* which is prefaced by the customary disclaimer: "Any resemblance to real persons or real events is purely coincidental."

Any serious treatment of the era of *Ivan* might, however, have chosen a month, or a week, or even a single climactic afternoon, whose light would be meant to shine backward and forward into history; such is the choice of most first-rate historical films. But in *Ivan* Eisenstein has undertaken a far more daring alternative: he wished to crowd the events of a whole reign, the changes of a whole epoch, into a three-part film. We must think of Part I in the light of this choice.

It has the character of an enormous—and static—prelude. It is like the first scenes of an Elizabethan historical tragedy, in which the characters move only, at first, in their set speeches. Unluckily, these speeches are in Russian;

so we lose most of their special quality. The whole episode of the riot at Ivan's wedding, and his treatment of the people's leader, Grigori Skuratov, falls flat unless we know also that the bells had been cut from the church towers of Moscow, and that this dreadful event was attributed to sorcery and to the ill omens of Ivan's ascension to the throne. To quote directly from Eisenstein's scenario:

> This is the first meeting of Ivan and the people face to face....
>
> He goes toward the excited giant, Grigori.
>
> Ivan: "Sorcery, you say? The bells fell?"
>
> He extends his arm: "Any head that believes in sorcery is itself"—he taps his finger on Grigori's forehead,—"an empty bell."
>
> Laughter among the crowd.
>
> Ivan: "And sometimes the head itself can fall?"
>
> There's laughter everywhere. Grigori is dumbfounded.
>
> Ivan says tenderly, "In order to fall,—it would have to be cut." He draws his finger across Grigori's neck. His eyes sparkle, Grigori feels a sudden chill come over his flesh.
>
> A flash of the future "Terrible" passes in the look of the young Ivan....

But we have lost more than these subtleties: the central drama of the film, the gloomy conflict between the boyars and the rising tsar, is almost unknown to us. We should not be so uncomfortable with the slow, almost subterranean pace of *Ivan* if the hero were Washington, and the subject the unification of an America out of quarreling States. As Eisenstein himself remarks, we know the England of the sixteenth century, of Elizabeth, Mary of Scots, Drake, and Shakespeare; we know, by reputation at least, Spain of the Inquisition and France of the St. Bartholomew Massacre; but we come to this film without recognizing the terrible grandeur of the same period in Russia.

To compress all of this epoch into the narrow hours of film time was Eisenstein's novel and difficult plan. But in the very act of compression the chief characters and events are crowded together; and though they seem to gain in gloomy stature, they lose in breadth and in detail. The touching minutiae of human behavior are sacrificed to the bigness of epic conception. Here, in this choice, is the source of Ivan's values, and the source of its failures as well.

For it is hard to remember *Ivan* as a movie. Sometimes it unrolls like a brocaded tapestry, stiff with metallic thread and embossed with jewels more real, at times, than their wearers. Or it resembles a vast mural by a master who has learned both from Michelangelo and from Orozco: for the long shots in the film seem reproductions of whole sections of this tortuous mural, and close-ups are leafed over as if in a great book of details. Or again, in retrospect, the entire length of the film seems compressed by Eisenstein's mind into an enormous ikon, formalized, tragic, and encrusted with gold.

This resemblance may perhaps be unconscious, for Eisenstein has always been fascinated by the physical details of religion. There is a robed priest even on board the battleship *Potemkin; Ten Days That Shook the World* includes a detailed symbolic history of religion; in *Old and New* a central sequence is the prayer and procession for rain, at whose culmination the cloud in the sky becomes the head of the fertile bull; and symbols of this sort abound in the material for his unmade *Que Viva Mexico!* and recur, of course, in *Alex-*

ander Nevsky. He fondles these details of ritual and prolongs them with such an excess of love that he seems at times to have become a religious artist—whose religion, however, is pagan and totemic.

But if this development is unconscious, it is the only element that is: for Eisenstein is supremely the conscious artist. Like Picasso, his technical control is so great and his intelligence so broad that each of his films is in a different, novel, and fully mastered style. But, as with Picasso, these experiments outrage us at first; and it seems difficult, sometimes, to see how they will improve with age. They break open, not new roads, but whole new or forgotten areas; and, as with *Ivan*, they face the risk of pomposity and inertia.

It is not easy, after experiencing the real brilliance and gravity of this film, to recover, nevertheless, out of a kind of stunned dissatisfaction the essentials of its failure with us. We see, first, that the excitement of physical movement is almost absent from Ivan; Eisenstein has apparently sacrificed it to obtain epic weight and epic compression. Nor do we feel the dramatic rush and flow of events on the screen, but rather a great heavy waiting, watching, and speaking. And in order to render his central characters in immense square perspective he has chosen to neglect the continuous spiral of dramatic movement.

There is opposition within *Ivan*, but it is static: the relationship of character to character changes little, or changes mechanically. And this affects the depiction of character—gives rise often to ridiculous and inexpressive gestures, to poses back to back, to crowds that are such undifferentiated masses that they remind you of opera: "Peasants, etc., crowd into scene." This is *Nevsky* all over again, but even further in that ponderous, stiff-kneed direction. This is deliberately unlearning all the magnificent work of the best film artists of every country; of the Ukrainian Dovzhenko, genius of detail and movement; and of the Eisenstein who created the unforgettable sailor, hung with grenades and cartridges, who tiptoes through the empty Winter Palace while the assault prepares outdoors, in *Ten Days That Shook the World*.

The fact is that because characters in a historical film have real names does not guarantee that they are real people. Tsar, prince, metropolitan must be created with as much care and dramatic sense as the unknown child, wife, and father of Elia Kazan's *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn*. If history in films is about real events but not real people, it is false—even if the dates are correct and the ruff on the ambassador is accurate. It is easy to make this mistake. What is left from a dead century may very well be just such dead and indestructible elements: drawings and documents, stony towers and courtyards, fine and curious armor. But to create a film out of such elements gives it the mothproof smell of a museum closet.

Rudolph Maté, cameraman of the Dreyer film *The Passion of Joan of Arc*—which is in many ways the height and supreme achievement of the silent cinema,—relates that, when a choice was made of the helmets to be used by the English soldiers at Joan's trial, the design chosen was a flat helmet which looked most like those used in World War I, and therefore most ordinary. Every set and costume in this intense film was thus purified and rendered

simple so as to bring into marvelous focus that most expressive of all the elements of cinema, the play of change upon the human face.

But the subtle values of this great and classic movie are rare in *Ivan*. Isolated sequences: the extraordinary coronation with its anointment with gold coins, the necromantic ritual during Ivan's illness; and isolated use of detail: Staritzkaya covering the poisoned cup with a black fold of her clothes, or the huge eye of a painted image beside Kurbsky during his indecision, give evidence once more of Eisenstein's genius. But there is much, besides, of cold, precise juxtaposition, where the elements fail to add up, fail to rebound and react upon one another, fail to create the sweat and exhilaration of high tragedy.

Instead we have the siege of Kazan. Here is neither the ponderosity of battle nor its hideous personal details. Here papier-mâché walls are blown up with firecrackers, as if upon the stage of an opera. Here three captive Tartars are transfixed with arrows, and droop in the image of St. Sebastian instead of dying as real men die, in real agony and shock. Instead we have scenes like Ivan, full of gloomy and grandiloquent monologues, at the open coffin of his poisoned wife, where the tragedy of Ivan as tsar overwhelms and obscures the sharper tragedy of Ivan as man. And then there are almost insane details like Anastasia smiling suddenly in her coffin.

Such a detail (although justified by legend) is of course meant symbolically, and it is true that to compress history, as Eisenstein planned to do, every incident and character must cast behind it the shadow of huge, little-known events; thus a detail can be symbolic of a movement, a year, a war, or a century. But such a symbol must be made real to be believed. So if a man represents a tsar, and a tsar the unification of Russia, we will not believe this symbol unless we return again to the man, with clothes that have been worn, a throne that has been used, a bed that has been warmed, even by a royal rump.

In *Ten Days* Eisenstein puts a pile of jumbled typewriters at the door of the Military Subcommittee of the revolt; and he depicts an intellectual who leads an assault, with celluloid cuffs that fall around his hands at critical moments. Details like these appear to go contrary to the heroic events in which they appear, but actually they are deeply consistent, and they are believed without question because they have the twist of truth. But contradictory details of this kind have been eliminated from *Ivan*.

It is Eisenstein's contention, in a recent essay, that "our cinema is not altogether without parents and without pedigree, without a past, without the traditions and rich cultural heritage of past epochs." This is good, and true, and nowhere more than here in Hollywood is it important to go deeper than our own generation of movies, for the sources of style and drama. But it is equally mistaken to forget the potentialities of that machine, the camera, which gives the cinema its unique breadth and freedom.

It is supremely the untiring eye of the camera that can grasp and hold details, that can fill even the corners of the frame with the abracadabra of reality; an overturned chair, or the texture of weathered ironwork; an indifferent

dog, the opening of a door that is irrelevant, or a face, close for a moment, that is not part of the central action beyond. All such details have been ruthlessly stripped from *Ivan*. It is the camera, too, that can magnify the tiny motion of an eyelid till it becomes the highest moment of climax. But this close intensity of human behavior, too, has been ignored in *Ivan*.

Finally, it is the movie camera alone that can follow and hold—and, by editing, sustain, heighten, and contradict into drama—all the tumult of human events, all their violent concurrence in the three-dimensional space of the screen; but this freedom, too, Eisenstein has put aside in order to freeze and monumentalize an era. It is with terrible logic that Eisenstein has eliminated these three basic functions of the camera. It is a stylistic road along which he has gone further and further in his last films, away from true cinema, and toward bas-relief and mural.

The result in *Ivan* is a film quite pure in style, hideous in its magnificence, and superhuman in its characters. For Eisenstein's plan was successful. These characters, stiff, hollow-eyed, and harsh, do create a deep central impression within the film; and even after several weeks one can still feel the presence of Ivan, the presence of the boyarina, these two dark protagonists of a drama which is too easily forgotten. Thus *Ivan* is a great film, in motive and in plan; but it is not a good one.

The fact is plain once more, that art during a war suffers as the human body suffers. It is put to uses not its own, and its full health is less important than its mere survival. Rich and profound work takes an artist's full attention, conscious and unconscious; it takes time to swing the great apparatus of his will and his intelligence; he can have neither, fully, when an enemy is tear-at this native land with Mark VI's and Messerschmitts. In such a time he can generate anger and eloquence and a weighty splendor: these are in *Ivan,* and a few immense personages, and certain overpowering sequences; but little of plain and moving humanity.

Gaunt necessity of war may be the mother of invention, but deeper science and the deepest art—and new films by Sergei Eisenstein which will recombine magnificence of conception with human movement and the intensity of human detail—must wait to be born to the fullness of the coming peace.

Ivan the Terrible (Part One); Central Film Studios, Alma-Ata, U.S.S.R.; 1945. Director-writer: Sergei Eisenstein.

The Sign of the Cross; DeMille-Para; 1932. Director: Cecil B. DeMille. Novel by Wilson Barrett. Screen play: Waldemar Young and Sidney Buchman.

Potemkin; Goskino, Moscow; 1925. Director-writer: Sergei Eisenstein.

Ten Days That Shook the World; Sovkino, Moscow; 1927–1928. Director-writers: Sergei Eisenstein, Grigori Alexandrov.

Old and New; Sovkino, Moscow; 1927–1928. Director-writers: Sergei Eisenstein, Grigori Alexandrov.

Que Viva Mexico!; independently produced; left unfinished, 1931. Director-writers: Sergei Eisenstein, Grigori Alexandrov.

Alexander Nevsky; Mosfilm, Moscow; 1938. Directors: Sergei Eisenstein and D. I. Vasiliev. Writers: Sergei Eisenstein and Piotr Pavlenko.

A Tree Grows in Brooklyn; Tw; 1945. Director: Elia Kazan. Novel by Betty Smith. Screen play: Tess Slesinger and Frank Davis.

The Passion of Joan of Arc; Société Générale des Films, Paris; 1928. Director: Carl-Théodore Dreyer. Writers: Carl Théodore Dreyer and Joseph Deteil .

Chopin's New Audience

LAWRENCE MORTON

LAWRENCE MORTON is music editor of Rob Wagner's *Script*, Los Angeles correspondent for *Modern Music*, composer, orchestrator, and chairman of the Musicians Congress.

A Song To Remember is perhaps the first film in which great classical music has been used as a thoroughly integrated element of a screen story. Musicians reflect upon this new development with deep appreciation, for it is an acknowledgment that music has real meaning not only for themselves but also for the public which frequently seems to be insensitive if not downright hostile to the arts. Pianists particularly are conscious – and perhaps a little envious–that through this film José Iturbi has played the music of Chopin for an audience probably as numerous as the combined audiences of such famous Chopin interpreters as Liszt, De Pachmann, and Paderewski. This is an interesting speculation, but quite fruitless, for one does not catch an appreciation for music, like the measles, merely by being exposed to it. If *A Song To Remember* is to be credited with having made any real contribution in the distribution of the world's cultural goods, the evidence will not be found by counting the noses of those who bought tickets to see it, but rather by inquiring into what has happened to those who, perhaps for the first time, heard some of Chopin's music.

To many thousands of them the music has been a thrilling new discovery. It has sent them to record shops, music stores, public libraries, and bookstores in order to hear more of it and learn more about its composer. A telephone poll of ten record shops revealed that there has been a run on the special Victor two-disk set of Iturbi's performance of pieces featured in the film. One shop sold its allotment of 40 sets in two hours of a Saturday morning. Another, in Beverly Hills, sold 160 sets altogether, or 320 records–a normal two-year supply of Chopin. A West Los Angeles shop reported as many requests for Chopin as there had been for the Andrews Sisters' "Rum and Coca-Cola." Practically every Chopin record in stock has been cleared from local shelves, including those by some of yesteryear's virtuosi whose royalty accounts have been inactive for many seasons. Actual sales figures, however, are only relatively significant, since manufacturing shortages have limited the available supply of all records. Not one of the ten shops was able to obtain from local distributors as many records as could have been sold.

Listening to recordings is a pleasant and passive procedure; playing the music yourself is a job of heroic proportions. Yet the sales of sheet music soared, indicating that comparative amateurs had been inspired to wrestle with Chopin's complex pianism. Here, too, was a story of great popular demand and inadequate supply due to the paper shortage. A few simplified editions of favorite pieces were available, the simplification consisting of transposition to easy keys and the elimination of technical difficulties–which,

incidentally, reduced Chopin to the stature of, say, Gurlitt. But these editions constituted a very small part of the total sales, and many of them were returned or exchanged because "they didn't sound like Iturbi."

At the downtown branch of the Los Angeles Public Library there has been no Chopin on the shelves for months, and at high tide the unfilled reservations were three times normal. In the music department, which is combined with the art department, the demand for Chopin was exceeded only by the demand for small-house plans. Of the nine branch libraries where inquiries were made, only Hollywood and Beverly Hills have any sizable stocks of music. Here the circulation was extraordinarily large; and even a few other branches called upon the central library for additional material.

In all the libraries, regardless of size, location, or character of the clientele, biographies of Chopin and Sand were eagerly sought after, and again the supply was insufficient. Librarians described public interest in such terms as *phenomenal, tremendous, unprecedented.* Even Sand's novels became popular, but principally in what might be called the sophisticated neighborhoods. It was in these same neighborhoods that clients were eager to learn the "true facts" about Sand and Chopin, and many librarians reported much resentment on the part of readers that the characters had been "falsified" in the film.

Reports from ten scattered bookstores ran approximately parallel to the library reports except with respect to the Sand novels, which seem to be not generally procurable, if not altogether out of print. While the sale of books is always greatly stimulated by the films, it reflects mostly the public interest in fiction. Consequently the Chopin-Sand literature did not even approach the popularity of, say, *A Tree Grows in Brooklyn.* Yet it is interesting to note that booksellers—those who regard themselves more as purveyors of fine literature than as mere merchants—were more gratified by the sale of a dozen Sand or Chopin biographies than of a hundred ephemeral novels.

One will be cynical or optimistic about the effects of *A Song To Remember* according to his social and artistic attitudes. The cynic will point out that Chopin was sold to the public in much the same manner as toothpaste. He notes that it was Iturbi—the current glamor boy of concert pianists—who was selected to play the music for both the film and the recordings, even though most musicians regard the Iturbi interpretations as "vulgularly affected." The cynic notes, too, that the interest in Chopin was a temporary fad, that some of the records have already found their way into the used record shops, that they have been supplanted in public favor by "Clair de Lune" or Melchior's song album from *The Thrill of a Romance.* He will point out that the libraries had no reserve lists on histories of Poland, biographies of Liszt, or the poetry of De Musset; that the whole question of the place of the artist in society (the theme of the picture) was ignored except by the few serious critics who write for progressive journals. In short, he will measure the impact of the film upon public consciousness in terms of the dance-band versions of the Chopin music and the large sale of mass-produced photographs and busts of the composer.

In the face of this cynicism, it will be well to remember that this film excited a public interest in music that was not excited by the filmed biographies of Liszt, Verdi, Beethoven, and Handel, all of which have been exhibited in the Los Angeles area throughout the past half-dozen years. And if it was publicity and an elaborate and expensive film production that made the Chopin music popular, it is at least comforting to know that quality is as marketable as mediocrity. Publicity can serve no better cause than what we fondly call "culture."

It is not likely that Iturbi's interpretations of the music, even if they are as "vulgularly affected" as critics say, will shorten the life span of those masterpieces. They are already consecrated in the classical repertoire, revered for their permanent and unchangeable values. Ours does not seem to be an age for "purity" in musical interpretation; even Toscanini and Schnabel have not been able to make it the universal rule. Iturbi's defections, though not to be condoned, should not be regarded as catastrophic. The elevation of public taste is a long and difficult process; it is necessary to acquaint the public with great music before it will care — let alone know — whether an interpretation is pure or affected.

If the cynic despairs, the optimist (one might say, the realist) has plenty of grounds for encouragement. He rejoices in the impeccably good taste with which Miklos Rozsa compiled and orchestrated the background music. He is cheered that the Chopin "fad" was sustained for a longer time than usual with serious music popularized by films, and that it is, for that matter, still continuing. He welcomes to the ranks of music lovers all the "bobby soxers" who now listen to the A-flat "Polonaise" as enthusiastically as they listen to "Laura." The thousands who read biographies of Chopin and Sand may have been shocked by the film's falsification of fact and character, but they cannot have been brought even that close to Chopin without having learned something about the greatness of human spirit which he revealed through his music. Even the purchasers of those cheap photographs and plaster busts will be constantly reminded of his greatness.

A Song to Remember; Col; Feb., 1944. Director: Charles Vidor. Original screen story: Ernest Marischka. Screen play: Sidney Buchman.

Men in Battle: A Review of Three Current Pictures

DUDLEY NICHOLS

DUDLEY NICHOLS is a former president of the Screen Writers Guild, co-editor of *Twenty Best Film Plays* and *Best Film Plays, 1943–44.* He is the author of many film plays, including *Air Force* and *This Land Is Mine.*

NO MAN who died before 1939 knew war at its worst—the total war, the war of all against all, as millions of non-combatant Americans know it in World War II from the motion-picture camera. If we will cut behind world politics and the unflagging efforts of men of good will to create a world conscience against war and to arm that conscience with a mechanism of force to put down future wars at their inception—if we will cut behind the parleys and conferences and the great hopeful words, then we may see that perhaps the greatest instrument to create that new conscience in man is the motion picture. Hollywood can do its part no less than San Francisco and Washington. Already the film—documentary, fiction, and that middle method which re-creates personal history—has been prodigiously effective for both war and peace. A hundred and twenty million people in America know whatever they know of the reality of war only through films. Millions of soldiers have learned their jobs through films. They have learned why they fight from such admirable films as those made by Frank Capra as a patriotic service. Millions of citizens read the news of war in their newspapers, but they experience the shambles of war in films: the real news lies in human beings and in the faces of human beings. As a friend of mine said during the Depression, the real news is not in the newspapers but in the faces of people reading the newspapers.

To come round to the point of this piece, the real news of this war is in the faces of young men, actors and combat veterans, who appear in William Wellman's film, Ernie Pyle's *Story of G. I. Joe,* as directed by Mr. Wellman, as written by Leopold Atlas, Guy Endore, and Philip Stevenson, as photographed by Russ Metty, as acted by Burgess Meredith and others, as produced by Lester Cowan.

The temptation of a film writer is to cite the scenarists in first place, but no one who knows film can doubt that the laurels of this achievement belong to Mr. Wellman. The writers have served their great venture with high skill, integrity, and passion, and yet there are added things in this film which simply cannot be written, which only a great director can bring to the camera. To catch them, the writer must also direct his script. It is one of the misfortunes of screen writing that writers can imagine such qualities, they can set down indications and signposts to excite the director's imagination, they can dream and hope and gnash their teeth, but unless they are finally behind the camera with a developed instinct for that part of film making which has little to do with writing and yet is all-important, they must look to the director to

realize such things in the difficult medium of film.

The signal quality of Wellman's film is its extreme sensitivity and deep tenderness for manly human beings. It is fiction, and yet it has a half-documentary quality. In fact, I believe that certain shots from John Huston's magnificent *San Pietro* are incorporated into the film; at least, they are similar to some of Huston's attack footage.

It is amazing that before war's end so true and terrible a picture of war should be made for public distribution. It is also encouraging. The film respects civilians as well as soldiers. It considers that they may be trusted with as much truth as it is possible to put down. One may compare the film most fairly with *All Quiet on the Western Front,* which was not written until after World War I and not filmed, I believe, until twelve years after that war. At war's end we were still seeing such romantic stuff as *Journey's End,* and even *What Price Glory* said only that soldiers were also tough fellows not always fighting for mere glory but for more immediate things. In restrospect we can see that *All Quiet* had the failing of a minor work in its conclusion: it gave false hopes by intimating that the causes of war were more or less illusionary, that since a field in France could not get angry at a meadow or mountain in Germany and start warring, why shouldn't young men be as sensible as the fields and meadows and geography?

It was a sentimental conclusion which was blind to the conflicting ideas of man. We know that war is evil. The only question is, What is a greater evil?

Good and evil are equal basic thrusts in the nature of man. Moral development is a process of selection and rejection within our own natures and a discipline to make the process instinctive. *All Quiet* had done better not to touch upon this inquiry into the nature of war unless it had the will to explore to the bitter end and discover the primitive savagery and greed in man's unconscious thinking. For that there is no answer except the good in man. Yet that single answer can be hopeful, unless one is by nature a pessimist.

Mr. Wellman's film does not have this weakness. It does not attempt to formulate any answer in words. The answer is in Ernie Pyle's face. One must think of Burgess Meredith as Pyle because his impersonation is so consummate. It matters not whether Pyle looked like himself or like Meredith; the feeling that Meredith projects into the whole film, illuminating and lifting scenes into high significance, is the feeling that Pyle projected through all his writing. Out of all this ugliness, it seemed to say, out of all this horror, this filth and misery and butchery and waste, comes *this*—this wonderful thing, man!

It is remarkable that the presence of Pyle in the film should lift the work to a much higher level than it would reach without him. Taken alone, the film might be an almost monotonous story of a company of foot soldiers. As a film writer I should have approached the task of incorporating Pyle with misgivings, sensing the war correspondent as an obstacle to form. I hope I should have made the great discovery, as these writers did; but I am not sure I would have. In a curious way Pyle's presence does for the film what Henry James felt was imperative to do for the creation of a novel. James never put the reader in direct contact with his sub-

jects. He believed it was impossible to do so, because his subject really was not what happened but what someone felt about what happened; and this could be directly known only through an intermediate intelligence. Many novelists employ the method. You find it in Conrad. Scott Fitzgerald employed it in *The Last Tycoon,* his unfinished book which has not been sufficiently praised. It is all very fine for the novel; but in the theater, whether stage or screen, we are inevitably in direct contact. Mr. Wellman's film faces this fact, and yet there is a deeper, more sensitive level of feeling and awareness running through the film, never uttered but always beautifully said in terms of pure film, which is what Pyle feels about what is happening. It gives a Jamesian depth to the film which could hardly have been achieved without his presence.

One instantly speculates whether this method might be incorporated more frequently into film making. Very likely it requires the renowned personality already known to the public. Now that I think of it, I have seen the same method employed on the stage—an adaptation of Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina* in which Katchalov, that great actor of the Moscow Art Theater, appeared as Tolstoy himself, walking in and out of the play and even amongst the audience and reflecting a profounder light upon the unfolding drama. That was more of a stunt than the use of Pyle in this present film. The beauty of this device, if one may so term it without derogation, is that it is used as pure film, what I would call screen-film, and not the kind of stage-film we frequently are given because it is easier to write words than to imagine pure film. Pyle seldom speaks, and when he does speak words there is no eloquence. But in his silences, in his contained compassion, his profound sense of tragedy and waste, there is a continual eloquence that soars beyond the scope of words. This is the trade secret of the true film maker. It is the instrument we must all learn—I might say relearn—to use more surely and skillfully; get off the ground with the engine of words and then gain new altitudes with the jet propulsion of pure cinema.

I have said that the salient quality of the film is a rough manly sensitivity and tenderness for human beings. The film has sentimental flaws. Yet when it rises to its great moments it has the courage to disdain false grooved feeling and stand forth clean and strong, beyond the concealments of the word. When the stiff dead body of the young captain is brought into bivouac on a pack mule and laid on the earth, the silence of the men who still live and the somber presence of Pyle are more eloquent and moving than anything that can be written about war and death. Even the few words uttered in these scenes are wrong. Had the writers envisaged what Wellman could do with Russ Metty's camera, one feels that even those sparse words would not have been written. Words are a terrible temptation when we have not got our hands actually in film. Paper and film are like body and soul: essential for life, and yet in conflict. The writer's desk must be moved nearer the camera and the cutting room.

Another fine quality of this film is its feeling of freedom and large spaces. The camera has been taken into the field. There are roads and dust, wind and mountains, which take away the

smell of sun arcs and grease paint even when we are sandwiched into a set. The invention of the process shot has not been an unmitigated blessing; for all its convenience, cleverness, and cost cutting, something has been lost. In the greatness of the silent era the camera learned to rove afield, and it brought to the screen a new feeling, a freshness and largeness—that background of Nature which man's drama needs, and which no sound-stage can duplicate.

By way of contrast this brings us to *Counterattack,* in which the entire film has virtually been shot within the confines of one enclosed set.

This excellent film, written by John Howard Lawson from a play by Janet and Philip Stevenson (the latter also shared credit for *G. I. Joe*) which in turn derived from a Russian wartime play, has been superbly directed by Zoltan Korda and richly photographed by James Wong Howe. Paul Muni and Marguerite Chapman play the leads, though no actor in the film is unworthy of high praise, so high is the level of acting. It is strange that Mr. Korda, having previously made a film, *Sahara,* which was a perfect example of the camera escaping from the studio to outdoors, should imprison himself virtually in one set. The drama in this case calls for it, for the film is still very much a stage play in structure, and the reversal of problems may have attracted this resourceful director. A notable film is the result. It could have been still more challenging to Mr. Lawson and Mr. Korda to have confined themselves absolutely to the caved-in cellar in which the Russian soldier and the girl have been trapped along with their half-dozen German prisoners. So ingenious are Howe's camera and Korda's direction that one feels they could have solved the more difficult problem and emerged with an even more powerful film, though that is perhaps an impertinent conjecture.

It is always a problem in this type of film—this reviewer has faced it on several occasions over the years—whether to leave for a moment the restricted, almost stifling, area to which your characters have by fate been confined. There is an irresistible temptation to cut away to parallel action to heighten suspense. No doubt something is gained, but something is also lost—a peculiar sense of identification which makes the audience itself feel confined,—and that itself is suspense. For if we can slip out of the imprisoned place on the magic wings of the camera we tend to become more detached spectators, even though, like gods, we know all that is happening and is going to happen to our protagonists.

In this film the cutting away carries on the parallel action of a fabulous underwater bridge on which Russian tanks will cross to surprise and rout the Germans, and of course rescue our hero. The film makers have fashioned some wonderful underwater shots, for which we are grateful, but we must still insist that wonderful shots alone do not make a film. The strong parts of the film take place within the blocked-off cellar, where the length of a burning candle becomes a matter of unbearable tension, the raising of the head of a German supposed to be dead makes our hair stand on end, or the closing eyelids of the dead-tired Russian make us want to scream out a warning. Except for two short stretches where the stage writer in Mr. Lawson ran away with the film writer, there is no letdown

in tension. Except for these venial moments there is a sure sense of film throughout, which is the highest praise one can bestow on this *tour de force;* although it is weighted with talk from beginning to end, Mr. Korda has kept it vividly cinematic.

If the story in spite of its sincere heroism seems somewhat Boy Scoutish to the American mind, put it down to the youthfulness of the Russia from which it derives. This reviewer does not doubt it was accepted for truth in Russia. For all one knows it may be based on actual events. It is possible, if improbable. Having visited Russia only three years before the outbreak of war, I came away with one strong impression: that, while Czarist Russia was a very old country, the U.S.S.R. is the youngest nation in the world. Once, when I was a young newspaperman, an old-timer told me, "You young fellows have the advantage over us because you don't know what can't be done—so sometimes you go ahead and do it." It is perhaps the only distinction between youth and age. The Russians I met seemed to have no idea of what could not be done. Nothing was impossible to their imaginations. Indeed, like Kulkov in this film, they had cut the word impossible out of their dictionaries. I felt rather cheated at first by this discovery, for that attitude toward the impossible had always been the American prerogative, or so I had believed; and I returned to my homeland feeling that America had grown old or at any rate mature, and that fact was curiously comforting. For, knowing what could not be done, we would not try to do it. If as a nation we had lost the simplicity and quixotic enthusiasm of youth, we had gained something else. We would not dream of building underwater bridges and sending tanks scooting across them miraculously without even a single marker to indicate where safety invisibly lay, but we would build a bridge of ships across the oceans or of planes across the skies. Youth is wonderful, but there is comfort, and also pride, in maturity. Or is that only middle age speaking to console itself?

In any case, the middle age of America (for a century today is a century of ancient centuries) brings us such an angry problem as is studied in *A Bell for Adano,* written for the screen by Lamar Trotti and Norman Reilly Raine, directed by Henry King, and produced by Mr. Trotti and Louis D. Lighton for Twentieth-Century Fox. Here is a great problem which a maturing Republic, backed by world military power, must face—the conflict between the humane equalitarian and the military authoritarian points of view. Both exist, both are valid. One feels that Major Joppolo, impersonated by John Hodiak, is not a very good soldier, but he is a very good man; and very likely an excellent man for the post to which he is assigned in the A.M.G.—to run affairs in this small, war-wracked, Fascist-indoctrinated town. Confronted with the dilemma of letting people hunger and thirst or violating the combat general's sweeping order, Joppolo countermands the order. He gets the bell for the town, and gets fired. That is the story.

It sounds very simple, but within its outlines it poses a problem that will affect our national destiny throughout the world. It points the wisdom of our forefathers in subordinating military authority to civilian authority and fixing it forever in the Constitution. A

civilian, our President, is commander-in-chief of all our armed forces—a safeguarding fact which has aroused much uninformed hostility in recent years. America's founders perceived that the nation of freedom and equality of rights of which they dreamed could only be perpetuated if the humane equalitarian mind should dominate government. Political power is a dangerous thing to put into the hands of the authoritarian mind. Yet the military mind is by nature authoritarian; it is essential that it be so in the field of combat. It is essential to the security of the nation against aggression. It is true that the great military mind may contain both points of view, both qualities, but men of that genius are too rare in a nation's history. We are extraordinarily fortunate in the United States, for instance, to have two such men as General Eisenhower and General Marshall. We must thank national luck and the richness of American character. We have also had Presidents Washington and Grant, though the administration of the latter was not too happy—his real service to his nation was in the field. It is possible to have a military figure captain the ship of state, but the practice has its perils, as the builders of our Constitution foresaw. The fields of war are not fertile soil for the growth of those qualities of mind which are required to guide a liberal nation at peace. Leadership in waging war is a terrible responsibility. It must hazard the issue of life and death, even of national life and death, on the instant judgment of whatever individual is invested with the highest authority. It is authoritarian of necessity, as our civil government must be democratic if our nation as we know it is to survive. The Patton mind, however superb in the hell of combat, has no place in political or civil authority; not if we are to hope that peace, not war, can be the natural state of man. This is not ingratitude. Such minds must always be the sword-in-the-sheath of an enduring Republic.

It would be pleasant to report that the film illuminates all this through the one small instance of Major Joppolo's conflict, as did John Hersey's book. It does not. The script as heard from the screen (too much *heard,* perhaps) appears to be a faithful film translation of the story. It is wonderfully photographed by Joseph La Shelle. It has a fine score by Alfred Newman. Yet this reviewer must report that his imagination and his feeling were not engaged. One senses an unconscious attitude in the film that alien folk are odd and funny people and therefore not deserving the quiet respect one owes to human beings. For this spectator, at least, the film lacks that one quality which shines out of Mr. Wellman's film—tenderness, sympathy, and respect for the human being. Only in tenderness and understanding can real humor be touched. To attempt humor without such feeling for human characters is to remove them from the region of tears and laughter in which they live, and present caricatures. Nevertheless the very subject matter of the film shows a brave effort to enlarge the too-cramped scope of what is deemed proper material for motion pictures, and for this we are grateful.

Radio Plays as Literature

WILLIAM MATTHEWS

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FOR FIFTY YEARS and more after Gutenberg, the penmen of the scriptoria were gloomy with foreboding: was it not certain that the new printing presses would debauch the public taste, would not authors go whoring after painted Jezebels? The fears were misplaced, for a time at least. But they were not wholly absurd, for in any new medium of mass communication—and printing was the first of them—there lies a terrifying danger as well as a rich hope.

Radio is the newest and greatest of these media, and although fifty years are not yet up, its danger is certainly still with us—and the hope has certainly not yet been extinguished.

My concern here is with one facet of this hope, a very exciting one, the alliance of the radio play with literature shown by the printing of numerous radio plays in the last two or three years. The greatest days of the theater were those when it was the medium of the poet and wit; it went to the bad in the eighteenth century when it went over to the actor, and when the actor was joined by the stage designer, musician, and producer, it slid into the pit of a Victorian hades, since when only a few heads have peered over the verge, one of them waggling a red beard. But here, on the radio, the writer has come into his own again, having only the actor to stand between him and his audience (the word is once again etymologically exact), whenever his mercantile Maecenas permits—"Throw out the Lifebuoy, Jergens is coming to save!" When, therefore, these playwrights consider their plays of sufficient merit to justify publication in the literary medium of print, it is very proper to become excited, and just as proper to examine their literary claims. The aspiration to literature and the sovereignty of the author are the greatest hopes of the radio play, for even if they are not realized in any particular one, they are still the way to salvation from the dreary triviality of the modern theater. This is not to deny that a spectacle may achieve high artistry; but a spectacle and a play are not the same. By the same token, a radio play may be good entertainment when supported by the arts of the actor, the musician, and the sound-effects man, but it is likely to be less a good play as it leans more heavily on them. A play, I swear, is not a good play unless it reads as a good play.

So here are one man's rather discursive opinions on the literary values of the radio plays he has read.[1] The opin-

[1] Norman Corwin, *Thirteen by Corwin* (Holt, 1942), *More by Corwin* (Holt, 1944), and *On a Note of Triumph* (Simon and Schuster, 1945); Arch Oboler, *Fourteen Radio Plays* (Random House, 1940); *Free World Theatre: Nineteen New Radio Plays,* edited by Arch Oboler and Stephen Longstreet (Random House, 1944); Stephen Vincent Benét, *We Stand United and Other Radio Scripts* (Farrar and Rinehart, 1945); Archibald MacLeish, *The Fall of the City* (Farrar and Rinehart, 1937) and *Air Raid* (Harcourt, Brace, 1941, fourth printing); Bertolt Brecht, *The Trial of Lucullus* (1943).

ions are honest, the standards keyed to a middle level of literature and as tough as those I would apply at that level to any long-established form of art, and therefore, I hope, helpful.

Here are some of the things I was curious about before I began reading the plays, and some of the ideas I wanted to check. What is the effect of a rigid half-hour limit on a play? Especially, does it limit the development of a big topic, or lead to padding of a small one? Would a collection of short plays have the same rather monotonous effect as most collections of short stories? A short form is usually tight and tense, and repeated tenseness is wearying. Would the writers try to hit an imagined highest common denominator of intellect and taste in the millions of their unknown, unseen, and unfelt audiences,[2] or would they go their own sweet ways? Would they seize the opportunity, afforded by the fact that they work only through sounds, to wriggle out of the python-hold that realism has on modern drama? Have they escaped from the familiar colloquial language which has withered our novels and "legitimate" plays into a rattling locust-bean? Have they sharpened the art of characterization by dialogue, or do they rely on the voice qualities of the actors as stage writers are prone to rely on the creative ability, the verifiable existence, and the not unobvious physical differences of, say, Alfred Lunt, Jimmy Savo, and June Hazard?

There were many other curiosities, but, above all, I was eager to find out whether Corwin and the rest had anything new to say worth reading, and the feeling for words to say it well. As a preliminary, I had better say here that, much as I agree with them, antifascist, prodemocratic, pro-Common Man pronouncements do not necessarily constitute good literature. As the piledriver needs a myriad blows to ram the pile home, so the bandwagon is necessary to social justice. But it is the first lonely voices who are really interesting—for courage and independence are prime requirements of good literature in such matters.

I open with Norman Corwin and Arch Oboler, because they are, for all practical purposes, radio men first and last. As I propose to treat them in the manner of criticism, not of review, it would be best, if you do not already know their work, to read the plays first, lest I prejudice you.

To Norman Corwin is due the sincerest praise and gratitude for his aspirations and for much of his actual achievement. He has fought the good fight, artistically, politically, and socially, with all his might—and that is no mean might. He has hardly ever written down to the supposed inferior intellects and tastes of commoner men; he has fired his slingshots against Goliath—Crossley, the advertising bureaus, the frou-frou of cliché, Franco, Hearst, and Hitler; his own example, his work with Columbia Workshop and elsewhere, and his welcome and encouragement for other writers with talent and with the right convictions have kept the lamp bright for more. And his own work is interesting as literature and has shown a sound development.

But I cannot subscribe to the widespread opinion that Corwin is a literary

[2] Studio audiences strike me as a dangerously inappropriate institution, and I am dubious about fan phone calls and telegrams, and Crossley ratings.

genius. He has an alert, ranging, fertile mind, and restless energy. But it is a mind that usually finds its place in the first of the bandwagons. He has endless ideas and excitements, but he rushes on breathlessly from one to the next without adequately digging into any one of them. He is, as it were, a frontier spirit. After prolonged reading of him—some of the plays I read two and three times—I felt as though I had been in an exciting storm. I was glad to find he shared most of my own political and social views, but I could not remember any ideas or any information that were not already pretty familiar. In imagination and word, he aspires to the condition of poetry[3] but rarely achieves it. He is too imitative, too much under the influence of Whitman's fustian rhetoric, too conventional in his perceptions of sensuous beauty (I except his feeling for sounds and time), too blunt in his feeling for words, too prone to the obvious in rhetoric, too inclined to the shouting note of triumph.

His first volume, containing plays written from 1939 to 1941, is marked by youthfulness. The plays are extremely varied and are tentative in form and technique, especially in the mixing of verse and prose; the use of the narrator for description, commentary, and pacing the plot; the feeling out of a variety of modes—fantasy, pathos, tragedy, satire, burlesque, panorama, narrative. He manifests facility and ingenuity always, but is prone to be what I call, for lack of a better word, undergraduateish—the word is not entirely fair to undergraduates.

Thus, Corwin realized the wonderful scope that radio, free from the inhibitions of stage props, auditorium, and solid, palpable actors, gives to fantasy. With visual realities absent, the radio writer can lead his audience by the ear anywhere he pleases; he can commune with atom or star, he can soar into the empyrean or plunge below the earth's crust without hindrance or absurdity; he can have actresses as beautiful as Helen though they be as ugly as sin itself; he can summon spirits from the vasty deep. He is a Prospero with a brave new world. But when Corwin here takes up fantasy, he is usually frightened to take it up seriously; he goes so far, then gets flippant, and finally giggles or becomes pooksy or quaint or cute; from endless examples, I cite the Slickest Sirens of the Seven Seas in *Old Salt;* most of *The Plot to Overthrow Christmas,* especially Lucrezia Borgia's plan to vamp Santa and Nero's proposal to swing hymns; the egregious Roman, Deus X. Machina, in *Soliloquy to Balance the Budget;* the cosmic personifications in *The Odyssey of Runyon Jones* who become comic by being humanly querulous, and the harpy who is a harp. Corwin is entitled to his fun, and I would have enjoyed it more had it not been for my feeling that he was burking his own aspirations by being smarty and so missing the great chance to realize some of the potentialities of grandeur and beauty offered to radio by fantasy. Why always be like Walt Disney when you may be like Shelley or Gustav Holst?[4]

In his satire and burlesque—a healthy

[3] By poetry, I do not mean verse and rhyme, but a peculiar heightening of intellect or senses that finds expression in words used with a rich sense of their denotations and connotations, and which naturally tends to verse.

[4] What's wrong with Walt? Very little, except that now and then a man should speak as a man, manly.

thumbing of the nose at radio clichés, sponsors, Crossley, boosters, advertising agents, and the like—he tends to slide into the easy laugh and the satire that scratches the surface and does little but amuse. So with *Radio Primer,* which is good clean fun but lacks the wit to back up its imitations of Ogden Nash and Lewis Carroll, and *My Client Curley* and his dancing caterpillar which calls up so much idiocy all over the world and so much tediousness in Mr. Corwin.

In language, the plays are again experimental, varying from everyday colloquialism to metaphysical conceit. He tries out his poetic wings, and takes flights on winds borrowed from, among others, Walt Whitman, Ogden Nash, John Donne, and — I suppose — Mr. Stewart's *Storm*?[5] In *Soliloquy to Balance the Budget* he plays with Donne-like complexities, and in *Seems Radio Is Here to Stay* he develops the huge conceit of God at the control board of the great radio cosmos. He has a love for Marlowesque roll calls of fine-sounding names. In short, Corwin here manifests a keen appreciation of poetry, but too little poetry of his own.

In characterization, he relies too much on the different voice qualities of the actors and upon their skills, and shows little awareness of the subtle differences of personal speech.

Most of these defects—and I could go on *ad nauseam,* if I have not done so already—are those of an innovator. They are irritating, sometimes maddening, but they are blemishes on a book which is mostly lively and stimulating, and has much solid achievement: the controlled indignation of *They Fly through the Air with the Greatest of Ease,* a good tragic conception marred for me by the softening of the tragedy when Corwin panders to his sense of justice by shooting down the Italian (?) bomber which had massacred the innocents of Spain (?); the tight drama of the first part of *Appointment;* the ingenuity and ranging imagination of *Soliloquy to Balance the Budget* and *Seems Radio Is Here to Stay;* and the simple pathos of *Ann Rutledge* (despite the pathetic reverence of the narrator's close). And, more generally, the breaking loose from the formula plays of normal radio, the basic serious concern with radio as a medium, the feeling out of its and his potentialities in form, technique, and language, and the fresh youthfulness of the book.

In the shadow of war, the plays in *More by Corwin,* written between 1941 and 1943, come to a less kaleidoscopic but more serious maturity. There is far less fantasy, less comedy, less flippancy. He abandons the poetic imitations and experiments, and concentrates on Whitmanesque blank verse and rhetoric and rhythmic prose, retaining his beloved lists of full-sounding proper names and grandeurs over the map. Within this restricted medium, he contrives a good variety of rhythm and word use. Beginning with *We Hold These Truths* and *Cromer* (a product of his visit to England to report the lives of living people), he develops a deeper and more genuine sense of character, and far more subtlety in characterizing dialogue. And to his seriousness of purpose about radio he joins a more consistent seriousness about men and America. He has a deep faith in

[5] But perhaps Corwin anticipated *Storm:* the novel and *Daybreak* came in the same year (1941).

the nobility of man's mind—a faith which evokes many of his best passages and sequences. He passionately believes in democracy and the need for world unity, and as passionately hates Nazis abroad and at home. He sincerely voices the century of the common man and the achievement and destiny of America. He has nothing new to say on these matters—maybe nothing new is called for, now,—but he speaks sincerely and confidently. Hence the dignity and sincerity of *We Hold These Truths* and *The Long Name None Could Spell,* the joy in conventional beauty of *Psalm for a Dark Year,* and the honest straight-speaking on political issues, just stopping short of naming domestic names, of *To the Young.* This wider and deeper seriousness is also evident in *Samson,* a fine conception which, although it lacks the grandeur of Milton's version, is probably Corwin's best effort as a poet.

In lighter vein, *Mary and Mary* is a pleasant lighthearted burlesque in an up-to-date version of the story of the girl who balled up the five wishes granted by a breakfast-food fairy; *Good Heavens* is a popular essay on astronomy and astronomers, with one of Corwin's rare examples of playing down to an audience in the puerile horseplay between the ordinary man and Corwin as Prosecutor; *Man with a Platform* is a relapse into flippancy in its guying of educational rackets and radio; *Murder in Studio One* is a clever parody of the clichés of whodunit drama; and *Double Concerto* a painful attempt at humor in the musical rivalries of a Spaniard and a Hungarian. I grimly reread the author's comment that the actors made it a "mild panic": that is almost exactly, but differently, what he made it for me.

On a Note of Triumph, the recently published V-E Day program, is good Corwin in his war style; swift, dignified, sensible, humane, international, liberal, as outspoken as the occasion allowed, and a trifle prosaic.

The third and fourth questions asked by the private in this play are, "What have we learned?" Those are questions which Corwin is always asking himself about his own work. I am anxious to see his next volume to find out whether the answers are the same as those I might suggest.

It is a pity that the issue of Oboler's new book, *The Oboler Omnibus,* was postponed by the publishers until late in July, much too late for me to read for this critique. I should have liked to see how he has come along. As it is, I can only say that, on the basis of *Fourteen Radio Plays,* he slays me.

Oboler loves to jerk the facile tear; and what tears I have I save for better occasions. *This Lonely Heart* (1930), an hour-long play, is the story of Nadejda von Meck's love for Tschaikowsky. It is Oboler's dance of the sugar-plum fairy, a melting trifle. I can think of no better comment than child Milochka's line in the play, "Why do you keep your eyes shut, Mother?" *Mr. Ginsburg* is the story of the fight-promoting schlemiel who, having sacrificed the painter-boy Dave to his ambition to have a champion (Dave is struck blind), makes the supreme sacrifice to the Catholic Church of all his money just as he is about to achieve his ambition with a Negro boy. Let this expiate! It is out of *Golden Boy* by golden syrup. *Mr. Whiskers* is a melodramatic trifle about the sweet little German and Armenian immigrants of New York whose Eden is invaded by a reefer-

selling American named Joe. People who treat immigrants as sweet little children of nature are only a shade less pestilential than those who treat them as parasites; for God's sake, why not treat them as ordinary human beings?[6] *Baby* is a good idea (the thoughts of a young bride facing childbirth) damned by schmaltz and happy dramatic accident (the boss comes through with a raise). *Mr. Pip* is a rather better sentimental comedy about the charmingly pert little rhyming fisher boy, and the world-worried man who is released from his pain when Pip elects him his grandpop; if you like to be charmed, here you can surrender without too much loss of self-respect.

In his social plays, Oboler is melodramatic, sets up strawmen, and is often impertinent. So with *Bathysphere,* a Wells-Verne fantasy in which The Leader (Hitler?) and Eric, an ineffective revolutionary, discuss politics and policy at the bottom of the sea. Apart from the artistic horrors of the piece,[7] there is nothing more impertinent on God's green earth than talking about deadly realities in terms of fantasy and claptrap melodrama. *The Man to Hate* is better, the story of a small boy in "Middle Europe" (courage, my friend, *ca.* 1939 there was little danger in naming a name) made wretched by Nazi teachings in school and the dragging away of his father, who was sheltering a Jew. But why attach a national tragedy to the facile sentiment that plays about the miseries of a small boy? *Profits Unlimited* is a limp scion of *R.U.R.,* the story of Dale Corday's visit to the island where her ancestors had bred a race of helots to a desire to do nothing but immolate themselves in factory work for the greater profit of the Cordays. Marooned on the island by the servant Williams ("In the borning of me a piece of hate got in my heart, and it's kept growing through the years of me"), she marches factoryward bravely ("So much to tell them. So much to tell them").

Apart from such triflings with realities, Mr. Oboler's pen is here a broken reed for social amelioration. He is a cynic, if one is to judge from *The Day the Sun Exploded*—which it did on the day the nations of the world got together to declare brotherhood and peace. Perhaps he was only being smart or pessimistic, for in *The Laughing Man* a man of the future is incredulous and tickled almost to death by our military and property habits; but as the laughing takes place 20,000 years hence, I am not so certain that this is really an exception to the cynicism of *The Day.*

Of the other plays in the volume, *This Precious Freedom* is the best, a Job in blue denim. It concerns Jim Stewart, crack machinist, who at fifty-five is sacked as too old, is forsaken by children and wife, and finds content on a farm in "freedom" and the reflection that the things he lost were false; it is empty of anything but a pessimistic philosophy, but it is reasonably clear-cut. *Catwife,* one of more than a hun-

[6] Note for writers: People are not naïve and charming just because they have difficulty with English: they only seem so. When you speak as a child you are apt to appear as a child.

[7] For instance, why do two educated people, speaking presumably German, have to speak in stilted unnatural English? In the same way, the Italian delegate in *The Day the Sun Exploded* speaks stage Italian-English while every other delegate speaks ordinary English: "This is a great-a day... this is-a day when-a the strong-a heart she sing" etc.

dred Oboler horror plays, is fine if it is intended to be funny, but I'm afraid it isn't—Oboler always slices his boloney thick. *Mirage,* says the author, "was I believe, the first two-person philosophical drama ever to be broadcast . . . which was, from the audience response, tremendously moving" — Oboler is never shy of beating his own drum. It is a fantasy in which Carl, who is tied to the stock ticker, and Linda, the social butterfly, see Death writing their names and death dates in the sea sand, and so learn "what everyone wants to know," and are happy because they can now plan their lives and escape from the trivialities that had so far hemmed them in. "We'll climb to those singing stars of yours," sings Carl. "Oh, my dearest! Why did it take Death to teach us how to live?" trills Linda. The piece is as philosophical as flatulence.

Most of Oboler's volume is just plain bad, not even slick. It is shallow, secondhand, tear-jerking, pompous, and in social matters impertinent or fantastic. I only hope the *Omnibus* is better.

Free World Theatre contains nineteen plays written in 1943 by members of the Hollywood Writers Mobilization as a contribution to the war effort. Edited by Oboler and Longstreet, there are five plays by Oboler and one each by Howard Estabrook, Talbot Jennings, Stephen Longstreet, Raphaelson, Pearl Buck, Allan Scott, Bernard Schoenfeld, Fanya Lawrence, William Kozlenko, Irving Ravetch, and various teams of authors. The plays are based on suggestions and statements made by Henry Wallace, Toscanini, Ivy Litvinov, Roosevelt, Hitler, Camacho, Van Loon, Ickes, Thomas Mann, and others. The plays are propagandist for democracy, freedom, the Four Freedoms, and the century of the common man, and against fascism, complacency, black markets, and civilian indifference and lack of imagination. The point of view of the writers is liberal and generous, giving fair representation to minority groups and allies, and embracing the need for world unity and the rights of man.

The writing is at a high level of craftsmanship, mostly quietly realistic and commonsensical, dealing with familiar situations and familiar desires and hopes and weaknesses with pleasant persuasiveness. For my taste, there are too many flashbacks, and too much of Joe, the supposedly average American soldier, who speaks like this: "Okay, but I tell yah they'll think we've gone nuts," and who has too much of an idyllic simplicity to jibe with what I know of workingmen. But, in general, the writers skirt the stereotypes, and are quietly sincere and convincing.

The book opens up, of course, the whole subject of propaganda and literature and the individual handling of it by the various writers, so I beg to be excused from an adequate discussion of it until I have space enough to say my say.

Stephen Vincent Benét brought his considerable talents to the radio in 1941 at the call of national need. *We Stand United* is a collection of radio scripts, written from 1941 until shortly before his death, which are frankly and proudly propagandist. They are propagandist for those things which Benét had been writing about most of his poetic life: his faith in democracy, deep-rooted in the American past, his sense of the spaciousness and beauty of

the American soil and the benison of freedom achieved by the efforts of dead Americans, great and small, and to be preserved by the unremitting zeal of the common people. Here he adds instruction and warning, fighting with words against the fascist idea abroad and at home, speaking out for the cause in which he believed, speaking out unashamed and with conviction, and not entirely blinking the darker aspects of American life. Linking past and present in panorama, he writes like a gentleman, voicing his patriotism without brassiness and his hatreds without shrillness or melodrama. The plays are well below his best work—the familiar note of the beauty of the American scene is rare here,—but the language rises above the commonplace and often stirs the blood with fine rhetoric. Of the individual plays, I like best *A Time to Reap* with its tight rhetoric from the freedom-loving American farmers called up from far-flung states, from different racial groups, and from the past to testify to their struggles and triumphs in farming; *They Burned the Books,* with its drive, indignation, and irony; *The Undefended Border,* quiet in realism and with good characterization; and *A Child Is Born,* a miracle play on the birth of Christ, a Second Shepherd's play with a neat political allegory, written with a scholarly reminiscence and great good taste. *Your Army* has, for my money, too much of the Whitman touch; it falls into the dangers of patriotic propaganda, the "never a boast or brag" bragging; and it succumbs to the temptation, which is always present in radio, to outshout the sound effects and get triumphantly drunk with loud noises.

The volume shows a keen awareness of the potentialities of radio writing: the ease of employing a crowded stage, the feasibility of swift transitions in time and place, the ability to summon people from the past swiftly and convincingly, the value of the announcer as a modern Greek chorus and general factotum for commentary and narrative. Benét's death was an even greater loss to radio than to poetry; had he lived through to the peace, he might have realized many of radio's potentialities in drama.

Archibald MacLeish has published two plays he wrote for radio.[8] Together with Bertolt Brecht's *Lucullus,* they are easily the best radio plays I have read, so far above any of the others that they are the plays to study for anyone who wants to learn what the radio play might be in the hands of great writers, and what it is in the hands of good ones.

Mr. MacLeish probably would not want me to make the comparison of his *Air Raid* (October, 1938) with Corwin's *They Fly through the Air* (February, 1939), both on the theme of the fascist aid raids on the civilians of Spain (?). Corwin's play is a good one, one of his best; but MacLeish's is better. The only reason I make the comparison, for I find the comparison of good things odorous, is that it points to the obvious lesson of this paper—that the realization of radio's greatest potentialities in drama lies with poetry and poets. Mr. MacLeish here writes frankly and without hesitancy as a poet, writing poetic drama. The play is rich in image, deep and varied emo-

[8] In addition to *American Story,* which came my way too late for discussion in the present article.

tion, diverse rhythms suited to the different moods and characters. A tragedy of man's inhumanity to himself, it uses with effective irony the beauty of the senses, of the earth, and of man's own creations. The language is the language of the poet, not the language of the street (except where needed for mood), using words as the fine tools of intellect, sense, and imagination, and bold in the employment of poetic device. In pacing and climax it avoids all sense of rush, and works on the hearer and reader with subtle and calculated emphasis, ending on an anticlimax which is far stronger than the climax usually preferred.

Air Raid is good, but *The Fall of the City* is better. For one thing, its antifascist allegory and its date (April, 1937) represent a much bolder political commentary than any of the other antifascist plays—even if the moral of the Conqueror's being a suit of armor without an inhabitant, that the people invent their own oppressors, is hardly convincing (Hermann Goering always seemed solid enough to me). For another, it is good poetry, good imagination, and fine drama in a lineage which harks back to Isaiah and the Greek tragedies. From the moment the play opens, with the charged foreboding of the city, waiting for the woman who has risen from the grave three times, to the last speech of the Announcer, speaking as a Greek chorus for MacLeish, the play is tense and exciting, yet free from strain, the timing and pacing excellent. The characters, including the fifth columnists, are created in flesh and spirit, not in straw; the pacifists, for example, speak honestly and with rhetoric so magnificent that, in other times than these and out of MacLeish's context, it would convince most of us. And Mr. MacLeish does not disturb their integrity with comment; his irony is a dramatic irony, coming from the sweep of dramatic events, not from static comment, until the Announcer's final commentary. The writing has the richness of suggestion and emotion, the sure choice of evocative details of scene and sound, the compression and tightness that only a genuine poet can achieve. He gets his effects with words, not with the lazy makeshifts of imitated sounds which defeat the imagination and palter with "realism." Apart from the beat of the drum, the shrilling of the flute, and the roaring and whispering of the crowd, it is the spoken word chiefly that MacLeish uses to get effects that are as spacious and moving as any that are dreamed of by users of noisemaking instruments and machines.

Bertolt Brecht's radio play, *The Trial of Lucullus,* has been translated from the German by H. R. Hays. I should have read the original, since poetry does not translate well, but I have not been able to get a copy; the translation, although it often limps, appears to be generally competent.

The play is a modern morality play, in which a soul is tried for his deeds on earth, his good deeds and his bad both testifying. Lucullus, the general who conquered the East, overthrew seven kings, and filled Rome with riches, is buried and comes to trial in the realm of shadows. The jury which is to decide whether he shall enter the Elysian Fields consists of five former Romans: a farmer, a teacher, a fishwife, a baker, a courtesan. Lucullus calls on Alexander to testify to his merits; but Alexander is unknown. The frieze on which

his triumphal procession is graven is then called:

> A captured king, sad of countenance,
> A strange-eyed queen with provocative thighs,
> A man with a cherry tree, consuming a cherry,
> A golden god, very fat, borne by two slaves,
> A girl with a tablet, upon it the names of fifty-three cities,
> A cook with a fish.

These all testify; the king to his conquest while his people were going about their peaceful life; the queen to her capture while bathing:

> For weapon I had a sponge,
> For shelter, clear water.

The girl testifies to the capture of fifty-three cities, of which "only name and smoke remain"; the legionary, to his death in Lucullus's glory; the cook, to his artistry in food and his sparing of the treasures and books of Athens; the tree-bearer, to his importing the cherry tree from Asia. When the judge has summed up:

> The most splendid of your witnesses, shadow,
> Were not the most favorable to you. But yet
> In the end some small ones were found. Your bloody hands
> Proved not entirely empty,

the jury retires to consider the verdict.

The play is attractive, universal in theme like all morality plays, and with a modern application. The verse is quiet, dignified, and extremely simple (the translator sometimes cannot manage the simplicity), and contrives a peculiar mood of quiet suspension and drama. Like MacLeish's two plays, and unlike so many of the prose plays, it deals in short space with a big theme, yet has no sense of hurry. The unstuffed compression that is the peculiar merit of poetry is most of the secret.

I had intended to finish, in true academic style, with a set of conclusions and morals. But I have said most of what I wanted to say; you can draw your own conclusions and morals. There are a few points, however, which I have not dealt with in the running commentary and in which you may be interested, and one matter that I want to reinforce.

The half-hour convention (or limitation) does not usually lead to padding, although sometimes a little subject has been eked out with variations; but usually it does lead to the restriction of subject. The majority of the plays are dramatized short stories or incidents, complete in themselves, neatly wrapped-up little parcels with no projection. It might be useful for writers to read the Greek plays again, to learn the advantages of taking a familiar story that needs no exposition but can be treated as the departure point. As for my curiosity about the effect of a volume of short plays, I must confess that they do grow a trifle tedious (this may be a private quirk, however). Certain techniques are being run to death, especially the device of fading back on a *segue* to prior scenes. Generally, the playwrights do not play down to their audiences; but they are overfond of a somewhat artificial democratic approach that finds expression in "typical" Americans who speak a "working class" language and have an idyllic simple love for baseball or dalliance by the old millstream.[9] In language,

[9] The Siamese twinship of realism and sentimentality is one of the more touching manifestations of the literature of the last fifty or sixty years.

despite the insistent claims of "realism" and "democracy," there is a widespread and probably conscious tendency to get up from the street to the balcony of rhetoric or even the spires of poetry.

Finally, out of my reading of these plays the conclusion comes, obvious and unforced, that the realization of the best potentialities of radio drama depends upon the welcome that radio will give to dramatic poets and the willingness of such poets to make use of this, their natural medium in these days.

Poetry is preëminently the popular medium of literary expression; it exists, often greatly, among primitive people who know no literary prose. In the days before printing, when the people listened to literature for amusement and instruction, they listened to the poet; there was hardly such a creature as a popular prose writer in those days, and it was the writers of epics, romances, verse chronicles, verse fabliaux and fables, miracle and morality plays, ballads, who claimed their ears. Until recently, poetry has been written at all levels; some for an instructed critical audience eager for new techniques, new ideas, new emotions; some for a general audience of average sensual men; some for the lovers of cliché and commonplace. The great bulk of the poetry that men still remember and love was written at the middle level—Chaucer, most of Shakespeare, Dryden, Pope, Burns, Wordsworth, Whitman, and so on. But as the printed word became dominant, poetry which appeals primarily through the ear has fought a losing battle on the middle ground to prose, which appeals through the eye. As a result, poetry now exists mostly at two levels only, that represented by Edgar Guest and the fillers in popular magazines, and that represented by Auden, Eliot, Pound, and the rest. The latter is difficult poetry, sometimes even obscure, a difficulty which is to be explained by historical development from romanticism, the influence of Donne, the effects of coterie, writing for reading, and sometimes just plain cussedness. On the middle level are the later MacLeish, Benét, Maxwell Anderson, Spender, the later Eliot, and even Davenport—for the middle level is a broad highway that can accommodate many different shades of talent.

By an ironical trick of circumstance the mechanics have opened the way for one of those few reactionary movements which are truly progressive. Here in the radio is a Marconi-sent opportunity for poetry to claim once more the ears of the average sensual man and to reëstablish some of the popularity and high influence it once had. Radio offers millions of pairs of ears which will listen to poetry as readily as they will to Bob Hope if it is not too obscure, as is proved by the success of MacLeish and Benét.

This, of course, does not mean any such absurdity as that all or even any large part of radio drama should be in verse, or that all verse plays should be in the vein of high seriousness. It is merely a claim that there is an ample place in radio for verse drama and that that drama is likely to realize most amply the literary potentialities offered by this medium of the ear; prose may achieve greatness, but in poetry still lies the power and the glory.

The Columbia Office of Radio Research*

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IN THE PAST two decades the radio industry has waxed to the stature of a giant. Radio reaches more people than do the movies, newspapers, books, pamphlets, or the stage, and its effects are problems of increasing importance to the sociologist, the educator, and the politician, to say nothing of networks, advertising agencies, and advertisers.

The Office of Radio Research has been working for seven years, studying a wide variety of problems, sometimes with old methods adapted from other fields of research, sometimes with new techniques developed to fit the new medium. These adaptations and innovations are too numerous to be treated here, but we shall outline a few to illustrate the methods.

THE OBJECTIVES OF RADIO RESEARCH

No one would be brash enough to undertake a study of the content or the effect of every radio broadcast. The whole picture must be formed by examining, one at a time, particular programs or particular groups of listeners, sometimes from the viewpoint of the educator, sometimes from that of the sociologist, the psychologist, the politician, or the businessman, each seeking answers to different questions. Putting these separate pieces together, we have a clearer understanding of what radio means to people, and we have a body of knowledge of great importance in the general pattern of communications research.

The Office of Radio Research has undertaken investigations from all these several viewpoints. In *Radio and the Printed Page* (1)† it views the problem from the standpoint of the educator, comparing reading and listening habits and gaining new insights in the relative power of radio and print to convey information. It has studied the Orson Welles "Invasion from Mars" broadcast from the standpoint of the psychologist, to determine how different types of persons react to a given stimulus situation (2). From a broad sociological viewpoint it has surveyed, in a not yet published study, the all-day bond-selling appeal of Kate Smith, analyzing the content (much stress on the sacrifices and sacredness of motherhood) as well as the effect upon, and the quality of the appeal to, listeners. Broadcasts are studied from the standpoint of the program sponsor and the advertising agency to discover the immediate effects on the listeners, to find out why they

* This article is a condensation of a chapter in the forthcoming book, *How to Operate Consumer and Opinion Research,* edited by Albert Blankenship and to be published by Harper & Brothers in the near future. This chapter is Publication No. A-46 of the Bureau of Applied Social Research.

† See List of References at the end of this paper.

like or dislike a program, and what they feel and what they do as a result of it.

Because the radio not only reflects the culture and customs of the society in which it develops, but also, by its impact, produces changes in that culture, research in radio enables the sociologist to understand better both the society and the dynamics of alteration in that society.

The Techniques of Radio Research

One of the most useful approaches is the survey of general listening habits, of which the simplest form is the program rating. Though the Office of Radio Research occasionally makes use of program ratings in its more quantitative studies, such as that of Hugh Beville (3), it ordinarily devotes itself to studies of a more detailed psychological kind.

Surveys of general listening habits may be made for various reasons. But, whatever the purpose, the procedure is the same: something akin to a "listening diary" must be procured from a representative sample of the population one wants to study.

Broad surveys of listening habits, however, must be supplemented by an examination of what particular programs or series of programs mean to people, and what effect they have. There are three different ways of learning this: by analysis of the program's content, by a differential analysis of the personal characteristics of the groups that listen, and by asking people directly what the program means to them. Wherever possible, all three methods should be used simultaneously.

Content analysis is usually the first step in program research. By such an analysis the investigator can determine and list most of the factors in a broadcast which are likely to affect the audience; for those who wish to study the audience response to the program he can indicate both what to look for and what *not* to look for.

The second way to find out what a program means to people is to discover what sex, age, and social groups listen to it. We already know a great deal about the psychological differences among various strata of the population, and, if the program is popular in one group rather than another, the nature of its appeal can be more readily understood. One of the major problems is to discover the causes of the listener's reactions. The program planner can do little until he knows not only what the audience like and dislike but also *why* they like or dislike it. To answer such questions the Office of Radio Research has developed a new technique which involves the adaptation of the polygraph often used in experimental psychology, and which is known as the Lazarsfeld-Stanton Program Analyzer.

The Program Analyzer is an apparatus to enable listeners to record their reactions to a radio program by pressing red ("dislike") and green ("like") buttons, or by refraining from pressing the button, which signifies indifference. The push buttons record the results graphically on a roll of tape synchronized with the radio program (4).

But this record alone will not enable anyone to improve a program. Therefore the Program Analyzer technique is nearly always combined with a *focused interview,* in which the trained investigator, using the Analyzer graph for reference, determines just what features of the program caused the indicated reactions and just what these

reactions mean in the experience of the listeners.

In estimating the appeal and effectiveness of a program the usual procedure is to interview ten or twenty groups of people (ten to fifteen in a group), carefully selected to represent the audience the program is designed to reach. They record their reactons by means of the Program Analyzer, and are then questioned by a trained interviewer, all comments being recorded by a stenotypist. These comments, analyzed in conjunction with the graph, help the investigator to determine which portions of the broadcast were effective, and which should be cut or changed.

To probe deeper, the investigator requires interviews of a more elaborate kind. Such studies usually involve two steps: (a) detailed and exploratory case studies, followed by (b) less-detailed interviews with a larger sampling, for statistical verification of the hypotheses developed from the qualitative data. This combination of qualitative and quantitative research offers great advantages, the two approaches richly supplementing each other; and it has proved so fruitful that it has become established procedure in many of the studies undertaken by the Office. Perhaps the best way to show its value is by way of a concrete example.

An Example of Program Research.— The problem was to determine the gratifications of the millions of women who listen to the serial stories broadcast throughout the day by the major networks. As a first step, 100 women from various age and socio-economic groups were interviewed intensively (12). Analysis of their reports about their listening experience and the satisfactions they derive from it indicated that there are three major types of gratification in listening to daytime serials. Some listeners enjoyed them primarily as a kind of emotional release. Burdened with their own problems, they asserted that it "made them feel better to know that other people have troubles, too." A second and more obvious form of enjoyment of the serials comes from the vicarious experiences which they allow the listener to undergo. A third gratification was entirely unanticipated by the investigator and constitutes a good illustration of the value of this kind of intensive interviewing. It developed that many women listened to serials because they provide standards of value and judgment, and help them to solve their everyday problems. They learn things from these stories which they use later in solving their own problems: "Bess Johnson shows you how to handle children. She handles all ages. Most mothers slap their children. She deprives them of something. That is better. I use what she does with my own children." Or they provide comfortable philosophy for use with one's self or others: "When Clifford's wife died in childbirth the advice Paul gave him I used for my nephew when his wife died."

In this way, by providing such "leads," the intensive interviews opened up the areas for investigation on a more quantitative basis. Later, when 2,500 listeners were interviewed (13), 41 per cent said they had been helped by daytime serials, thus giving statistical validity to a gratification which might have been overlooked altogether had the intensive interviews not been made. With the larger sample it became possible to make cross-tabulations which showed

what kind of women found the serials helpful in this way. Thus, for example, it developed that the less formal education a woman has the more help she derives from the serials. The quantitative material also made it possible to analyze the nature of this help, and it developed that listeners find these programs useful in several ways: getting along with people, helping people with their personal problems, learning how to handle themselves in particular situations, learning how to accept misfortune with a smile, and so on.

Analysis of listener reaction combined with content analysis (14) of the scripts themselves then enabled the investigator to make certain inferences about the role of such programs in our culture. He found, for example, that these so-called true-life stories do not deal with basic social or economic problems. They do not show a woman how she can improve her economic status, nor do they give her a better understanding of the current problems of our time—minority groups, etc. They tend, rather, to imbue the listeners with a fatalistic philosophy of life: This is how it is; we aren't as badly off as we might be. They help the listener to accept her fate by universalizing it—"husbands never understand their wives." Third, they encourage the listener to live life through ready-made formulas for behavior rather than helping her to develop a critical sense which will enable her to determine what is good or bad for her in a particular situation.

Effects Studies.—Another, more specialized form of radio research is that pertaining to the effectiveness of one section or element of a program. The commercial sponsor, for example, may want to determine the effectiveness of his commercial announcement, or he may want to compare the effectiveness of two or more different presentations. The program planner may want to determine the extent to which his program depends upon the popularity of any single feature in it, or he may want to compare commentators or announcers to determine which one is most acceptable to the greatest number of listeners. In all these cases the research procedure, as in most stimulus-response studies, involves the holding of all factors constant except the one under study. Thus, to determine the relative appeal of two commercials, matched groups of respondents (or sometimes the same respondents) will listen to two broadcasts which are alike in all respects except the commercial. If no extraneous factors are involved, all differences in reaction to the two will be the result of differences in the appeal of the two commercials.

1. Studies of Radio Commercials.—If, on the other hand, the sponsor does not have two or more specific commercials which he wants to compare, but wants, rather, to determine the effectiveness of a particular one, the problem is somewhat different. In the first place, he must decide whether he wants to measure the effectiveness of the commercial in terms of the number of sales of his product which it induces or is likely to induce, or whether he is concerned only with the extent to which the commercial is liked or disliked. (The relationship between liking a commercial or any other kind of persuasive appeal and being induced to act as a result of it is, incidentally, a problem which needs much further exploration. Studies done to date indicate that one may dislike a commercial in-

tensely—"spot" announcements, for example, or singing commercials—and still be influenced by them.) If the investigator is primarily interested in sales effects rather than in what elements of the commercial make it effective, a controlled check is commonly used: a section of the population is "exposed" to the appeal, and sales figures for the product in that area are checked against those in a comparable area where the population was not so exposed. An alternative to this procedure involves interviewing buyers of the product to determine how they came to buy it. Most advertisers, however, seem to operate on the theory that there is a connection between liking a commercial and buying the product which it extols; consequently, they are interested in research which will determine the degree of acceptance or rejection of the commercial announcement itself. This problem involves quite different techniques.

If the advertiser is concerned only with the interest aroused by the commercial in a given program context, the Program Analyzer technique is in order. The graph will show clearly the relative position of the commercial within the framework of reactions to the program as a whole. From the focused interview which follows he can then learn much about what was liked or disliked about the commercial and what in terms of the listeners' own experience caused the favorable or unfavorable reaction. This technique is also useful in determining the effectiveness of commercials placed at various stages of the program; e.g., is the commercial placed at the beginning, end, or middle of the program more effective? Should it follow a peak of interest in the program to capitalize the high degree of attention at that point, or would such an approach cause a "letdown" on the part of the audience which might boomerang with resentment that "something is being put over on the audience?

Another technique for studying commercial announcements has been found especially useful in testing reactions to "touchy" subjects, for example, those relative to very "personal" products, or in testing institutional advertising. This involves an intensive "depth" interview, which is made immediately after the subject has heard the commercial advertisement, and is equally useful for printed advertisements. Here the interview is customarily of an associative nature. What words or ideas are taboo? What words cause unpleasant associations which might in turn result in an unfavorable attitude toward the product or sponsor? This technique, incidentally, has suggested the interesting possibility that certain matters can be discussed in print which are not acceptable over the air and, contrariwise, that some approaches are more effective orally than in print.

By and large, however, it has been found that the best way to make people articulate about commercial announcements, a subject which often leaves them lethargic at best, is to have them compare two or more. Most people are not sufficiently interested in such matters to become very talkative about their reactions, and the necessity of making a choice between two or more often provides the necessary impetus to self-examination with respect to why they selected one or the other.

2. The Panel as a Technique for Studying Effects.—Another type of pro-

gram research problem, to which we have already alluded, involves the program series. To investigate just one of a series of educational or entertainment or dramatic programs would not be a valid test of the effectiveness of the series, for reactions to a given program may be partly predicated on remembrance of what went before and expectation of what is to come. Then, too, if the investigator is interested in changes of attitudes as a result of a program series, he will get little from merely testing one program. The technique which has been developed to solve this problem is called the "panel" (15), which, reduced to its barest essentials, involves the selection of a group of people who agree to listen to a series of broadcasts and then report their reactions to the various programs. They may agree to come to a given place in a group and participate in a group interview using the Program Analyzer, or they may agree to record their reactions to various programs on formal questionnaires (the latter is, of course, in order when a nation-wide sampling is desired). Thus, a virtually constant and identical group is made available for the examination of a series of programs, and detailed comparisons of one program with another in a series can be made. Obviously, one can also procure other information from such a group—reading habits, program preferences, movie attendance, and so on, which is helpful in evaluating variations in listener reactions.

Special Characteristics of Radio

There are at least six characteristics of radio which distinguish it from other media and which researchers in the Office have had to take into consideration when studying its effectiveness from any particular standpoint. Each of these qualities has both positive and negative aspects from the standpoint of effective communication.

Perhaps most significant of these characteristics is radio's accessibility. Nearly every person in the United States has access to a radio. There are few geographic or economic barriers to its use, once the initial investment has been made. In a sense, then, radio is more readily available than the other mass media, for each magazine, newspaper, and motion picture must be purchased separately. But in another sense radio is *less accessible* than these other media. Once one has bought a newspaper or magazine, one can keep it. It may be read at any time, and an interruption or a lack of comprehension of a passage are not serious matters, for it can always be reread. But a radio program is as ephemeral as time itself. If the telephone or doorbell rings just when John Kieran is about to answer a baseball question or just when the mystery is about to be solved, one cannot set back the needle to pick up what has been lost. Motion pictures are also ephemeral in this sense, but the circumstances under which they are seen tend to offset this factor: one is not likely to be interrupted in a theater, and if a moviegoer so desires, he can always sit through a second showing of the film.

A third characteristic of radio is in part the outgrowth of the first two. Its accessibility combined with its reliance on auditory perception enables people to listen while carrying on a variety of other activities which do not necessarily interfere with their perception. But at the same time this quality of *noninterference* leaves the radio pro-

gram liable to a low degree of attention. The listener may become so conditioned to it that he no longer hears it with an degree of acuity. This poses a problem for the investigator and necessitates a thorough probing of the seemingly factual statement, "Yes, I listened to that program," to determine the degree of concentration concealed behind it.*

A fourth characteristic of radio is that it *continues in time.* This means that a series of programs may become part of the daily or weekly habit patterns of the listeners, that *cumulative effects* can be built up over long or short periods. But it also means that it is liable to surfeit. It may be true that "if you hear a thing often enough you will come to believe it," but probably it is equally true that if you hear a thing too much you may not pay any attention to it at all after a time. Just where repetition ceases to be effective, just when saturation points are reached, is still a problem which has to be faced anew for each kind of program or message.

There are two other characteristics of radio which develop from its accessibility. A national network may reach into homes all over the country, but if it does so it must *confine its appeal to a general one.* This national quality prevents it from appealing directly to local interests and experiences. Theoretically, of course, the potential audience is great enough for a nation-wide program to be beamed at special groups such as fishermen, students, or stamp collectors and still reach a sizable number of people. But since the aim of the networks is to reach as many people as possible at a given time, their specialized appeals are confined to large groups such as farmers or housewives who are known to constitute the majority of listeners at certain times of the day. Appeals to smaller groups are left for the local stations which cannot hope to compete with the networks on their own ground. The coming of frequency modulation may bring many changes in this respect.

A Note on the Future of Radio Research

The discussion of the nature of the problems met in the field of radio research and some of the techniques developed to meet them may be sufficient to bring the reader to two conclusions which are becoming increasingly evident to the social scientists who are concerned with radio. First, there is a growing awareness of the necessity of systematizing the knowledge and experience which is accumulating in this field and a conviction that such self-conscious rigorization of procedures will be of value not only in the field of radio research alone, but also to the science of communications in general and perhaps even to other fields of social research. Secondly, as this formulation and formalization of procedures and problems goes on, the sociologist and psychologist working in radio research become increasingly humble about what they do not know.

Little, for example, is known about the maximum potential of radio from an educational and cultural standpoint. We know, to be sure, that by and

* The problem of developing techniques to gauge degree of attention to radio programs is becoming a matter of great concern to television producers, who want to know not only whether and how well a program was heard, but also whether and with what degree of attention it was seen.

large the programs that are known and promoted as "educational" reach a relatively small proportion of the radio audience, chiefly those who would make a point of acquiring the same information from another medium if it were not available to them over the air. It is known that such programs will not reach even those relatively few listeners unless organized efforts are made to "build" an audience (16). But what about the utilization of such already accepted programs as the daytime serials as a means of raising, rather than catering to, the cultural level of the average listener? The sponsor feels he would thereby lose some of his audience, but the fact remains that no one has tried to improve them and there is as yet no proof that the sponsors are right or wrong.

In the course of other studies it has become clear that nonlisteners are also an important factor in radio research. They are important both from the standpoint of a particular program (17) and from the standpoint of nonlistening in general. If we know why people do not listen to a given type of program, as well as why others do listen to it, we can plan program changes which may not only improve the level of content but at the same time increase the total number of listeners. Similarly, if an extensive survey were made of people who seldom or rarely listen to the radio at all, we could round out our picture of radio as a cultural expression and a cultural tool.

These relatively unexplored areas of radio research bring to mind another in which radio is considerably more handicapped than are other media of communication. This is the problem of exposure to which we have alluded in describing the special characteristics of radio. The motion-picture producer knows that a person who bought a ticket and went into the theater showing his film was probably exposed to it, unless he fell asleep. But the radio producer has no similar check. He cannot assume that everyone who has a radio will be exposed to his program, nor can he assume that everyone whose radio was reported tuned in to his station at the right time actually heard the program, or heard it from beginning to end. Radio, while also more handicapped than readership in this respect (the publisher at least knows that people would not continue to buy his magazine or paper if they did not read some of it), may yet learn much from the readership recognition tests extensively used. In fact, as radio research develops, its similarities to reader research become more and more apparent. Even at this comparatively early stage of its development, radio research activities have already stimulated magazine and newspaper publishers to do more research than ever before, and it is possible that in the not too distant future not only will techniques and problems be exchanged between these two fields, but funds and research institutions may be merged for the greater benefit of both.

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The Composer's Place in Radio

GAIL KUBIK

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THE REVOLUTION has come, but most of our serious contemporary composers seem not to know it. The professional world of Howard Hanson and Aaron Copland is as different from that of Horatio Parker and Edward MacDowell as is a B-29 from the "surrey with the fringe on top." Nevertheless, of the several hundred practicing serious composers in this country, not more than a dozen seem to have heard of this revolution. At least not more than that number have let themselves be affected by it, have written film scores *in addition* to symphonies, incidental radio scores *in addition* to piano sonatas, a march for the high school band *in addition* to their latest and, of course, immortal string quartets.

What do we mean, revolution? Why are we talking about film, radio, and school band scores? The answer is very simple. The ability to reach ten million listeners, not a hundred or a thousand, in one performance: there is your revolution. And a discussion of radio and the American composer is pointless without recognizing this phenomenon and the composer's relationship to it. For in radio, unlike that other great mass-audience medium, the motion picture, the composer can show off *all* his wares, all the facets of his talent. Creative music can be the whole show, as in Walter Piston's *Concertino* for piano and small orchestra, or Gian-Carlo Menotti's radio opera, *The Old Maid and the Thief*—both of which are works written especially for the microphone: Or it can function more modestly as an adjunct to the radio dramatic play (though here it is not often creative), whether it be the "soap opera," with its inane use of the organ, *molto vox humana,* or the Norman Corwin plays, with their elaborate and intelligent use of music. All kinds of talent, from the dramatic flair of Blitzstein to the cool abstractions of Sessions, have their utility.

But no matter how ideal the radio may be as a potential patron of the composer, the blunt fact is that the participation of creative American composers in radio today is negligible. The revolution, which should have accomplished revolutionary changes in their outlook, has passed most of them by. The reason is to be found in the constantly changing equation posed by the mass audience and the creative talent, the one insistent upon simplification, even standardization, and the other insistent upon the individual, the exceptional. Our serious composers, all but our informed dozen anyway, see this equation as one in which their creativity must be sacrificed or, at best, dissipated almost to the vanishing point. Moreover, many of the techniques peculiar to writing good functional or even abstract music for radio seem strange and difficult. Furthermore, this is the field of big business, advertising agencies, and promoters of all kinds and varieties, and of these denizens of

the ether waves the average "long-hair" stands in abject awe, fear, contempt—in any case, striking whatever attitude is necessary to insure his isolation in an ivory tower. What will a Vice-President-in-Charge-of-Programs know about the beauties of dissonant counterpoint? Why cannot *Mr. District Attorney* appreciate the difference between Peter Van Steeden (or his ghost writer) and Arthur Kreutz or Paul Creston—can he not see that contemporary racketeers ought to be ferreted out to the accompaniment of contemporary dissonance, not the sweet sounds of half a century ago? (But did you, Mr. American Composer, ever sweat it out at the agency handling *Mr. D.A.* in order to sell it on this point?)

This fear of their inadequacy, combined with an unwillingness to rub shoulders with the "uninitiated," are factors that keep our serious writers content to live by any means other than composing; content, at least, to play the ostrich as far as radio is concerned. If they felt that their creativity was going to be honored, that quality *could* be commercial; if they simply believed that functional radio music *could* be good music—then, no doubt, many a schoolteacher would presently be seen stalking the heads of advertising agencies rather than the college dean or local school board. Their unwillingness to master the use of the microphone would disappear overnight; their patronizing attitude toward agency executives might change to one of tolerance, even solicitude. As it is now, they shun radio because radio as a means of livelihood necessitates writing for a mass audience, which in turn appears to necessitate music with a negligible creative quotient. Consequently there is not sufficient incentive for them to overcome the fear of unknown techniques or disturbing and unfamiliar professional contacts. We shall examine later the fallacies in their reasoning; but this is, roughly, the way they *do* think. You may well ask how they can reason thus if, as we stated in the beginning, they are hardly even aware of the revolution in music. But we said not that they did not know about the mass audience, but that they had not, apparently, been affected by it. These are some of the reasons for their nonparticipation.

There are other reasons. Let us understand that the appearance of radio as a field of employment has come too late for many composers. No man of forty can be expected to leave the modest income and security of a teaching job for the vagaries of this "new deal"; no middle-aged violinist would gamble his twenty years of experience in the orchestral field on such a long shot as making a living from writing ten-second tags and bridges. But consider the other men, the young composers "of reputation" as well as the dozens of students graduated each year from our music schools and conservatories. They are no more adventurous than their elders. Their hesitancy in trying to crack radio can be attributed largely to their benighted education. Our university music schools and conservatories turn out composers who can teach and perform, and even write quite competent symphonies. Their orchestration is brilliant; their chamber music is well written and original. They know all about Bach, Beethoven, and Brahms, Stravinsky, Hindemith, Copland, and Harris, but nothing about the special skills of Adolph

Deutsch, Franz Waxman, or Bernard Herrmann, the exceptional dramatic instinct for humor and the light touch of Leigh Harline. For that matter, the important contemporary composers whose works include scores for radio and films—men like Thomson, Blitzstein, and Copland, Weill, Toch, and Eisler,—these men are studied diligently for their style, but never for the special techniques which the mass-audience media have forced them to acquire, including stylistic simplification. How many schools offer courses in radio and film music? How many composition teachers can talk from experience (or, for that matter, from theory) about cross-fades, multiple mikes, scoring behind different types of voices, echo chambers, filters, treatment of sound effects with music, and a hundred other problems posed by radio? Almost none of them; and so their young hopefuls are denied a knowledge of the very skills which will make them professional composers—men who live by composing. No wonder that by the time they are twenty they have already subscribed to the old notion that teaching or playing in orchestras are practically their only economic hopes.

Perhaps it is unfair to place sole responsibility for this situation on the good professors and planners of music-school curricula. Music departments are in business for something besides their love of sweet sounds, and if our young composers should demand instruction in how to handle radio and film problems, they would no doubt get it. Why, then, this ridiculous situation? Let us discuss two reasons. First is the confusion of form with content. The younger men, getting their education from the older generation, are trained and encouraged almost exclusively in the traditions of concert-hall music. Since the forms of the concert hall encompass practically all the great works of the art, the "immortal," "great music" idea is unconsciously fostered in a manner implying that the functional music required by radio is somehow less good, less significant, simply because it falls outside the forms used by the Great Masters. How many Prix de Rome awards, Pulitzer awards, or Guggenheim fellowships have been given exclusively for a man's radio or film scores? Faced usually with the necessity of submitting only one, two, or three works, few of our younger talents who have written music for these newer media would consider submitting it in a competition. They prefer to be judged by their concert music. A composer with a symphony and a radio dramatic score (both, in his opinion, equally good and "significant") would be considered a fool if he submitted the radio score rather than the symphony, a fool even if the symphony were inferior to the radio score. After all, a symphony is a SYMPHONY! What on earth is a radio score?

This is where the confusion of form with content shows up; and a neat little switch it is, too. Our composers forget that Virgil Thomson's music for *The River* is, in the opinion of many, better music than many of his chamber and symphonic works. Bernard Herrmann's talents are more convincingly demonstrated in his incidental score for *On a Note of Triumph* than in his cantata, "Moby Dick"—one written to support and make effective a moving radio play heard by millions, the other written as a concert work heard by a few thousands in Carnegie Hall. A

good composer, with a thorough knowledge of both radio techniques and classical forms, remains a good composer, whether he turns in an incidental score for the microphone or a new piano sonata.

A second reason why the study of functional music for radio is neglected is easy to understand. In the concert hall there is both good and bad music. But almost all incidental music aired today is bad; very bad; unoriginal, synthetic, derivative; second-, third-, fourth-, and fifth-rate; stylistically and aesthetically bad. Technically—that is, judged by its adequacy in compositional techniques—some of it is competent, a bit of it fairly professional; for the use of radio techniques, most of it is competent, a bit even brilliant. But stylistically it is just so much drivel. By the time our young composers are ready to try their wings, the very thought of radio music is accompanied by a feeling of nausea and a mad rush to turn off all sets within hearing. It is easy to see why this triumph of mediocrity over quality should be interpreted to mean that radio simply *cannot* use quality music—original, creative styles. Quality music, it would appear, *cannot* be commercial. That being so, the field of functional radio music seems to our young men necessarily closed.

There is confused thinking here too. Our young "long-hair" develops a scorn, a snobbishness toward writing for radio, which are equaled only by his envy of the money paid to Hatch or Harline. This patronizing attitude is firmly implanted in his system; his skepticism about the value of functional radio music is unshakable; and it is almost with an air of apology that one of our lucky dozen even mentions that he has done some of the *Great Plays* scores for NBC, or has just signed a contract to do the Texaco *Star Theater* music. Apologetic, anyway, about everything but the size of his check. If you asked Russell Bennett how his music for Mutual's *This Is Our Enemy* series compares in quality with his "Etudes for Orchestra," the chances are that Mr. Bennett would dismiss the radio scores as trivial, routine, and unimportant. By disparaging their own radio writing, those who have struck out to live by composing certainly have not helped their colleagues to break loose from their prejudices—prejudices that have thus far immobilized most of the serious composing profession. Let us simply conclude that functional music for radio, even when written by a recognized creative talent, carries very little prestige. That fact, added to the many other deterrents already discussed, makes it a tough job to pry open these native ivory towers.

Two implications have so far been attached to the term "radio music," or "radio functional music": one, that the composer got a fair remuneration for his work; the other, that the music functioned as a contributing art only. It was not the *whole* show. Now let us consider that other kind of music—music which by itself occupies the full attention of the microphone.

This music is functional in the sense that it simply takes up time on the air. A tiny percentage of it is written with an appreciation of the special resources of radio—the Randall Thompson radio opera, *Solomon and Balkis,* for instance; but in the main these works could be, and are, shown off in the concert hall without difficulty. All

the composers in the country are involved in this kind of radio music, for most of their scores could be done easily enough before the microphone. However, unlike radio's incidental scores, which are necessarily tailor-made and, consequently, paid for without too much bickering, and unlike the few specially-commissioned-for-radio scores, almost all these works are performed without expense to the broadcasting companies. (Yes, we're still discussing new music by living Americans—not the Standard Literature which, after all, at some time or other has at least involved the purchase or rental of a score and set of parts!)

Radio, broadcasting hundreds of thousands of hours of music each year and spending millions and millions of dollars for performers, sound engineers, and all the rest, may have spent in the last fifteen years a hundred or two hundred thousand dollars for the commissioning of new serious music. If these works totaled more than five or six hundred hours of broadcast time, we should all be surprised. Except for these works, all the other new music heard on the air represents an almost outright gift from the composers.

Prestige is the cue to what few works have been commissioned. Only the composers with big reputations are considered. Obviously the F.C.C. is going to be more impressed by radio's concern for culture and the public interest if Harris' or Piston's names—not Homer Keller's or Halsey Stevens'—are cited by witnesses next time the industry is called on the carpet. Radio's interest in new creative music is measured strictly in business terms. A ten-thousand-dollar performing fee for a new Shostakovich symphony is cheap because the network paying it will get back many times that amount in prestige, good will, and publicity. CBS never spent money more profitably than when, many years ago, it commissioned several good-sized works at five hundred dollars each from many of our best-known American composers. The publicity surrounding the performances soon established Columbia in the minds of a startled world as a twentieth-century Esterhazy. Davidson Taylor, who is largely credited with the bright idea of Columbia's turning patron, may have had trouble selling the network's executives on his brainstorm, but these gentlemen can hardly be unaware now that the commissions have been held up for years as a shining example of radio's intense and philanthropic interest in the welfare of the American composer. No network minds being credited with that sort of philanthropy.

But that was in the middle 'thirties. Today that same network not only is not commissioning any new works, but even declares that with only one-half hour a week of company time available for serious music, only a limited number of new works will even be played *in order that the program may not lose its present audience!* Not that the stations are really worried too much about audiences. As Douglas Moore recently observed, with air time so bitterly fought for these days—you know, advertising expenses figure in income tax deducting,—all sustaining programs are being relegated to the less popular hours. Eleven at night is not the best time in the world to tune in for a new piece by Mr. Moore or anyone else.

Commissioned works are out these

days—and so are performing fees. The collection of these fees is usually a matter of individual bargaining, though if a man's work is controlled by a publisher he is at least spared the gory details, dividing the profits equally with the publisher. Perhaps a couple of dozen men have enough prestige to be able to ask, and be sure of getting, some kind of fee. The members of the American Composers Alliance, several years ago, hoped that by organizing they could force at least a small tribute from the broadcasters. Unfortunately, ACA was so organized that it could not engage in business for profit. Its ability, therefore, to strengthen the bargaining power of its members in their dealings with radio has turned out to be slight indeed. Those serious composers who are members of ASCAP, though still forced often to bargain over the fee for each piece to be broadcast, do receive an indirect compensation for radio performances in that their ratings within the Society (and therefore, their annual pay checks) are enhanced by the number and importance of such performances.

The highway robbery perpetrated every day of the week upon our creative composers by the radio industry is another instance of the gross inequities which have arisen as a result of the rapid growth of the mass-audience media. Until about 1920, several hundred years had established a fairly clear economic relationship between the creative composer and his audience. If his income from composing was negligible, the composer accepted that as an inevitable result of writing for a small audience. Music was a luxury profession; it had, at least in this country, always been so. Everybody knew the rules of the game, and among these was the axiom that the composing of art music did not necessarily involve getting paid for your trouble. But just as the trade-union movement has in the last twenty years materially improved the lot of the performing musician, reflecting powerful economic forces at work, so the new relationship of the composer to his audience – now, through radio, a mass audience—*should have* brought about an increase in his pocketbook. Isn't something wrong if a network, budgeting ten or fifteen thousand dollars for an hour's symphony concert, pays a composer only fifty dollars (if he is lucky) for music which occupies a third or fourth of the broadcast time and is, presumably, the *raison d'être* for the expenditure of all the money in the first place? Organization, as in most other fields today, is the only answer so far presented which will protect the composers—the little fellows—from the radio industry. It remains to be seen whether that protection will best be secured by ASCAP, which, with all its faults in the distribution of its earnings, still has the machinery for the collection of fees, or by ACA, which, to date, has been distinguished not only by high ideals but also by a rather ill-advised approach to the realities of the situation. In any case, commissions will continue to trickle through, of course, and they will increase as public interest in contemporary music increases. One thing is certain: very few executives in radio care a tinker's damn about promoting American composers unless they see something in it for themselves. New music has to pay off. Composers could, if they got their heads together, mass enough arguments to show how

and why their stuff will pay off. But it is up to them to do the talking and bring about that increased public interest. The force of public opinion can be enlisted, too, in helping the composers to correct the absurdities of their plight in the collection of performing fees. This is one situation, however, which is not going to be corrected without the help of some good lawyers and hardheaded businessmen.

In their relationship to the mass audience the serious composers—at least the men thirty-five and under—have been the victims of some factors over which they have had little or no control. Any composer knows only too well that the interest in new music, so much talked about, is often akin to that given to the cow with two heads. The world simply wonders—and at a safe distance, too—how music got that way! Our young geniuses have inherited this nice sociable attitude toward themselves partly as a result of the experimentation and headline-hunting with which their elders beset the world during the decade following the last war. Work after work emphasized the lack of communication which then existed between composers and their audiences. For a great many concertgoers and radio fans this negative relationship still exists. And no matter what Virgil Thomson says, audiences are not just dying to hear new music. Too many people still have the sounds of George Antheil's mechanical piano or Henry Cowell's tone clusters in their ears. If they did not hear this music, they remember the glaring headlines announcing these latest sensations—and that is even worse! Furthermore, the "Appreciation Racket," with its emphasis on the "newsworthy," keeps these and other legends alive. Too many composers know from painful experience that little story in which the middle-aged lady is heard to remark, when she sees the composer rise from his seat in the audience to acknowledge the applause being given his new orchestra piece, "Why, I thought all the *good* composers were dead!" There is, on the other hand, a very substantial audience for new music, and it represents an increase of many hundred per cent over the size of the audiences which heard, for instance, the Copland-Sessions concerts more than a decade ago. Most intelligent followers of new music know that the music of 1945 "communicates." But many years must yet go by before the term "modern music" connotes to a lot of influential people anything more than noise, dissonance, and a melody "that you can't sing." In the meantime, these good folk make it tough for the William Schumans and David Diamonds.

Coupled with this suspicion of today's music is an equal suspicion of the music writers themselves. "Are they really dependable people? What about the four-in-hand ties, the long, flowing manes, the bohemian life? Composers are all impractical idealists." This romantic notion about composers is actually sustained by very few of the younger men. But this fact does very little to hasten the glacier-like movement of their concert scores from their writing desks to the microphone, and when we observe the composer attempting to crack the field of radio dramatic music, his nineteenth-century reputation is a real disadvantage. He must prove not only his professional virtues—that he can write a montage sequence of exactly fifty-three seconds,—but his per-

sonal ones as well. The worst possible *faux pas* that an aspirant to the field of functional radio music can make is to admit his education at Eastman, Juilliard, or Curtis, or his career as a teacher at a university. Such is the reputation of the "long-hairs."

In spite of all the reasons given for the American composers' lack of participation in radio; in spite of their fears of inadequacy, of limitations of creative prerogatives, of rough and disillusioning contacts with the outside world; in spite of the snobbishness towards radio music acquired by formal education and practical observation—in spite of all this, the creative American composers would jump at the chance to get into the field of functional radio music.

Now we are talking about something that can be tackled here and now. Guts and talent are the qualities needed most. We assume the talent. Podunk College's lone music major can write as creatively as most of the men heard today. Of course it is pertinent to observe that not all creative talents are necessarily dramatic talents. Some few composers would, therefore, eliminate themselves automatically. The big question, however, is not one of talent, but of determination to get on. Speaking directly to our composer friends, we should advise them that they have at least four tasks:

1. Buttonhole the radio producers, the advertising-agency heads, radio writers, sponsors, orchestra leaders; hang on for dear life, talk fast, convince one and all that you are going to plague them until a contract is signed. Eventually somebody will give in, and it need not be you.

2. Know that simple honesty requires that if you are going to accept money for your work you must turn in a score that from the standpoint of techniques peculiar to radio is thoroughly professional. Remember: fifty-three, not fifty-two or fifty-four seconds, if fifty-three are called for.

3. Remember that your music will have very little rehearsal time, that it is not your money that is paying the musicians, and again, that simple honesty requires performing difficulties to be strictly within professional limitations.

4. More than anything else, remember: write *your own* style. If your music "fits," if it is dramatic, if your orchestration is fool-proof, if it is evident that you know how to handle a "fade-in" and "fade-out," if your timings are right and you have not drowned out the leading lady by writing a fughetto for three trombones behind her voice; in other words, if you have turned in a competent job—call it routine, if you like—in every respect except the *kind* of sound that comes out of that orchestra, then the chances are excellent that your creativity will be admired and respected. You will have to defend your position. But do not buckle under the complaint that your music is "queer." If you alter it stylistically to conform to someone else's taste, you are no better than the men you are trying to replace, and your composer prerogatives will dwindle with every new score.

The American composer can change his status in radio if he wishes to. To change that status will require the simple courage required of any man who believes in his value to society to such a degree that he is willing to fight actively for the opportunity to exhibit that value. Writing music for radio is

not only a means of making a living. Nor is it simply a matter of the professional benefits derived—the chance to test audience reaction, the chance to experiment with orchestration to test the dramatic use of music. Writing for the mass audience of radio is today a social obligation which has been poorly fulfilled by composers whose story is one of professional procrastination on a large scale. Writers of the mass of synthetic Tchaikovsky-Sibelius-Ravel have, at this point, contributed so much uncreative sound to the microphone that it is stupid for the creative composers to ignore the profound effect it is having on the development of mass-audience taste. Only creative music of high quality can counteract these reactionary sounds. It had better do so, too, for every synthetic score used in radio makes the acceptance of a genuinely creative style just that much harder. It is no coincidence that Tchaikovsky and Franck and, for that matter, Shostakovich, are still the popular symphonic composers. They will continue to be so long as 99 per cent of the functional music heard on the air apes their every melodic twist, their lush harmonic style.

Let the serious composers accept these challenges. Let them use at least a part of their energies to bring creative music to the ears of this enormous new audience. Let them show that they recognize the revolution. Finally, let them realize that radio is a medium that can bring to them the psychological satisfaction and inner contentment possible when we discover that our skills have a value to society which is attested to, for a change, by people other than our friends. Let them keep writing symphonies; but let them realize, too, that while the talent peculiar to the composer is his ability to affect people's emotions, that talent is lost without an audience. An immediate use of that talent is open to our American composers. How can they fail to see that by contributing their fair share of creative sound to that infernal machine which is radio they will be doing their bit for a society which will believe, not that "all the good composers are dead," but that they are very much alive and kicking?

Author's Moral Rights: Film and Radio

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A LITERARY WORK sold for the screen or for broadcast may be hacked and hewn like so many feet of lumber. The finished product may or may not have a discernible resemblance to the manuscript, and the author is as likely as not to be justified in disowning the picture or the broadcast. Is there any way in which a writer can prevent, or at any rate control, such treatment? An answer may be found in the European legal doctrine known as "author's moral rights."

Moral rights are a bundle of privileges in relation to a work which the creator can enforce legally. In general, these privileges include the right to be identified as the author, the right to prevent distortions of the work, the right to compel changes in the work when the creator has altered his convictions, and the right to withdraw the work from publication or exhibit.[1] These privileges are not solely for the benefit of writers. Painters, sculptors, composers, and performers also enjoy them. The term "author's moral rights" has stuck, perhaps because most officially reported controversies have involved literary works. The present article is concerned only with writers' moral rights.

The doctrine of moral rights has received comparatively little attention in this country. But the rights to which the doctrine refers are of peculiar interest to writers for the screen and radio. These arts of communication are big business. This is likely to mean that the personal rights of creators will be ignored or absorbed. Writers for radio and motion pictures should understand the doctrine in order to appraise its scope and limitations. They can then determine whether the doctrine, which grew up in the nineteenth century in continental Europe, is applicable to arts of communication; and they can then decide whether to work in favor of its importation or to acquiesce in its exclusion.

Moral rights are not themselves pecuniary rights.[2] Continental students take pains to contrast the two, and insist that moral rights originate in a conception of personal rights and community interests which are beyond purchase. The practical effect is that moral rights, as distinguished from other rights in an artist's work, cannot be converted into money. With some exceptions to be discussed, a writer cannot give up these rights even for payment. But the fact remains that as a collateral effect of moral rights the value of an author's pecuniary rights is enhanced immeasurably.

The foundation of the doctrine is the belief that the bond between an artist

[1] A good brief summary may be found in an annotation by Ch. Lyon-Caen in the *Journal du Palais* (1902), p. 305.

[2] For example, the statement in the International Convention recognizes moral rights "independent of patrimonial rights." See also the opinion of Fitzpatrick, C.J., in *Morang* vs. *Le Sueur*, 45 Can. Sup. Ct. Rep. 95, 1911, p. 97.

and his work is different from that between any other craftsman and his product. It is even said that the bond is so intimate that the work may be considered an extension of the artist's personality.[3] Other scholars reject this mystical rapport between the artist and his work and suggest a more useful, if more prosaic, theory. Michaelides-Nouaros develops the thesis, supported by illustrations of the prewar laws of Germany, Russia, and Czechoslovakia, that moral rights are enforced primarily for the benefit of society. The artist benefits too, but that is incidental.[4] For its own good, society must know whose work it is, and it is entitled to have the work pure, free from dilution or contamination.

It is hard to understand how the relationship between the writer and his work can be more intimate than, say, that between a woman and her petit point, or a retired sailor and his bottled square rigger. And it seems insufficient merely to conclude that society's interest in literature exceeds the author's, without pointing out why its concern is greater in that case than in the case of other products of brain and industry. Because the foundation of the doctrine of moral rights explains its force and necessity, it may be worth while to say the obvious, which is that, if an individual's created effort contemplates communication to the public, the work ceases to be merely a matter of individual concern. Communication implies an audience, and communication embraces everything. Society, then, and not merely the author, is deeply concerned that the message—news, discussion, or even emotional abstractions—shall reach that audience without the finger prints of brokers, jobbers, and middlemen. It is this, the ingredient of communication, which, so far as moral rights are concerned, distinguishes a radio script or a screen play from embroidery and a miniature ship in a flask.

Prior to 1886, the doctrine of moral rights had been most fully developed in France, Italy, and Germany and was recognized in most European countries. With the establishment of the International Copyright Union, authors' societies in the constituent nations sought to have moral rights incorporated in the international convention.[5] In 1928, at the Rome Conference, the most important privileges of the doctrine were written into the convention,[6]

[3] "... inhérente à sa personalité même ...," *Cinquin* c. *LeCoq,* Cass. Civ. 25 juin 1902. Georges Michaelides-Nouaros, *Le Droit moral de l'auteur,* p. 68.

[4] For example, moral rights do not die with the author. Discussion of the extent to which these privileges survive the author is omitted. But see the suggestion of Vinding Cruse, *The Right of Property,* p. 310, that alterations in a work be permitted after the author's death only with the consent of a designated body of experts, such as an academy, a university, or an association of authors. Similar rules governed in prewar Rumania and Denmark.

[5] Ladas, *The International Protection of Literary and Artistic Property,* Sec. 578 et seq.

[6] Article 6 *bis* provides: (1) "Independently of the patrimonial rights of the author, and even after the assignment of the said rights, the author retains the right to claim the authorship of the work as well as the right to object to every deformation, mutilation or other modification of the said work, which may be prejudicial to his honor or to his reputation. (2) It is left to the national legislation of each of the countries of the Union to establish the conditions for the exercise of these rights. The means for safeguarding them shall be regulated by the legislation of the country where protection is claimed." At the time of the Rome Conference in 1928, forty-one countries, exclusive of colonies, were members of the Copyright Union. These included Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, France, Germany, Great Britain, Italy, Japan, Norway,

which is theoretically the law of all of the countries of the Copyright Union. Enforcement of the doctrine is, however, left to the countries themselves, and some local variations have developed.[7] These variations, important as they are for a full understanding of the doctrine, do not affect the general principles upon which it is based.

The foundation of the doctrine is the right of paternity. Who wrote the work? Is this the thing which the named author actually wrote? The writer can require that on publication the work shall be identified by naming the author.[8] What the work is, its place in its time, its general significance, remain equivocal unless the public knows who wrote it. An anonymous work is an irresponsible voice; a forged work is a fraud. Anything less than absolute certainty is a public injury. The right of paternity requires that the work be published exactly as the author wrote it.

Le droit au respect de l'integrité de l'œuvre (usually called *le droit au respect*) is the right of the author to prevent alterations.[9] Works intended to reach the public in the form in which they leave the author are most thoroughly protected. But exceptions readily suggest themselves. The common understanding of the public allows departures from the absolute. The designated purpose of the work or the expressed intention of the purchaser in buying it may give rise to a right on the part of the purchaser to modify. For example, works written for the classroom, for anthologies or compilations, and those sold to be adapted to another form, are subject to reasonable modification necessitated by the avowed purpose.

Suppose, however, that between the sale of the manuscript and its publication the author changes his mind about some of it. If the work were given to the public in its original form, it would no longer represent the author. The doctrine of moral rights allows the author to compel correction and alteration in advance of the first publication and before subsequent editions.[10] If printing has proceeded to the point where alterations would be expensive, the author may be required to defray the cost in order to enjoy his right to modify. This condition is not the purchase of a moral right, but merely illustrates the distinction between these rights and pecuniary rights. Payment of charges is merely putting the expense where it belongs. In the United States no such payment could empower the author to insist that the alterations be made if the purchaser were stubborn and wished to publish the work in the form in which he bought it.[11]

Poland, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, and almost every other civilized nation. Monaco ratified the Convention in 1889; the United States has not yet ratified the Convention.

[7] England has not adopted the legislation necessary to give substance to moral rights. Canada put moral rights into its Copyright Act of 1931.

[8] *Dlle F. et U.A.D.* c. *Dam D.*, Tribunal Civil de la Seine, 11 juil. 1933; *F.* c. *Société G. et. P.*, Trib. Civ. de la Seine, 20 fèv. 1922, *ibid.*, 1932, p. 122; *Fortin* c. *Prévost-Blondel*, Cour de Paris, 25 janv. 1889, D.P. 1900. 2. 152.

[9] Michaelides-Nouaros, pp. 212–276; *Agnes dit Sorel* c. *Fayard frères*, Trib. Civ. de la Seine, 16 déc. 1899, *Journal du Palais*, 1900. 2. 182.

[10] Michaelides-Nouaros, p. 268.

[11] *Ward* vs. *Beeton*, L.R. 19 Eq. 207, per Sir R. Mallins, V.C.; and compare cases implying that after sale the author is a stranger to the work: *Clemens* vs. *Press Pub. Co.*, 122 N.Y.S. 206, 67 Misc. 183, 185; *Hole* vs. *Bradbury*, 12 Ch. Div. 886; *Hackett* vs. *Walter*, 142 N.Y.S. 209, 80 Misc. 340.

The right to withdraw a work from publication is a logical extension of the right to modify. If after the sale of his work the author has so changed his convictions that his book no longer speaks for him, he may, on payment of the loss incurred, prevent its publication or further publication.[12] (How much in terms of personal integrity would this nonpecuniary right of withdrawal be worth to those writers who committed themselves to political absolutes during the years commencing with 1936?)

One of the privileges of moral rights which is perhaps resorted to least often nevertheless most clearly illustrates the doctrine. *Le droit de créer*—or, as I think it may more properly be defined, the right of the author to choose whether he will create or not—does two things: it permits the author to continue to write regardless of contract to the contrary, and it allows the author to refuse to complete a commission.[13] This *droit de créer* again emphasizes the distinction between pecuniary rights and moral rights. Money, the legal measure of all rights enforceable against another, is what the law exacts for breaking a contract. In rare cases an injunction and imprisonment for contempt of court can compel performance of an agreement. But while it is true that an author may be compelled to make up the monetary loss involved in his change of heart, the *droit de créer* is not commensurable with money. An author cannot be compelled to remain silent or to complete a specified work. This startling privilege suggests a policy of leaving the creative spirit untrammeled. On the hypothesis that works written solely because of contractual obligation and despite the author's wishes cannot represent his creative purpose, the *droit de créer* furthers the creator's personal integrity and his sense of responsibility to his audience.

These are the most important of the privileges recognized under the doctrine. Others include the right to publish or withhold from publication; to choose the time and mode of publication; to choose interpreters, as of music, drama, and motion pictures; to be free from excessive criticism against the work, and to have space for a reply to criticism; and the right to be free from libelous or personal criticism arising out of authorship.[14]

What about the works sold for the screen in moral-rights countries? In the main, the doctrine applies. But, for reasons not comprehensible on logical grounds, the force of the doctrine is weakened in some instances.

The right of paternity is fully recognized. But there is apparent a tendency to broaden the purchaser's right to modify. Obviously enough, a novel, play, or story not written for the screen and avowedly sold for film use must be modified. But it seems that even a work expressly written for the screen may be subject to some modification, whereas other material written in the form in which it is to be used may not be modified without the author's consent.[15]

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[12] Michaelides-Nouaros, p. 277; *Anatole France* c. *Lemerre Pataille,* 1912. 1. 98 et seq. (4 déc. 1911), cited in Michaelides-Nouaros, p. 195. See also *Morang & Co.* vs. *LeSueur,* 45 Can. Sup. Ct. 95, 97 (1911); *Planche* vs. *Colburn,* 18 Bing. 14, 131 Eng. Rep. 305 (Nisi Prius 1831).

[13] *Pourchet* c. *Rosa Bonheur,* Cour de Paris, 4 juil. 1865, *Journal du Palais,* 1865, 937; *Eden* c. *Whistler,* Cour de Paris, Cour de Cassation, 14 mars 1900, *Journal du Palais,* 1900. 1. 489, 2. 201.

[14] Michaelides-Nouaros, pp. 293–299.

[15] Trib. Civ. de la Seine, 26 juil. 1933, *Bernstein* c. *Matador et Pathé-Cinema,* D.A. 1933, 104; Paris, 28 Civ. 1910, *Bataille* c. *Sarah Bern-*

The form contract accepted by *Société des Auteurs et Compositeurs Dramatique* and the *Chambre Syndicale Française de Cinématographie*[16] requires the author's approval to the title and the general lines of the screen play as soon as this is completed; when the dialogue has been written, this must be approved by the author; after these two approvals, no changes are permitted except those which are purely technical in form and unavoidable. The private law established by this agreement is not, strictly speaking, part of the doctrine of moral rights. But the existence of the agreement indicates the value placed by writers on the *droit au respect;* and the contract may well have been drawn in order to prevent any departures in the comparatively new field of motion pictures.

While discussion of moral rights for radio writers must for the most part be in the form of predictions, there is little reason to believe that there will be any substantial departures from the underlying principles. In 1928 there was written into the International Copyright Convention Article XI *bis,* a provision securing broadcast rights to authors. Regulations for the exercise of these rights were left to the constitutent countries, but it was specifically provided that these regulations "cannot in any case adversely affect the moral right of the author." No doubt some differences based upon differences in the practical operation of radio will develop, but there is no reason to foresee any loss of moral rights by radio writers.

The privileges granted to authors by the doctrine of moral rights are indeed impressive. Even more impressive is the attitude of the community out of which these privileges arose. That attitude, or philosophy, regards the artistic and intellectual integrity of the community's artists as one of its most prized, most valuable possessions. In a sense it is that philosophy which is the true doctrine of moral rights. The various privileges accorded are, after all, merely manifestations of the underlying sense of the community. This means that the privileges enumerated do not exhaust the doctrine.[17] If, to protect the integrity of the creator or to safeguard the community's interests in a work, it should appear desirable to recognize a different kind of privilege, it is likely that lack of precedent would not deter the courts—that is, foreign courts, not American courts.

This brings us to a question which most sharply tempts speculation. Why should the doctrine of moral rights have been ignored, if not actively rejected, in our country, while at the same time it developed into an organized body of law, respected, growing in certainty, and spreading into the codes and decisions of most European countries?

Laws governing business usage do not originate in the brain of a scholar; and they are not deduced from first principles. In fact, they are not made up at all. Like the rules against consecu-

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hardt, Pat. 1910. 1. 191. "*L'integrité de l'œuvre n'est pas absolu et subit une grave dérogation quand il s'agit de tirer un film cinématographique d'une pièce de théâtre.*" Michaelides-Nouaros, p. 95.

[16] Given in *Bernstein* c. *Matador et Pathé-Cinema,* supra, note 15.

[17] "The Conference has not felt that it should enumerate them [the different privileges] because any enumeration presents the danger of a restrictive interpretation." Report of the Subcommittee on Moral Rights in *Actes de la Conférence réunie à Rome,* 1928; Ladas, *op. cit.,* p. 583.

tive fifths and dangling participles, they grow up after the event. They originate in the community's practices. They are influenced by ethical concepts, but only so far as these concepts reflect the life ways of the community. The fact that writers in motion pictures and radio have for decades and almost without exception acquiesced in industry's practice of ignoring moral rights suggests possible answers to the speculation.

Another suggestion arises from the way in which Continental countries have thought about an artist's work. The phrases, "c'est son être intellectuel, c'est lui-même,"[18] are foreign not only because of the language. Besides pointing to national differences in attitude, the phrases suggest analogies which help clarify the doctrine itself.

In America you cannot contract to permit your finger to be amputated unless your well-being demands it. It is doubtful whether the breach of an agreement to donate blood would subject you to damages.[19] And it is true that less tangible rights are also afforded some protection against self-imposed injury. A contract to allow yourself to be libeled is probably invalid;[20] and agreements to violate marital relationships certainly are.[21] Apparently moral rights too, in France for example, are thought to be worth the protection which in America we accord to our physical being and to that group of knightly privileges which we bundle up in the term "personal honor."[22]

It is true that American courts have recognized a number of rights on the part of authors which are contained in the doctrine of moral rights.[23] But when they have done so, they have tried to fit them into the traditional categories of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence. Judges have recognized specific privileges when, and in the main only when, they have been able to fit them into the pigeonholes designed by Coke, Mansfield, and Kent. This indicates either that our judges have deliberately rejected the doctrine of moral rights or that they know nothing about it. Acceptance of the doctrine would have made it unnecessary to search for common-law precedents and would have given force to every one of the privileges except any which might be held to be against good morals or fundamentally incompatible with our way of life.

Our courts, it seems, will not have it. And Congress has rejected it, too. Although in 1935 the Senate of the United States passed an amendment to the Copyright Act which recognized moral rights in the precise language used in the Convention, it was never passed,

[18] From the argument of M. l'avocat-général Th. Massot in *Morale* c. *Lacordaire,* Cour Royale de Lyon, 17 juil. 1845, *Journal du Palais,* 2, 433.

[19] Restatement of the Law of Contracts, Sec. 591; Williston, *Treatise on Contracts,* rev. ed., Vol. 5, Sec. 1652A. The survivor of a suicide pact may be guilty of murder, 70 Sol. J. 658 (1926); and compare *Brearton* vs. *DeWitt,* 252 N.Y. 495, 170 N.E. 119.

[20] Bower, in *The Law of Actionable Defamation,* 74, says consent is a defense to libel. But this does not mean that such a consent is binding or that it could not be withdrawn before the publication. And see *Arnold* vs. *Clifford,* F. Cas. no. 555, 2 Summ. 238; *Atkins* vs. *Johnson,* 43 Vermont 78, 5 Am. Rep. 260.

[21] In some instances the common law has been unbelievably clumsy. Damages suffered by a parent for seduction of his daughter were allowed on the theory that the parent lost the value of his child's services. *Martin* vs. *Payne,* 9 John. 387.

[22] Brandeis and Warren say that the protection of literary property at common law need not be based upon what the Roman law called "a violation of honor." "The Right to Privacy," 4 *Harvard L. Rev.* 192, 198.

[23] Martin A. Roeder, "The Doctrine of Moral Right," 53 *Harvard L. Rev.* 554 (1940).

notwithstanding the fact that another section of the amendment practically destroyed its value.[24]

Is there, then, any way by which American writers for the screen and radio can enforce moral rights? That is to say, in selling a story for motion pictures or radio can the author import moral rights into the transaction? The academic answer is, Yes. All he needs to do is to get the producer's or agency's signature to a contract which enumerates all the privileges for the benefit of the writer. But suppose the contract of sale says nothing whatever about these privileges. Can the author still claim and enforce these rights? This brings us to a third question: If moral rights were recognized by American law, could the parties destroy them by contract?

Analysis of these questions indicates what our society thinks of moral rights. For, where the parties fail to deal expressly with necessary parts of a transaction, the law may imply terms of agreement for them; and the terms read into the contract by the courts are those which the law presumes that the parties normally would, or should, have intended to include;[25] and finally, the terms which the law believes the parties should have written into their agreement is the moral litmus by which the public sense of the transaction is tested. In other words, if the contract by which a screen or radio story is sold is silent on moral rights, our courts will do what our society believes is just concerning that subject.

American courts will not write moral rights into a contract, as we have shown. But some of the protections will be afforded. The author's right to determine whether he will publish a writing is thoroughly protected. For example, an unauthorized publication would be ineffective to defeat common-law copyright.[26] Also, mutilation of an article to the point of degrading the author may give rise to a suit for libel.[27] This is money compensation for injury after the harm has been done. It is payment for what is not purchasable and is of course inadequate. Lord Byron managed to get an injunction to prevent publication of poems falsely attributed to him.[28] But in 1848 in an analogous situation an English court refused to grant an injunction to prevent use of the plaintiff's name where the plaintiff complained that the material was falsely presented as his.[29] Even where the alterations are not of such a character as to libel the author, they may, nevertheless, warrant relief if they are so extensive as to constitute a virtual abandonment of the story.[30]

These decisions seem to draw on the principle that the court will intervene where to represent that the plaintiff

[24] S.B. 3047, 74th Cong., 1st Sess. The "necessary editing, arranging or adaptation" for publication, film or broadcast should not be regarded as a violation of moral right.

[25] Restatement of the Law of Contracts, Sec. 262.

[26] Drone, *Treatise on the Law of Property in Intellectual Productions*, p. 577.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 376; Martin A. Roeder, *op. cit. Ben-Oliel* vs. *Press Publishing Co.*, 251 N.Y. 250, 254, 167 N.E. 432 (1929); *D'Altomonte* vs. *New York Herald Co.*, 139 N.Y.S. 200, 203, 154 App. Div. 453 (1913), aff'd., 208 N.Y. 596, 102 N.E. 1101 (1913).

[28] *Byron* vs. *Johnston*, 2 Meriv. 29, 35 Eng. Rep. 851. See also *Harte* vs. *DeWitt*, 1 Cent. L.J. 360.

[29] *Clark* vs. *Freeman*, 11 Beav. 112, 50 Eng. Rep. 759; and see also opinion of Wood, V.C., in *Cox* vs. *Cox*, 11 Hare 118, 68 Eng. Rep. 1211.

[30] *Drummond* vs. *Altemus*, 60 Fed. 338. Knox, J., in *Curwood* vs. *Affiliated Distributors*, 283 F. 219: "Nevertheless, elaboration of a story means something other than that the same should be discarded, and its title applied to a wholly dissimilar tale."

wrote the book would amount to a fraud on the public. Other decisions prevent the use of a writer's name for material which he did not write, if the author or the person named protests. In their search for native foundations, judges seek to base those decisions on legal theories akin to trademark in the author's name and the policy of preventing unfair competition. The difficulties of using these theories for this purpose are not within the scope of this study.

If a writer, in selling a work for motion pictures or radio, said nothing about moral rights or any of its privileges, the probability is that the right of paternity would not be protected by the courts;[31] if, however, his name were used, the *droit au respect* would, within reason, be recognized;[32] and the author would not have the right to modify or the right to withdraw his work from production or broadcast. This is to say that unless he had contracted his right away, the courts probably would, at the writer's request, prevent unreasonable mutilation and would give him relief against exhibition or broadcast if another person were identified as the author. This is about as much as American courts think of moral rights.

A realistic consideration of the problem must, however, face the fact that most writers for motion pictures and radio accept the form of contract prepared by the purchaser. One must ask, therefore, whether, assuming that the Continental doctrine should prevail here, moral rights would be worth anything if the contract purported to nullify them. In other words, since radio and screen producers usually control the form of the contract, is it possible to write a contract which, on the author's purchased signature, would defeat his moral rights? On the assumption stated, I think many of the privileges would remain despite any contract.

Although in other cases, as for example material submitted for newspapers and anthologies, or noncreative material intended for directories and guides, the writer could sell the paternity of his work, in the case of authorship of material for the screen and radio the right to paternity probably could not be annulled even with the author's consent.[33] The public—or, at any rate, Europeans—have the right to know who wrote a picture or broadcast. Its interest in the authorship of newspaper articles, in a periodical index, or in compilations of legal decisions is justly presumed to be less.

In moral-rights countries, as we have seen, the author may alter his material after he has sold it. Suppose after a sale the author makes important alterations. The purchaser must then choose between producing the altered script or rescinding the transaction. Now let us assume that the doctrine of moral rights prevailed here, and that by the contract of sale for motion pictures the author gave up the right to modify. This renunciation would be valid. Practical considerations of production, broadcast, and publication have led to a rule al-

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[31] *Mallory* vs. *Mackaye,* 86 F. 122; *Jones* vs. *American Law Book Co.,* 109 N.Y.S. 706, 125 App. Div. 519. ". . . the author has no inherent common-law right to have his name used in connection with his work. . . ." Article on Copyright and Literary Property, 2 C.J. Sec. 144. Usage in an industry may, however, create an implied agreement to the contrary.

[32] Drone, supra, note 27.

[33] Michaelides-Nouaros, pp. 98 ff. Cf. *Hackett* vs. *Walter,* 80 Misc. 340 (1913). Ladas, *op. cit.,* p. 599.

lowing the author to give up this privilege. Furthermore, if the work required adaptation for the screen, alterations by another writer would be permitted so long as they did not degrade the author and were reasonably necessary for the production of the picture. What is reasonably necessary in a disputed case is a question of fact to be decided by the courts.

It is not likely that in the sale of a script the author would be required to give up writing for a time. However, since we are considering the vitality of moral rights in America, it is fair to ask whether an author could contract away his right to create and to communicate his work to the public. The right to work under employment for another is not now under discussion, nor is the right of the author to have the pecuniary benefit of his work. Pecuniary rights may, of course, be contracted away. What is involved is the right of another person, for a consideration, to stifle a writer and to prevent his work from reaching the public. In contracts other than those of employment, the author probably could not be prevented from continuing to write, notwithstanding his agreement to refrain.[34] Even in the case of employment, while the writer might be prevented from working for another during the term of the employment and perhaps be required to turn over the proceeds of publication, it is doubtful whether the person designated as employer in the agreement could prevent publication by the author. Cases might be imagined in which the employer's bargain could be held to embrace freedom from competition by his recalcitrant employee, but such cases would be extremely rare. With the precaution that we are in the realm of speculation,[35] it is safe to say that the right to create could not be sold in any event.[36] This is equivalent to the indestructible right to personal expression, and even if the writer has bartered away his right to get paid for what he says, it is not an empty privilege.

Assuming therefore that the United States recognized the doctrine, the privilege of writers not under employment would on the whole be safe in motion pictures and radio notwithstanding the forms of contract which ingenuity might contrive.

But what about writers under employment? Many, if not most, pictures are written by salaried writers; and an increasing number of radio programs are being prepared by writers under some form of employment. There are not many instances in moral rights countries testing the question for employed writers. Apparently the author writing under a contract of employment is not accorded these privileges. But the problem has not been sufficiently litigated or analyzed to afford grounds for final judgments.

The doctrine of moral rights seems to presuppose an independent writer seeking to give his ideas to the public. The publisher, the printer, the book-

[34] Limited agreements may be valid, as for example in a sale of a copyright an agreement not to publish another book on the same subject during the life of the first copyright, or an agreement between partners not to write plays for any theater other than the Haymarket. *Morris* vs. *Coleman*, 18 Ves. 437, 34 Eng. Rep. 382; and compare *Hultzman* vs. *Carroll*, 177 Ark. 432, 6 S.W. (2d) 551.

[35] It has been held that a clause in a performer's contract restraining the employee from acting for another under the same pseudonym after the expiration of the contract is valid. *Hepworth* vs. *Ryott*, 1 Ch. 1, 9 A.L.R. 1484.

[36] Martin A. Roeder is of this view; but see *Colburn* vs. *Simms*, 2 Hare 543, 67 Eng. Rep. 224; *Clarke* vs. *Price*, 2 Wils. Ch. 157.

binder, and the bookseller are society's instruments by which the writer reaches his public. The purpose of the doctrine is to prevent any of these craftsmen and entrepreneurs from taking advantage of their intermediate positions in order to affect the content of the work or to usurp the author's honors.

With minor exceptions, we have seen that this is true in the case of sale of a work for the screen. Here, as in the case of a novel, the function of the film is to present the work of the writer. The same reasoning is applicable in the production of a script sold for radio.

But the businesses of making most motion pictures and of preparing radio scripts for broadcasts often present vastly different circumstances. Writers are employed. Employment sets up a master-and-servant relationship which is historically not distinguishable from the relationship of lord of the manor to his domestic or field hand. The essential character of employment in legal terms is the right of the employer to control the employee, not only with respect to the results to be obtained, but also concerning the manner, to the tiniest detail, in which the work is to be done. Direction, which is the function of purpose and invention, is the employer's privilege; the employee's duty is to execute. There are deep, obvious contradictions in creative work under employment—contradictions which are resolved in practice by working in a kind of *Outward Bound* atmosphere without legal landmarks, or by collaboration between persons who are truly fellow employees with the corporate employer somewhere in the wings.

Of course, the conditions under which story material is prepared and the relationship of the writer to the production are different in each film and radio studio. The positions of different writers differ even in the same studio. The entire situation is extremely complex and not the kind of thing which legislation or legal doctrine can readily grasp. However, certain tendencies are beginning to appear.

It is true that a great part of the responsibility for a film or a broadcast is the corporation's. But it is also true that neither the film studio, the broadcast studio, nor the advertising agency is the Renaissance atelier in which a single artist considered himself justified in signing a canvas prepared by a dozen men. Credits for authorship on the screen and over the air indicate the source of the literary material and fix authors' responsibility for content.[37] Furthermore, the radio and motion-picture public, with growing awareness of their own best interests, will not continue to be satisfied with the legal fantasy of corporate authorship.

All this is to say that the position of the employed writer, so far as his deserving moral rights is concerned, is in a state of transition. The last decade has seen changes in the position of the writer in motion pictures, and it is likely that these changes will continue. The same is true in a somewhat lesser degree perhaps in radio. In both fields, outstanding writers are being charged with responsibility in the production of films and broadcasts. These tendencies seem inevitable in view of the essential nature of creative effort in all fields, which is to work outwardly from the idea toward its communication.

[37] Arrangements to this effect between motion-picture producers and writers are incorporated in an industry agreement. Radio writers sometimes include such provisions in individual employment contracts.

Since a finished film or radio broadcast is primarily the means by which the author's ideas are communicated, the writer should be entitled to all the privileges of the doctrine of moral rights. It is very likely that for some time pictures will continue to be produced in many different ways; radio material will continue to reach the loud-speaker through the agency of advertising offices, broadcast studios, actor-writers, and "production packages" arranged by promoters. And tomorrow television will require additional readjustments. Individual writers under employment will no doubt rise above the practices of their industry; but it will take many years before the position of the writer generally is stabilized.

The problem arises in part out of the submergence of the employed writer in an *industry*. Many writers work on a single picture; and numerous gag writers and others assemble a radio script. The chief difficulty is to keep effective the values of individual integrity while at the same time to have the benefits of the coöperative, or successive, efforts of many writers. If this is not possible, then the task is frankly to reappraise the value of individual integrity in creative effort.

It is no answer to say that a motion picture or a radio broadcast is by nature the product of many artists. So is the production of a stage play. In a motion picture and in a radio broadcast the music, except for songs, is usually the work of a single composer. And in motion pictures as well as in radio there is almost always one director, and his responsibility is certainly not less than the writer's. One might profitably consider the question, Why are there a number of writers?

The answers which suggest themselves are not pleasant, so I leave the question. In it lies much of the future of moral rights for writers employed in motion pictures and radio. The question will be answered, however. In time it will be answered not only by the business judgment of producing studios, but also by the natural development of these new arts. It will be answered ultimately by the role which motion pictures and radio assume. If these arts will be satisfied with content of no more enduring interest than its flicker on the screen or its sound in the air, the public is not apt to care about authorship and authors' moral rights. If, however, these arts seek greater importance; if the occasional honest film, the occasional fine radio play become more frequent; and if motion pictures and radio seek to become the media for the sincere work of America's great writers, then the public will recognize that motion pictures and radio broadcasts deserve the greatest protection. The way will then be paved for moral rights for creators.

Unhappy Ending

LESTER COLE

LESTER COLE is one of the original members of the Screen Writers Guild, and is now on its executive board. He is the author of more than forty screen plays, the latest of which are *Hostages, None Shall Escape,* and *Objective Burma.*

FOR TWO MONTHS prior to the public filming of *Blood on the Sun,* hard cash was expended in an attempt to assure the public that they were soon to see an important picture. Advance blurbs attempted to whet the appetites of filmgoers and critics alike for a tasty and significant dish of screen fare. *Blood on the Sun* would be more than an ordinary melodrama; it would be a hard-hitting picture dealing with aspects of Japanese imperialism that had a direct relationship to the problems confronting the American people today, in their fight for complete victory in the war and the winning of the peace.

At that time, Miss Virginia Wright, film critic of the Los Angeles *Daily News,* was invited to interview the writer of the screen play, to hear the story. Miss Wright was impressed. She wrote a column about the picture before its release, in which she paid glowing tribute to the producer, the star, the author of the original story, and myself, the writer of the screen play, because of the subject matter and the adult way in which it was to be treated on the screen.

A world première was arranged for *Blood on the Sun* in San Francisco to coincide with the World Security Conference. Presumably, this was done because it was felt that the film had an important contribution to make to our understanding of the nature of the war and the enemy we were fighting. Maybe it was even hoped that the delegates to the conference could learn something from the film.

Following the release of the picture, the more astute critics throughout the country did not hesitate to voice their disappointment. Often it was quite sharp. Miss Wright felt, among other things, that she had been misled, for the picture bore little resemblance to the script which caused her to praise the picture in advance. She felt obligated to apologize to her readers. Other film critics, knowing nothing of changes made between the time the screen play was completed and the time the film reached the screen with additional scenes by another writer, contented themselves by charging the writers with a shallow approach, hackneyed ideas, and, because of the important nature of the material, actually performing a disservice to the American people. It was felt by many of them that the enemy was presented inaccurately, that history was shamefully distorted, and that once again writers were content with an exhibition of superman antics and romantics rather than a search for the truth. The outstanding exception, significantly enough, was Mr. William Randolph Hearst. He was so enthusiastic about the picture that he was moved to write a personal letter of approval to the producer.

Critics, of course, are in a position to judge only the film as it is flashed on

the screen. All too often, however, in spite of this, they attempt to pigeonhole praise or blame in various departments. And the one time they never fail to mention the writing is when they don't like it.

In the case of *Blood on the Sun* the departure from the screenplay written by me involved only the final sequence and two or three minor dialogue exchanges earlier in the script which led up to this climactic sequence. But in the elimination of my ending and the substitution of another the entire meaning of the film was destroyed.

As it appears, *Blood on the Sun* is a melodrama which deals with an American newspaperman who in 1929 discovers the existence of the Tanaka Memorial, the Japanese plan for world conquest. When this document falls into his possession, he becomes determined to take it out of Japan. But in this revision there is no indication of what Cagney (the newspaperman) intends to do with it once he escapes from Japan with it in his possession. It is just another piece of paper, that well-known "important document" now thumbworn from use in so many melodramas. The end of the picture, as released, finds the heroine escaping the clutches of the Japanese with the "important document," but where she goes with it no one knows.

This might have been acceptable if that paper had been an insurance claim, or the deed to a gold mine, or a mortgage on the old homestead. But in a picture dealing with no less a historic document than the Tanaka Memorial, a character just can't run off the screen with it in the year 1929 and leave it in obscurity for sixteen years. On this there was complete agreement between the producers and myself—at the time.

Here was the basic problem which confronted me in writing the screen play: Inasmuch as history revealed that the Tanaka Memorial was taken out of Japan and that its existence was known as early as 1931, to whom were the characters going to take it once they escaped? The first thought was that the newspaperman would take it to our ambassador in Tokyo, but this raised an embarrassing question: if our State Department received the Tanaka Plan in 1929 or 1930 and thus possessed genuine evidence of Japan's plan for world conquest, what did our State Department do about it? Following this course, one could hardly escape an indictment of American diplomacy in that period. There is some evidence to prove that such an indictment is not entirely uncalled for. One might be critical of us for not so doing, but we decided that aspect of history was beyond the scope of the story we were free to tell during wartime.

There was one other way of approaching the problem, which would not distort an aspect of history: The Chinese knew they were the first nation on Japan's list. Unable to defend themselves, they sought aid through the one organization which might have curbed Japan's aggressive policy—the League of Nations.

It was toward a climax involving this element that the screen play was constructed. Briefly, here is an outline of the final sequence which was written, enthusiastically approved, and subsequently eliminated by the producers. Following establishment of the fact that the Chinese government considered it a matter of life or death for

their nation to expose Japan's aims, Cagney and his Eurasian companion, Sylvia Sidney, escape from Japan and deliver the document in Geneva to Dr. Wellington Koo, representing China in the League of Nations. They arrive with it at the height of the bitter debate between Dr. Koo and Matsuoka, the Japanese representative. Knowing that the evidence which Dr. Koo is about to present will prove too damning, Matsuoka suddenly and dramatically withdraws the Japanese government from the League of Nations.

The screen play then showed the dismay and chaos which followed that historic act. Matsuoka leaves the League chamber and in the foyer finds himself surrounded by newspaper correspondents from all nations. They fire questions at him, seeking a statement on what action his government would take in the event the League were to apply sanctions. Matsuoka is saved from attempting an answer by the introduction of a question fired at the English correspondent by a provocateur, who doubts whether England would attempt sanctions, considering its great interests in the Orient. Embarrassed, the English correspondent counteraccuses the French. He is joined by the German, and in a moment the press representatives of all the leading nations are bickering, accusing each other violently. Thus embroiled, these representatives of various nations (the symbols of their countries) lose sight of the Japanese question while defending themselves. Noting this, Matsuoka smiles knowingly and walks away, assured of Japan's security as long as such lack of unity exists. The characters portrayed by Cagney and Sidney move through the milling crowd of diplomats, disheartened by the failure of their mission. Noting the fear and the shame reflected on the faces of various delegates, Sidney asks Cagney if Japan's withdrawal from the League does not mean a future war. To which Cagney replies, No, not a future war—the war started ten minutes ago.

Arriving at the door leading out of the building, they stop to observe an American, his wife, and ten-year-old boy attempting to gain admittance. The American, a typical tourist of that period, is arrogantly demanding an explanation for the guard's refusal to permit him to enter; was he not an American taxpayer? The guard politely retorts that perhaps Monsieur is not aware of it, but America is not a member of the League of Nations. At which Cagney remarks to the discomfited tourist, "Very embarrassing, isn't it?" Then he stares hard at the American boy of ten, shakes his head soberly, and says, "Good luck, soldier." The American tourists gaze in bewilderment at their son—and the picture ends.

Substituted for this sequence was the following: The girl escapes with the document, through Cagney's ability to hold off the armed might of the Japanese police force. Where she goes remains a mystery. Cagney then is pursued by the police as he seeks sanctuary in the United States Embassy. Arriving there, he is ambushed by innumerable armed Japanese. He makes a final dash for the Embassy door. A tremendous volley of shots is fired; he falls to the ground; the Japanese close in on him. An American diplomat emerges from the Embassy and Cagney gets to his feet. He is not dead after all. The Japanese police captain, faced by the American State Department, swiftly

backtracks. He makes apologies. It has all been an error. Surely the Americans, who are very generous, will forgive them. To which Cagney retorts, "Sure, sure. We'll forgive you; but first we'll get even." There the picture unhappily ends.

It is not overemphasis to repeat that Mr. Hearst went out of his way to praise the picture personally. As an advocate of a negotiated peace with Japan, he must have been particularly gratified by the last lines of dialogue. For by a remarkable coincidence they reappeared almost in the same form in a signed column by one of Hearst's most virulent columnists, Upton Close, the man twice barred as a newscaster from the air waves for his inflammatory and near-treasonable remarks. In urging reconsideration of the "disastrous" policy of unconditional surrender, Close set forth what he, as an expert, knew was in the minds of the Japanese, almost in the identical words spoken by Cagney in the film. Close claimed the Japanese calculated that following their attack on Pearl Harbor the only thing the Americans wanted was to "get even." And since we had more than squared accounts, argued Close, why continue to shed precious American blood? Whether the film inspired Close, or vice versa, is unimportant. The implications in both are equally clear. But while Close was deprived of the air waves, *Blood on the Sun* continued to do his work on the screen.

In describing the foregoing "unhappy ending," it has not been my intention to argue the question of the moral rights of screen authors. For as of this writing, that is still to become an issue. Today the producer owns whatever is written by the author, and existing contracts give him permission to change, alter, revise, rewrite, or discard, leaving the author's name attached. However, until the situation changes, until that time when the producer no longer owns the material, but merely leases it, as in the fields of publication and the theater, the producer, as controller of the material, must bear the moral responsibility for the product. Neither the public nor the critics can attempt to be judges of the creative merits of individual contributors, since judgment requires presentation of evidence from both sides. Until now, testimony for defense has rarely seen the light of day.

Like any other American industrial community, Hollywood is made up of all kinds of people, not only among those who work here, but also among those who own the industry. But in the latter group a certain section truly can be classified as unique. Elsewhere in American industrial life there exist guarantees as to quality and durability, and laws protecting the people against misrepresentation. Reputable American industries spend millions of dollars daily in institutional advertising, in an attempt to impress upon the public the idea that they seek not only profit, but, beyond and above, to offer public service and products of quality. This goal is recognized as worthy by a not inconsiderable number of producers, of course, yet there remains a group in their ranks which continues actually to flaunt the shoddiness of their product, their conscious distortions of truthful representation of life and historical events which have a direct bearing on the welfare of the nation with one answer: "Whaddya mean it ain't good? The product's

makin' dough, ain't it?" Profit itself has become the criterion by which merit is weighed.

It should go without saying that the desire to make motion pictures of merit and the desire to make a profit are not mutually exclusive. But the right to extract profit at the expense of quality has been repudiated by the American people, and has resulted in laws designed to protect the consumer from industrial misrepresentation. Even Wall Street has an S.E.C., but as yet the bucket shop has not been outlawed in Hollywood. To be reputable, or not to be, that is the question. Along with Hawaii and Alaska, Hollywood should make application to join the Union.

Television and Motion-Picture Processes

WILLIAM W. BROCKWAY

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THE USE of photographic tricks or "effects" to enhance the dramatic quality of motion pictures is well recognized, but the techniques involved in producing these effects is not too well understood. A more complete knowledge of these processes by creative artists would, in numerous situations, provide an answer to the more complex problems facing them in motion pictures. Television, the newest of the technological arts, will tax the ingenuity of all creative artists associated with this new medium. It is the purpose of this paper to describe some of the new processes associated with both motion pictures and television.

The technical processes involved in motion-picture production and television production are different, but the end result, a composite picture, is the same. To achieve this end result, motion pictures use optical and chemical methods, while television uses optical and electronic methods. The motion-picture "cut" is made with a scissors; a television "cut" is made with a switch. Motion-picture dissolves and fades are done optically or chemically; television dissolves and fades are done electronically, just as the volume of sound is regulated. Motion-picture wipes and split-screen processes are done optically; television wipes and split-screen effects can be produced by electronic or a combination of electronic and optical methods. Motion-picture background and painted-background processes are optically composed; television can produce the same composite by electronic methods.

A quick graphical sketch of a complete motion-picture process is shown in figure 1. The action is photographed by the camera (1) on a negative film. The negative is developed (2) by chemical processes, and a positive print (4) is optically printed (3) from the negative (5) and developed by chemical processes (6). Necessary optical dissolves and effects are made by optical controls associated with the printer (7). The duplicate "effects" negative is developed (8) and cut into the original negative at the proper place (9). The positive film is edited (10), studied, re-edited, and previewed before the negative is cut (9) to match the positive work print (10). A positive release print is made (11) from the cut negative and is developed (12) for final showing. Additional process methods and devices are often employed, but the foregoing outline will serve as a basic description for comparative purposes.

The basic problem in the television process is to break down a two-dimensional picture image into a form that can be transmitted over a single-dimensional medium, and then to reassemble the picture image. For example, let us assume that we are in a room and it is necessary for us to pass (transmit) an 8 by 10 inch (aspect ratio) picture to the adjoining room (receiver). Only a

very small hole (transmission medium) exists between the rooms. By a prearranged agreement (television standards), the picture is to be cut into 525 strips (horizontal sweeps). These strips (picture carrier) of pictures, are to be with all the odd-numbered strips (lines 1, 3, 5, etc.) to be pushed through the hole first, and then all the even-numbered strips (lines 2, 4, 6, etc.) to follow. A special marker (field synchronizing signal) will be used to indicate when

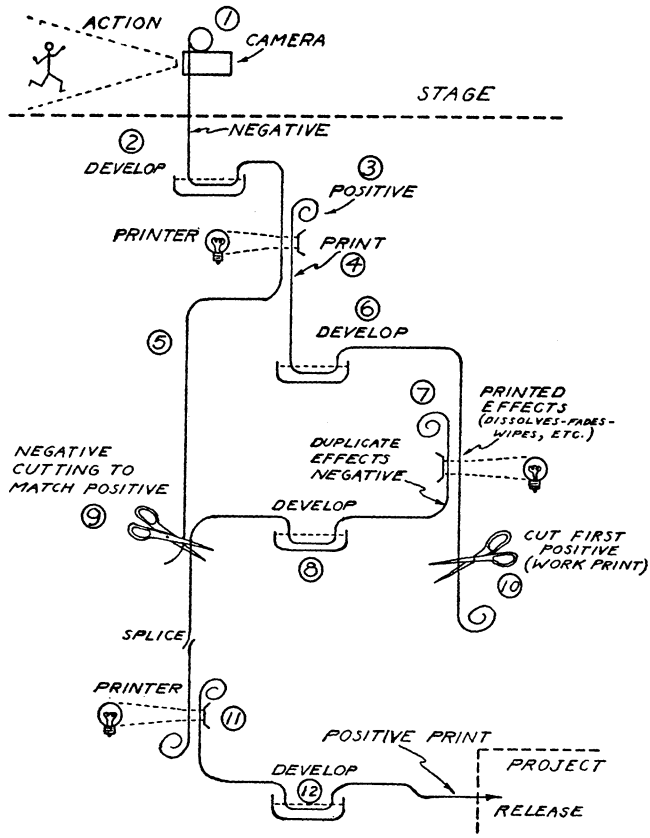

FIG. 1. A MOTION-PICTURE PROCESS

passed (transmitted) through the hole with the upper left-hand corner first (television standards). Starting with the top strip (line no. 1), the strips are to be joined together in linear sequence (single-dimensional medium of transmission). Some prearranged mark (line synchronizing signal) will indicate the beginning of each strip. The strips will be joined together in alternate sequence (interlaced scanning standard), all the odd-numbered strips have been passed through the hole. Another type marker (frame synchronizing signal) will indicate when the last strip has been passed through the hole. After all the picture strips have been passed through the hole, the picture is assembled and viewed.

Now if complete pictures (frames) in action sequence could be passed through the hole, and assembled and

viewed in the other room at a rate of thirty pictures (thirty frames) per second, we would have an effective television system. It is obvious that the short time element would make the above-described system impossible; also, that the paper strips (picture carrier) would not serve as a means of long-distance transmission.

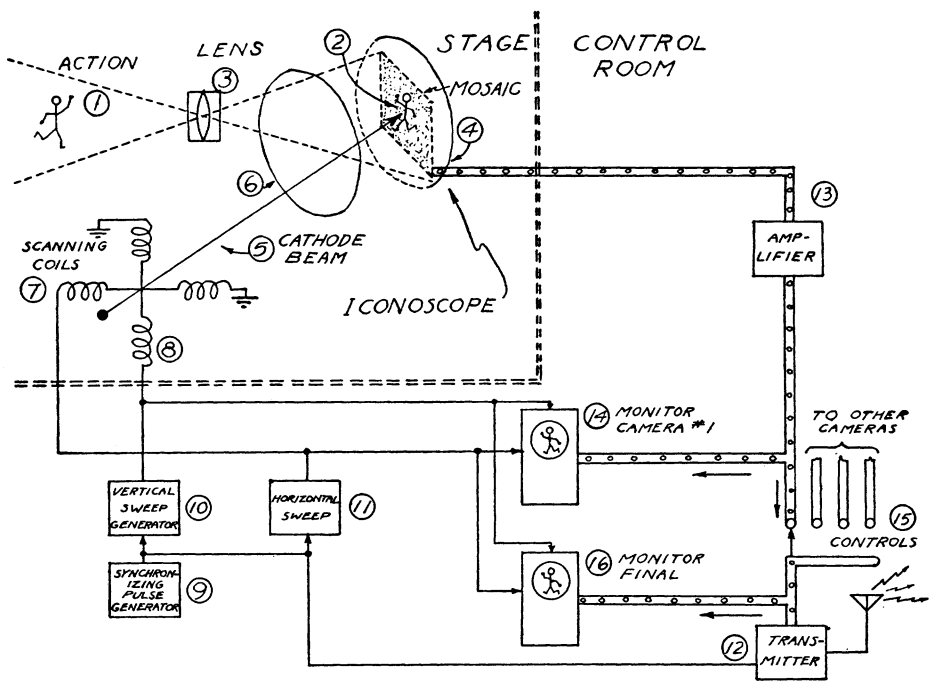

FIG. 2. TELEVISION TRANSMISSION PROCESS

The solution to the short time element has been electronics—the utilization of the great mobility of small electrical charges in a vacuum. Distance transmission of the picture is accomplished by known electrical communication methods. The previously described picture strips could be converted to electrical energy values to correspond to picture shades and thus transmitted by electrical methods.

Figure 2 shows a sketch of a basic television system. The action (1) is converted into an image (2) by means of a lens system (3). This is standard photographic technique. The image (2) is focused upon a photoelectric sensitive plate referred to as a mosaic (4). This mosaic contains millions of individual photosensitive particles and is situated in a vacuum enclosure (6). The photosensitive elements are electrically charged, proportionate to the light value of the image projected upon the mosaic. A beam of electrical charges, called a cathode beam (5), is focused upon the mosaic by electronic means. This cathode beam (5) is then moved across the mosaic from left to right and top to bottom by means of electromagnets (7 and 8). It scans (paper strips) across the mosaic in a definite pattern. The horizontal top line is scanned first, then lines 3, 5, 7, etc. After line 525 is scanned, the cathode beam

is then returned to the top and lines 2, 4, 6, etc., are scanned. The synchronizing signal (9) operates through the vertical (10) and horizontal (11) sweep generators to impart the correct time sequence and movements to the cathode beam (5). This same synchronizing signal (9) (paper-strip line, field and frame markers) is transmitted (12) in time relation with the picture, in order that the television receiver may stay in step with the transmitter.

The movement of the cathode beam (5) across the mosaic operates to release the photoelectrical charges which flow through the associated amplifier (13), monitor (14), and control equipment (15). It is quite obvious that the picture now has been broken down into a single-dimensional unit; that is, the picture signal has only an electrical energy content with relation to time as it travels through the circuit.

The action as picked up by the television camera is reassembled and can be viewed, directly and continuously, by the monitor (14). Other television cameras or sources of television pickups are switched, faded, dissolved, etc., by means of the controls (15). These control means will be explained later. A monitor (16) is also used after the controls in order that the complete picture can be viewed after all the effects have been added and before it is transmitted. The final mixed picture signal and synchronizing signals are transmitted by radio or other communication means.

The sound is transmitted in the same manner as in radio broadcasting and will not be treated here.

The television receiver has the problem of amplifying and assembling a picture from the received signal. The two classes of picture information received, the synchronizing pulses and picture signal, must first be separated and applied to perform their proper functions.

Present United States television standards provide that an increase in transmitted power will produce an increase in blackness of the picture; that is, no signal indicates that the picture element at that instant would be white. The standards also provide that 75 per cent of the available transmitted power would provide the extreme black of the picture; additional power beyond this 75 per cent value would then be in the blacker-than-black region and could not be viewed. The synchronizing pulses (paper-strip markers) are sent in this blacker-than-black power region. These synchronizing pulses and the picture signal are separated (fig. 3) at the receiver (1) by an electrical circuit (2) capable of differentiating the transmitted power levels. The picture signals less than 75 per cent in strength are amplified (3), and the pulse signals more than 75 per cent are used to control the horizontal (4) and vertical (5) movement of the cathode beam (6). It is obvious that the same synchronizing pulses control the cathode beam of both transmitter (fig. 2) and receiver systems. It should therefore also be obvious that the movement of these two beams would be in unison.

The picture signal, after amplification (3), is used to control the intensity of the cathode beam (6). This intensity-controlled cathode beam inside of the vacuum enclosure of the "Kinescope" cathode-ray vacuum tube is moved in a horizontal and vertical direction by the electromagnets (7 and 8). The combined movement- and intensity-controlled cathode beam is then focused

upon the fluorescent picture screen (9) inside the "Kinescope." An illumination is produced upon this screen by the cathode beam that will have an intensity proportional to the picture signal (3) and will follow the movement directed by the synchronized sweep signals (4 and 5). Literally, the picture is

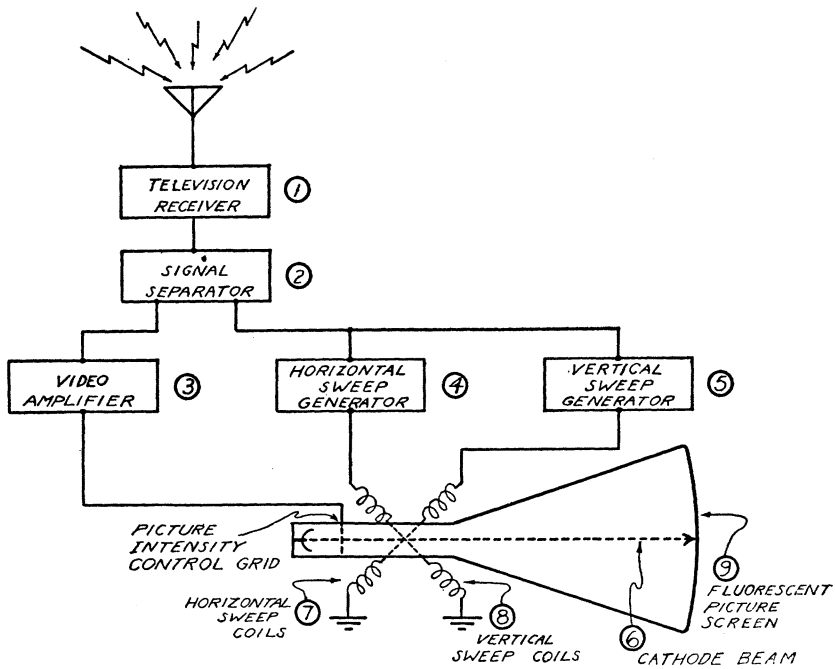

FIG. 3. TELEVISION RECEIVING PROCESS

painted upon the fluorescent screen by the cathode beam.

One complete picture or frame is produced every thirtieth of a second by sweeping the picture twice: first, all the odd lines (1, 3, 5, etc.) from top to bottom, and then all the even lines (2, 4, 6, etc.). This double-field sweeping process, combined with the persistence of vision of human sight, reduces the screen flicker by effectively providing sixty field views in a second, rather than the otherwise thirty frames per second.

It is quite apparent that the foregoing description is lacking in detail, but it will serve as a background for the discussions to follow.

Numerous optical and chemical methods have been devised for obtaining pictorial and dramatic effects in motion pictures. The dissolve, fade, wipe, and other transition effects are made by optical printing and chemical processes in the laboratory, as has previously been indicated. The more involved processes of the split screen, photographic backgrounds, and matched painted background will be illustrated and compared with similar television techniques.

Figure 4 is a process continuity illustrating a method of obtaining a split-screen effect in motion pictures. The action #1 that comprises one section of the split-screen picture is photographed by the camera. A section of the negative film (1) is used as a test. The test is developed (4) and projected

(5) upon a screen (13). The part of the projected action that is desired in this test action #1 is painted black upon a normally white screen. The actual photographed action #1 negative (6) is then run through the projector, now functioning as a camera, and is double-exposed against the screen, the white portion of the screen completely exposing the negative and making this part of the film black. This double-exposed composite negative of picture and photographed screen (13) is developed (15). A test of the combined action #1 and matte negative (7) is developed (9) and projected by the projector (10) upon the screen (12). That part of the negative which is not blanked out by the previous matte effect (13) is now painted black on the screen (12). A carefully blended match of shading is necessary at the "split" in the matte effect. The action #2 negative (11) is then run through the projector, now functioning as a camera, and the action (11) and matte effect (12) is photographically combined and developed (14). Both action negatives and associated matte effects are double-printed (16) and the resulting positive print is developed (17) and ready for release.

The split-screen effect is quite useful for producing such well-known action as dual characterizations, wherein one person portrays two characters in one scene. Other processes to produce the same over-all results are known and in use.

A very useful process is available in motion pictures whereby still backgrounds may be painted in miniature and added to the picture at a later date.

That part of the picture which will be supplied later by a miniature painting is covered by a black cut-out matte placed before the camera lens when the action is photographed. The photographed negative will then be unexposed for the areas covered by the matte. A test negative is developed, and a positive print is made and projected upon a screen similar to the split screen process. (Fig. 4.) The projected blanked area is then painted to match the remaining picture area. The original negative is placed in the projector, now serving as a camera, and double-exposed against the painted screen. A composite picture results.

The projected background process is one of the most common methods employed in motion pictures to produce a composite picture.

The action to be photographed is placed before a translucent screen. The background picture, either motion picture or still picture, is projected upon this screen from the back side. The camera then photographs the composite picture of the action and background picture.

When motion-picture backgrounds are used, the shutters of both the camera and projection machine must be synchronized. This synchronization process makes sure that a projected picture will be on the background screen when the camera is making an exposure.

Numerous applications of this process are obvious. The background could be a photograph of a miniature, thereby placing normal foreground action in a miniature set. The motion-picture projected-background process is widely used to provide moving backgrounds such as would be viewed from inside an automobile.

The television-viewing public has been educated by motion pictures to

appreciate a high degree of technical perfection in picture production. The problem now confronts the television engineer of designing control circuits that will achieve the same dramatic effects. Some of the technical effects that it is now possible to produce through cut. A television cut can therefore be executed by pushing a button.

The pictures picked up by two separated television cameras can be electrically mixed at the control point (15) in figure 2 by inserting a *volume control* in each of the camera circuits. The con-

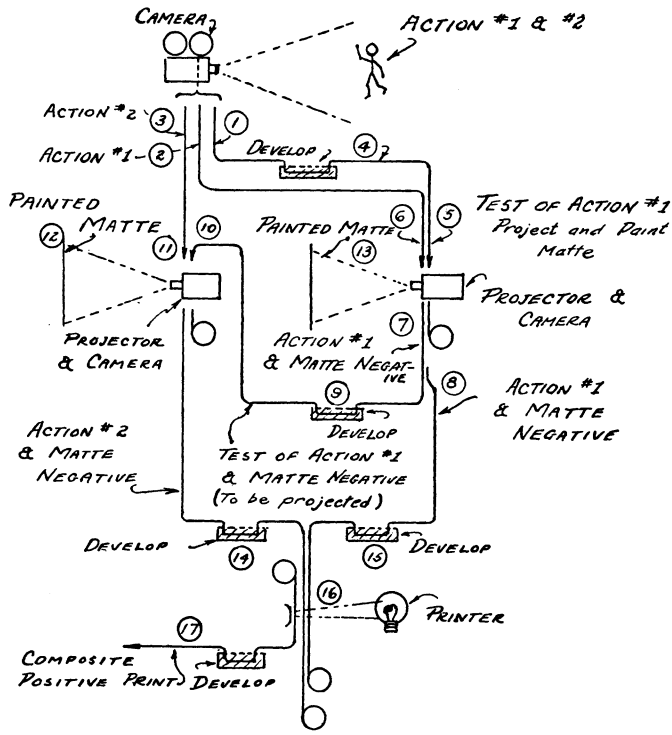

FIG. 4. MOTION-PICTURE SPLIT-SCREEN PROCESS

electronic and optical means will be explained in the following graphical descriptions.

As indicated in figure 2, the control (15) of the television picture takes place after the subject matter or action has been converted to electrical values. It is obvious that as the electrical circuit leading from one circuit is broken and a second camera circuit is connected to the same line, the picture signal is switched, and, therefore, the visual effect is equivalent to a motion-picture trols are then manipulated manually to increase the electrical output from one camera as the picture signal from the second camera is decreased.

A *superimposed* effect can be produced by adjusting the separate volume controls for each camera signal output to produce a mixed signal representing the proper portions of both camera signals.

A *negative picture* can be produced by inserting another stage of amplification in any of the picture signal lines.

The amplifier inverts the phase of the electrical signal, thereby producing an increase of picture signal for white and a decrease of picture signal for black, rather than the normal converse electrical function.

A *television fade* effect involves manipulation of two additional controls associated with television electrical circuits. A picture *brightness* control can electrically introduce a secondary effect into the normal picture signal circuit to produce a continual change of average picture brightness from white to black or vice versa. Another control makes it possible to change the contrast of the picture. The contrast control produces an effect that is similar to under- and over-exposure in photography. The fade and other unusual effects can be produced by proper manipulation of these controls on one or more picture signal circuits at one time. The complexity of control can be reduced by mechanically linking the separate functional controls.

Another control available in television picture signal circuit is known as a *shading control.* This control, although rather complex, is capable of introducing a secondary signal into the picture signal circuit that will selectively control the picture brightness. Certain areas of the picture can be selected and the brightness of the selected area controlled at will. This is equivalent to the "dashing" process in making photographic enlargements.

The normal picture-frame lines of a televised picture can be electronically moved in at will, and the picture size can be enlarged at the same time. The pictorial effect produced by such controls would be equivalent to a motion-picture zoom, but would not involve a camera movement. Such an effect is accomplished only by a sacrifice of detail, but is of sufficient value to warrant due consideration as a very flexible production aid.

Numerous television effects can be accomplished by application of an electronic switch, referred to as the electronic matte device.[1] Figure 5 illustrates some of these better-known effects.

A *background effect* equal to a motion-picture projected background is accomplished as follows: In figure 5, the action #1 is staged (2) before a very brightly lighted screen (1). Television camera #1 picks up the composite image of the action (2) and background (1). The picture image is converted into electrical values (4) by means of the television camera operation. This picture signal (4) is coupled to an electronic switch (7). The electronic circuit associated with this switch differentiates between the relative electrical values of background to action signal (4) and automatically switches, through vacuum-tube circuits, from one picture circuit (position 1) to a second picture circuit (position 2). For the sake of simplicity, the electronic switch (7) is illustrated as a mechanically operated device, whereas in actual practice the switch is purely electronic in operation.

As previously described, the brightly lighted background will produce a zero signal power and therefore will not affect the electronic switch, whereas an appreciable signal power, due to darker contrast, produced by the action before the brightly lighted background, will initiated the switching operation. The over-all result is to produce a composite picture signal consisting of the action

[1] Patent application (1944).

(position 1) and background signal (position 2). The background will replace the brightly lighted screen portion of the picture.

A delay will be introduced in the electronic switch action, since it is necessary for the camera to see the contrast between background and foreground action before the switch will operate. An additional length of cable (approximately 60 feet) inserted in the picture signal line (5) will delay the picture signal long enough for the switch to complete its operation before the action signal arrives at the switch.

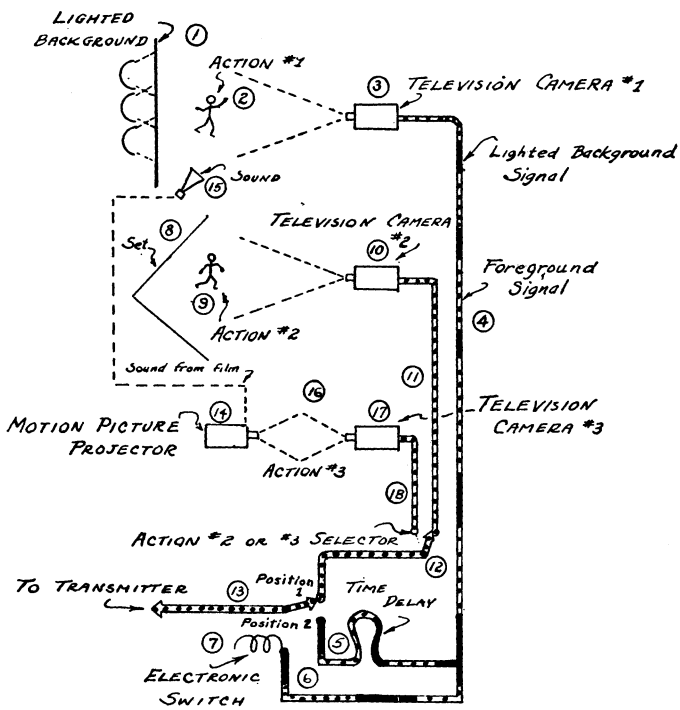

FIG. 5. SPLIT-SCREEN AND MATTE PROCESS IN TELEVISION

Two possible types of background are illustrated in figure 5. Action #2 is staged (9) in a normal set (8), miniature set, or remotely located set, and is picked up by television camera #2. Background action #2 could also be picked up (16) from film by means of a synchronized motion-picture projector (14). The desired background is selected by means of a switch (12). The sound associated with the motion-picture film can be projected (15) to the stage (2) of action #1 to serve as a sound cue for the action #1. The net result of all these applications is to produce a composite picture.

Optical wipes can be produced by introducing another television camera as a control for the electronic switch. If, in figure 4, this control television camera were to be connected to the electronic switch (7) in place of the control line (6), a remote means of optically controlling the switching action would be available. A diffused light source is placed before the lens of the control camera, and under this condi-

tion, no signal would be produced by the control camera and only the action before television camera #1 would be transmitted. Now if an opaque object or screen were to be passed between the control camera and the diffused light, the electronic switch action would follow the movement and pattern of the opaque object. The over-all effect produced would be equivalent to motion-picture wipes or sharp-line picture-transition effects.

Matte and superimposed black, gray, or white effects can be produced by applying the above-described television control camera technique. The action camera is connected to one side of the electronic switch (position #1) and a predetermined fixed or variable signal strength is applied to the other electronic switch position (position #2). Any opaque object or matte placed between the diffused light and the control camera will then become part of the combined transmitted picture signal. The shade, or density, of the matte effect can be controlled between the limits of white to black by controlling the value of the signal added to the second electronic switch input position. Photographic titles or other photographic effects produced on negative film can be placed before this television control camera to produce innumerable effects.

Split screen effects, with a manually controlled matte, can be produced by using the television control camera and electronic switch with two separate camera pickups. Dual character parts can be produced by having live action play against a motion-picture film. The two actions can be divided by inserting an opaque matte between the diffused light and the television control camera to provide the correct split in the screen.

In the present state of television, simplicity of control is lacking. The reason for the complexity lies in the fact that electronic engineers have relied upon electronic controls to produce optical effects. It is the writer's hope that the present paper will provide basic concepts with respect to this control problem, so that the creative artist, the control operator, and the electronic engineer may coöperate and produce further simplification in television control techniques.

Synthetic Sound and Abstract Image

LEON BECKER

THE IDEA of abstract images on film is not new. During the 'twenties, European attempts in "visual music" met with widespread notoriety but little success. Most of these attempts to create an abstract film art took the form of a visual accompaniment of colored geometric figures to a sound track of orchestra or solo instrument. At times, a mechanical translation of sound into light and color was utilized. It was apparently not recognized that image abstraction could not be successfully matched with the sound of combinations of known instruments, and that real abstractions would necessarily mean synthetic sound as well as picture. Where a direct mechanical translation of sound into image was avoided, the alternative of frame-by-frame animation was both primitive and unwieldy. Further, no sustained effort was made to study the psychological and physiological effects of dynamic colored images upon an audience.

Several years ago, Messrs. James and John Whitney, in their search for a medium that would permit a more dynamic use of color than was possible with the material of graphic art, decided that film was the answer. After much research and experimentation in an improvised studio in Los Angeles, they found a means of creating controllable graphic images by a method other than hand animation. An adaptation of the standard optical printer, paper cutouts, pantographs, and color filters supplied the elements. Two or more shapes cut from opaque papers are manipulated one over the other with a diffused area of light underneath. Controlled manipulation is achieved by a pair of pantographs the primary points of which hold the cutouts while the secondary points are traced over a previously laid-out movement pattern. This carefully planned sequence is photographed frame by frame in black and white and, after development, is then placed in the projection side of a specially constructed optical printer. The camera side of the optical printer is loaded with "Kodachrome." Through the use of color filters and the magnifying, reducing, inversion, and multiple-exposure possibilities of the optical printer it becomes possible to construct lengthy, complex, and multicolored compositions from a relatively simple source of carefully animated thematic material.

The sound track is also entirely synthetic and is made mechanically by linking together twelve pendulums of various lengths by means of a fine steel wire attached to an optical wedge. This optical wedge is caused to oscillate over a light slit by the motion of the pendulums, producing a variable-area type of sound track. The pendulums can be operated together in any combination, or separately. The frequency of each can be adjusted or tuned to conform to any existing scale or an assumed new scale by adjustment of a sliding weight. Through the choice of pendulum lengths and driven speeds the full range of audio frequencies can be recorded. No actual sound is involved in

recording the wave patterns generated by the pendulums, since these move at subsonic frequencies. Only when the resultant film is projected at regular sound-projection speed is sound produced.

Thus both image and sound are at the same time infinitely variable and positively controllable, and the technique evolved permits a unified approach to the potentialities of the medium. To explore the possibilities of dynamic color relationships and sound production toward the development of an abstract film art form is the basic aim of the Whitney brothers, though their studies, experiments, and findings may have much to contribute to the progress of the dramatic color film as well.

Warriors Return: Normal or Neurotic?

FRANKLIN FEARING

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I

"WHEN Johnny Comes Marching Home" is not only the title of a popular Civil War song; it is a symbol and a situation. It is a symbol with curiously ambivalent meanings. It signifies the return of heroes, of wars ended, of happy reunions after hard-won but glorious victories, and of peace after battle. It is also a sign of dissension, of nervous uncertainty lest, in truth, we have not prepared a "land fit for heroes," of anxiety regarding possible capacity to adjust, and even, curiously enough, of fear and hostility. The laughter and tears which welcome Johnny home may reflect honest joy and relief, but there is also an undertone of nervous tension. Has he changed? How much have I changed? Can we get along together? What is ahead? The civilian seems preoccupied to the point of neurosis with his incapacity to deal with the situation. The eagerness with which he reads articles and stories on the "problem" of the returning soldier, and seeks advice regarding his "treatment," reflects his inner tension. The joy in the breast of the returning hero seems not unalloyed when he scrawls on the side of the railroad coach which bears him home: So THIS IS AMERICA? WE GET CATTLE CARS FOR 3,000 MILES AFTER TWO YEARS OF HELL IN ITALY, FRANCE AND GERMANY.[1]

Ten million men were taken from peacetime ways, trained in the devices of destruction, subjected to the stresses of war, and are now returned to civilian life. In what terms is this vast fabric of adjustment and readjustment to be conceived? The meanings with which we clothe the bare facts of demobilization will reveal our basic conceptions of the war itself and the reasons for which it was fought.

It is important that we clarify these meanings. The return of the soldier confronts us with a problem in mass education such as we have never before known. Information must be communicated, interpretations made, and attitudes modified. The traditional methods of formal education are inadequate. The effective use of radio and motion pictures offers the best, perhaps the only, solution.

All this is probably obvious. The critical questions are: Exactly what is the problem of adjustment? Indeed, why is there a problem of "adjustment" at all? How should a writer or director for radio or motion pictures define the total problem? If the form is to be dramatic, what, precisely, should be dramatized?

The way in which the total situation is defined is important. If you see the war as the organized commitment to destructive aggression, during which individuals were subjected to terrific stress, you will probably believe that its consequences for the survivors will be

[1] See picture reproduced in Los Angeles *Daily News*, July 7, 1945.

the more or less permanent impairment of the human mind and body. If you see the war as the organized commitment to the achievement of a high and worthy goal, you may not be unaware of its destructive effects, but you will be able to detect compensating values. You might even be able to conceive that men and women could come out of it with increased realism and enhanced capacities to cope with the problems of the postwar world.

Clearly, there is more involved in Johnny's return than its superficial dramaturgy. There is more than the statistics of demobilization. If the channels of mass communication are to be utilized, those who are professionally concerned, and all others who may have a constructive interest in these matters, will need new insights into types of human relationships which are peculiarly complex.

The criteria by which motion pictures which deal with soldier-civilian relationships are judged are not basically different from those which may be applied to any realistic film. Certainly, the over-all intent should be to present real people behaving in a real world, unencumbered by plot mechanics or obvious intellectualized psychologic or psychiatric theory. Secondly, the interactions between soldier and civilian are determined by the culture or community in which both have been conditioned and the war experiences to which each has been exposed. The aftereffects of war experiences are not simply working themselves out in the private psyche of the individual. They are dynamically interacting with the economic, social, and "material" situations in which the individual now finds himself.

Further, the film should not seem to be a sales talk for any particular type of reaction—sentimental, romantic, heroic, pathological, or folksy. Nor should any particular kind of American background be presented as if it were typical. There are millions of American families whose sons and daughters have gone to war, who do not live in houses with front porches on elm-lined streets. They may not, in fact, have ever seen an elm tree. Commando Kelley returned to a dead-end tenement.

Finally, any film which deals with these problems should contain an implicit statement, in human terms, of the significance of the war to the individual and to the groups of which he is a part. We are here concerned, not with the effects of war as such, but with these effects as they are projected into civilian life. The conversion from a wartime way of living to a peacetime way of living occurs under the peculiar conditions of American life, and the special conditions under which we prosecuted the war—unlike those of any other country—determine the character of the adjustments between soldier and civilian. These problems may not be expressed in mere plot mechanics, or stereotypes, or in terms of intellectualized abstractions. They must be translated into the emotions and motivations of human beings, as determined by particular experiences and specific cultural backgrounds.

Among the more ambitious attempts to present soldier-civilian problems in motion pictures are *Since You Went Away* and *I'll Be Seeing You*. The first is a prolonged presentation of the trials and tribulations of an upper-middle-class family in wartime. There is the handsome friend who makes love to the

disconsolate but faithful (so faithful!) wife. There is a crotchety old army colonel (with a heart of gold) who refuses, until, of course, it is too late, to forgive a young soldier nephew before he leaves for the front; there are the wife and two daughters who bear up nobly under the absence of "pops," etc., etc. Soldier-civilian relationships are seen only in the context of romantic farewells, wives sobbing in their pillows but maintaining a brave front for the sake of the children, and handsome young naval officers who succeed in being amorous, decorous, and debonair simultaneously. The war itself is a vague Something which is making a lot of nice people who live in charming houses very uncomfortable. The film succeeds, probably unintentionally, in revealing the general incompetence, even decadence, of American upper-class family life under the impact of war.

I'll Be Seeing You is an elaborate presentation of the problems and symptomatology of the psychoneurotic soldier. The effect is marred both dramatically and psychologically by placing his story and problem in juxtaposition with the improbable story of a girl on good-conduct parole from a women's prison where she was serving a term for a crime which, of course, she had not committed. The protagonists discover each other's peculiar problem, and they part in the prison yard as she returns to prison and he to camp. Obviously, very obviously, the intent is to portray with clinical exactitude the symptoms of psychoneurosis. The voice of the studio's psychiatric consultant isn't actually heard, but one could not question his presence or his competence. But the effect is mechanical, and the association between the problems of the psychologically crippled soldier and the socially crippled girl creates a general out-of-focus, negative atmosphere. The symptoms portrayed seem to be a display of the virtuosity of the studio's staff of professional consultants rather than reactions which grow out of character or situation.

The problems of the psychoneurotic soldier are complex and important, but it is doubtful if they should be dramatized except for the benefit of groups which have a special interest in the problem. In the present instance, although all the symptoms of psychoneurosis are presented with painful accuracy, very little is indicated concerning the underlying social-psychological factors which precipitated or determined the course of the disorder. It may be questioned if the average lay audience got much out of it, except the negative and erroneous conclusion that returning soldiers behave queerly. Perhaps the gravest danger in filming these specialized problems is the implication that all soldiers not only behave queerly, but are more or less permanently damaged by war service.

A much more satisfactory presentation of the problem is found in *Tender Comrade*. This film concerns the soldiers' wives who are war workers. Much might have been made of this theme, and in this picture the problems of the several wives are stated convincingly and with a certain authenticity. The war seems the real and immediate, rather than the remote, cause for the situations which develop. But in the main the solutions are sentimentalized. When the principal wife learns of her husband's death, she delivers to the baby, with gestures (and tears), an in-

credibly bad final speech, and thus the good effect of the picture as a whole is seriously impaired.

A Medal for Benny is a film about war and death and heroes, although there are few soldiers in it and its official hero, Benny, doesn't appear. The war and its emotional meaning come to us through the eyes of Benny's father when he accepts the posthumous award to Benny of the Congressional Medal of Honor from the hands of a U. S. Army general. The social impact of the war and its special significance to the civilian community is indicated by the frantic attempts of the town's leading citizens to raise, temporarily at least, the social and economic status of Benny's father and friends to that level of affluence which will make the correct impression when the newsreels record the presentation of the medal. For it appears that Benny and his father are Mexicans who live on the wrong side of the tracks and in the wrong kind of houses. To the leading banker and other members of the town's booster club this is very embarrassing. To them it scarcely seems an environment fit for heroes. We infer that, in life, Benny was a somewhat riotous character, certainly of no consequence to anyone in town except his own people, and perhaps the local police. The war and death make him a hero and an asset to the community. And, incidentally, a social and economic problem is exposed.

This film gives us an indication of how effective the motion picture can be as a means of communication regarding a current and important problem. In it, a so-called minority group is treated with dignity and respect. This, in itself, is rare. But its most important achievement lies in its affirmative statement of the war, its goals, and the future. It is important to note that it makes these statements without becoming an intellectualized document heavy with what, in the 'thirties, we used to call Social Significance. In simple terms it presents what happens in a community when war comes in the unexpected form of a dead hero. The effectiveness of the film is in no way diminished because it offers no solution to the problem which it exposes. That is up to the audience; but the problem is inescapable, and it is inescapably connected with the war.

There are many films in which the treatment of these problems is incidental or specialized. In *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo* there is an excellent presentation of the fears of a soldier when he faces the first meeting with his wife after the amputation of his leg. The problem is solved happily and realistically without benefit of psychology or psychiatry when the wounded soldier falls flat on his face as he starts toward his wife, and they both sit on the floor and suddenly discover that they haven't any "problem." *Impatient Years* tells the story of a sergeant who returns to find his wife absorbed in domestic life and a baby. He doesn't like it. The marriage is "saved" by the prescription of the wife's father that the couple revisit the places in which they had spent their honeymoon. This they do, with satisfactory results; but it scarcely seems a fundamental approach to the problem of soldier-civilian adjustments. *Sunday Dinner for a Soldier* in some ways presents the most satisfactory attempt to present soldier-civilian relationships in "normal" and, particularly, in positive terms. Unfortunately,

the effect is marred by placing the problem in a plot which is full of whimsy, and providing characters to match. This out-of-this-world atmosphere somehow reduces the central theme to a triviality. There is, however, a realistic note in the uncertain yet hopeful attitudes with which the girl and the soldier face a doubtful future when he returns to duty.

This survey, though incomplete,[2] probably covers a representative sample of the motion pictures in which soldier-civilian relationships have been depicted. With the magnificent exception of *A Medal for Benny* the prospect is bleak indeed. The problems are dealt with romantically, sentimentally, in terms of weeping wives and young love blighted, or as farce or fantasy. It is curious that pictures about actual fighting in the war should be so much more satisfactory. On the whole, these last have fulfilled their proper mission: to afford an opportunity for the audience to achieve in some measure a satisfying, frustration-free, vicarious experience. In contrast, pictures dealing with civilian participation or soldier-civilian relationships are trivial and hackneyed. A great theme, rich with overtones, becomes incidental or merely an occasion for displaying the talents of the studios' professional consultants.

It is not a question of heartbroken wives, disgruntled sergeants, or psychoneurotic symptoms. It is a problem of interaction between groups. Soldiers return not only to sweethearts, wives, and mothers, but also to families, communities, and neighborhoods. The impact of these contacts needs something of the tight group techniques which have been used so effectively in *Sahara* and *Counterattack* and *Lifeboat*.

Radio has done a better job. There have been some excellent presentations in *Assignment Home*. A particular program, for example, presented a returned soldier's reaction to antisemitism on the home front and conveyed a sense of the values for which the war is fought. In the Hollywood Writers Mobilization series, *Reunion U.S.A.*, a very definite ideological "line" was followed. It included the deliberate avoidance of all implications that the returning soldier was psychoneurotic, a stress on his economic problems, his problems as they stem from his age group, civilian attitudes toward soldiers, the pervasive character of guilt feelings growing out of the inequality of sacrifice theme, etc. The format of the series is that of the dramatic story followed by a brief statement of the basic idea by a particular expert. In this series, alternative radio techniques, such as the documentary, were not used. The basic purpose was to tell an interesting story which held the listener's attention in its own right. This opens the interesting question as to the effectiveness of the thirty-minute radio play as a method of conveying an abstract idea.

II

If our major thesis is correct, if it is really true that the great mass media have a uniquely important role to play in the interpretation of soldier-civilian relationships, it will be necessary for those professionally concerned to acquire an understanding of what is

[2] Special films, shorts, etc., which have been made with particular reference to these problems, have not been considered here. Several feature films (which, at this writing, I have not yet seen) deal with these problems, among which *Pride of the Marines* is reported to handle civilian-soldier relations very effectively.

really involved. Our survey indicates that, with certain notable exceptions, the attempts to state the problem and clarify the meaning of the impact of war on civilian life have not only been superficial, but in some instances dangerous.

"Theory" is a word which is frequently misunderstood, but even at the risk of being called academic I shall use it. What is needed is a working theory of human nature in society. There is one such theory which is so widely accepted both in lay and professional groups that it is necessary to consider it in some detail. It is concerned with the effects on the human personality of continued exposure to the stresses and strains of war. These effects are described as temporarily or permanently incapacitating the serviceman for civilian life. In support of this view an impressive literature in the field of psychopathology which emphasizes these destructive consequences of war experience on human behavior is cited. These views originally were based on the studies of a particuliar clinical group, the psychoneurotics. They have come to be the basic frame of reference within which the problems and behavior of a much larger group are interpreted. Indeed, both lay and professional statements may be found in print which characterize all war service, and certainly all combat experience, as traumatic in its effects.

In part, the popular appeal of this formula may lie in the fact that it enables us to solve a tough problem by a neat verbal formula. According to this formula, the returning soldier is really a patient in need of therapy, particularly mental therapy. It says, in effect, that the difficulties of adjustment are due to factors within the individual, not to factors in the society about him. Such a formula seems to make the economic, educational, and personal problems of the returning soldier unimportant or incidental. Since it is in these areas that the civilian has peculiar responsibilities, the sigh of relief with which he accepts the label "psychoneurosis" is eloquent. The categories of psychopathology and the therapies of psychiatry give the layman a comforting sense that there are experts who both understand the complex problems and know what to do about them.

The psychiatrists have widely publicized the statement that "every man has his breaking point." The implication is that in war many men, perhaps all men, will reach that point. The intent of this slogan is kindly. It protects those who have been "broken" from the charge that they belong to a special class of persons, and suggests that the rest of us should not adopt contemptuous or condescending attitudes since it is perhaps only chance that has saved us from facing the crucial experience. But the statement contains only a half truth. In the present situation it may even be a dangerous half truth. If the generalization were completed, it should be added that "every man has a point at which he taps new resources in himself and achieves new insights regarding himself, his place in the world, and the potentialities of his fellow man."

The characterization of war experience as essentially traumatic in its effect on the human personality springs from conceptions of human nature and human personality which are deeply imbedded in contemporary psychiatric

theory.[3] This theory assumes that the basic attributes of the individual are determined by his instinctual needs, and that a primary function of society or the group is to prevent the free expression of these needs in the individual. Willingly or unwillingly he has given up his "natural" freedom and submitted to authority. For whatever he has gained in the way of security and protection he has paid a price in loss of independence. The effects of such submissiveness when long continued under conditions of stress, for example in war, are conceived as permanently impairing the individual's capacity ever to return to independent living. He is regarded as having regressed to a more or less permanent state of dependency on authority.

Writing from this point of view, a psychiatrist, Lt. Col. Grinker, has this to say regarding the consequences to the American soldier of prolonged exposure to combat: "A change may occur within him which must raise a serious and tragic doubt whether he can easily or ever again completely regain his former independence and freedom. When this change is due primarily to a physical injury, the disability is easily apprehended and understood, . . . but when the damage is psychological, the disability is more subtle, and the way back harder to discern. The psychological injury comes from his prolonged exposure to stress and threat in a position of dependence upon a group and complete submissiveness to authority."[4] This is not the place to elaborate the social and political implications of this point of view. The idea of a state of "natural" freedom which is foregone when the individual "joins" society seems very plausible to the amateur psychologist (and what layman is not?). In their more extreme forms such conceptions define all culture as a kind of vast neurosis.[5] It is, of course, a neurosis of a special kind possessing important and compensating by-products.

It is clear that, whatever their value as frames of reference for the interpretation of clinical phenomena, such views have little room for the positive values of group participation and experience. They appear to neglect what I should regard as a unique and primary value, namely, that only in the group are the creative potentialities of the individual fully realized. There is much experimental evidence to support this, particularly in the investigations of Professor Kurt Lewin and others on the dynamics of group behavior. These studies suggest that the group virtually determines the chief characteristics of the individual, regardless of his experience in previous groups. They further suggest that the sharp distinction, even opposition, between the individual and the group which much current psychiatric analysis seems to assume, is unreal. One must

[3] The thinking of nearly all psychiatrists has been profoundly affected by the body of doctrine usually labeled as Freudian. At another time I should like to present a critical analysis of the implications and effects of these concepts for professional writers, particularly writers in Hollywood. At this time I should only point out that Freudian theory presents a view of human life and human social organization which is strongly pessimistic and defeatist. Whether this accounts for its popularity, or whether it is the eternal fascination which pathology has for the layman, is a question not easily answered.

[4] Roy R. Grinker and John P. Spiegel, *Men under Stress,* Blakiston, Philadelphia, 1945, p. 448.

[5] Cf. Géza Róheim, "The Origin and Function of Culture," *Nervous and Mental Disease Monographs,* No. 69, New York, 1943.

remember, of course, that the positive, creative effects are not found in all groups. Such factors as the distribution of authority within the group, its goals, and its morale are important.

The military group, because of its authoritarian, hierarchical character, is not primarily designed to elicit positive creative types of response unless special attention is paid to factors of morale, to indoctrination and information regarding the objectives of specific military operations, and the valid goals of the war itself. Under these circumstances, even tightly knit military units may have other than wholly negative effects on the individual. It must also be pointed out that the results of the studies of group dynamics suggest that the individual may shift from authoritarian to democratic types of group structures without too much difficulty.

There is the group of men whose adjustments to military service is such as to bring them to the professional attention of the psychiatrist, and, in some cases, to lead to their discharge. The proportion of men actually discharged for psychiatric reasons is currently reported to be approximately thirty to forty per cent of all medical discharges. It is exceedingly difficult to make a statistical statement which will accurately reflect reality regarding the proportion of men who are temporarily or permanently incapacitated for civilian life because of psychiatric disabilities incurred in war service. "Psychiatric" as here used includes a wide variety of disabilities and maladjustments. Certainly not all those who are mentally disabled by the war will be so diagnosed at the time of discharge, and in the case of many who are so diagnosed the discharge itself will effect a cure.

There is no intent to minimize the importance of the problems of this particular group. Theirs is a very special problem requiring skilled and sympathetic insights. However, they will only constitute a relatively small proportion of the total number of men ultimately to be discharged from the armed services, and a dangerous error would be committed if the whole question of soldier-civilian relationships in the postwar world should be stated in neuropsychiatric terms. Grinker seems to do this when he says that even in those who do not become psychiatric casualties "some degree of psychological injury takes place," although for many he grants that these effects will be transient.

It is clear that from the point of view of many psychiatrists the returned soldier, as Grinker says, "Comes back not a strong hero, but physically and psychologically depleted."[6] If it is true that "angry, regressed, anxiety-ridden, dependent men" are returning to civilian life in large numbers, the future appears dark indeed. I suggest that the current formulations of psychiatry based on clinical experience with a particular group should be generalized with the greatest caution. The mantle of success of the psychiatrist as a therapist and physician dealing with the individual case does not necessarily descend on him as a theoretician in the field of social behavior.

III

The fact that the military prosecution of the war takes place on fronts thousands of miles away from home virtually creates the problem of the "returning" soldier. This separation is both

[6] *Op. cit.*, p. 449.

geographic and psychological. Two groups have been created, each with its special type of war-connected experience and its own particular attitudes. Each thinks of the other in terms of fantasy. It is true that these fantasies have in some measure been corrected by the various channels of communication: letters, newspapers and, particularly, the radio and motion picture. Letters, at best, are a tenuous and unreliable form of contact. The other media tend to convey pictures which are, in greater or less degree, inaccurate.

The cleavage between these groups is accentuated by the age distribution of each. The army and navy are made up of men who are young. More than half of them are less than twenty-five years of age. This fact becomes significant when it is translated into peculiarities of outlook, ambitions, and interests, as contrasted with the older civilian group. In the main the soldier belongs to a group which has "come of age" during the period of its war experience. He has reached maturity much sooner than he would have done under normal peacetime circumstances. And, because of the character of the war he has fought, it is probable that it is a different kind of maturity, that it represents an outlook on life different from that of any corresponding generation of young people in history. In any event, the emotional and intellectual integrations of the young man of twenty-five or twenty-eight who has reached his majority on the battlefields of Europe, or at Kwajalein or Okinawa, are not comparable to those of the young man of the same age in 1936 or 1927, or even 1917.

The age distribution of the men in service has particular significance with respect to their vocational problems. Because so many are in the younger age groups, a substantial proportion, perhaps nearly half, will have had no job experience except in the army or navy. This lack of experience in the competitive world of the civilian may be the basis of intense insecurity and anxiety feelings as they face the postwar world. Those in the older groups may not desire to return to the jobs they left. The story, which is probably apocryphal, of the dither into which a motion-picture studio was thrown when one of its parking-lot attendants returned from the wars a lieutenant colonel illustrates a type of case which will require skilled adjustment. A waiting job may not be enough.

Surveys have indicated that anxiety about jobs after the war takes precedence over all other anxieties, even those much-publicized ones concerning the soldier's wife or sweetheart. Current psychiatric analyses show a singular indifference to this aspect of these problems.[7] All the devices to facilitate the adjustment of the soldier to civilian life, including those of psychiatry, will probably be ineffectual unless the basic problem of the soldier's job is solved. Full employment is no utopian phrase or politician's slogan. This is a problem, of course, which is not confined to the returning soldier. The civilian confronts the possibility that his wartime job may be liquidated, or that the job which he holds may be restored to a returning serviceman. It is obvious that the possible competition of soldiers and civilians for nonexistent or rare jobs will widen the gap between the two groups.

[7] Grinker, for example, appears to believe that psychotherapy *sans* job is sufficient.

Additional sources of tension-creating conflict between soldier and civilian are marital difficulties, the continuation of women as wage earners, the faithfulness of the girl friend, etc. These domestic-personal problems may result in anxieties which are readily projected on the civilian "back home" or, by the civilian, on the soldier at the front. The male civilian who in the soldier's fantasy is a fraudulent 4F, or has a "soft" war job, is likely to be the object of bitter speculation, particularly when rumor says that the girl who was left behind has found consolation. The question whether the unmarried woman worker or the working wife or mother will retain her wartime job, particularly if the job might conceivably be held by a returning soldier, may aggravate already existing sex tensions and sex antagonisms between the soldier and civilian groups.

Geographic separation, differences in the types of war experience, differences in vocational and job potentialities, differences in age levels, are the principal objective situations out of which the psychological problems of soldier-civilian adjustment arise. It is easy to misunderstand this distinction between psychological and objective factors. It suggests a distinction between the "real" and the imaginary, or between normality and abnormality. Nothing could be further from my intention. There is not only no scientific validity to such a dichotomy, but it is a distinction which may dangerously obscure the issue.

The distinction between objective and psychological is only a distinction between levels of reality. There is nothing in the nature of an illusion about the psychological factors that act as barriers between soldier and civilian. The psychological factors grow out of and are interrelated with the objective situation. They are the beliefs, attitudes, and stereotypes which the individual has acquired and which serve to identify his situation and his role in it. These identifications are, for him, real. It is only a manner of speaking to call them psychological.

Latent or overt hostility and resentment seem to be the most outstanding characteristics of the attitudes of each group toward the other. These feelings are expressed in a variety of ways and with all degrees of intensity. The civilian is damned in uninhibited language as a coward and a two-timer, or is just quietly detested as a person who can't possibly understand. These aggressive attitudes primarily are compensations for deep-seated feelings of insecurity which are related to fears about job scarcity, loss of friends and comrades, loss of confidence in one's ability to hold a job, or fear of civilian competition either in love or in business.

Whatever military life may have signified in the way of boredom, discomfort, pain, and suffering, for many men it has also meant security and solidarity of purpose. A common cause was being served, perhaps with a surface skepticism and resentment, but also, perhaps, with more passion and devotion than the civilian suspects. Capacity for comradeship and collective forms of action are scarcely virtues in a civilian culture committed to individualism and competitive enterprise. It is paradoxical, perhaps tragic, that these positive values of the war may be sources of maladjustment for the soldier when he returns.

The sudden removal of the bulwarks

of comradeship precipitates the soldier into a world of competitiveness which seems harsh and uncompromising. His anxiety concerning his future in this world, and his lack of confidence in his capacity to cope with it on its own terms, is not easily admitted, even to himself. His defenses go up in the form of hostility and active aggression. These reactions on his part, it should be noted, do not necessarily spring from some weakness or psychological depletion acquired in war, but result from the conditions of civil life itself. These conditions are an integral part of our cultural pattern to which we demand that the soldier adjust.

A closely related group of factors which contributes to a sense of insecurity is half-conscious guilt feelings. These feelings may spring from the soldier's own sense of failure or inadequacy of performance in the war, and, with that interesting unlogical logic by which the human animal protects himself in a nonrational world, are projected on others in the form of accusations of failure. The basic theme underlying all these manifestations is inequality of sacrifice. This theme is characteristic of our guilt-burdened culture, and in particular reflects our peculiar role in the war. For the civilian this role has been one of only partial participation. He has not confronted the enemy. He has supported the war rather than participated in it. His experiences of it have of necessity been vicarious. The official propaganda "line" of the bondselling campaigns have impressed on him the inadequacy of his contribution as compared with that of the man or woman in uniform.

The man in uniform is also conditioned by these culture patterns, although not in exactly the same manner. He may overevaluate his part in the war simply because of the distance which separates him from those for whom he fights. He, too, of course, may also suffer from a sense of guilt because of the fact that he has been "in" the war but not in combat, or, if in combat, he has not been sufficiently "heroic."

These patterns of frustration and guilt, aggravated by geographical separation of those who fight from those who cannot, create a situation which is not duplicated in other countries. It is a situation which generates tensions in both the soldier and the civilian which may ultimately express themselves in various types of hostility. These attitudes are not a result of war as such; rather, they are the psychological consequences of the peculiar conditions under which the U.S.A. wages war.

IV

The intent of this analysis is to suggest that the difficulties, if any, of the returning soldier arise primarily from his interaction with the peculiar conditions of our civilian life. This is the life from which he came, many of the habits of which he was forced to lose in the course of his civilian-to-soldier training. It is the life to which he returns, a changed and changing individual. And, again, it is necessary for him to be trained. But the civilian "life" itself has also changed in many important respects, although certain persisting patterns remain. It is still competitive, "individualistic," and, for certain groups, amazingly guilt-laden. In many of its fundamental aspects it is insecure rather than secure.

The situation which is created by these forces potentially makes a "prob-

lem" out of every soldier who faces the peculiar stresses of the impacts with our civilian life. If it does not, it will be because of the resilience of human nature, the positive effects of the war experience, and because of those agencies in civilian life which are positively oriented with respect to the whole problem of soldier-civilian adjustment.

The positive orientation of the civilian becomes a primary necessity. It is perhaps the first educational problem of our time. Social and psychological dislocations on this scale have never before occurred in history. If the conditions indicated are uncompensated for, and if the psychological and social gaps which separate soldier from civilian are not closed, we may face disaster equal to the war itself.

For those of us who have a professional interest in these problems, the questions, at least, are simple. What are we trying to say about the war? How do we see ourselves and our future in the postwar world? Is the answer to be a literature of disillusionment? This was the answer in 1920. It was found, for example, in the distilled and savage cynicism of Richard Aldington's *The Death of a Hero* and the bitter disillusionment of Dos Passos' *The Big Money*.

There are indications that similar interpretations are now in the making. Such a picture as *Since You Went Away*, in its very elaborateness, conveys a sense of nostalgia for things as they were. In a recently published novel by Richard Brooks, *The Brick Foxhole*, the note of cynicism sounds again. This book is concerned with the frustrations of the soldiers in barracks who do not get overseas. It is filled with hate and contempt for civilian ineptitudes and stupidities. In these presentations people are bruised mentally and physically, and there seems to be no compensating capacity for recovery, no solid sense of the human capacity to deal creatively and constructively with human problems and catastrophes. Instead, there is frustration and defeat. They are destroyed by the catastrophes which they face.

In a sense these interpretations may be accurate. They may well reflect the frustrations and weaknesses of certain classes who are so conditioned culturally that the "breaking point" about which we have heard so much is quickly reached. The danger lies in assuming that such culturally conditioned difficulties are the result of weaknesses imbedded in the human psyche, wherever it is found.

Even if we accepted the current psychiatric descriptions as accurate, it is pertinent to ask, Can the psychiatric clinic alone solve the problem? If a substantial proportion—many psychiatrists appear to believe nearly all—of the returning servicemen are so psychologically damaged by the war as to require therapy, there are not enough psychiatrists in the world to treat them. Even if the number of psychiatrically trained individuals were doubled or tripled, there still would not be enough to apply current time-consuming therapeutic methods.

The answer to this problem must take other directions. It seems to me that one of them is the intelligent and imaginative use of the mass media of communication, not for therapy, but for education.

I do not wish to imply that motion pictures, radio dramas, or novels can by themselves solve these problems. But they can offer positive and creative in-

terpretations. These, I am sure, may not be found in the negative formulations of Freudian psychiatry or even in the framework of the clinic. Nor will they be found in a negative definition of the war and its outcomes.

This last is perhaps the basic point. The terriffic readjustment demanded of the soldier when he was translated from a world committed to doctrines of peace with its condemnation of force and destruction to a world in which destruction was a way of life now compels him to raise a basic question. Was it worth it? The answer to this question may have devastating effects. If the basic war-engendered goals and securities are undermined or destroyed in peacetime life, the answer will be bitter disillusionment and defeat. If the dynamic forces released in positively oriented, democratically structured groups are utilized, the answer may be the elimination of the "problem" of the returning soldier. A positive contribution of the war itself has been the utilization of some of these forces. The returning hero may be a better man than he or we know.

[Following are particulars of the motion pictures and radio programs mentioned in the text and notes.]

Assignment Home; Columbia Broadcasting System, broadcast 1:30–2:00 P.M. (time later changed to 7:15–7:45 P.M.), P.W.T. Writers: Sgt. Arthur Laurents, Corp. Arnold Perl.

Counterattack; Col; 1945. Director: Zoltan Korda. Authors: Janet and Philip Stevenson. Screen play: John Howard Lawson.

I'll Be Seeing You; Vanguard Films, Inc.; UA; 1944. Director: William Dieterle. Unpublished play, "Double Furlough": Charles Martin. Screen play: Marion Parsonnet.

Impatient Years; Col; 1944. Director: Irving Cummings. Original story: Virginia Van Alt. Screen play: Virginia Van Alt.

Lifeboat; Tw; 1944. Director: Alfred Hitchcock. Original story: John Steinbeck. Screen play: Jo Swerling.

A Medal for Benny; Par; 1945. Director: Irving Pichel. Original story: John Steinbeck and Jack Wagner. Screen play: Frank Butler.

Pride of the Marines; WB; 1945. Director: Delmer Daves. Adapted, book: Roger Butterfield. Screen play: Albert Maltz.

Reunion, U.S.A.; American Broadcasting Company, Monday, 7:30–8:00 P.M., P.W.T. Written and produced by the Hollywood Writers Mobilization. Writers: Abraham L. Polonsky; Pauline and Leo Townsend; John Whedon; Ranald MacDougall and Sam Moore; Jerome Epstein; Leon Meadow; Milton Merlin; Carlton Moss and Sylvia Richards; Aaron Ruben; Louis Solomon and Harold Buchman; Dwight Hauser; Janet and Philip Stevenson; David Hertz.

Sahara; Col; 1943. Director: Zoltan Korda. Original story: Philip MacDonald. Screen play: John Howard Lawson and Zoltan Korda. Contributor to treatment: James O'Hanlon.

Since You Went Away; Vanguard Films, Inc.; UA; 1944. Director: John Cromwell. Adapted, book of letters: Margaret Buell Wilder. Screen play: D. O. Selznick. Adaptation: Margaret Buell Wilder.

Sunday Dinner for a Soldier; Tw; 1944. Director: Lloyd Bacon. Adapted, short story: Martha Chavens. Screen play: Wanda Tuchock and Melvin Levy.

Tender Comrade; RKO-Radio; 1943. Director: Edward Dmytryk. Original story: Dalton Trumbo. Screen play: Dalton Trumbo.

Thirty Seconds over Tokyo; MGM, Loews; 1944. Director: Mervyn LeRoy. Book and *Collier's* story: Capt. Ted W. Lawson and Robert Considine. Screen play: Dalton Trumbo.

Communications

ON PLAYING WILSON

ALEXANDER KNOX

ALEXANDER KNOX is an author of novels and plays. He has acted on the stage and for the screen in England and in this country. In addition to *Wilson*, he has recently appeared in *Sea Wolf* and *Over 21*.

A PROPER SUBTITLE to this note might be, "How I came to wish that Wilson had been dead for a thousand years instead of twenty-five." The root of the problem was selection, and the difficulties grew with every foot of film. On the basis of my experiences I feel reasonably sure that Shakespeare found it easier to write *King Lear* than *Henry VIII*, and the fact that he probably had collaborators on the latter play seems to support my suspicion. H. G. Wells once said that Bernard Shaw found it easier to write *St. Joan* than he would find a similar play about Lloyd George.

A pianist has to develop manual dexterity into a technique, and he has to use this technique creatively to interpret his composer. An actor has to mimic a live man and then employ his mimicry to interpret the man's moods, motives, and character.

In his function as mimic the actor must not only select the mannerisms which seem most significant in the man he is playing; he must also select the mannerisms which he as an actor is best fitted to bring to life in the frame of the author's conception of the man. An actor seems to me to be good if he can exercise these functions intelligently and subtly so that the audience is not conscious of the join—is encouraged, that is, to suspend disbelief and finally to accept the enactment as a human being. Both of these functions of the actor become more difficult as the character he is playing becomes more complex, less ordinary, farther from the normal experience of audiences.

Critics sometimes say that an actor "is" the part he is playing. There are certain parts which an actor can literally "be," parts in which the best acting is the most accurate behaving. But if authors are permitted to write about people who are at a certain remove from the average, this kind of "being" or "behaving" is not enough. No actor can "be" Lincoln or King Lear. If he could, he would be in the White House or wandering about Dartmoor. The actor who attempts to play a part of such scope can hope to achieve only a moderate suspension of disbelief for a couple of hours.

Everyone has seen newsreels of important men of our time which give the audience no impression whatsoever of why the man is important. The realistic photographing of an incident is not necessarily in itself dramatic. To make the photograph of Hitler dancing at the fall of France dramatic there must be a background of contemporary knowledge against which the audience can place the photograph, or there must be a story, a screen play, a drama.

Since playing Wilson, I have been asked by many people for opinions on the man and various events of his life. This brings up another difficulty. The actor has to play the character the author creates, not necessarily the char-

acter he himself conceives. Even among his intimate friends I have met no two people whose opinions about Wilson were identical—much less their emotional attitudes toward him. When the chance to play Wilson was given me I was very glad that I had done most of the essential reading about him many years before. It seemed important to me to play Lamar Trotti's Wilson and not my Wilson. Mr. Trotti's Wilson was a definite imaginative creation, with a definite dramatic impact, and it was possible to select from the vague Wilson background in my mind the facets and quirks which seemed to me to fit Mr. Trotti's conception. Whenever there was any doubt in my mind, it was easy to refer to Ray Stannard Baker's biography, but, right or wrong, I felt it wiser not to do too much study of the source materials. Having read Baker again since making the film, I have an even higher opinion of Mr. Trotti's ability as a dramatist than I had before.

On the set during the filming, Ray Stannard Baker, one of the most distinguished biographers of our time, behaved sometimes as if we were doing him a favor by listening to his suggestions. In two days he knew as much about the problems of making the film as I did in two months, and his faculty for catching the significance of the immediate problem was a tremendous help to me. Miles MacCahill, who was with Wilson on many of his tours and in Paris, was on the set too, and his stories, although they had a slightly different approach from Mr. Baker's, were very helpful for that reason.

Many other friends and acquaintances of Wilson visited the set, and they were not all as helpful as Mr. Baker and Mr. MacCahill, both of whom seemed to know, without being told, that playing a part is not a rummage sale of mannerisms. I was told that Wilson fiddled with his ring while struggling to make a decision, that he pressed the bridge of his nose when he was tired, that he played with his watch chain when he was irritated, that he kept his mouth open—kept his mouth closed—occasionally moved his scalp—had wide, clear, inquiring eyes—had cold, snakelike slits of eyes—walked like a soldier (complimentary)—walked like a wooden soldier (uncomplimentary)—never used his hands as an aid to rhetoric—used his hands dramatically—that his main gesture while speaking was a downward motion of his right hand from the level of his eyes—a finger-shaking motion ending above his head—that his movements in debate were sharp—that he never moved—and finally that his voice was high—was low—was sharp—was even—was uneven—harsh—smooth—soft—hard—gentle. And this is just section A1, mannerisms, one of the raw materials for suggesting character.

My chief conclusion from the *Wilson* experience is that, for the sake of the actor, authors planning to use historical material should select characters from a period not later than the middle of the nineteenth century. And I have one small piece of advice which I am delighted to pass on to anyone who plans to be a "great man." Wear a beard. Or, at least, a mustache. G. B. Shaw and Stalin will, for a couple of thousand years, be played by good actors. Since you can make any actor look like Shaw, there's nothing against choosing a good one. It's going to be tougher with Churchill.

LEGION OR LEAVEN?

P. J. O'ROURKE

UNOBTRUSIVELY taking its place among the variety of advisory organizations that dot the American scene are the Radio Councils, a movement of considerable interest and worth watching. In point of age the Councils are young, for the first was begun in Minnesota as recently as 1939. Today there are at least thirty-three, with more in the process of formation. They cover the country from east to west and from north to south; from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia to Sacramento, Portland, and Seattle; and from Minnesota to Tennessee.

They stress the fact that a Radio Council is civic in nature, "representative of the interest and viewpoints of community organizations, clubs, educational institutions and the radio industry." Its purposes are fourfold:

1. "To interpret the problems of the radio industry, and to bring the wishes of the listeners to the broadcasters.

2. "To provide a meeting ground for the industry, lay participants in radio, and the listening public in the promotion of American Radio in its democratic processes.

3. "To promote civic interests more effectively by developing closer coöperation between local organizations and the radio stations.

4. "To develop and maintain the highest individual standards of radio appreciation."

Membership is drawn from the radio stations in the community, organizations which participate in radio or listen to its programs, civic and patriotic groups, clubs, religious groups, the Junior League, the A.A.U.W., Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., and various study groups.

The most prominent activity carried on by the Councils is program evaluation. In this connection the work of the Radio Council of Greater Cleveland is most worth examination because it is, to my way of thinking, the best organized Council in the country. One hundred and ten organizations are represented. Their monthly schedule lists programs under a variety of heads, including world news, music, women's interests, quiz contests, forums, and mystery and adventure stories. So effectively has this undertaking functioned that the networks have turned over to them the allocation of public service time.

Likewise the Minnesota Radio Council, the Radio Council of Greater Kansas City, and the Cedar Rapids Radio Council distribute printed leaflets listing recommended programs. In addition to this means of influencing the public with respect to what it should hear, recommendations are made by means of press releases, bulletin-board displays, and through cooperation and campaigns with local dealers.

These are the available facts, most of them presented by Mrs. Dorothy Lewis, Coördinator of Listener Activity of the National Association of Broadcasters. The picture shows us the community getting together for a neighborly powwow about preferred programs on the air. But behind this pleasant neighborliness I can see the possibilities of an enormous and well-organized pressure group which can encourage some programs and keep others off the air. It is certainly no acci-

dent that the moving spirit in the organization is the National Association of Broadcasters, which represents network management.

A good hint of the direction that these neighborly community groups can take in pressuring is conveyed in a recent speech given by Mrs. Lewis. "In the American system of broadcasting," she says, "we have a remarkable opportunity to demonstrate a high type of democracy and to maintain one of our greatest freedoms—freedom of the air." Continuing, she asks, "Do we have a challenge to this freedom today? Indeed we do, a very current challenge. Recently, through the decision of the Supreme Court, upholding the Federal Communication Commission's rulings on network and local station operation, we have had a threat to free radio and free press. . . . We are so busy winning the war for freedom, we may lose it quietly on the home front, in the very air we breathe." In short, it is the F.C.C. and the Supreme Court which threaten our liberties.

It is worth noting that while the suggestions about recruiting membership specifically mention the Junior League, the A.A.U.W., and the Council of Social Agencies as proper sources, there is no mention of labor. The leaders of the councils as they are now organized are not experts in any sense. They are not academically trained for the job, but are selected from the community and guided in an untechnical way by station managers and other representatives of the radio industry. There is neither psychologist nor sociologist nor professional art or music critic to offer help or suggestions.

It may be argued that a civic group, choosing and recommending programs, saves the networks many a headache. But it is an inescapable conclusion that unless it is truly representative of the whole community, any organization that exists for the purpose of encouraging and discouraging radio programs leads into censorship. And from censorship it is only a step to another Legion of Decency.

Not long ago a poll of Radio Councils was taken. One of the questions was, "Just how much of a leaven do you think your Radio Council has been, not only in the community's intellectual life, but in creating greater friendliness?" The implication, of course, is that wherever there is a Council there is also sweetness and light. But this question immediately poses another, one far graver and full of future possibilities. It is simply, "Which shall it be, Legion or leaven?"

WANTED: AIDS IN RESEARCH

LAWRENCE CLARK POWELL

THE LIBRARY on the Los Angeles campus of the University of California proposes to establish a research collection for the history of the motion-picture industry. Since it is the largest general research library in the Pacific Southwest, and is in the very heart of the motion-picture area, this library is well qualified to become the central point for research on Hollywood. There is already a demand from graduate students and faculty for materials by which they can study the rise of the films from humble origins to one of America's great industries.

The Library seeks to acquire several types of research materials, including: (1) books and pamphlets, technical and popular, on all phases of motion-pic-

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In relation to the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences library the University program is intended to be coöperative rather than competitive. The University plans to copy the Academy's card catalogue to the end that needless duplication be avoided; and furthermore, it recognizes the unique preëminence of the Academy library in certain categories of material. Because of the largeness of the subject and the difference in clientele served, the University and the Academy both believe that there is a place and a need for a second collection in this area.

The collection thus assembled would be made available to all qualified researchers, whether or not they were connected with the University. To help in its establishment the Library invites correspondence with interested persons in and out of Hollywood, and asks that they communicate with Dr. Lawrence Clark Powell, Librarian, University of California, Los Angeles 24.

LETTER FROM A SERVICEMAN*

WALTER HOPKINS

HAVING RECENTLY returned from overseas duty, I think you might be interested in a report on a radio program offered through the Armed Forces Radio that has no counterpart in the United States (at least the Pacific Coast states). It was a nightly fifteen-minute program of fine poetry with a musical background.

Since it goes without saying that the services can produce anywhere a pretty good cross-section of American tastes, it was with surprise and gratification that I noted such an overwhelming number of the fellows showing genuine signs of enjoyment of the selections offered, whether they were from Elizabeth Barrett Browning's sonnets or Dorothy Parker's poetic wit. Obviously, it did not have the drawing power of the Hit Parade or Bob Hope, but for a "highbrow" program the Crossley rating would have been unusually high.

As far as I know, the program is produced exclusively for the Armed Forces Radio. Each evening, a different well-known actress read favorite selections from the established poetry of the English language, ranging from John Donne to Amy Lowell and Walt Whitman. A background of organ music was provided.

A delivery beautifully given was more important than the name. Sometimes the music got in the way, as it most often did when popular numbers with too-lush registrations were sandwiched between Shelley and Whittier.

It has seemed strange to me that, with the magnificent poetry of the English language and the perfect medium which radio offers for its presentation, so little of it is to be heard on the air. (I reject the poetic froth that is to be read in the women's magazines and heard occasionally on women's programs.)

* This letter was made available through the courtesy of Station KNX, Los Angeles.

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Book Reviews

FILMDOM AT WAR

Movie Lot to Beachhead. By the Editors of *Look*. New York: Doubleday, Doran. 1945. $3.50

THE WARTIME ROLES played by motion pictures and their craftsmen are sketched with news-magazine brevity to create the theme of *Movie Lot to Beachhead* by the Editors of *Look* magazine. A by-product of a national illustrated weekly's harvest of spot-news pictures from the war fronts, the Hollywood studios, and numerous government agencies, this book has been severely reproved in several quarters on the grounds that it smacks of fan-magazine journalism and fails to give greater critical perspective and detail to its subject. The former charge is carping, and the latter voices the hope of sciolists who expect extrasensory perception from the editors.

Viewed as a newsreel, for the book is no more than that, it creates and holds interest throughout its 291 pages and, as with the newsreel, one is only aware of its inadequacies and omissions when it is over. It was assembled from available photographic material upon which an editorial design was superimposed. It is spot-news reporting in book form and a fair, thumbnail record of an industry's endeavors, compiled while that industry was still serving the war effort. Only with adequate research material and a careful analysis permitted by time and distance will it be possible to appraise truly the worth and effectiveness of filmdom's contributions to winning the war.

The chief criticism that has been directed against *Movie Lot to Beachhead* is that the many pages devoted to the war activities of movie stars reduce its appeal to the level of fodder for the movie fans. This is both cynical and shortsighted. Movie stars have gone to war like the people of other industries. They are an integral part of motion pictures, and their war contributions most certainly belong in any record of the industry. Hundreds who were not called to the armed services have given freely and generously of their time and talent as U.S.O. entertainers and for the War Loan and Red Cross Blood Bank campaigns. The book covers this phase of the record effectively, and often amusingly, showing the war duties undertaken by Hollywood's players, writers, directors, cameramen, producers, and technicians and the far-flung travels of its morale-maintaining entertainers. In his preface, Robert St. John writes, "We war correspondents, who have seen all these activities of Hollywood folk abroad, are today among the most respectful. We can vouch for the truth of what the pages of this book portray."

With texts and a plentitude of pictures, *Movie Lot to Beachhead* swiftly and briefly—often too briefly—outlines the scope of wartime films, the new uses of film, and the possible role of movies in the postwar world. The future possibilities for visual education in schools and industry are strongly indicated by army and navy training films in whose technique a large number of writers and directors have been

qualified. Scenes showing the teaching of new surgical techniques, agricultural methods, sanitation, social welfare, and how the F.B.I. uses film reveal but a few of the great opportunities that await postwar motion-picture makers. Scenes from the excellent pictures made by the Office of War Information should serve as reminders that, with little effort, motion pictures can always win friends and influence people, particularly in the realm of interpreting our nation to the other nations of the world.

The fine work of combat cameramen, many recruited from Hollywood studios, impresses one with the important part photography and visualization of war events have played in our daily lives, conditioning our thinking, our emotions, and our opinions. Much of the nation's high war morale can be traced directly to the pictures which these men made on the beachheads and on the fields of battle.

Until a more comprehensive survey of filmdom at war is made, *Movie Lot to Beachhead* can serve as a good photo report, especially for those concerned with the problems of picture making.

JOHN LARKIN

MORE FILM PLAYS

Best Film Plays of 1943–1944. Edited by John Gassner and Dudley Nichols. New York: Crown Publishers. 1945. $3.00

WITH THE appearance of *Best Film Plays of 1943–1944* the publication of screen plays becomes an institution.* There will be annual collections, and the works of individuals will be offered separately, as the radio dramas of Corwin have been. When the inevitable query is raised, "But is it literature, is it art?" the judicious will not be troubled to find a reply. Even though Aristotle failed somehow to anticipate it, professional and academic critics would do well to concern themselves with the screen play. Those academic critics who take their exercise in the literary quarterlies, and who have been straining themselves to discover new and intricate methods for dissecting a lyric poem, would do their readers a service if they released the butterfly and turned their attention to a form of art that is vigorous and stirring, a form which is just entering the Plastic Age and which has unlimited potentialities for good or evil.

Best Film Plays of 1943–1944 is in one respect more satisfactory than its predecessor: it contains a fair proportion of material designed originally and solely for the screen. It may be that the title is a misnomer; one could easily make out a case for the merits of several works not included. But on the whole the volume seems to be representative of much of the good writing during the year which is covered, and certainly representative of the various types which the best screen writers have cultivated during the same period. The introductory remarks by the editors are generally sensible and discriminating. Of the remaining portion of the editors' task—the alteration of technical directions in the script for the benefit of the general reader, or the metamorphosis of the "shooting" script into the "seeing" script—much needs to be said, but it would require a special article to deal properly with it. Should

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the directions aim to be merely unobtrusive and utilitarian, or should they read like the prose of a good story? Whatever the answer, everyone will agree that they should not sink to the lumpish bathos of a passage in *Wuthering Heights,* where, after a finely written scene between Cathy and Heathcliff on the moors, the locale shifts and the directions read: "An effulgent and highly becoming costume is being buttoned up on Cathy."

The volume before us is consistently entertaining and will appeal to a large variety of tastes. No play contained in it approaches the stature of a masterpiece, but there are fine individual scenes and a great deal of crisp and competent writing. Has the stage play in recent years done any better?

Not all of these screen plays are uniformly good or exciting. Probably *Wilson* loses most by its separation from the screen; it saunters along with the leisurely gait of a pageant; it unreels like history; it lacks the concentration of dramatic forces which can move us profoundly. As outright melodrama, *Casablanca* goes along with a rattle-crash-bang tempo until Rick, the blood-and-action Hemingway hero, faced with the crucial decision, drools with tender passion and, in a speech slightly reminiscent of the final sentence in *A Tale of Two Cities,* covers his previous night's adultery with the language of romantic sensibility. *Going My Way,* which the editors offer as "spiritual fare," succeeds in oozing treacle; what it has to say would have been timely in the days of John Milton, and only a dash of good nature and mild humor saves it from the positive mawkishness of *Here Comes Mr. Jordan.* The three farces appearing in this collection, *The Miracle of Morgan's Creek, The More the Merrier,* and *Hail the Conquering Hero,* are gay and rollicking affairs of the sort which Hollywood does so well; they are slick and smart and neat even in those moments when you see the machinery working.

As for the "literary" quality of the dialogue in this volume, it is an amusing piece of irony that the most robust and eloquent speech given to any of the characters is placed in the mouths of Chinese peasants in *Dragon Seed.*

If the reader looks for a vigorous dramatic presentation of intellectual movements and social ideas in these plays, he will be somewhat disappointed. There are half-hearted gestures in that direction, there are faltering steps, there are even tender glances. But they never quite carry through. *The Ox-Bow Incident* rather effectively dramatizes a scene of mob violence; yet the picture is set in the framework of an artificial problem, for the victim is both virtuous and innocent, and nobody would condone the lynching of such a man. *Watch on the Rhine* works up to a good dramatic climax, but after the reader is warned that the world has changed and that there are dangerous people even in America, he discovers that the fascist peril in our country is represented by a tough man in the German embassy and by a nasty specimen of the jaded Rumanian playboy. *Dragon Seed,* perhaps, comes nearest to success. It dramatizes the fact that resistance to the kind of tyranny wielded by the Axis grows with the people's realization of the brotherhood of man. Yet this is an aside; the play really centers upon the fight of good men (good because they love their soil and their families) against invading

soldiers. The action is troubled with indecision, which appears most clearly in the treatment of Jade and of Third Cousin. At the outset Jade and Third Cousin symbolize, in their thirst for books, that craving for knowledge which lifts one over the barriers of daily duties and small sympathies and petty preoccupations to a literate companionship with many men and wiser minds. But the symbol of the book as the key to freedom soon breaks down, for Jade abandons the book for the life of action, and Third Cousin redeems himself from contempt only by turning from the printed page to beat his wife and so to be "born a man again."

Loose ends, indecisiveness, unresolved tensions, unrealized implications, botched symbolism—these are some of the weaknesses of the screen play revealed in the Gassner-Nichols offering. For the most part these weaknesses would not be evident on the screen, where the sweep and dash of action and the fascination of color and photographic detail hurry us over the discrepancies. Still, if the screen play is to stand on its own feet, the elements of it must be more carefully thought out and integrated, and the values must be dramatic rather than pictorial. In the few years since the introduction of the talkies the development of the potentialities in the form has been astounding. It is in no way detracting from the glory of our present screen writers to observe that a good deal remains to be done.

E. N. HOOKER

PHOTOGRAPHY

History of Photography. By JOSEPH MARIA EDER; translated by Edward Epstean. New York: Columbia University Press. 1945. $10.00

JOSEF MARIA EDER'S monumental *Geschichte der Photographie,* known to students of photography from countless bibliographic references to it, is now available in an excellent translation by Edward Epstean. From the vast literature of physics, chemistry, optics, and the multitude of sciences that enter into the making of a photograph, Eder has assembled material that makes this one of the most comprehensive of all histories of photography. As a director of various photographic research institutes in Vienna, he had unusual opportunities for conducting investigations, and access to documents and rare incunabula available to few. Hence he was sought out by researchers and inventors in photography; he knew most of the outstanding workers personally, and carried on extensive correspondence with others.

The result is a well-documented work, providing the key by which the student may check original sources; and the material is so interestingly presented that the work is by no means dull reading. Eder's comprehensive knowledge of the subject, and his scientific ability to discern relationships and weigh them, have enabled him to cull from the multitude of scientific discoveries those that directly had an influence on the evolution of the photographic process.

The first chapters painstakingly show the slow discovery by which the photosensitive substances became known from the time of Aristotle on through the contributions of the alchemists and the camera obscura of the Arabians. With the story of Niepce and Daguerre, whose discoveries, announced in 1839, may be said to be the birth of photography, the book takes on the pace of a

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good mystery story and is difficult to lay aside. In no other work of which I know can one find the whole story of Niepce and Daguerre as here presented. All the personal details are so clearly drawn that the reader can visualize the manner and appearance of these men and the equipment of their studios and darkrooms. One of the great values of Eder's book is the biographical data it contains. We meet all the important contributors to the science of photography. We see and know them as persons rather than just names in a book. The reader is introduced to the early lens makers and the evolution of the photographic objective. The discoveries of Petzval are revealed, and we learn of the researches of the glassmakers from ancient to modern times.

The applications of photography to the many and various uses to which it is now put are carefully digested by Eder. We are told much of the history of the lithographic process, microphotography, astronomical photography, and the step-by-step evolution of color photography. In digesting so wide a variety of subjects, condensation is unavoidable, and thereby some misconceptions are bound to occur.

The over-all tone of Eder's work is unbiased, but he is honest to admit that he has made an especial effort to honor the work of his compatriots. This is a common failing. The success of the motion-picture invention later caused authors from almost every nation to try to show that their fellow citizens were the real inventors of the motion-picture machine. English authors champion Robert Paul and William Friese-Greene; French authors are torn between the brothers Lumière, Marey, and others; and they are all apparently united in a concerted effort to show that Thomas A. Edison had little or nothing to do with the invention. To this chauvinism our author is not immune, and he implies that Edison did not build his motion-picture camera simply because Edison, in connection with his researches in 1899, did buy a No. 1 Kodak from the Eastman Company. Likewise we are led to believe that at this same time "Edison had founded the Motion Picture Trust of America in order to combat those parts of Greene's patents which interfered with his own." As is well known to all students of the cinema, the Motion Picture Patents Company (sometimes called "The Trust") was not founded until December 18, 1908, in an attempt to prevent ruinous litigation between American picture producers who each had patents essential to the making and exhibition of motion pictures. Friese-Greene's patent certainly is not "declared to be the master patent of the world in cinematography," as Eder states.

Despite such infrequent lapses, by far the greater part of Eder's work has real value, and it is one the serious student should not be without. Indeed, even those who take only an occasional snapshot will find this book interesting and instructive reading and will have henceforth a greater respect for those who have made it possible for him to trip a shutter and obtain excellent photographs.

For many years Eder's book has been the authoritative work in European countries. Constant changes in technique and additional research have required rewritings and new editions. The present edition is translated from the fourth (1932) German edition,

which presents a complete survey up to that date. Unfortunately, the valuable illustrations of the German edition are wanting. The translator of technical works on the arts and sciences faces a most difficult task. We are fortunate that Mr. Epstean undertook the work, for his extensive knowledge of the subject and his personal acquaintance with the author make his translation read as though the book had been originally written in English. In book reviews the terms "monumental" and "comprehensive" have been overworked, but to Joseph Maria Eder's *History of Photography* they are truly appropriate.

CHARLES G. CLARKE

THE HAYS OFFICE

The Hays Office. By RAYMOND MOLEY. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill. 1945. $3.75

ANYONE familiar with the history and operations of the Hays office will immediately recognize that this book tells the truth, nothing but the truth, but not the whole truth. It is an acritical outline of what Will Hays takes unto himself in praise as partial recompense for his services in the motion-picture industry. Mr. Roy Norr, who writes many of the Hays speeches and who prepares Will Hays's Annual Reports, should be very happy with it; there is no deviation from the propaganda line Mr. Norr laid down many years ago and which he has consistently held for two decades. Mr. Moley names as his sources those Reports, other printed propaganda, Hays Office correspondence and employees. It is well that he did not even hint at consulting less-biased sources. Every chapter would have nullified the claim.

The one thing which might justify a work of this kind would be timeliness, but there is nothing timely about it.

In the first sentence of his foreword the author states: "This book is an account of what one industry has learned about governing itself." But he ignores this thesis two paragraphs later and continues to ignore it for 266 pages, or beyond the Appendices to where Mr. Adolph Zukor's name brings the Index to an end.

What Mr. Moley actually proves is that Will Hays is The Omniscient of the motion-picture industry. He foresees all of its problems, devises and executes all of their solutions—with a little help from his staff and almost none from his employers. Yet, if Hays can name more than ten pictures in the embryo stage in Hollywood at the present time, it will be news to Joseph I. Breen. If he had forewarning of the now (July, 1945) impending investigation by the Congressional Un-American Activities Committee, it will be news to his Washington representative, John G. Bryson. Yet of all similar matters in the past Mr. Moley makes "The General" the prophet and the healer.

Mr. Moley's sources did not reveal, to him at least, that the appointment of Breen was forced on Hays by Martin Quigley and some of the more important producers in Hollywood, as well as picture executives in New York. Those who know the story are aware that it was Hays's intention to hoodwink the Catholic clergy as he had the clergies of some of the Protestant sects. But conditions were such in 1934 that Nicholas M. Schenck and Sidney R. Kent, in New York, and Louis B. Mayer and Winfield R. Sheehan, in Holly-

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Indicative of Mr. Moley's figure skating without concept of the depth of the ice is his comparison of a list of picture titles prior to 1934 with a list for the season 1934–35. What he is proving is that the years of toil by Hays to educate the public and the producers to appreciate better subject matter were suddenly brought to full flower by his appointment and backing of Breen. The omission of such pictures as "The Covered Wagon," "If Winter Comes," "Peter Pan," and "Cimarron" in the wicked list—as well as lack of mention of the introduction of such wholesome personalities as Shirley Temple and Will Rogers—and the omission of the Mae West pictures, to cite a ready example, from the blessed list, leaves Mr. Moley's proof shallow. The purchase of "Forever Amber," well publicized before Mr. Moley finished his labors, goes without mention.

To complete his education, it is recommended that Mr. Moley look into the influence of the European representatives of the American newsreels. His chapter on Mr. Hays's triumphs in the foreign field on behalf of the industry would have been more trustworthy for inclusion of this subject. Likewise, it is recommended that, if he contemplates a second edition of his book, he consult the house of Warner and executives of United Artists Corporation for their opinions on Mr. Hays and his works. The disaffection of the companies these men represent has been brewing for some time and was publicly known at a date early enough for mention in Mr. Moley's manuscript.

Except for the fact that this volume will find a place on library shelves, there to be consulted by serious research workers in years to come—with nothing in it to warn them of its partiality,—its value is trivial. Yet its dull style and uninspired writing may so discourage those research workers that its trivial value may become something less.

JOHN ELLIOTT WILLIAMS

THE OTHER HALF VOTES

A Guide to Public Opinion Polls. By GEORGE GALLUP. Princeton University Press. 1944. $1.50

The People's Choice. How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign. By PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, BERNARD BERELSON, and HAZEL GAUDET. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce. 1944

Mandate from the People. By JEROME S. BRUNER. New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce. 1944. $2.75

WHEN, in 1936, the late unlamented *Literary Digest,* on the basis of its widely publicized preëlection polls, predicted the national election results, and was shown to be fantastically wrong, and, at the same time, Dr. George Gallup, using scientific sampling methods, within a narrow margin of error correctly predicted the outcome, the American public received a demonstration in the operation of a new technique and a lesson in practical politics. The *Literary Digest* predictions were based on postcard returns from millions of persons listed in telephone directories or who were automo-

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bile owners. Only forty per cent of all the homes in the United States have telephones, and only some fifty-five per cent of American families own automobiles. In the Gallup poll it was demonstrated that, with the use of proper methods and a comparatively small number of persons, it is possible accurately to assess the state of public opinion, and even changes in opinion, in a short time. Scientific sampling is the statistician's way of saying that persons without automobiles and telephones, and doubtless without bathrooms or swimming pools, have political opinions and vote.

The use of scientific methods for the study of public opinion may be as important for the continuation of democracy as the secret ballot or the elimination of the poll tax. These investigations will certainly explode some cherished superstitions. The results from these studies will make it hard to believe, as many college professors, motion-picture producers, and less intelligent persons do believe, that public opinion and similar collective manifestations are essentially irrational and unpredictable, and that only a subtle and sinister poison called propaganda can influence them.

The three books under review, in various ways, document these statements.

Dr. Gallup, who, because of his 1936 performance, is almost certain to be called the "father of opinion polling," writes a little book obviously directed to the layman. It takes the form of brief, nontechnical answers to eighty questions that cover almost everything that has puzzled him about public-opinion polling. They include such topics as the function of public opinion polls ("Can you name any specific instances in which public opinion polls have speeded up the processes of democracy?"), the perennial question of the skeptical layman ("Why haven't I been interviewed?"), the phrasing of the questions ("How do you know that the question wordings do not bias the result?"), and polling and the processes of democracy ("Don't polls start 'band wagon' movements?").

Dr. Gallup's answers are concise, readable, and, taken together, constitute a good introduction to a complex field. His answers to such questions as: "Most students of government view with alarm the growing influence of spokesmen of pressure groups. Can polls do anything to thwart these lobbyists?", and "Hundreds of minority groups have their spokesmen. What about the views of the inarticulate majority?" seem to be based on assumptions which this reviewer does not accept. I question the existence of an innocent and neutral "public" which must be "protected" from sinister minorities. Undoubtedly, inflated claims of certain lobbyists need correction which poll results provide. More valuable, although not mentioned by Dr. Gallup, is the use of the results to correct the claims of legislators that they speak for a majority or all of their constituents.

The results of actual use of polling devices in the study of changes in public opinion and the forces which underlie such changes are presented in the book by Dr. Bruner and the extremely readable report by Dr. Lazarsfeld and his co-workers. Dr. Bruner is Associate Director of the Office of Public Opinion Research at Princeton University, and Dr. Lazarsfeld is Director of the

Office of Radio Research at Columbia University.

The first half of Dr. Bruner's book is concerned with outlines of American public opinion with respect to international issues, winning the peace, Russia, Britain, etc. The second part presents American public opinion regarding the postwar home front. The issues regarding which polling results are presented include freedom from want and need for security, freedom of opportunity, the future of "free enterprise," and problems related to the returning soldier. The polling data were summarized from the major American and foreign polling agencies.

As Dr. Bruner points out, there are ninety million adults in this country, and this book is their story. It is a story with many twists and turnings and a few contradictions. It frequently moves dramatically to a climax under the impact of events. This is illustrated, for example, when the results of successive polls regarding America's aid-to-Britain policy is plotted against successive national and international events. The fall of France, the beginning of mass air raids on Britain, the demolition of Coventry, the fall of Greece, the war in Russia, the announcement of the Atlantic Charter, and, finally, Pearl Harbor, are reflected in the mounting percentage of favorable public opinion.

In other cases, public opinion is affected slightly, if at all, by events. There is a continuous percentage of hostile attitude toward Russia. The answers to the question: "Can Russia be trusted to coöperate after the war?" do not reach the fifty per cent level of favorable response until 1944, and even then they stay under fifty-five per cent. While more people trust Russia's postwar policies than distrust them, nevertheless something less than half of the population, regardless of class, union membership, "race," religious affiliation, educational level, or geographic region, either actively distrust her or have no opinion.

Dr. Bruner sees in these results "foci of friction" which, being known, need to be removed. In the end he views these and the other problems, domestic and international, the story of which the polls tell so vividly, as solvable only if there is effective use of the mass media of communication, and if the man on the street has the opportunity to express the state of his mind.

Dr. Lazarsfeld's book is the report of an experiment on political behavior, and the conditions which determine it. In May, 1940, every fourth house in Erie County, Ohio, was visited by one of a staff of twelve to fifteen specially trained interviewers. The three thousand persons thus interviewed were divided into four groups, each of which constituted a miniature sample of the population of the county. The individuals in one of the groups were interviewed once each month from May until November. Those in the other groups were interviewed only once at particular times selected with respect to the occurrence of the Republican and Democratic national conventions, and the national election in November. The over-all purpose was to discover what changes occurred in political attitudes in relation to various types of political propaganda and events, and the effects of social, economic, and educational status on political behavior. In short, what makes people change, or fail to change, their minds during a political campaign?

There are a number of interesting questions on which this study throws light. We discover that political communications of all types are primarily important in campaigns not because they change political attitudes, but because they translate latent predispositions into political action. The social-economic characteristics of the group are the primary factors which determine political preference. The banker, the bishop, and the businessman are already Republicans; the chief effect of the campaign is to arouse in them an earnest desire to vote that way.

We learn that, as between the newspaper, magazine, and radio, the last was the most potent medium in its influence on vote intention and actual vote. As might be expected, the Democrats were more influenced by the radio and the Republicans by the newspaper. Roosevelt's "good" radio personality and Willkie's "bad" radio personality actually paid off. While the importance of these formal media is recognized, Dr. Lazarsfeld has much to say regarding the special role played by personal contacts. "In the last analysis," he says, "more than anything else people can move other people. From the ethical point of view this is a hopeful aspect in the serious social problem of propaganda."

Dr. Lazarsfeld and his co-workers have not only prepared an extremely interesting and significant report on political behavior in relation to political propaganda; they have made it clear that the public opinion of a people, their social and economic background, the extent to which they are moved by the mass media of communication, and their ultimate political actions, are all closely interwoven phenomena. They have demonstrated a method for the study of these complex matters which not only has scientific precision, but which, *mirabile dictu,* the layman can read and understand. This is social-psychological science at its creative best.

There is a widely held view that politics and propaganda, like particularly unpleasant infections, should be localized and, if possible, prevented from contaminating public opinion, or education, or the intellectual life, or whatever shibboleth is revered. Such views arise, of course, from a failure to understand the interlocking and basically communicative character of our society. Studies in the field of public opinion of the type presented by Lazarsfeld and Bruner should help to dispel these superstitions. They may be read with profit by all concerned with human communication, especially college professors, makers of motion pictures, and professional politicians.

FRANKLIN FEARING

MADE IN GERMANY

Film-Kunst, Film-Kohn, Film-Korruption. By CARL NEUMANN, KURT BELLING, and HANS-WALTHER BETZ. Berlin: Scherping. 1937

Vom Werden Deutscher Film-Kunst. By Dr. OSKAR KALBUS. Berlin: Cigaretten-Bilderdienst. 1935. 2 vols.

TO REVIEW TODAY a book by a group of Nazi film men is like going through an old wastebasket. History has already spoken. The Reich which was supposed to last a thousand years is gone, and with it the Nazi film. But here are a few remarks that I wrote in a notebook when I first read *Film-Kunst, Film-Kohn, Film-Korruption* immediately after its publication in 1937.

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The authors mention as their sources Adolf Hitler's *Mein Kampf,* Dr. Goebbel's *Kampf um Berlin,* and Rosenberg's *Mythos des XX. Jahrhunderts.* As brave disciples they spit venom, shout, and lie exactly like their masters. It is the old familiar tone, "The Jew is to blame for everything." This time, it is the Jew in the film industry. "More dangerous, more disastrous than all financial corruptions is the Jewish influence upon the German people through the medium of motion pictures, which they practically own" (p. 44). "They worked with exaggerations, tricks, and all sorts of swindles, and the result was nothing but bluff, senseless glitter, cracked façades" (p. 14).

The book goes on with its antisemitic tirade, giving the pure Germanic talent credit for whatever of value was done in the German film, while the Jews produced nothing but the cheapest kind of entertainment. The Jews, so the authors maintain, hate to work. They have no talent for anything but smoking cigars, lending money, and raping girls—innocent German girls, of course, who never get a part unless they pay the price (poor me!).

Film-Korruption is not only incorrect and inaccurate; it gives only a partial picture of the industry it pretends to describe. Hence for students of the history of German films it is almost useless. The great German motion pictures such as "The Cabinet of Doctor Caligari," "Passion," "Blue Angel," and "M" are not mentioned. On the other hand, the author makes much ado about "Nibelungen," forgetting that it was directed by Fritz Lang.

This book, however, should be a "must" on the reading list of all officers of the Allied Headquarters in Occupied Germany, because here, as nowhere else, do we find mention made of all the gangs, in name and activities, who had their hands in the making of Nazi films from the earliest beginning. This "Honor List" could well serve to stop the "help" which they (including the authors of this Nazi film history) will undoubtedly offer us.

Far more interesting is Dr. Kalbus' survey. These two volumes were completely ignored by the authors of *Film-Korruption,* in spite of their earlier date of publication. Here the work of Lubitsch, Lang, Berger, and many others is accurately registered. Obviously the author had begun the book just before the Nazis came to power; he then attached a pompous apostrophe, praising the first Nazi pictures as a new departure in German films. To further safeguard his publication, a foreword explains his deviation from the Goebbels line: "Around the warm stove in winter or the pergola of jasmine shall this picture book be enjoyed; not in the daily struggle of the film as an artistic or economic factor. . . . Such evaluation with historic views, can only be done by the Reich's film archive; the investigation of how the former governments, especially the German film industry before January 30, 1933, have failed to raise the German pictures to a higher artistic and 'weltanschaulichen' level."

The book is published by the "Cigarette Service," which gives the clue to the whole character of the underaking. For many years cigarette firms stimulated the sale of cigarettes by enclosing with their products little pictures of famous stars or scenes from films. The

author arranged hundreds of these in their chronological order, and appended short sketches and comments. By this means he covered the years from the earliest motion pictures to the coming of the first Nazi films. The first volume deals with silent films only; the second, with the "talkies."

At best, the panorama produced by this array affords a parade through the history of the German film, without the slightest attempt to discuss its artistic values. But the treatment is woefully superficial. Military comedies, operettas, history, mystery, and art films are all treated alike, without any pretense at discrimination.

Its most remarkable feature is the clear contradiction to *Film-Korruption*. Here are the photographic proofs of the pure Teutonic talent at work: from Henny Porten, the first German star, to Leni Riefenstahl of Nazi fame; from Emil Jannings to Gruendgens, the protégé of Goering; and from the old-time director, Carl Froehlich, to Hans Steinhoff, who made "Hitler-Junge Quex." Through all the time of the Nazi regime, not one new name was added. The biggest Nazi picture, the anti-British propaganda film "Ohm Kruger," had not a single artist or contributor of any importance (except, of course, Doctor Goebbels) who was not already well known before 1933.

In reviewing this book one cannot help wondering about the great number of artists, now in exile, who consciously or unconsciously gave their hands to the rise of the Nazis. These two volumes may well serve as a record of the high standard the German films once held, and as a sorrowful reminder of those artists who contributed to that greatness. For all others it teaches the lesson that this is the twentieth century; a simple "art for art's sake" attitude, without political consciousness, is no longer enough.

WILLIAM DIETERLE

RUSSIA AND GRIFFITH

American Cinematography—D.W. Griffith. Edited by S. M. Eisenstein and S. J. Yutkevich. Moscow: Goskinoisdat. 1944

THIS RUSSIAN volume on Griffith, the first volume of a projected series entitled *Materials on the History of World Cinema Art,* represents a worthwhile attempt to examine and appraise the enormous contribution made by D. W. Griffith to both the technical and the aesthetic development of the motion picture.

The two most interesting essays included in it are by Sergei Eisenstein and Sergei Yutkevich, both of whom are prominent Russian directors. Eisenstein calls his essay, "Dickens, Griffith and We." His main thesis is that Griffith is the discoverer of "time" as a primary element in cinematic storytelling, and he traces it directly to Dickens' literary technique (an influence acknowledged by Griffith himself). By means of a very ingenious breakdown of a page taken at random out of *Oliver Twist,* Eisenstein demonstrates that Dickens wrote largely in a series of visual images sounding very much like the continuity of a shooting script. He also points out that while the invention of the close-up might have been accidental, Dickens had suggested to Griffith its dramatic possibilities. Among the illustrations he cites is a scene in which two men are waiting for Oliver Twist to come home. Dickens uses a close-up of a large silver watch

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Mr. Yutkevich, in his essay, "D. W. Griffith and His Actors," stresses the fact that it was Griffith who first introduced to the screen what we now call "type casting," and pioneered a new kind of realistic projection of an emotion peculiar only to the screen and thus different from the acting techniques of the stage of the period.

The slender volume also makes an attempt to provide a bibliographic list on the subject, which only tends to prove that this is one field that has been woefully neglected by both critics and historians.

Inevitably the book contains some mistakes and misconceptions, for which the Russian authors and editors are hardly to blame when we consider their chief source of material was press agents' creations for magazines such as *Photoplay*.

Most striking about the two essays is that both of them are written by men practicing the art of picture making and for that reason tending somewhat to stress their own pet theories rather than make a dispassionate approach to the problem. However, they set an example to their Hollywood colleagues, who could and should provide a definitive summation to the great work of their great fellow countryman.

BORIS INGSTER

FRESH AIR

Economic Control of the Motion Picture Industry. By MAE D. HUETTIG. University of Pennsylvania Press. 1944. $2.50

I OFTEN REGRET that the university presses apparently have less adequate methods of publicity and distribution than the so-called commercial publishers, because many of their excellent books are overlooked by the reading public. In one of these, *Economic Control of the Motion Picture Industry*, Mrs. Huettig, who won her Ph.D. degree for this work, presents a narrative of fascinating and compelling interest to anyone remotely connected with or interested in motion pictures.

Robert Benchley's Hollywood quip, "Fifteen hundred dollars a week is too good a sum to throw away just for speaking your mind," does not apply to this author, who, free from any obligations of employment within the industry, does not hesitate to deal with facts and related matters usually hushed in a conspiracy of silence.

The blunders of the early film trust known as the Motion Picture Patents Company; the vertical integration of the present group controlling motion-picture production, distribution, and theater exhibition; the present extraordinary importance of theaters and real estate, providing the principal source of profits of the industry and making it to an amazing degree independent of the actual artistic merits of the pictures themselves, thus explaining the ever-puzzling enigma of artistic poverty breeding financial success in the mediocrities we see upon the screen which perversely return handsome profits through the theaters; the freez-

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Amusing, too, is the puncturing of the myth, repeated so often we believe it ourselves, that we are the fourth largest industry in the United States; actually, we learn, we are forty-fifth, and the automobile is fifth, although both started from scratch at the same time. A bibliography and a good index are included.

This is a very important book.

HOWARD ESTABROOK

TELEVISION TECHNIQUE

Television Programming and Production. By RICHARD HUBBELL. New York: Murray Hill Books. 1945. $3.00

CLEARING THE GROUND of the vast undergrowth of misinformation about television is the first step in realizing the stated purpose of Richard Hubbell's new book, *Television Programming and Production,* which is "to provide a foundation for the techniques of television program production." It is a "survey and analysis" of fundamental production problems, and, as such, it is an excellent job of reporting present facts. The emphasis is on the tools of television, the camera and the microphone, their studio housing, and their use. The potentials of television, both social and artistic, are not examined at length, nor is the history of its effectiveness and accomplishments, so far, at all complete.

There are three basic types of television production. The first is the use of motion pictures or still photographs made by means of familiar techniques, whether specially designed for transmission by television or not. The second, to quote Gilbert Seldes, is "the instantaneous and complete transmission of actuality"—as complete, that is, as the television camera coverage and editing permit. It is a job of reporting similar to that of the newsreel, with the added factor of immediacy. The third is the creation of programs designed for the television camera.

About this last type, Hubbell makes two important points: One is that real television, however carefully blocked out in rehearsal, remains malleable until the moment it goes on the air. Then it is irrevocably cast in the shape of a television program. Unlike motion pictures, the actual performance is simultaneous with the audience's reception of it, and is decisive in the final achievement of a purposeful continuity, of unity and pace. The other is the dependence for success on the *esprit de corps* of all concerned with the performance, and on the taste, timing, and technique of the director controlling the flow of the program. Hubbell uses the metaphor of the symphony conductor for the director, but the added visual and dramatic demands of television make it more like one-man direction of all elements of a musical play. The director must not only cue and control his production crew like an orchestra; he must also accommodate his actions all the while to the stage business he has directed and rehearsed. These are primary considerations in all "live" television shows.

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the viewer to "look in" on what is happening, it may invite vicarious audience participation, or it may address itself to the viewer directly. Hubbell also feels that television drama may lie between the strict unities and literate talk of the stage, on one hand, and the freedom of action and subordinated dialogue of movies, on the other.

The book presents clearly the fundamentals of production technique for nontechnicians. It is indicative, rather than both hortatory and visionary, like Robert Lee's recent book, *Television, the Revolutionary Industry*. The fifty-odd photographs Hubbell has included are interesting for their illustration of the scope of television's programs, but omit any views taken off either an old or new-type television screen. Such illustration with production shots, in Lenox Lohr's *Television Broadcasting*, make the dated and unimaginative Sherlock Holmes script included there still of interest. The superficial and, by now, dated *We Present Television*, edited by John Porterfield, still offers some sense of what it is like to work in television. Hubbell's book, however, contains the text of a more informative discussion by the BBC television staff of its prewar experiences, as well as some valuable quotations from Cavalcanti on sound, Lev Kuleshov and Eisenstein on montage and editing, etc. *Television Programming and Production* is a useful book now, and should remain a standard introduction to television technique for some time.

CARL BEIER

A TECHNICAL SURVEY

The Technique of Motion Picture Production. A Symposium of Papers Presented before the Society of Motion Picture Engineers in 1942. New York: Interscience Publishers. 1944. $2.50

IN THE one hundred and fifty pages of *The Technique of Motion Picture Production* fifteen members of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers present a comprehensive and all but complete view of the making of sound films. Properly omitting the aesthetic elements of writing, directing, and acting, the book guides us through the technical labyrinths of photography (both plain and trick), sound recording, recording and scoring, lighting, developing and printing, cutting, and, finally, projection. The separate papers are well written and, where necessary, well illustrated, and each includes a bibliography. Presumably, *The Technique of Motion Picture Production* is intended for workers in the studios. Certainly it is far too technical for the general public. If the book has a fault, it is that some of the writers use terms beyond the comprehension of even the technicians of other motion picture fields.

KENNETH MACGOWAN

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CARL BEIER

A TECHNICAL SURVEY

The Technique of Motion Picture Production. A Symposium of Papers Presented before the Society of Motion Picture Engineers in 1942. New York: Interscience Publishers. 1944. $2.50

IN THE one hundred and fifty pages of *The Technique of Motion Picture Production* fifteen members of the Society of Motion Picture Engineers present a comprehensive and all but complete view of the making of sound films. Properly omitting the aesthetic elements of writing, directing, and acting, the book guides us through the technical labyrinths of photography (both plain and trick), sound recording, recording and scoring, lighting, developing and printing, cutting, and, finally, projection. The separate papers are well written and, where necessary, well illustrated, and each includes a bibliography. Presumably, *The Technique of Motion Picture Production* is intended for workers in the studios. Certainly it is far too technical for the general public. If the book has a fault, it is that some of the writers use terms beyond the comprehension of even the technicians of other motion picture fields.

KENNETH MACGOWAN