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Japanese Art and the Animated Cartoon

TAIHEI IMAMURA

TAIHEI IMAMURA is one of Japan's leading motion picture critics and has written a number of books on the social and aesthetic aspects of the film, as well as editing *Eiga Bunka* (*Movie Culture*), the only motion-picture magazine in Japan. The following article, which was translated from Japanese by Fuyuichi Tsuruoka, is to appear as a chapter in Mr. Imamura's *On the Animated Cartoon*.

THE ANIMATED CARTOON has made little progress except in America, but the popularity of Disney films, rivaled in universal appeal only by the films of Chaplin, gives reason to hope that there will be a world-wide development in the field of animation, each country adapting the techniques of animation to its own artistic tradition.

Unfortunately, the Japanese animated cartoon is not as unique an art as that of America despite the fact that Japanese art in the past was distinguished by its originality. It may well be that ancient Japanese art, considered critically, is the art of a less advanced society, but this does not mean that a Japanese style of animation can or should dispense with it. Whether we like it or not, traditional art must be the foundation of a truly Japanese animated cartoon. Originality in the new form will not be attained by ignoring the past, for the animated cartoon, like other modern forms of art, is a development of inheritances from the past. It has been pointed out by S. M. Eisenstein that ancient Japanese art has characteristics closely related to those of the animated cartoon and employs similar methods.

The Japanese picture scroll, considered as a picture story, is actually a distant antecedent of the animated cartoon, the first attempt to tell a story with a time element in pictures. The chief difference between the animated cartoon and the picture scroll is that the individual pictures in the scroll do not move. On the

other hand, neither does the single frame of a motion picture. The illusion of movement results, in both forms, from the difference between each picture and the one that follows. Each picture (whether in the picture scroll or the movie) is inanimate, a still of arrested motion. When the pictures are seen *in time*, one after another, they seem to move. That objects and people appear to have motion is secondary; the essential movement is the progress of an idea. A representation of mere motion is not art unless it advances an idea, or is the visual image of original and creative thought. Both the motion picture and the Japanese picture scroll are plastic expressions of ideas, and consequently, though the picture scroll is centuries old, have fundamental techniques in common.

To illustrate, a Japanese picture scroll shows the opposite sides of a battleship simultaneously although the ship is in a position where only one side could actually be seen. By the ordinary laws of perspective, we cannot see the opposite side of an object, so the battleship is drawn twistedly. This is a negation of a monistic visual angle and of common sense. It is the same method as that of Futurism or Cubism.

To let us see both sides of an object from one point of view is to reveal the side which is ordinarily unseen or that we do not expect to see. The one side is "real" and the other is "unreal," so that the unreal side should be considered to exist through the real one, to be predicated upon the real side as probable or necessary. It is an imaginative unification of both sides, distorting perspective to express an idea.

Double exposure in the motion picture serves the same purpose, allowing us to see both sides of one thing at the same time, or two objects in different places at the same time.

Both the motion picture and the picture scroll have other techniques that overcome the physical limitations of the human eye. The motion-picture montage is essentially the same as the unsynchronized revolving method in the picture-scroll drawing, for

example, and the cutback also has its counterpart in the scroll. In the picture scroll and the motion picture we can see the living conditions of a man in the city and his lover in the country synchronously, alternately, and in parallel. Obviously, what we see in the scroll exists only in our minds; but the same is true of the motion picture, even though it shows us real objects and people and places. It is not because they are often part of an imagined story. A newsreel montage of London, Tokyo, and New York shows us real cities, but to see New York one moment and Tokyo the next is inconsistent with reality, and demands that we accept a negation of time and space. In a sense, then, double exposure, montage, and cutback are techniques which transform reality into idea.

What we actually see in a motion picture or a picture scroll is the visualization of an idea. It does not matter whether individual shots and drawings are literal representations if they help to reveal the idea. For example, the *Fukinukiyakata* (no-roof-house-picture) in the picture scroll allows us to look down from above on a roofless house with the interior plainly visible. In the real world, houses are roofed, but in the world of the picture scroll we accept the roofless house as real. In fact, in our imagination, the house is roofed, but we are able to see through it. Similarly, in the motion picture, we may view a room full of people from above, as in *The Merry Widow* (1934), in which a ballroom scene is photographed from the chandelier. In our imaginations, it is not the camera but we, ourselves, who view this scene from above. Only in the imagination can one stride over the mountain or fly over the fields quite freely, as in the picture scroll of Shigisan Temple, or in the many modern motion pictures in which we see objects from all angles. The camera, too, lets us fly over fields.

The distortion of reality is more apparent in the picture scroll because it becomes, frequently, a distortion of perspective. For example, to achieve an effect similar to that of the motion-picture close-up, picture-scroll artists drew some figures extraordinarily

large in comparison with the objects surrounding them. The best examples are in the mountain hermitages seen in the *Shigisan-Engi* and the figures praying on the summit in the *Egaratenjin-Emaki*. Perspective is intentionally disregarded and the figures exaggerated so that the eyes are attracted to the most important ones; the human figures gradually become larger than the mountains, which finally seem no larger than those of a miniature garden.

It is no accident that the picture scroll and the motion picture use similar techniques. Both must be dynamic in order to develop a story moment by moment, attracting and holding the spectator's interest in picture after picture. The *Bandainagon Ekotaba* picture scroll, for example, opens with a picture of men rushing to and fro. They frown, cry, wave hands, and point toward something. More men appear, and the excitement increases. We see a gate and the uproar comes to a climax. Some of the throng climb a stone hedge. Suddenly, through the gate, black smoke appears and flames leap against a long line of people. Next moment we see that the open gate is aflame.

The rapid tempo of the fire scene helps to create the impression of people rushing about and, what is more important, speeds the development of the story toward a climax. Most American movies attract interest through just such direct and rapid plot development in the opening scenes.

In the further development of the plot, the picture scroll uses a technique similar to the motion-picture montage. The action is abbreviated and the climaxes of several scenes are presented in quick succession. Sometimes this technique of abbreviation is used to show the passage of time, as in a pictorial biography of St. Ippen in which, between pictures of action, is a picture of a running stream and pampas grass waving in the wind, indicating a passage of time. The next picture shows a priest lying on his deathbed surrounded by grief-stricken people. The next picture shows only the saint's face covered with a white cloth. He is dead.

It seems clear enough that there are strong resemblances be-

tween some aspects of the Japanese picture scroll and the modern motion picture. The Japanese animated cartoon should use, in the modern medium, the traditions it inherits from the past. The most important thing the Japanese animated cartoon can learn from the picture scroll is its use of imaginative power. The scroll came out of a backward and stagnated feudal Japan; under such oppression people generally find release in their imaginations rather than in reality. When the picture scroll presented real scenes as though viewed from high above, it implied a celestial point of view, expressing the idea that salvation should be sought in the unearthly world.

The heavier the oppression, the more people escaped to such salvation and lived in their imaginations. Yet even in the most imaginative scrolls a concern with the realities of life shows itself. Imagination does not necessarily make us forget realities but can stimulate our awareness of them. The picture scrolls that excel in imagination excel also in realism.

Among these are *Choju Giga Zukan* (picture scroll of birds and beasts), *Gaki-Zoshi* (storybook of famished devils), and *Hyakki-Yako-Zu-Emaki* (picture scroll of pandemonium). The animals in *Choju Giga Zukan* are anatomically correct, but the scroll depicts the corrupt living conditions of the aristocracy and clergy in the end of the Heian era, a thousand years ago, by showing the rats in full court dress and the frogs wearing red skirts with lotus leaves in their hands, and so on.

The *Gaki-Zoshi* pictures not only famished devils but actually the starving people in the Kamakura era, four hundred years ago. The abominable group of famished devils, their hands and feet thin, like dead branches, bellies strangely swelling, hair growing disheveled, and uncanny eyes shining in vain, cannot fill themselves. The more they eat, the hungrier they become; the more they drink, the thirstier they are. They are avarice itself, sauntering hither and thither only to eat and drink. They grasp every filthy thing. Because everybody recognizes that these ugly devils

lie hidden in his soul, the ghostly scenes terrify us even now. Here are depicted the real vices through the devils of an unreal world.

The *Hyakki-Yako-Zu-Emaki* is a caricature of the Tokugawa era of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. At the beginning of the scroll we see a big toad dragging a handcart to a feast. A rat is pointing ahead. Two others, holding a sutra desk, stand on either side. On the front of the cart, a long-nosed goblin's face is peeping out; from its back window a moon-faced woman is smiling evilly. Under her exaggeratedly separated eyebrows are crescent-shaped eyes and a dumplinglike nose stuck on to the flat face as if blown there by the wind. The painter obtains an effect of evil by showing this terribly unbalanced face from the window. Later, in a scene of a revel, the utensils are personified. There are confused candlesticks with faces and hands, bells with eyes and noses, whistling wine cups, and dancing tops of fence posts, centering around the long-nosed goblin and the moon-faced woman. A hatchet with eyes, putting on armor, advances toward a dead tree that is holding up both hands, about to run away. Through such scenes the picture scroll describes a feudalistic monarch's self-satisfaction, his retainers' ignorance, and their corrupt living conditions. The scenes are full of fun rather than mystery, but we find nothing humorous in them at all. The drawing style of the pictures corresponds to the content; there are no straight lines but only lines that express ripeness and decomposition. The living conditions and feudal atmosphere are made more vividly real by being presented imaginatively.

When the modern Japanese animated cartoon portrays man's real inner feelings and desires with this kind of imaginative power, it will become an art of a higher order.

Notes on Animated Sound

NORMAN McLAREN

Introduction by WILLIAM JORDAN

NORMAN McLAREN is currently in India on a film assignment for UNESCO, but will return to Ottawa, Canada, to resume his work with the Canadian Film Board. A pioneer in animation, McLaren composed and photographed music and sound effects from drawings in three notable films, *Love Your Neighbor*, *Now Is the Time*, and *Two Bagatelles*.

William Jordan, a member of the Theater Arts Department of the University of California, Los Angeles campus, introduces Mr. McLaren's description of his animated sound method with an explanation of normal sound recording.

IN NORMAL sound recording, the "live" voice, music, or noise, is collected by a microphone which converts these audible sound energies into corresponding, fluctuating electrical energy. This current is then carried through wires to the recording apparatus. After amplification, the electrical impulses actuate a light valve which produces on film emulsion a photographic image of the original sounds. Depending upon the kind of light valve used, the image may be either one of varying area—a saw-toothed pattern where black meets white—or one of varying density, which appears as strips of lightness or darkness. These photographic images of sound waves are recorded on a narrow strip near one edge of the film width, and are converted back to sound when the completed film is run through a sound projector. In other words, actual sounds are translated into energy, and the energy into light, which can be recorded on film as a pattern of light and dark. Because the animated sound techniques described in this article also produce patterns on film, animated and recorded live sound can be used in the same film. McLaren's *Two Bagatelles* contains a section of recorded calliope music, and Maurice Blackburn, who composed and photographed music for *Twirligig* and *Phantasy*, used in the latter a combination of animated sound and saxophones.

In the article which follows, Norman McLaren describes each step of his animated sound technique.

A SMALL LIBRARY of several dozen cards, each containing black and white areas representing sound waves, replaced traditional musical instruments and noisemaking devices in the animated sound process developed at the National Film Board in Canada.

These drawings were photographed with the same kind of

motion-picture camera as is normally used in the shooting of animated cartoons. In fact, they were shot in precisely the same way as the drawings of a cartoon; that is, one drawing is placed in front of the camera and one frame of film is taken. Then the first drawing is removed, replaced with another drawing, and the second frame of film taken; the drawing is changed again, the third frame taken, and so on.

The only difference from normal cartoon picture shooting is that the drawings are not of scenes from the visible world around us but are of sound waves, and they are not done on cards of motion-picture screen proportions but on long, narrow cards. These cards are photographed not on the area of the film occupied by the picture but to the left of it, on the narrow vertical strip normally reserved for the sound track.

When the film is developed and printed, and run on a sound projector, the photographed images of these black-and-white drawings are heard as either noise, sound effects, or music. It is therefore logical to call the kind of sound produced in this way "animated" sound, for it is made by the same method as animated pictures, and from a creative and artistic point of view it shares many of the peculiarities and possibilities of animated visuals. It could also be called "drawn" or "graphic" sound; in the past it has frequently been called "synthetic" sound, which is correct, but since "synthetic" sound also includes sound made by new electronic and electrical instruments which do not necessarily involve the use of motion-picture film, this is a more general term. "Animated" is by far the most precise term for the type of sound discussed in this article.

There are many possible ways of making animated sound, some of which were tried out as long ago as 1931. These notes deal only with the method we have been developing during the last few years at the National Film Board of Canada.

It would have been possible to make drawings of sound waves by recording "live" music sounds on film sound track, then tracing

the resulting patterns from the track. However, to do this would be as pointless and creatively stultifying as to make animated cartoons by photographing live actors and tracing their outlines. Instead, in the films under discussion, a nonnaturalistic approach was taken, with no particular attempt to imitate natural sounds or traditional musical instruments. New kinds of sound waves were made by using simple and easily drawn shapes.

The drawings consist of a basic figure or simple shape that is repeated over and over to form a patterned band. The figure may be no more than a white line on a dark ground or a single gradation of tone from light to dark, but, by virtue of its identical repetition, it builds up into a series of sound waves having a definite tone color.

Each card in the library of drawings carries one such band of repeated patterns on an area one inch wide by twelve inches long. On some cards the basic figure is repeated only about four times within this area, and this, when photographed on one frame of film, will sound as a musical note of a fairly deep pitch (about two octaves below middle A). For mid-pitches there are from twenty to thirty repetitions of the basic figure on each card, and for very high-pitched notes as many as one hundred and twenty.

There is one card for each semitone of the chromatic scale, and in all, for the sound tracks of *Love Your Neighbour*, *Now is the Time*, *Two Bagatelles*, *Twirligig*, and *Phantasy*, sixty such cards were used, covering a range of five octaves, from two octaves below middle A to three octaves above.

These sixty cards were labeled with the standard musical notation and arranged systematically in a small box to form a kind of keyboard.

When the music was being shot, the box was placed beside the camera so that the composer (who would also operate the camera), desiring a particular pitch, could select from the box the required card and place it in front of the camera.

To get notes of a very deep pitch, the music was shot twice as

fast as finally desired; in the process of rerecording it was slowed down by half, and thus dropped one octave in pitch.

Because a *picture* camera takes film intermittently by the frameful (rather than running continuously as in the ordinary sound recording equipment) the sound track has a mosaic nature; in other words, it builds up out of small units each one twenty-fourth of a second long.¹

If longer duration of a note is desired, several successive frames of the same card are shot, building up a sustained effect by a very rapid repetition of the same note, as in a mandolin or xylophone; for a very short note, just one frame or at most two frames suffice.

For rests and pauses a black card is photographed. Thus by photographing combinations of picture cards and black cards for varying lengths of time and at varying speeds, the composer controls both pitch and rhythm.

Before exposing the film, however, the composer has to determine the precise volume or dynamic level of the notes. This is one of the important new factors in animated music, for in the past dynamic markings have never been written into traditional music scoring with any degree of precision. The difference between forte and fortissimo, piano and pianissimo, for example, is relative, not exact.

In addition, the standard *pp*, *p*, *mf*, *f*, and *ff*, etc., indicating relative and approximate amounts of volume, are never applied to every single note in a score, and their final determining is left to the interpreting artist; but in creating animated music, the composer determines the precise dynamics of every note in the score. In other words, the composer must also be the interpretive artist.

To this end, twenty-four degrees of dynamic level were used (representing a decibel scale) and opposite each note in the score the number representing the desired dynamic level of that note was written.

¹ The standard for projecting sound motion pictures is at the rate of twenty-four images per second.

For instance, 0, 1, and 2 represent three differing degrees of *ppp*; 9, 10, and 11, three shades of *mp*; 12, 13, and 14, three degrees of *mf*; 21, 22, and 23, three degrees of *fff*; 24 represents a *ffff*.

Subdivisions of these twenty-four degrees were constantly being used (particularly in crescendos and diminuendos), but were seldom written into the score. In local or rapid crescendos and diminuendos only the starting and finishing dynamic marks were written and the type of crescendos and diminuendos (such as "arithmetical" or "geometric") were indicated by a small sketch.

The volume was controlled sometimes by manipulating the shutter or diaphragm of the camera and so affecting the exposure (variable density control) but more often by covering up the one-inch-wide drawing until only a half or fourth or other fraction of its width was visible (variable area control). Whichever method was used, the calibration was in decibels, giving the composer complete control of dynamics.

The sound of a note, however, is affected not only by volume but by its attack, sustention, and decay, or tone contour. Not only did the composer have the last and precise word on dynamics but he was also forced to specify the exact tone contour of each note. This is important because the contouring of the note is more important than its basic tone quality in determining "instrumental" effect. In traditional musical sounds, for instance, a piano note has a very rapid attack, no period of sustention, but a long period of decay; its contour is like a mountain peak with one very steep side, and one gently sloping side. A typical organ note has an abrupt attack, a prolonged sustention, and a rapid decay; a contour rather like a plateau with a precipice at one side and a steep slope at the other. A tap on a wood block has a sudden attack, no sustention, and a very rapid decay. Wind instruments are capable of much less abrupt forms of attack than percussion instruments. A violin, like the human voice, is capable of almost any kind of attack, sustention, and decay.

By giving a particular contour to each note, the composer gave

it what would traditionally be called its instrumental quality. In practice this was done by placing black masks of varying shapes in front of the selected pitch card bearing the drawing of the sound waves; in this way we obtained about six kinds of tone contour, some not possible by traditional instruments.

In *Love Your Neighbour* there was very considerable use of variable tone contouring, while in the other films only one percussive type of contour (wedge-shaped) predominated.

In the sound track of *Love Your Neighbour* the range and variety of sound effects and tone qualities were considerably enlarged by using several supplementary sets of drawings, some of which had rising and falling pitches for portamento and glissando effects. Some drawings, though simple to the eye and easy to prepare, had a complex sound-wave structure, rich in harmonics, thus giving very strident and harsh sound qualities.

For several simultaneous musical parts, either in harmony or counterpoint, three methods were used. In one, different drawings were superimposed on each other by several separate exposures. In another, the sound track was divided lengthwise into several parallel strips and the different drawings shot beside each other in each strip. The third was a method in which each musical part was shot on a separate film and the various parts mixed together during rerecording.

Animated sound produced by this method is normally completely "dry," or without resonance or echo. To achieve more resonance and add acoustic quality, two methods were used. The first, mainly for specific notes and localized or momentary effects, was done by shooting the same note in a rapid series of diminishing volumes (that is, the same drawing in smaller and smaller sizes); this simulates the natural effect of the sound waves bouncing back and forth from the walls of an instrument, room, hall, or cavern. The degree to which any particular note in the score can be placed in such an acoustical environment is controlled during shooting by the number and nature of diminishing replicas of the original drawing of that note.

To obtain the general or over-all acoustical environment, varying amounts of reverberation and echo were added, either electronically or acoustically during a rerecording.

To sum up the various features of animated sound as developed to date at the National Film Board of Canada:

The composer has control over pitch (to the nearest $1/10$ of a tone), over dynamics (to at least 1 per cent of the total dynamic range), over rhythm and metric spacing (to the nearest $1/50$ of a second). The control over "timbre" (tone contour and tone quality) is less flexible, but a variety of about a half dozen types of tone quality and tone contour are possible, which by cross combination give quite a range of "instrumental" effects.

Now that the initial research has been done it has sometimes been found more economical to make animated rather than live music, particularly for animated visuals. This is understandable if we consider the hours of rehearsal which musicians have to endure in order to match synchronously the visual action of a film. On the other hand, the composer of animated music, working slowly in increments of $1/24$ of a second, can correlate his music with the most subtle visual movement. The differences both in cost, especially in terms of man-hours, and precision can be considerable. Subsequent changes and alterations to parts of the music can be made without the need to rephotograph the whole score, simply by reshooting the particular notes affected.

Although we consider the possibilities of animated sound still largely unexplored, and this particular method to be not only one of many but still far from perfect, we are already keenly aware of some of its salient features as a medium of expression.

It is free from the normal limitations affecting the human performance of musical instruments and from the usual laws of acoustics. For the musician, perhaps the most important point is that the shooting of the music is not carried on at the same speed as that at which it will finally be heard, but as slowly as desired, thus permitting the composer to plan precisely and to deliberate on the execution of the music as much as on the composing.

Chicago's Third Programme

ERNEST CALLENBACH

ERNEST CALLENBACH has written a number of articles on the mass media which have appeared in *Anvil* and other periodicals, including the *Quarterly*. In Paris, in 1949, he made an informal study of the French film industry. After his return to this country, he planned and, with Lester Asheim, taught a film-and-discussion series called "The Motion Picture: Modern Interpreter of Social Problems" at the University College of the University of Chicago.

FOR A LONG time we have had "little" magazines and "little" theaters, but radio stations have usually been "big," or tried to be. The principle behind conventional programming is the supposed necessity of appealing to the greatest possible number of people. And this principle has meant, from a cultural point of view, that minimal standards have been the rule in radio.

The same principle has been widely accepted in other mass media. Film production policies, for example, have tended to cater solely to the largest single block in the audience—the adolescent or under-25 group. Lately, however, we have seen some striking exceptions in both media. With the advent of FM there sprang up a few avowedly highbrow stations in major metropolitan areas. In the cinema, art houses have been exhibiting more foreign pictures and revivals. Also, the production section of the film industry has been making fumbling attempts to lure the adult audience back into the theaters.

Whatever the underlying causes of these developments, radio stations whose programming has been predominantly of high artistic or intellectual quality, and thus attractive to a smaller audience, have usually had a difficult time of it. They have faced three seemingly incompatible requirements: meeting costs, maintaining program standards, and keeping sponsors.

In Chicago, for example, recent years have seen three cultural FM stations come and go. Only one has been in operation for any substantial length of time—and it is subsidized by a radio and TV manufacturing firm.

Since December, 1951, a new station, WFMT, has been taking its turn. The new station seems far more likely to stay in business than its predecessors did, though no "little" enterprise is by any means a gilt-edged financial proposition.

WFMT is owned and operated by a man-and-wife team¹ who initially composed the station's entire staff, though they now employ two announcers and an engineer. This fact has been significant for WFMT's programming style, which has remained exceedingly quiet, urbane, and friendly.

Even more significant was the method of financing. For WFMT, at the outset, was practically a broadcasting co-op. It appealed to listeners for financial contributions—and it got them, 1,500 contributions in three months, totaling some \$11,000. This enabled the station to solicit sponsors while actually broadcasting, and in addition it provided a direct contact between listeners and the station. Each contributor had an immediate personal interest in the station's success. Unlike government-sponsored cultural broadcasting, then, WFMT started not as a service coming down from on high but rather as something maintained in considerable part by the listeners themselves.

Announcements still reiterate the staff's desire for personal contact with listeners, inviting them to write, phone, and visit the studio—and many of them do. The program booklet first issued in March, 1952, has continued this friendliness with a section called "WFMT Reports. . . ." All this has resulted in unusual intimacy between station and listeners, with benefits to both.

The foregoing aspects of the station's policy are complementary to its programming policy, which has been uncompromising. For example, commercials are not only written with severe restraint, but are also limited to one minute each and two and a half minutes per hour. No recording is replayed before three months have elapsed (a rule occasionally broken upon listener demand). Ad-

¹ Bernard and Rita Jacobs. Mr. Jacobs was the manager of WFMT's predecessor WOAK; he acquired financial control of the station, whose policy had reverted to popular programming, and embarked upon the present scheme.

vertisers do not buy time in the usual fashion, but buy part of the daily program set up by the station.² And no selection is ever interrupted for announcements, presented only in part, or cut off because of time.

WFMT has persistently carried programs of tasteful diversity. Its main competitor broadcasts a schedule slanted toward the classical and romantic periods, and gives considerable time to semiclassical music. WFMT schedules more esoteric music, with special attention to current releases. Also, WFMT broadcasts plays, poetry, folk music, jazz, and talks.

Plays heard have included domestic recordings such as *Death of a Salesman*, *The Lady's Not for Burning*, Judith Anderson's *Medea*, and B.B.C. recordings such as *Rumpelstiltskin*, *Tale of Two Cities*, *Tartuffe*, Gogol's *The Government Inspector*, *Uncle Vanya*, a dramatization of *The Man Who Could Work Miracles*, and others, including many from Shakespeare.

David Grene read selections from Yeats for the station; other poetry readings have been broadcast, including many recordings of poets reading their own works.

Talks have ranged from the series on literary subjects which Gilbert Highet recorded for WABF-New York to Louis Palmer's regular "Record Critique" program.

The WFMT schedule also contains much miscellaneous material: the B.B.C. version of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, recordings of political and other speeches, live broadcasts of oriental and ancient music performed by people from the area, and such oddities as C. Day Lewis' translation of Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book V.

Random pages of the program booklet (which lists highlights only—something like half of the items broadcast, routine titles being omitted) indicate the variety of WFMT's 3 P.M. to midnight schedule.

² WFMT now has several contracts with advertisers who sponsor one entire day's broadcasting per week, thus allowing the station great flexibility in scheduling. The roster of sponsors, incidentally, includes a baking company and a cheese manufacturer.

JUNE 21, 1952

Racine: *Andromaque* (Comédie Française)
 Rachmaninoff: *Symphony No. 1 in D minor, Opus 13*
 Bessie Smith—1924-33
 Haydn: *Violin Concerto in A major*
 Folk Music of Rumania
 Mascagni: *Cavalleria Rusticana*
 J. S. Bach: *English Suite No. 6 in D minor*

NOVEMBER 14, 1952

Karl Stamitz: *Concerto in D major for Violin and Orchestra*
 Robert Russell Bennett: A Song Sonata
 Will Rogers Says
 Wagner: *Siegfried Idyll*
 Schubert: *Die Winterreise*

The program booklet ambitiously styles WFMT "Chicago's Third Programme," a label of more than figurative import in view of the amount of B.B.C. material carried.

This exceptional programming has proved successful far beyond the expectations of the station's owners. They find, indeed, that their listeners are not only fanatically loyal to the station but actually go out and buy sponsored products or services. WFMT's effectiveness in this respect probably stems from its intelligent selection of sponsors. The station cannot claim the capacity to cajole its listeners into buying soap, cigarettes, or toothpaste. But it *can* tell advertisers that it has practically a direct wire into the homes of a large number of Chicago's professional and intellectual homes.

A survey taken in the summer of 1952 showed 55.4 per cent of the respondents to be professionals, 27.2 per cent managers, clerical workers, operatives, etc., and 14.1 per cent students and other nonworkers.³

Estimates of the size of the regular and occasional audience run

³ Questionnaires were sent to each subscriber and to anyone else who volunteered in response to broadcast appeals. About 1,000 subscribers and about 350 other listeners were sent questionnaires; of these more than half returned the forms. It is impossible to know how closely these proportions correspond to those of the total audience, but they undoubtedly give the general picture

between 20,000 and 50,000. The monthly program booklet, by November, 1952, had 4,000 subscribers, after a price reduction to \$2 per year. Cards and letters have been received from over 7,000 different individuals. So the estimates are probably not unduly optimistic—especially since it is known there are over 330,000 FM sets in the city.⁴

Moreover, WFMT's influence is emphatically felt by sponsors. A small bookstore reported five calls a day traceable to WFMT spot announcements. A record shop began carrying advertisements for a needle-repointing service, otherwise unadvertised, and found its business in this department increased markedly. Modern furnishings stores, art and drama groups, record companies, and radio equipment firms have also found WFMT a good medium for their announcements.

So the station's single-minded policies have proved effective beyond serious question. WFMT has worked consistently within the artistic and economic limitations of restricted-audience broadcasting; it has combined personal warmth and programming intelligence with a hardheaded yet conscientious handling of sponsorship problems. We could use more such "little" stations.

⁴ WFMT listeners are scattered throughout the city, with some in every postal zone and in more than forty Chicago suburbs. Heavy concentrations exist in the neighborhoods, as well as on the culture-minded Near North Side.

Lusaka Calling

JACK HOWARD

JACK HOWARD is a political science and journalism graduate of the University of California and is currently on the staff of the San Francisco *Chronicle*. His report on Central African broadcasting is based on materials and information generously supplied by A. M. Kittermaster, Information Department, Central African Broadcasting Station, Lusaka.

BING CROSBY probably does not know it, but listeners to the Central African Broadcasting station at Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, rank him close to the top of their popularity list. Only records of native African songs and music, and some American folk dances are preferred to Crosby, according to the findings of a listener research program carried out by the station.

Not far down the list, but below Crosby, are Frank Crumit, American folk singer; the Andrews sisters, Carmen Miranda, Dinah Shore, the Mills brothers, and "American Swing Songs," in that order. But perhaps of even greater interest is the fact that a category for cowboy music was not even included in the survey because it had already been determined that approximately three fourths of all requests sent the station are for cowboy music.

There are many other surprises for the person first looking into broadcasting activities in Africa, and any sort of investigation reveals that appalling difficulties and problems face those who would extend broadcast programs and information to the interior of the Dark Continent. In an annual report, station officials laconically mentioned that a recording engineer out making tape and disc recordings of native music was only half through changing a tire one evening when a lioness forced him to do his repair work elsewhere. And what other radio system in the world would have to design, make arrangements for the manufacture of, and perform maintenance on the radio sets its listeners must buy in order to hear the station?

In spite of these difficulties, in spite of low budgets and limited

staff, the station is gradually establishing itself as a major influence in the welding together of Europeans and natives in the Central African states of Nyasaland and Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The story of this station—now entering its thirteenth year of operation—is a combination of idealism and hardheaded realism, of faith and sincerity on the part of both natives and administrators. The contrast with *apartheid* just across the border in South Africa makes the success of Lusaka even more important.

Today the station broadcasts almost twenty-eight hours a week in six African dialects and English. In January it completed the first year of publication of its monthly *The African Listener*. And this summer it hopes to embark on an expansion program which will double the program capacity of the station. At present it broadcasts one night a week in each of the six dialects and English; this summer the plan will be for simultaneous transmission in two different tongues.

The development and improvement of the broadcasting services has not been conducted blindly; questionnaires and listener surveys have been conducted with a regularity that gives evidence of the intention to make the station a useful tool in the education and cultural development of the natives of Central Africa. Listeners are constantly being asked what programs they like, what type of music they prefer, how reception can be improved. Correspondence on the request programs is carefully watched. What is perhaps most important, improvements in service actually come from listener comments and criticism. In return, the Africans have responded with an enthusiasm that has surprised even old hands. Small, specially designed short-wave radio receivers—called the “Saucepan Special”—were developed at the request of Northern Rhodesian officials and sold to the natives at near cost, £5. Even that amount represents the average cash earnings of a family for five weeks. In spite of this, 1,700 sets were sold the first four months they were available, and the goal of a set in each of the 20,000 villages of Northern Rhodesia may be reached by 1960, if not before.

Although the station is located in Northern Rhodesia and was preceded by a strictly Northern Rhodesian radio operation, Lusaka is more than that today. In fact, Lusaka is only part of what eventually may be a network of stations throughout Africa contributing to the rapid development—both cultural and industrial—of that continent. Today Lusaka puts on the air all African programs for the regional grouping of three British central African states. A parallel station at Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, transmits European broadcasts. Through a coöperative scheme which began five years ago, both stations prepare and exchange programs in English and the African dialects, but each station does its own recording of the programs for transmission.

As might be expected, this division of labor grew out of an existing situation. During the Second World War the government of Northern Rhodesia established a small radio station at Lusaka to make war news and information available to the population. This activity was a function of the government's Information Department, which still controls the operation. The wartime broadcasting, which began in 1941, could be nothing but a temporary affair, with limited personnel, equipment, and funds. It employed a 300-watt transmitter and was considered an emergency device for broadcasting instructions if the war took a turn for the worse. Europeans and a few Africans were able to afford short-wave sets which receive London and the stations in near-by French and Portuguese colonies, as well as the Union of South Africa.

At the war's end, it was realized that some sort of development plan would have to be drawn up. There was opposition to the continuation of the station even in its limited capacity. Some Europeans claimed that Africans did not want broadcasting, that they could never understand it, and consequently would get wrong ideas into their heads and probably revolt. These arguments, of course, stemmed from considerations of prestige as well as from a desire to spend more time and effort on improving radio service for Europeans. Reception of the station at Daventry, the British

transmission point for Africa, was far from satisfactory at certain hours and seasons.

Nevertheless, a bold program financed by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund was drawn up after a year's study and finally approved by the British government early in 1947. What was unique about the program was that the whole problem—not only the origination of broadcasts but the reception of them, too—had to be considered and met by the Lusaka organization. Years of preparation, over-all planning, and intelligent analysis of the wartime broadcasting experience resulted in a radio organization that, from the evidence, appears to be doing its job well.

The major decisions were made first. It seemed more efficient to divide European and African programs, inasmuch as announcers and staffs would necessarily be separate because of the dialects involved. Rather than have two staffs at each of two locations, Lusaka was to continue only a small amount of English programming until the Salisbury station went into full operation. Lusaka is almost at the exact center of the three territories, while Salisbury is near the center of heaviest European population.

The next step was to find a radio set that would receive the Lusaka station yet be inexpensive enough for the natives. Most of the British radio manufacturers who were consulted could not see an immediate profit in selling battery sets to the natives. Only one firm coöperated. It produced a set and battery designed from specifications set up by Lusaka radio officials and sold it to the natives at very near cost. The profit margin was so low, in fact, that officials feel it contributed to the slowness with which traders pushed the sets. At any rate, the radio was brought within the natives' means, distribution and manufacture were arranged, and a repair plan was devised. A trucking firm distributed the sets free of charge throughout Northern Rhodesia.

Meanwhile, programming was caught in the strait of the multiplicity of languages and dialects which had to be used. Even now the station's administrators resist every effort to add one or more

languages to the seven, including English, already employed. The goal, they say, must be the development of several or even of one dialect spoken by all.

As mentioned above, finances were to be taken care of by the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund—at least the capital expenditures, which were estimated at £78,100. Annual recurrent expenses estimated at some what less than £20,000 were to be shared 70 per cent by Northern Rhodesia and the balance by Nyasaland. Next year Northern Rhodesia will have to assume most of the recurrent expenses, however.

In the future other means of financing may be found. Fees from licenses for radio receivers have been considered, as well as royalties on records made from broadcast programs, and “as a last resort, sponsored programs.” Southern Rhodesia already charges a license fee to support its radio operation. At the outset of the agreement it was decided that full support by the respective state of its station would constitute a fair division of financial responsibility between the states for recurrent expenses.

Within the narrow framework allowed it, programming proceeds on several idealistic bases, quite frankly stated. For example, in the foreword to a report issued by the government in 1949 appears this statement:

The task of bringing the pleasure, the culture and the instruction that broadcasting can give to the hundreds of millions of poor and primitive peoples of the British Empire surely constitutes a great cause. . . . There are few activities in which open mindedness is so essential as it is in the comparatively new science of broadcasting, particularly of broadcasting to Africans.

That this idealism is adhered to, that it is not just empty phrase-making, is demonstrated by many things. For example, the Africans objected in surveys to introduction of broadcasts which would teach resident Europeans a native dialect. The objection rose from the feeling that there was already too little time available for native broadcasts. The proposed lessons were not introduced.

Again, the radio sets are not preset; that is, they can receive any station anywhere in the world—including both sides of the Iron Curtain—that is powerful enough to reach Africa. To those who would limit the Africans to the “official” broadcasts only, Lusaka officials replied: “It is our responsibility to see that if any undesirable foreign broadcasts should reach the African, they are countered. . . . We ought to be able to keep the African listeners’ loyalty to Lusaka broadcasts without much difficulty.”

When surveys showed that African listeners favored direct news broadcasts in English from London, even though they understood imperfectly, Lusaka began relaying nightly news summaries direct from the B.B.C. in London. Station officials explained this as evidence “that there is a nucleus of educated Africans who are becoming increasingly discerning and who discriminate between anything which savours of an official ‘hand-out’ and the completely independent news source.”

There are now plans to introduce programs on controversial political and social subjects, educational programs lifted from the B.B.C.’s famed Third Programme, and others.

At present an average evening’s broadcast consists of African news; several music programs, some based on records and some originating from the station’s studios or mobile unit; a talk or lecture under the five-year propaganda campaign; a request program; the B.B.C. news direct from London; book reviews; and a native play. Each of the six dialects gets only three and one-half or four hours of broadcast time a week, but surveys have shown that Africans listen to the Basic English broadcast as well as to programs in dialects other than their own.

Sunday morning is reserved for advanced English programs, including African-European discussion groups on controversial political and economic questions. These discussions, which are recorded or taped in the studios, reflect the feeling of station officers that Africans want more news and information programs, especially as radios come into private homes. For communal listen-

ing, programs of music and songs suitable for dancing are about the only ones that can overcome the audience noise and distractions. English programs borrowed from the B.B.C. are also broadcast on the Sunday morning schedule, which often includes church services as well.

Even these English-language programs, however, are scheduled only after careful research by a special organization formed for the express purpose of finding out what the listeners wanted. Questionnaires are sent out before new programs are broadcast. Listeners are asked to tune in the program and comment on it. Returns from these questionnaires guide the programming policies of the station to a large extent, and have in the main confirmed the officials' expectations.

In fact, listener research appears to be one of the chief activities of the station. There is evidence, moreover, that much has been learned from the research, not only about program content, but about research methods themselves. For example, during 1952 the disadvantages of questionnaires mailed to listeners—which up to that time had been the predominant type of research—were recognized and questionnaires are gradually being replaced by personal interview surveys.

Several sets of questionnaires have been distributed by the station management in the last few years. A special music questionnaire, referred to above, and an extensive general questionnaire on preferences were distributed during 1950. Approximately two thousand copies of the second were distributed.

Late in 1950, the station formed a Listeners' Club to facilitate its research activities. It advertised for 300 members, and within a month had 400 applications. Almost at once a simple and apparently effective system of research was begun. Each member is a sort of research assistant and is given a list of thirty-four instructions plus a series of blank forms on which to record his findings. Each member organizes a group of helpers whose function it is to circulate on their own time among native radio listeners. Each

month a survey of certain programs is undertaken. At the end of the period, the helpers report to the club members how many listeners they contacted and how they reacted to the various programs. Results are tabulated by each club member and forwarded to Lusaka for study.

During 1951, several sets of questions were distributed through the Listeners' Club. Each questionnaire was to tap the opinions of about 3,000 persons, and approximately 4,000 copies of each questionnaire, in several different dialects, were distributed through the membership. During 1952, as was indicated above, increasing emphasis was placed on personal contact, and fewer shotgun mail samplings were attempted. Club members were urged to choose a group of helpers who would constitute a rough cross section of their communities, such as a clerk, a rural villager, an African clergyman, a woman, a trader, and a village musician or maker of instruments, for example. Not more than one in each category was advised, and a group somewhere between five and ten in number was suggested for convenience in managing.

The club is the subject of much attention on the part of station officers. Instructions in club techniques and procedures are broadcast on a weekly program, and *The African Listener* has a club page. When the organizational meetings of club members and their helpers were first begun, the station broadcast a "sample" meeting that club members could listen to for ideas and help in their local situations. A recent article in Listeners' Club Corner in *The African Listener*, for example, was a mock interview between a club member and a villager which pointed up the facts the station is most interested in learning.

As Lusaka advances into its teens, some old problems become less important and new ones arise. Servicing of native sets, for example, was an early difficulty. Originally station engineers would tour in trucks and make scheduled stops in villages and outlying areas to check and repair radio sets. Now a team of Africans trained by the station and employed by radio distributors

does the repair work, although the backlog of native radio repairmen is low. With its increasing fame, the station now faces demands for more programs catering to the outlying tribes and villages. New programs originating in far corners of Central Africa are continually being prepared and put on the air.

In connection with the latter activity, the station's record and tape archives may some day be quite valuable, if they are not so already. In order to get programs in dialects of tribes and villages far removed from Lusaka and Salisbury, a mobile recording unit is almost constantly at work. During 1951 the unit spent 144 days away from its home base, logged 16,535 miles, and cut 1,376 phonograph discs. Regular schedules of visits are set up and publicized in *The African Listener* so that villagers may practice and rehearse the songs they wish to have recorded for broadcast. Rare songs and native plays have been rescued from oblivion this way, station officers report, because the broadcasts in dialects are reviving interest in cultural activities too often submerged when natives come in touch with European civilization. Many programs and recordings made by the mobile team—and in the Lusaka studios, as well—have been commercially reproduced and placed on the market. In addition, other stations in the British Empire, including the B.B.C., have requested programs and recordings for broadcast.

Operation of the station by the Northern Rhodesian Information Department follows the pattern set by many European nations. Wide use of the "Saucepan Special" and the popularity of Lusaka broadcasts encouraged the government to set up in 1950 the five-year propaganda campaign previously referred to. The campaign covers improved agricultural practices, education of women, necessities of hygiene, and water conservation methods. These programs are rated in questionnaires and some draw more praise than plays in Bantu, for example, or rhumba music.

But undoubtedly more important than propaganda campaigns is the long-range effect of the station in creating a force for good

will and understanding between the native population and the European administrators of the British Empire. Many observers have called the racial rumblings in the Union of South Africa a portent of what could easily happen throughout the whole of the continent. One former administrator in Nigeria has written:

Catastrophic forces have been let loose upon [the Africans] which can be compared to telescoping into one age the Renaissance, the Reformation, the French Revolution, the Industrial-Agricultural Revolution, and the Bolshevik Revolution, and then to exploding this amalgam over the fifth- and sixth-century Saxon chiefdoms in England.

Imagination and ingenuity are called for in the face of the awakenings in Africa. Lusaka's administrators are fully aware of this, as the following statement shows.

We believed that formal and educational methods—taking perhaps three or four generations to produce a comparatively civilized African people capable of working reasonably well in the development of the Territory—were too slow in the face of the obvious possibilities of rapid advance in Central Africa.

Such ideas are not unanimously held; some Europeans felt that Africans were too ignorant to appreciate radio broadcasting. A Lusaka official says that it is still necessary to prove to these Europeans a statement many consider a truism. "Africans like to listen where listening conditions are suitable and when programmes are interesting. This . . . is still not believed by some Europeans, and it still has to be proved on a larger scale."

These objections are gradually being overcome, and broadcasting activities are expanding and becoming a permanent part of the cultural life of the African states. There are changes too, of course, to be observed in the Africans. For example, the fact that radio broadcasting imposes different conditions on the traditional impromptu Bantu plays than does a performance before an audience has created a demand for written plays, rehearsed and planned for effective delivery. This could well mark the beginning of literary activity in the main dialects. To stimulate it, selected

programs are reproduced in *The African Listener* in the several dialects.

Happily, the administrators of the station appear to have sufficient humility in the face of the existing African culture to recognize and accept its strong and meaningful points. They utilize one custom, for example, to assure wide dissemination of their programs. The inherent socialism of the tribes, one official writes, is such that if there is but one "Saucepan Special" in a village, all villagers can be counted as listening to the radio; there is no attempt to consider the radio a private possession.

This was confirmed when the station suggested that the purchaser of a set might place a tin can by it, with a slot for pennies to be contributed by visiting listeners to help defray the cost of battery replacement.

The suggestion was quickly dropped after the station received numerous replies, such as: "That is not according to our custom; it would shame us."

The pattern of thoroughly responsible government broadcasting in Central Africa is applicable to all the underdeveloped areas of the free world. India, southeast Asia, and other areas are carefully studying Lusaka. This activity could well prove to be a significant factor in whatever success the free world has in convincing the have-nots of the world that our way is to be preferred to another, less democratic solution of their problems. The significant contrast between Lusaka and the neighboring Union of South Africa only makes more important a careful study and appreciation of what this station and its administrators stand for, and what they are accomplishing.

A Head Start in Television

ROGER MANVELL

ROGER MANVELL, widely known film critic and lecturer, is director of the British Film Academy and author of the Pelican volume, *Film*. From his recently published book, *The Crowded Air*, the *Quarterly* is pleased to present the provocative opening chapter,* followed by an interview with Mr. Manvell on television in Britain.

TELEVISION is a new and, incidentally, a beautiful word which has come recently into the English language. But it conceals under the poetic flow of its four and a half syllables (for Shakespeare they would have been five) a new power which, in this age of accelerated discovery, adds an additional major responsibility to our already overburdened generation. We must not lose grip of this power.

Television is seeing by remote control. We have already in the past century, which is that of the common man who has the courage no longer to be common, established hearing by remote control, first through the telephone and more recently through the radio. Now we are able to see life and activity beyond the horizon.

Last November I stood on the ancient stage of Epidaurus in the Greek Peloponnese and spoke some speeches from Shakespeare with some friends. So perfect is the sound in this great hillside auditorium that if you were to drop a dime from but twenty inches on the round stone in the center of the round orchestra its tinkle would be heard through the nervous air by fourteen thousand people like the distant bell of a mountain goat. In the Greek city-state a man was as powerful as the speech he could project to his fellow citizens who had assembled to hear him. Now a man is as powerful as his image and his voice transmitted to the receiving world.

We do not know the nature or the end of this power, but we are beginning to realize its existence among us. We are playing at

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surveys, reports, and statistics. We are watching the uninhibited interest of our children in the little screen at home. And we watch ourselves, fascinated or angry, laughing a little in America at some of the commercials or in Britain at the occasional coy gentility of the B.B.C., but remembering at the back of our minds what George Orwell wrote in 1984:

Then the face of Big Brother faded away again and instead the three slogans of the Party stood out in bold capitals:

WAR IS PEACE
FREEDOM IS SLAVERY
IGNORANCE IS STRENGTH

But the face of Big Brother seemed to persist for several seconds on the screen, as though the impact that it had made on everyone's eyeballs were too vivid to wear off immediately. The little sandy-haired woman had flung herself forward over the back of the chair in front of her. With a tremulous murmur that sounded like "My Saviour!" she extended her arms towards the screen. Then she buried her face in her hands. It was apparent that she was uttering a prayer.

Television Now

According to the choice made by our own generation the future pattern of television will be fixed. I do not mean by this the choice made solely by the English-speaking world, for television is developing in many countries in many languages, and we shall soon be intercommunicating by television as we now communicate internationally by radio.¹ But so long as the joints of the world remain stiffened by our present political tensions and discontents, the main impact of television from our point of view (my point of view writing and yours reading) will be English-speaking and western-minded. If we are to share any pride in the result, we should take stock of our own television machine as it is functioning now and see what we have done with it and what we intend shall be done.

¹ During a week in July, 1952, a whole series of programs from France was transmitted to viewers in Britain.

It is an appropriate time to do this. Television is operating in ten countries already; preparations for its initiation are being made in about ten others. Canada started her television service in English and French in the summer of 1952. Britain has been debating in Parliament and everywhere else the problems of breaking or maintaining the monopoly of the B.B.C., of licensing television channels to outside promoters, and of permitting commercial sponsors to advertise through the medium of the B.B.C. itself. And in America the F.C.C. has opened the air wide for twenty times as many channels as existed during the period of the 1948-1952 "freeze." It is just as well to take stock, for we are setting up precedents for the future development in our communities of the most powerful medium of communication that civilization has yet known.

Words or Pictures?

For true civilization begins where self-knowledge and its communication begin. We long to share our thoughts and our feelings with each other, and we invent ways of doing it—by gesture, which our artists heighten into the art of the dance, by sounds, which they clarify into song and music, by speech, which they raise into drama and literature, and by drawing and model making, which the artists sublimate into painting and sculpture. For each main form of ordinary human communication that we have evolved we have created a counterpart that we call art. Art is a concentrated form of human communication, and it can only be developed fruitfully by human beings abnormally endowed with the knowledge of human experience and with the capacity to give expression to this knowledge through one or other of the forms of art.

To increase our control over our communications we have so far invented three mechanical processes; first, printing; second, photography and motion pictures; and, last, the broadcast word and image.

The ability to print the written word is recognized by now as a major step forward in the mechanics of civilization. The distribution of thought was widened a thousandfold; our whole educational system became tied to the printed word.

But words have distinct limitations as means of exact communication, as the relatively new science of semantics has begun to show. A word is only valuable to the extent that it is given meaning, and the degree of meaning varies in each of us according to our experience as human beings. A sonnet by Shakespeare which remains a mere exercise in word play for one person may for another become a most poignant rendering of a deeply felt personal experience. Words, whether written or printed, remain a specialized form of communication, highly treasured like gold by people with a literary sensitivity, but tossed about like casual coin by ordinary people, the dimes and nickels of common intercourse.

This is why motion pictures and television constitute the next great stage forward in human communications. We must face it that after six centuries of printing in Western civilization and two generations of universal education established by law,² few people can read *well* (that is, with a finely developed sense of the significance of words, either written or spoken). Most of us judge the world around us by direct vision. For this reason alone the film and television will for the more general purposes of communication quickly oust mere sound radio and the printed word in the eyes of the less educated kind of human being.

Literature will remain, as it always has been, the concern of people of specially developed taste rather than the concern of the many. Drama will, I hope, retain its semipopular hold on the public because the "live" performer enduring the feat of interpreting human passions and problems before an audience is too unique an experience in itself to be wholly replaced by filmed or televised drama. Sound radio will undoubtedly slowly give ground

² Compulsory universal education in Great Britain began in 1872 with the Education Act of that year. Although there is no comparable national date for the United States, we all started to read and write by law about the same period.

before the visual attractions of television, and be increasingly relegated to a merely utilitarian place for the quick and cheap broadcasting of news, talks, and other current or merely local affairs.³ Similarly, the printed word (or text book) as the basis for education will in many branches of education slowly give ground to the moving picture, explained by teachers or commentators. For pictures represent an immediate, a direct experience for people living in our semiliterate modern world. Pictures, especially photographs, are "life itself" to them. It is easy for sociologists to criticize this, for statisticians to produce depressing measurements, and for educators to launch out into bitter complaints. The facts are there before them. The evidence of this change and expansion in the forms of human communication is simply growing in front of their eyes. They cannot alter it, or stop it. But they can help to guide it.

The need nowadays is surely for a greater understanding in developing the powers of the two branches of motion pictures. If they are left contemptuously to grow like parasitic weeds instead of being trained and cultivated like strong and useful plants, they could choke the life out of us in a generation or two by the incessant dissemination of the commonplace. For they cannot in this quick, competitive age spread their influence slowly, as printing did six centuries ago. They will grow up on us in their full force within our own generation. Therefore our endeavor should be to give every possible assistance to those who are responsible for motion picture and television production, especially during these present formative years.

The Film

We are beginning now to get some reasonable perspective into our view of the film. It labored for thirty years under the dis-

³ The Third, or University-level, Programme which has been maintained by the B.B.C. each evening of the week since 1946, could remain for audiences of specialized taste a most important branch of the radio of the future, especially if it could be extended on an international scale.

advantage of silence, and silent films always have a vague and rather otherworldly air. Only the realists and poets like Griffith, Chaplin, von Stroheim, Pabst, Clair, and Eisenstein gave the silent film that semblance of reality which is its natural photographic birthright. The empty-faced, rosebud-lipped heroines and the pale, lantern-jawed heroes of the silent movies belonged to a never-never land unshattered by speech. The silent film moves like a ghost beside motion pictures which are sharpened into actuality by the accompaniment of sound—the trains of Jean Renoir's *Bête Humaine*, the streets of Vittorio de Sica's *Bicycle Thief*, the fine, hard world of the documentary film maker, the atmospheric, dramatic world of John Ford or Carol Reed. The world of such images as these is recognizably our own, if we are able to live up to it. For it is also the world as it is seen by the artist.

Mechanically considered, the motion-picture camera is a mere recording machine. It can reproduce with dispassionate ease a two-dimensional picture of whatever sense or nonsense is placed before it. It is with a multitude of these images and with an equal multitude of recorded sounds that the film maker juggles as he pieces together his motion picture into a highly elaborate mosaic. A film reaches its audience in a carefully calculated form. Many films are in one way or another technically adroit; a few are true works of art. For the film offers a highly flexible medium of expression combining the dual powers of sight and hearing for the artist trained to use them. But owing to the high cost of making motion pictures few artists are able to exercise these powers freely. Films in general make few demands on either the taste or the potential human experience of their audiences, because it only rarely pays to do this in the open market of the movie theaters. But films can, of course, be shown outside the movie theaters; sponsored by enlightened interests or made at exceptionally low cost, they can achieve a measure of freedom unknown in normal distribution.

All this is common knowledge. During the past twenty years the film has become established, and accepted by many of its

former enemies both as an art and as a medium for information and instruction. Its first battle for serious recognition is over.

The Greater Powers of Television

But television is not so respectable, at least in the eyes of many of its critics in the United States and in Britain. It is still a social phenomenon, a potential or an actual evil, an invader, a home wrecker, just as the movies were once said to be. And the movie people sit back and glory in the fact that the attacks which were formerly made upon themselves have been shifted to the newcomer. For they fear the little screen will undermine the big one. But the clock cannot be put back by such criticisms, whether they are well-founded or merely malicious. Television is rapidly becoming part of our social structure, like the newspaper and radio before it. And it will soon be more pervasive and influential than the movies themselves, because its presence is perpetual and its chief outlet is in the homes of the people. Movie-going, like theatergoing, will become more and more of an occasional event in the pattern of social activity; it will occupy at most only a very few hours a week. But television will become (has already become for millions of people) a continuous domestic source of entertainment and information. It is for them radio reinforced a hundred-fold by vision. And this relatively continuous power of seeing by remote control is an entirely new factor in our civilization.

B.B.C.-TV: An Interview with Roger Manvell

ROGER MANVELL came to the United States in the spring of 1952 on a lecture tour that brought him as far west as Los Angeles. The editors of the *Quarterly* took advantage of the opportunity to interview Mr. Manvell on a number of subjects, including the following account of television in Great Britain, presented in its original question-and-answer form.

Question: Suppose we begin, Mr. Manvell, by asking you for a brief description of the physical setup of television in Great Britain. Will you tell us something about the area served, the number of stations, and so on?

MANVELL: The B.B.C. began a regular TV service for the public in 1936 in the London area. This service was interrupted during the war, so the history of British television runs from 1936 to 1939, and then again from 1946 to the present time. From 1936 to 1939 a single-channel program was available only to the London area, which meant, in practice, service to about one fifth of the island's population in an area about 120 miles in diameter. Since 1946, we have expanded the service up country to the big industrial areas in the Midlands and the north, and now to Scotland and South Wales. At present we serve about four fifths of our 50 million population with this single-channel operation, broadcasting an average of thirty to forty hours a week. The service is entirely under the B.B.C. and paid for by the money collected from license fees which our public pay annually when sets are installed.

Question: What is the license fee?

ANSWER: You pay about \$6 a year for both services, or if you only have sound radio, you pay about \$3 a year. The money is collected by the post offices and given to the B.B.C. less certain taxes. The B.B.C. has had to subsidize the development of television from money collected for sound radio. That has limited

its capacities to a certain extent, though in any event you have always to remember that raw materials are in short supply in England, and it is impossible for any organization like the B.B.C. to expand as rapidly as you would expand in this country.

Question: What is the approximate number of listeners?

ANSWER: We sell about 100,000 receiving sets a month. The total viewing population we estimate now as roughly 2,000,000 homes. It is rising rapidly each month, of course. We estimate for peak programs the viewing public is 4,000,000 and quite possibly on some programs it's more. For any major program, far more. People can invite eight or nine people into their homes for something as exciting as the annual Oxford and Cambridge boat race on the Thames in London.

Question: What steps does the government take to collect any uncollected license fees?

ANSWER: Normally, the first thing you do when you buy a set is to go around to the post office and buy your license. It is left to the honesty of people to do that and to renew their licenses. That may seem to you extraordinarily stupid, but it has worked reasonably well. It has produced a very large revenue for the B.B.C. on ordinary radio. There are, of course, a number of prosecutions each year for people discovered operating sound radio or television without license.

Question: Are there no antennas on the houses?

ANSWER: Yes, indeed, and that's one way of checking. But you can now buy television sets which can be operated without antenna. They have internal aerials.

Question: The original budget for television operation was out of radio funds. But now there must be a sizable budget for television from its own license fees.

ANSWER: In 1950-1951 nearly five million dollars were spent on TV programming. TV license fees do not fall very far short of this. It is the capital expenditure on equipment and new stations which strains the B.B.C.'s resources.

Question: You look forward to a time when television will be financially independent?

ANSWER: That will depend on the nature of the future developments of television. If we decide to multiply our channels, which we obviously must do, and if we continue to improve our technical facilities, which we obviously must do, we shall have to go beyond the funds available from television license fees. I think myself—and I am sure experience in this country will bear me out—that since television is such a costly business it may well become necessary to obtain money from other sources. The government has recently introduced legislation to permit commercial television alongside the B.B.C.'s own programs. But the B.B.C. is loath to give up the monopoly it has maintained for over a quarter of a century in British radio and television.

Question: Sponsorship will be for television only, not for radio?

ANSWER: Not for radio.

Question: Some interests in Britain have been trying to get commercial television, haven't they?

ANSWER: Yes. And they have the support now of our present government.

Question: Would it be possible for television programs to be beamed from the French side of the Channel to cover the London area?

ANSWER: Yes, indeed. We have had in Britain for twenty-five years responsible commercial sponsorship of documentary films. We have developed a technique of "responsible sponsorship" which encourages big enterprises with money to spare for public relations to make prestige documentaries which are in no sense mere advertising films. The fact that they have put their name to a good picture is in itself a good advertisement for them. Now I hope that that tradition will be maintained. Prestige, rather than advertising.

Question: What about the individual receiving set in Great

Britain, the size of the screen, and approximate cost? Isn't there a different linear make-up of the screen?

ANSWER: Yes there is. We work on a system of 405 lines; the American system is 525 lines. Our screens vary in size according to the type of set you buy. You can get screens from nine inches to over twenty inches in width. I am very fond of my old Bush set which has only a nine-inch screen, and gives a beautiful, brilliant picture, with plenty of contrast in the image and a fine sense of depth.

Question: Is that nine inches across the top?

ANSWER: Yes, it is.

Question: We measure our diagonally. What are the costs of the television sets?

ANSWER: You can spend as much as you like. If you want to get a luxury set you can spend as much as \$600. An ordinary set, which carries a very heavy purchase tax, as so many of our commodities do, will cost you about \$180, including the tax. That's about the cheapest table model set.

Question: That's comparable to our prices, isn't it?

ANSWER: I believe it is.

Question: Let's get on to the programming and production of B.B.C. television. Is the television staff separate from the radio staff?

ANSWER: Yes, it is, entirely. They have one group of studios at Alexandra Palace, which is on a high eminence about seven miles outside London. And the B.B.C. has taken over one of the big studios from the J. Arthur Rank organization, the Shepherd's Bush (Lime Grove) Studio, which is a converted movie studio. There are plans to build a huge composite studio at White City, which is about seven miles outside London, as the final television center. This will allow both studios and administration to be brought together.

Question: This will be purely for television?

ANSWER: Yes, purely television; no radio.

Question: How does the B.B.C. train its television staff?

ANSWER: The B.B.C. takes care of all its own training.

Question: Do they draw program people from other fields? Motion pictures, theater, and so on?

ANSWER: Yes, a great deal. It is a common experience for a documentary producer, or a feature film producer for that matter, to become a producer for the B.B.C.

Question: Does the B.B.C. use more film people than radio people?

ANSWER: Please remember that it requires very few producers to take care of the needs of a single channel. I think I am right in saying that there are about fifteen staff drama directors in the B.B.C., and three or four documentary directors, actually in full-time employment. In addition, guest directors are invited to do occasional work.

Question: That seems like rather a lot for a single channel broadcasting between thirty and forty hours a week.

ANSWER: Not if you work for quality. Every program has to be carefully rehearsed and you can't expect a drama producer to produce a full-length play much under a month to six weeks.

Question: Is this an hour-long drama?

ANSWER: Oh no, a full-length play. The B.B.C. produces at least two full-length plays a week, as well as short plays, serials, and plays for children.

Question: Are the full-length plays usually theater plays adapted to television?

ANSWER: Yes, of course, but adapted for camera movement, close-ups, and so on. There is no sense that you are viewing a play through a proscenium arch, though occasionally the B.B.C. will visit a theater and relay a play to us direct from that theater in the presence of an invited audience.

Question: In other words, it is a remote from the theater?

ANSWER: Yes, it is what we call an outside broadcast.

Question: How does the B.B.C. get permission to broadcast these plays?

ANSWER: Through agreement with the theater management and British Actors' Equity. The actors like it, of course.

Question: May I go back to this question about producers again for a moment? Does the B.B.C. recruit more producers from film than from radio?

ANSWER: There is a double line of recruitment. Most of the television producers, I think I can say, have had some film experience, but it does happen occasionally that the B.B.C. promotes a director from sound radio up to television. But obviously a man must have, shall we say, the visual capacities if he is to become a successful television producer. And so I should say the recruitment is normally from either side.

Question: I asked that because here for some time television used radio people primarily.

ANSWER: That's probably because the film people wouldn't come in.

Question: Oh, they would have come in all right. It was partly because certain aspects of American television are more like radio—the broadcast time and the commercial setup, and so on.

ANSWER: Well, in Britain different television producers are working in different styles. For example, there was a director named Fred O'Donovan (he died recently) who always worked with a single camera. He did not favour using a series of cameras, cutting from one to the other. Nonetheless, he managed to get great variety into each act of the play he was directing. In effect he developed Hitchcock's ten-minute take into a half-hour take! He either arranged his artists so that they came up to the camera for a close-up, or he trucked the camera into the action for close-ups or medium shots. But most British TV drama directors use more conventional techniques, usually employing three cameras at a time.

Question: Where do the actors come from for the dramatic productions?

ANSWER: There is no problem here. Within a radius of twenty-

five miles from Piccadilly Circus, the center of London, you will find virtually all the film studios, all British radio and live television, and the major part of the British theater. So there is a natural interchange of actors among all four. We have, of course, regional broadcasting, and there is also a very large repertory theater movement throughout Britain, but the focal point of all entertainment tends to be London itself. Therefore the talent is on the spot, and it is physically possible for an actor to work in two or three media at once. Many film actors work in television when they have two or three weeks to spare, and stage people too, of course. So there is no casting problem. Actors on the whole don't want to specialize.

Question: What fees do artists get for television performance?

ANSWER: They are comparatively low. B.B.C. fees, in American terms, will seem extremely small. Special artists may, of course, earn higher rates—that is a matter for their agents. But I should say that thirty pounds, which is considerably less than a hundred dollars, is an average fee for an average performance. This includes, of course, at least two weeks' full-time rehearsal and usually two performances.

Question: Are the current plays in the West End televised while they're running?

ANSWER: No play is normally given a special television production from the studio while a production is running in the West End. But permission is obtained from time to time for a remote broadcast to be made direct from a theater before a specially invited nonpaying audience. The B.B.C.'s policy is to put on about 100 full-length plays each year, and of these about twenty or thirty may be new dramas, specially written for television.

Question: How long are these scripts? An hour, or an hour and a half?

ANSWER: Normally an hour and a half long.

Question: Nobody writes television plays just half an hour long?

ANSWER: Yes, there are some short plays, of course, as well as

serials. But the normal full-length play for television has about ninety minutes of action. The B.B.C. usually introduces one or two intervals. Then you mix your drinks or make the tea, and a little bell sounds to call you back at the end of the interval.

Question: What does the viewer see during the intermission?

ANSWER: Well, music is played, but it's supposed to be a real intermission. The idea is to get up, put on the light, and talk.

Question: Just as when the commercial is on in American television.

ANSWER: That's right.

Question: Are the regional dramas broadcast direct to London sometimes, as remotes or outside broadcasts?

ANSWER: Yes, they are beginning to be now.

Question: Then television will, in a way, bring the regional theater into London.

ANSWER: Yes. Normally a provincial repertory company would have to be invited to the London studios. There are no studios for TV drama in the north. But a performance in an actual provincial theater can be transmitted as a remote broadcast.

Question: Let's turn to current events and public affairs. Does the B.B.C. have mobile units to cover some of the public events?

ANSWER: Yes. One of the big events in England is the annual Oxford and Cambridge boat race on the Thames, the complete course of which is followed for over four miles. One TV unit follows the boats on a launch; other cameras are stationed strategically on the river banks. I counted, one year, the number of cuts from shot to shot in the race. There were over seventy.

Question: Are other sporting events telecast?

ANSWER: Oh, yes. Football, Wimbledon tennis, ice hockey, horse races, though there are usually difficulties with certain promoters.

Question: What other public events do you telecast? Will you telecast the coronation, for example?

ANSWER: The processions certainly, but it is unlikely that there

will be any direct telecast of the ceremony.¹ Cameras so far have not been allowed inside Westminster Abbey. In the telecast of the King's funeral, everything that could be seen from the streets was shown, but certain of the events, such as the lying-in-state within Westminster Hall, could not be shown because of the problem of lights. Nor was the actual funeral service at Windsor shown.

Question: Has the B.B.C. done anything special with talks on television?

ANSWER: Talks and interviews appear regularly in the television programs. Most of the talks are built up into half-hour documentary programs, and illustrated by models, animated maps and diagrams, and other pictorial backgrounds. The talks are, of course, often broken up by introducing additional speakers. There is no hard and fast line between the talk program and the documentary program. Then there is a special film unit which produces five fifteen-minute newsreels a week, with cameramen doing special coverages in many parts of the world. For example, Korea has been extraordinarily well covered for us by the B.B.C. television film unit. This same unit can bring in material to illustrate talks and discussions.

Question: There's no objection to the discussion of controversial subjects?

ANSWER: None at all, so long as they're conducted fairly. The B.B.C.'s policy during elections, for example, is to give equal time to the chief parties. In ordinary times there are programs such as "In the News" in which a team representing a balance of point of view argues about any item in the news they care to choose.

Question: What is the typical B.B.C. television program schedule?

ANSWER: The programs are very mixed. Ballet and opera take an occasional place beside the more regular features—drama, variety, sports events, children's programs, and documentaries.

¹ In December, 1952, the B.B.C. was granted permission to televise some parts of the ceremony.

Question: Have there been any unusual experiments in television production at the B.B.C. since the war?

ANSWER: Well, at the moment there is a particularly interesting experiment being conducted with the help of half a dozen schools near one of the television studios to determine the best types of instructional programs to be broadcast to schools. It's only just started, but this and further experiments will eventually be of considerable importance in their influence on the future of school telecasting. Many of the adult programs can be considered experimental. For example, ballet is very popular in Great Britain. The B.B.C. thought it would be a good plan to give some instruction to the public on the technique of ballet. A whole series of very popular programs came out of this idea. We've also experimented with opera telecasts and with exceptional plays, like *Hamlet*, for example, and *Mourning Becomes Electra*, which have been played in two sections on two separate nights. In the documentary programs we've experimented with many kinds of technique—the balance of film inserts, for example, in continuity with realistic reconstructions in the studio and remotes—all within a half-hour program. We've even tried to televise the moon through a telescope! We've had programs in which Painlevé, for example, was invited to come over from France and actually show us some telemicrography. Some of these experiments fail. The moon telecast, for example, failed because on the night of the program there was too much cloud. But the fun lay in doing the thing at all, and the public could join in the fun of the attempt. And I, myself, have done some experimental programs with films, illustrating the history of the film and inviting film makers up to the studio to describe their work.

Question: What about the Tele-Cinema?

ANSWER: Well, that's an entirely different thing, and it is not related to the B.B.C. television service at all. It was built on the south bank of the Thames in central London for the Festival

of Britain last year. It showed big-screen television, stereoscopic films, and ordinary two-dimensional film. The Tele-Cinema is administered by the British Film Institute, and is rather similar in its status to the Museum of Modern Art's film theater in New York. Ours seats about 400 people.

Question: Has television cut into motion picture attendance in Britain as they claim it has here?

ANSWER: No. The postwar peak attendance at movie theaters, when everyone had both money and girl friends, was 31,000,000 a week out of our 50,000,000 population. Our theater attendance now, when we have fewer girl friends and less money, averages about 26,000,000 a week. The drop in the States, I understand, is far more serious.

New York — A Cinema Capital

FLORA RHETA SCHREIBER

FLORA RHETA SCHREIBER divides her time between teaching and writing. An assistant professor of speech at Long Island's Adelphi College, she writes on a variety of subjects. She has written articles for the *Quarterly* and for publications ranging from *Poet Lore* to *US Crime*, and from *The Emerson Quarterly* to *Colliers* and *The American Mercury*. Miss Schreiber's report on her six-week investigation of a leading racketeer was recently published in *Today's Woman*, and an article on international broadcasting appeared at about the same time in *Mademoiselle*.

FEW MOVIE-GOERS and few New Yorkers realize that New York like Hollywood is a film capital. But film capital it is, film capital with a difference.

Romance, sex, murder, swift action for swift thrills, are not the excitements to be found in movies conceived, born, and delivered in New York. Documentary, industrial, educational films—these are New York's staple. They provide the excitement of looking behind the scenes of life, the excitement of influencing action. Where Hollywood is interested in boy-meets-girl, New York's serious, special-purpose film is interested in what happens after he gets her—in the birth of their baby, in their baby's later psychological development, in what awaits the couple in old age.

The experimental film, also with headquarters in New York, is as different from the special-purpose film as it is from Hollywood's product. Generally these experimental films abandon reality entirely and go in quest of the uninhibited. Unconventional in outlook, the world they present characteristically produces not a Whistler's mother, serene and pure, but James Broughton's *Mother's Day*, satiric and sardonic, with Freudian overtones. It is a world in which the visualization of a nightmare like Kenneth Anger's *Fireworks* wins international awards (three, to be exact) and moves Tennessee Williams to say, "*Fireworks* is the most exciting use of cinema I have seen."

Today the audience for these films is growing, but in 1946, when Maya Deren rented the decrepit Provincetown Playhouse

in order to show half a dozen films of varying virtuosity, she did so with doubt in her heart. It seemed unlikely that she would get an audience to fill even the Provincetown's less than 200 seats. If she didn't get the audience, at least the investment wouldn't be too large, she consoled herself. For her settings, she used the free beaches, parks, and museums of New York. Her actors were chosen from her own friends, and her equipment was inexpensive. The first of her films, *Meshes of the Afternoon*, a study of the subconscious, cost a mere \$260 to produce. But she did get the audience. Unpredictably, *Meshes of the Afternoon*, *A Study in Choreography*, and *At Land*, the first Deren series, not only filled the Provincetown but led to queuing for more.

Maya Deren's small audience grew into the much larger audience for Cinema-16, founded by Amos Vogel in 1947. Vogel looked at the New York film scene with the critical eyes of a European to whom film societies were a natural part of a city's cultural life. As a child of twelve, Vogel had made his first film in Vienna. Later he saw films utilized by the Nazis for their own propaganda ends. He had seen thriving film societies in England and France. But, in New York, offbeat films, he discovered, were available only to school children, to members of women's clubs (known as the knife-and-fork circuit where a film accompanies a luncheon), and to inmates of hospitals. He decided that he would make such films available to other New Yorkers, too.

In Cinema-16 (no chemical formula, just a hyphenated way of saying films in 16 mm.) Vogel's private dream became a dream within the city. First he showed films to some 200 people at the Provincetown. When his audience grew to 2,500 it became two audiences and he began running Wednesday night showings at the Central Needles Trade Auditorium and Sunday morning showings at the Paris Theater. At first, Cinema-16 was open to the general public. Later it became a society with a private membership and with consequent freedom from the censor.

New Yorkers from all walks of life, but particularly from the

arts, are among the Cinema-16 elect. Of a Sunday morning, faces of consequence can be spotted for the looking—the faces of members Cheryl Crawford, Marlon Brando, Jerome Robbins, Sam Barber, or Gian-Carlo Menotti.

(Member Menotti had dramatically demonstrated his belief in New York film making when, after turning down four lucrative offers from major Hollywood studios for *The Medium*, he had given his enthusiastic go-ahead to two New York directors, Walter Lowendahl and Alexander Hammid.)

The audience at Cinema-16 is almost fanatically enthusiastic. It likes to talk of “the techniques of appreciation,” and to consider appreciation itself as an art. It likes to meditate on what it can legitimately accept as intrinsically filmic. Films like *Childbirth—Normal Delivery*, depicting the actual birth of a baby so graphically that the baby seems to leap simultaneously into the world and through the screen at the audience; films like *Breakdown*, in which the audience is exposed to the procedures of a mental hospital as seen through the eyes of a patient, are not for the timorous. But those of sterner stuff, accepting the claim that “these films pioneer in an unseen world,” do not flinch. They willingly surrender to the inducements and excitations of the screen. Vogel himself puts it this way: “This is no place for lonely hearts to come and find companionship. One should watch film as one listens to music or reads poetry. Film viewing is serious business.”

In the spring of 1952, any New Yorker’s fancy could turn to Cinema-16’s showing of the surrealist *Frenhofer and the Minotaur*, based on a story by Balzac, and to *Pen Point Percussion* by the Canadian-born Norman McLaren, he of *Fiddle De Dee* and *Loops*, who is to the *avant-gardist* what Frank Sinatra is to the bobby-soxer. Many people feel that McLaren has bridged the gap between the experimental and the theatrical film by introducing wit and humor. In *Pen Point Percussion* McLaren creates music in a film produced without camera or musical instruments.¹

¹ In “Notes on Animated Sound,” page 223, Norman McLaren describes the method of creating music by photographing drawings.

Music without music. Film without filming. Anything seems possible in the world of the irrepressible film experimentalist. At least anything seemed possible one night last January when the Junior Council of the Museum of Modern Art arranged for an evening dedicated to the proposition: "Why Experimental Films?"

Edward Steichen, director of the Museum's Department of Photography, acted as guide to the artistic adventure in "the realm of abstract design in motion." Steichen, leading the connoisseur and the curious by the eye (forgive a surrealist touch or two) showed in succession, without benefit of intermission, eighteen abstract films produced between 1921 and 1951.

The mind reels at the memory. It was as if, while looking at *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, one suddenly found one's self in Sartre's *No Exit*, a "no exit," however, not bound by walls as in Sartre but exitless because all boundaries have been removed.

In this world of the abstract film, the square is used to establish different proportions of the rectangle. Capital E becomes a hero assuming shapes that range all the way from a homely comb to the inward workings of the human mind. Gadgetry lit in odd ways and reflected in mirrors, assembled in a whirligig of curious configurations is supposed to be a special kind of luminosity. Rotating spirals and rotating disks, on which are spirals of French doggerel, dance in happy concert, while colored lines and masses hop happily to the beat of a jazz tune.

Here the abnormal is considered so normal that when the projectionist mistakenly showed Frank Stauffacher's *Form Evolution* in reverse, nobody knew the difference. But when Steichen noticed the error and made a point of it, embarrassed titters filled the hall. The *cognoscenti* had proved unknowing.

Silver-haired Edward Steichen, describing each film, spoke with intense conviction, but it was a conviction that to the uninitiated, sounded grandiose. "Abstract films," he quoted a German critic as saying, "are an emancipation from nature, a striving for autono-

mous creation, a rummaging in dust and rubble. Their truth or falsity hangs inevitably in an uncertain balance."

Uncertain of the balance, uncertain even of its own balance, the museum audience finally found itself in the open air. New York, for the moment, looked as it had seemed in what was easily the evening's most creative use of cinema—Francis Thompson's exultant *New York, New York*, made in 1951. The New York of this film, angular and surrealistic, was not the New York one sees with normal vision. This film, indeed the evening as a whole, made the capital of the nontheatrical film industry look, on seeing it again, as if it were a dream configuration.

But the average New Yorker knows only the films which, initially produced in 16 mm., graduate to 35 mm. and make the ascent to the marquees of regular theaters.

Several French importations have been in this class: *Art Survives the Times*, *Balzac*, *Christian Dior*, *Van Gogh*, *Animated Cartoons, 1848*, *Biography of a Motion Picture Camera*, *Daredevils of the Alps*, and *Spelunking*, a study of speleology, which is mountain climbing.

New York is also the center of film importing. Among the leading importers are Thomas Brandon, Rosalind Kosoff, I. Lopert, Joseph Burstyn, and Arthur Mayer. Mayer, who has looked at hundreds of French and Italian films in an effort to cull a few worthy of importation, bristles at the delusion of the intellectuals who believe that any foreign film is automatically superior to any American one. "I highly recommend," says Mayer, "to those who regard Hollywood as a petrified forest of decaying formulas and escapist morasses, a closer acquaintance with the product of Cinecitta and Elstree."

The home product also makes the ascent to acceptability. There is *Lincoln Speaks at Gettysburg*, which won the Freedom Foundation Award and which enjoyed a good run at the Paris Theater.

And there is *Grandma Moses*, produced by Falcon Films. This film started life quietly in 16-mm., and not only made the mar-

quees but has proved the most popular art film in a period when art films are the most popular of all offbeat films. *Grandma* has received an Oscar. Hugh Martin's and Alec Wilder's score from the film has been made into a Columbia record. *Grandma* has been honored at the Salzburg Seminar in International Relations. The State Department bought *Grandma* and the picture has even penetrated the iron curtain where grandma becomes "babushka." Americans abroad report that they are always running across either James Davis' abstract *Light Reflections* or *Grandma Moses*.

On the crest of this wave came two new art films. *Pictura, Adventure in Art*, produced by a New York company called Pictura, opened on the West Coast (to qualify for an Academy Award) and then came home. *St. Matthew's Passion*, the final film from the late Robert Flaherty, had its American première in New York, and has been released nationally. Each is challengingly novel in treatment. Perhaps in the very novelty there is too much striving for effect. *St. Matthew's Passion* represents the marriage of two arts, painting and music, with religious canvasses and sculpture from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries used as illustration for Bach's oratorio. Often the painting and the score seem to work in opposition. In quite a different way *Pictura* is excessive; it lines up such actors as Vincent Price, Gregory Peck, Henry Fonda, Martin Gable, and Lili Palmer only to have them act as guides. One remembers nostalgically the simplicity of *Grandma Moses*, which is as much the story of a woman as of her art.

The films that earnestly influence action are also finding a larger audience and are extending their influence. The educational film, rescued from its stale, flat, and unprofitable past, is now assuming a more palatable form. Its subject matter includes everything for all grades, on all educational levels, from world geography to marriage for moderns. Producers of marked achievement, like Louis de Rochemont, include the educational film as a regular part of their output. *Who's Boss?*, one of the titles in a

new marriage series released by McGraw Hill, suggests the informality, the easy personal tone, for which the better educational films are now striving.

The industrial film is concerned with selling a product, with training personnel, or with simply creating good will for a company. This kind of film is attracting more and more top sponsors—General Motors, General Electric, American Telephone and Telegraph, Goodyear, Philco, Western Electric, Bell, Swift and Company, Metropolitan Life, Ford, Lever Bros., Westinghouse, Chesterfield, and, of course, the State Department. A company like March of Time, no longer producing for theater consumption, is devoting its energies almost entirely to producing for industrial sponsors. *And a Voice Shall Be Heard*, directed by Jack Glenn, president of the Screen Directors' Guild of New York and a stormy petrel in the past, is typical of the industry-sponsored films of the March of Time. Depicting an atom bomb raid on an American city, and illustrating the use of two-way radio in meeting this eventuality, the film was produced for the Electronics Division of the General Electric Company.

New York is also headquarters of companies like Loucks and Norling, Transfilm, and Audio, which specialize in technical animation. It is the center not only of State Department film production but also of foreign information services that make and distribute films of their own and provide New York film makers with source material about other countries. There are many films produced exclusively in New York for distribution elsewhere: Negro pictures for Negro audiences in the South; Jewish pictures finding an eager audience among people interned in European camps for displaced persons. Housing Wall Street, New York is even Hollywood's own financial center. And, as we said at the beginning, it is home base for the documentary.

In the New York of 1922 appeared the first documentary. It was strangely linked to *Grandma's Boy*, Harold Lloyd's first big feature. The documentary, *Nanook of the North*, by the late

Robert Flaherty, was shown, of all places, at the Capital. Its showing there, against the wishes of the theater's manager, Major Bowes, was the result of wily manipulation. The manipulators were Pathé, the backer, and Roxy, the distributor. Roxy, unsure of a nonstory documentary about a remote people, had "tin-canned it," as they say in the business, to *Grandma's Boy*. It was a simple case of "if you don't take *Nanook* you can't have *Grandma's Boy*." This Siamese relationship between Flaherty's masterpiece and a Hollywood staple enraged Major Bowes, but it launched the New York documentary.

In 1929, at Irving Jacoby's home on Madison Avenue, the first meeting of the Documentary Film Producers of America took place. The constitution committee was faced with the problem of definition. "What do we mean by documentary?" The problem stopped them. They never finished drafting the constitution because they could not find a definition. "If it turns out good, it is documentary," said Jacoby. "To me, documentary is a term of value. It is a flight from the phony."

During the depressed 'thirties the documentary enjoyed what the pundits call its "heyday" with films of "value," such as *The Plow That Broke the Plains* and *The River*.

The war was a new spur and the documentary gained ground as an instrument of instruction. It became less a social document, more an information and sales vehicle. Now it is booming as it never boomed before. It sometimes even finds itself in surprising places, for instance as part of the bill of fare of the Roxy Theater, the citadel of conventional entertainment. Audiences at the Roxy have developed a taste for such short subjects as the world's battle for bread and a lighthouse story on safety at sea. Both were produced by the UN in its Glass House, which is definitely throwing stones into the New York film scene.

Everything from the obscure menhaden (a herring with rare versatility because of its many uses—chicken food, leather tanning, candle manufacture) to one God is subject matter for the

documentary, and the documentary film director is easily the most ubiquitous man alive. All the world's his stage. He has taken his crew and his equipment to lumber camps, coal mines, factories, hospitals, army camps, union halls, on ships, beaches, mountain trails, glaciers, in cabins far from electricity, in oil fields, on drilling barges. He has even invaded the psychiatrist's sanctum sanctorum, holding the mirror up to factual case histories, to descents into dementia, to imaginative daydreams.

As the New York directors of documentaries (there are some 300 of them) roam the world in search of a face that is exactly right, of a voice that is true, all men and women are potentially their players. The players play themselves. A film that began as a medical-training film, called *Physical Medicine and the Rehabilitation of Spinal Cord Injuries*, was acted so persuasively by the two paraplegic boys who played themselves that it underwent a complete metamorphosis. It became a documentary with a story; its title was changed to *Towards Independence*, and it won an Oscar.

But if the director roams the world, he also stays at home, using New York to represent every part of the world that he possibly can. Ten years ago, Irving Jacoby and Willard Van Dyke of Affiliated Films, in making *Bird Migration*, shot Argentina and Wisconsin in Staten Island. The weeds and sea grass of Staten Island are indistinguishable from those in the Argentine, which are indistinguishable from those in Wisconsin. They found their burro in the Bronx and their Spanish-speaking people in Harlem. Directors looking for Indians find them near by, for within easy reach of the city are over 300 Iroquois Indians as well as a number of Sioux, Hopi, Creek-Pawnee, Zuni, Pueblo-Tewa, Mohawk, Cherokee, Kickapoo, and Comanche. Judy Dupuy has set up a casting agency through which an Indian ready to sell his services can do so at regular union rates.

And sometimes the director, loyal to his city, has celebrated the city in film. Willard Van Dyke, who with Ralph Steiner made a film called *The City* in 1939, came to New York from California

to make a film that would record the inhumanity of the city, its claustrophobic effect on a man accustomed to open spaces. But, instead, falling in love with the town, Van Dyke made New York his home and turned an affectionate camera on the city which, with Steiner, he pictured in all its kaleidoscopic vitality. The city has also come to life in *Dream of a Rarebit Fiend* (1906), where Washington Square is in the background; *Big Town, Small Town* (1907); in *The House on 92nd Street* (1946), *The Quiet One* (1949), Weegee's *New York* (1947), and in Francis Thompson's phantasmagoric *New York, New York*, still a work in progress.

New York still dreams its dream of being a film capital of America. It still hopes to regain the position it had when, in the days of David Wark Griffith, before the feature went to Hollywood in search of sunlight, it was the center of the feature film. Periodically there is public expression of this dream. And so Louis de Rochemont, who has kept one foot in the east and one in the west, tells the Screen Directors' Guild of New York that "television will destroy the motion picture industry as we know it today, and New York will replace Hollywood as a movie center."

Films from Abroad: Crime and Punishment, Sound and Silent

RICHARD ROWLAND

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CRIME AND PUNISHMENT is, I suppose, *the* classic subject of the motion picture; Jacques Becker's *Casque d'Or* is, in many respects, the classic version of it. There is nothing essentially original in the story; its characters are the gang leader and his moll, the innocent young carpenter who loves her, and his loyal little gutter-rat buddy. It is full of brawls and knifings and shootings. Most of its episodes can be anticipated: that the slightly soiled hero and heroine will have an idyllic country interlude, that it will be interrupted by the gang leader, that the hero will return to save his buddy who has been accused of the crime he committed. Those of us raised on Hollywood's moral code will not be surprised that the hero goes to the guillotine for his crime, though we may be surprised when the heroine watches the execution impassively from an upper-story window overlooking the prison yard.

But the film is full of surprises because of the loving attention to detail with which it has been directed. The period is 1900 and M. Becker has lingered on the ladies' slightly overripe period finery with great affection. The cobbled streets, the morning-after disarray of the room shared by the two cocottes, the metallic gold of Marie's hair, the heavy bad taste of the furnishings in the mob leader's rooms, the benevolent obscenity of the deep-seamed face of the old lady with whom the lovers stay in the country—these are stressed with almost tactile reality. The sound track is equally full of loving observation; one remembers the wheezy accordion music to which the lovers revolve so jerkily, the creak of oarlocks

as Marie comes to Manda on the river, the hovering cries of the rooks as the lovers walk across the village square toward Léca, knowing that their honeymoon is over. Rarely are sounds so memorable in a film; it is partly, of course, that the background music has been kept down to a wise minimum so that these sounds stand out with naked power. But it is more a general interest in the sensuous detail which can evoke so much. Uncannily, one almost smells the chickens and the pigs in the little country idyll.

This is all admirable, but it seems to me that the praise granted to this film has been excessive. All these brilliant directorial touches show a preoccupation with the surface of things, a preoccupation rare and rewarding but not likely to produce a major film unless coupled with some effort to get beneath the surface. One remembers other films which dealt with themes of crime and punishment with a power and perception quite lacking here—*The Informer*, *Crime et Châtiment*, *The Blue Angel*, a good handful of the best American gangster films—and regrets Becker's missed opportunities. Claude Dauphin's gangster is a conventional figure with no motivation, however real his den may look; Marie is impassive to the point of incredibility—all sorts of things may be going on behind that soft, pretty face, but we can only guess at them; the script writer will not help. Serge Reggiani's carpenter is played with some subtlety, but both the principals are seen as moving toward their disaster like sleepwalkers. This is not tragic for they are not adequately conscious. In the end I watched the guillotine fall curiously unmoved. M. Becker's direction keeps *Casque d'Or* constantly alive; it is a film whose surface is all shimmer and color; but the story itself remains a violent melodrama, expert but with less heart than its deliberate clash of love against violence demands.

An unassuming English crime film, *The Stranger in Between*, (more simply and descriptively identified as *Hunted* in England) has the heart that this lacks, but not quite the sustained skill to carry it off. This is a simpler story: a runaway boy witnesses a

murder; the murderer and he find themselves inextricably bound together as they dodge the police. It is essentially the chase, pure and simple, but the script writers have attempted to sketch in histories and motivations for the two principals. These scenes fail, for they seem to have been written and shot in a curiously perfunctory way. But in the chase the film comes violently to life. However unconvincing the other relationships in the film may be, the central relationship is fully developed; the mingled exasperation, fear, and love with which the boy and the murderer view each other is delicately conceived and beautifully played by Dirk Bogarde and a wonder child named Jon Whiteley. Charles Crichton's handling of this boy seems to me far above anything of its sort I have seen in recent years. We would have been content to have had these characters without pasts, without explanations, for here are two people locked in a situation in which their responses must be universally human. In *Casque d'Or*, only Marie's and Manda's individuality could explain their peculiar reactions, and it is this individuality which Becker did not give us.

The Stranger in Between falters occasionally; it is not always sure of itself. There is one embarrassingly mawkish bit of writing when the murderer tells his history to the boy as a bedtime tale, and generally there is too much background music designed to jar the nerves. One longs for a little silence to give the actors and the camera a chance to make their point unaided. Mr. Crichton could study Becker's use of sound profitably, but like too many directors he has succumbed to the temptation to envelope all action in a barrage of overorchestration. It is, of course, largely a question of how good the music is and this music is not good enough. Richard Strauss' operas illuminate their action by these very devices, but their power and wit are unanswerable; when Arthur Honegger squanders huge orchestras and choruses on his "oratorios," he often achieves only banality. The modesty of the story of *The Stranger in Between* is not well served by the rhetorical flourishes of its musical background.

The problems of the conscience, the underworlds of the city and the soul, were the dominant themes of the finest German films between the two World wars. Very few films have come out of Germany since World War II; remembering Dupont, Murnau, Lang, von Sternberg, we have waited with curiosity to see what impetus that catastrophe might have given to German art. Recently, *Berliner Ballade*, a postwar German success, has been imported. It is a curious film, bitter and sentimental, vaguely reminiscent of the early 1920's in its tone. But in the end it is an unsatisfactory work. It tells of a German Everyman, returning to Berlin after the war, coping with housing shortages, black markets, and love. It is full of little cabaret turns and tricks of montage, but none of them conceal the spiritual poverty of the film. It is a deliberately trivial film, but the triviality is a public washing of the hands, a denial of the seriousness of the tragic background against which the action takes place. The black marketeer is really a jolly goodhearted comic type, the lady who runs a lonely hearts racket is charmingly flighty, as adorable as Billie Burke. At the end Everyman leads them all to bury their little vices—Selfishness, Hatred, etcetera—in the grave dug for Everyman, and it is as easy as shrugging one's shoulders. Crime and punishment can be dealt with comically, but not in such an offhand manner as this. One leaves *Berliner Ballade* troubled and uncomfortable; irresponsibility is no joke.

The best episode of the film is a rather Chaplinesque scene in which international conferees argue interminably around a conference table; the sound track, instead of voices, supplies Strauss waltzes for the German speaker, jazz for the gum-chewing American, *Dark Eyes* for the Russian. As the argument intensifies the fury of the music mounts. Finally one of the conferees leans back with a big cigar and accidentally ignites a large globe and the world goes up in flames. The sound track is amusing and imaginative; the *je-m'en-fou* joke at the end shows the barrenness of concept of the film as a whole.

But at least the film is visually conceived; it is, in fact, often a silent film in technique, derived from Chaplin and Clair, among others. It is an odd mixture of banality and ingenuity, substituting tricks for the mordant wit which might have led us to understand the people of Berlin. Instead, we wonder how far refusal to understand events can be carried. The cries of protest which greeted Billy Wilder's *A Foreign Affair* were violent, but it seems, to this spectator at any rate, that *Berliner Ballade* treats morality and responsibility as if they were a foreign affair; the poor Berliners starve and despair while statesmen set the world aflame. This is too detached a view to be meaningful. Statesmen are people; their crimes are not simply the cause of the people's genial vices; genial vices lead to crime and to punishment. Without some such larger perception, this toying with disaster seems to me dangerous and offensive. We can understand how historical events could lead to the desire to shrug one's shoulders thus, but this understanding does not make the shrug any easier to forgive.

Feature Films Preferred by Danish Youth

EBBE NEERGAARD

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IN 1946, an investigation of the film taste of about 9,000 young people was carried through in Denmark as part of a larger survey undertaken by a youth commission appointed by the government to study and suggest means of improving the living conditions of Danish young men and women. A general report of the youth survey was published under the title of *Den danske ungdom* (Copenhagen, 1951), and a number of separate reports have also been issued. This article is based on the analysis I prepared in 1952 as part of the commission's report on leisure activities,¹ and is a subjective evaluation of the film preferences revealed in the youth survey.

The young people who took part in the survey represented almost 2 per cent of the total population in the 15 to 24 year age group. They were selected from population areas divided into four categories: the capital, provincial towns, villages, and rural districts. One of the survey questions was to name two motion pictures recently seen and liked; the following list of preferred films is made up of the ten films most often named in each of the four districts. Although only twenty-six films were named, altogether, they are listed in order of preference for each of the four areas; the total vote for each film is given, as well as the number of votes cast by men and by women.

¹ Most of the material presented here is from the summary of Mr. Neergaard's lengthy and detailed report.—THE EDITORS.

26 FILMS PREFERRED BY DANISH YOUTH

The Capital:

	Men	Women	Total
1. <i>Casablanca</i> (American)	105	117	222
2. <i>To Be or Not to Be</i>	107	98	205
3. <i>The Seventh Veil</i> (British)	64	127	191
4. <i>Going My Way?</i> (American)	53	82	135
5. <i>Heaven Can Wait</i> (American)	63	70	133
6. <i>Bataille du Rail</i> (French)	82	10	92
7. <i>The Scarlet Pimpernel</i> (British)	38	49	87
8. <i>The Red Meadows</i> (Danish)	53	33	86
9. <i>The Sullivans</i> (American)	30	46	76
10. <i>I Love Someone Else</i> (Danish)	12	59	71

The Provincial Towns:

1. <i>The Thief of Bagdad</i> (British)	214	226	440
2. <i>The Red Meadows</i> (Danish)	94	109	203
3. <i>Commandos</i> (American)	115	71	186
4. <i>Hatter's Castle</i> (British)	62	88	150
5. <i>Discreet Residence</i> (Danish)	15	97	112
6. <i>The Scarlet Pimpernel</i> (British)	66	42	108
7. <i>Letter from the Deceased</i> (Danish)	25	65	90
8. <i>I Love Someone Else</i> (Danish)	16	72	88
9. <i>The Seventh Veil</i> (British)	17	58	75
10. <i>Black Roses</i> (Swedish)	24	41	65

The Villages:

1. <i>The Red Meadows</i> (Danish)	54	28	82
2. <i>Die Goldene Stadt</i> (German)	11	28	39
3. <i>The Thief of Bagdad</i> (British)	17	20	37
4. <i>Country Life</i> (Swedish)	19	18	37
5. <i>Pimpernel Smith</i> (British)	16	17	33
6. <i>Up with Little Martha</i> (Danish)	20	12	32
7. <i>The Jungle Book</i> (American)	20	8	28
8. <i>The Word</i> (Swedish)	6	18	24
9. <i>The Patient Vanishes</i> (British)	20	4	24
10. <i>The Sullivans</i> (American)	9	10	19

The Rural Districts:

1. <i>The Red Meadows</i> (Danish)	294	178	472
2. <i>It's in the Air</i> (British)	159	68	227
3. <i>Die Goldene Stadt</i> (German)	31	64	95
4. <i>Katrina</i> (Swedish)	27	60	87
5. <i>The Sullivans</i> (American)	36	46	82
6. <i>The Word</i> (Swedish)	44	35	79
7. <i>Discreet Residence</i> (Danish)	29	49	78
8. <i>Country Life</i> (Swedish)	43	30	73
9. <i>The Thief of Bagdad</i> (British)	36	31	67
10. <i>The Invisible Army</i> (Danish)	44	22	66

It is interesting to note that several films which are not only serious but illustrate a rather high degree of austerity in their outlook are among the preferred ones. *Die Goldene Stadt*, which is preferred especially by young country women, has a domineering father figure from whom the young girl tries to free herself by escaping to the superficially glorious capital. But the escape is a complete failure; the golden city is tinsel and bluff; she is seduced, she goes home, she is received with a merciless coldness; she punishes herself by committing suicide. Have they acknowledged its moral, the many who voted for this film? Have they felt something like sweet justice in its tragedy, in the lovely young woman's self-annihilation? Has the triumph of the paternal moral in death released a desire for submission?

In *Katrina* the young country girl of the film takes over the role of the father: she must make herself firm and masterful because the man who has fascinated her and whom she marries has a weak character. But at the same time she keeps her womanliness, as she is acted by Märtha Ekström. Sternness and gentleness are united. She *freed* herself through sternness.

The Word has a similar motif: the old patriarchal farmer acted by Sjöström has an austerity which is partly made up for by the gentleness of mad Johannes. The old man's majestic attitude is softened in the end.

Do these three films, chosen in the country and in the small towns, reveal an attitude characteristic of the country youth? Possibly; yet similar films were chosen in the other areas.

Black Roses, an intense film about a love affair, is a stark story of a struggle for the freedom of love.

Letter from the Deceased, *Hatter's Castle*, and *The Seventh Veil* are all dominated by a sadistic male figure, in conflict with a lovely young woman who suffers passively. *The Seventh Veil*, which ends with the young woman "getting" the brutal man, whose sadism was the reflection of disappointed love and masculine bitterness, has a predominant number of female votes in the capital

and the provincial towns. The two others, too, have mainly female votes. And apart from *The Word*, which in the country municipalities receives a few more votes from men than from women, these films are "women's films," judged by voting preference.

This may mean that many young people, especially girls, escape from a certain severity in the demands set them in home and in society by seeing films that, in certain respects, have a sadistic-masochistic touch. However, in addition to the "severe" films, *I Love Someone Else* and *Discreet Residence* were preferred by women.

I Love Someone Else is all cheerfulness and love centered around the bright, sweet, chaste, and somewhat cool, prudish Marguerite Viby. In contrast to the severe films, it is distinctly free from personal problems, because of the social problem contained in the film: that we have too few and too small kindergartens. The problem is solved in such a silly way that it cannot be taken seriously. The essential part of this film, from a mental-function viewpoint, is no doubt the glorious emancipation of Marguerite Viby. Märtha Ekström in *Katrina* exercised a similar function as an ideal in the country—but Miss Viby is devoid of any trace of austerity. She, too, has a slack lout to struggle with (Ebbe Rode as a comical drunkard, but still a very romantic young gentleman), but she converts him through love. In *Katrina* the conflicting elements are not hidden; in the Viby film they are just winked at. Out of the twenty-six films this one is, presumably, the one that is nearest to a "treat." Still, it cannot, or at least only in certain respects, be contrasted to *Katrina* and other severe films. It touches on "the problem" of the freedom of woman. In the Swedish film it is rigorous freedom—in the Danish film easy and happy freedom.

The other marked "woman's film," *Discreet Residence*, is Danish too. Compared with *I Love Someone Else* it is realistic, yet only relatively so. Unmarried young women's problems when they are expecting to become mothers quiet obviously concern the female

youth. The film may be the one among the twenty-six films that is nearest to an informational one. This film, too, in its own way touches on the problem of the freedom of woman. And the young men, especially in the provincial towns, care remarkably little for it.

The film most men preferred is *Bataille du Rail*. Other films with mainly male votes are *The Red Meadows*, *Commandos*, and *The Invisible Army*. These four films deal with the struggle for liberty during World War II; one takes place in France, one (American) in Norway, and two in Denmark.

Can we rightly consider these films as forming a counterpart to the "severe" films which gathered a predominant number of female votes? Not really. The four liberty films—like the "severe" films—are serious films, but there is a great difference. The "severe" films have a *family* conflict, something suppressed, something *unreleased* which in several culminates in self-destruction on the part of the principal female character. In the liberty films it is a national conflict revealed in action in merciless struggle. We notice that, among the four films, the one that has the lowest number of votes is one in which this motif of struggle is least simple: *The Invisible Army*, which touches on personal conflicts. Yet it is among the twenty-six, undoubtedly on account of a well-planned sequence of sabotage.

Closely related to the four liberty films are *Pimpernel Smith*, *To Be or Not to Be*, and *Casablanca*. These three films, although containing other motifs as well, in the main deal with struggle against Nazism, for freedom. The male and female votes for them almost balance.

These seven films were topical during the period of the inquiry, when the memory of the war and the struggle for liberty was vivid in all circles. The inquiry, in my opinion, benefits by the appearance of these films and by the very date at which it was undertaken. The numbers of votes gathered by these seven films show that the young audience takes a very active interest in great and

essential political questions, at any rate if they seem to concern them personally. The period of occupation in Denmark was a personal concern of everyone. The conflict was obvious; to the majority of the population it was easy to take sides in this conflict, and no doubt it was capable of releasing many personal conflicts.

Dare we suppose that the popularity of the liberty films (especially with young men) is caused by their ability to release personal conflicts through identification with a determined, destructive activity of noble intention: the reestablishment of liberty? Dare we perhaps say, on account of this choice made by the youth, that films help them convert an aggressive, pent-up anger into day dreams about resolute activity of a heroic nature? Is the struggle for liberty many a young man's or woman's own personal struggle for liberty? The fairy tale, not hampered by naturalistic considerations, can symbolize wishes, conflicts, hopes. Are films the fairy tales of our age? One of the most popular among the twenty-six preferred films is *The Thief of Bagdad*. It is number one in the list of the provincial towns, number three in the list of the small towns, and number nine in the country, though apparently it had already been forgotten in the capital (only twenty-five remembered it eight or nine month after the first performance in Copenhagen).

The principal character in *The Thief of Bagdad* (adapted from *The Arabian Nights*) is a charming little thief acted by Sabu. He steals the eye of the god, the red giant ruby—the watching eye of the red color of love. His servant is a gigantic spirit who comes out of a bottle. The boy rules the giant. A little thief, whom everyone can identify himself with and sympathize with, steals love and encourages love; the little fellow governs the great spirit. It is quite Freudian. You fly along over the earth on a magic carpet and are free. A fairy tale like this one, no less than the liberty films, is a paean to freedom.

Among the preferred films is also *The Jungle Book*. It, too, is a fairy tale, a dream. The boy, the son, the little one is free in the

woods. He is a friend to the animals, or most of them, anyway. His enemies are the tiger and the snake—and the humans, the grown-ups. One is outside, and against, the community in this film—the community of the grownups. One is left behind in a child's world where only simple, childish laws are in force, the law of the jungle, noble, severe, plain.

Maybe *The Jungle Book* is more a treat for boys than a fairy tale, a treat of a harmless, anarchist character. *The Thief of Bagdad* is a real fairy tale. The small, weak one wins the victory by means of ingenuity and audacity, and he helps the young persons to love. It is the motif from Chaplin, from the old *commedia dell'arte*, from the traditional folk tales, and from those I have called the "liberty films." The liberty films are fairy tales, the fairy tale is a liberty film. They are not far from each other.

The farce, too, is a fairy tale. Would that not perhaps explain the great popularity in the country of *It's in the Air*? It is one of these unmilitarist military farces in which a very civilian young man is the hero. He breaks every military regulation. He shows no respect, and even makes fun of the senior sergeant. He is spontaneous and happy, and he sings sweetly and merrily while playing his banjo; as a matter of fact, nobody can resist him. He is the child in the hard, regulation-filled world of the grownups, and he wins the victory. He also gets the captain's sweet daughter, but that is convention, not conviction; he is presexual, if one may say so. He manages everything by doing it wrong; in other words, he is the genius who solves his problems by breaking the rules. And the most extraordinary feature about him is that, unlike all others in the film, he is quite ordinary, without merits, without handsomeness, without virility, doltish and awkward like a bull in a china shop—and just for that reason is victorious—because he is free. All the others are types, one-sided characters with one mental quality and one function. Therefore, he alone is a human. It is the fairy tale about Hans Clodhopper, about the youngest son, about the smallest and weakest and disregarded one, about you and me.

The other preferred farce, *Up with Little Martha*, is not nearly so distinctly a fairy tale. It is number six in the villages, number fifteen in the capital, number nineteen in the country, and number twenty in the provincial towns. One might say that it is popular because as a farce it belongs to a genre that is particularly preferred by young men, and because it is Danish. But it does not, like the other farce, hit the mark with its story about a young man's adventures disguised as a feminist woman who ends in Parliament.

One more preferred film is a fairy tale: the old screen version of Baroness Orczy's *The Scarlet Pimpernel*. The wonderful, elegant hero (Leslie Howard) pretends to be stupid, vain, and foppish and comes to the rescue of all the aristocrats, saving them from the terrible mob of the French Revolution. Undoubtedly in this political story we may quite safely ignore the political and take it for a marked "liberty film" (made before the era of the liberty movements). But the social viewpoints of the film are utterly reactionary: only the aristocrats are attractive; the coarse are very coarse.

Among the twenty-six preferred films is only one pure crime film, *The Patient Vanishes*, and it is far down in the smallest group, with a clear male majority. But in others of the preferred films there are aspects of crime films, first and foremost in a number of the liberty films; in *Casablanca* (secret police, spying, bribery, murder); *The Red Meadows* (unmasking of the informer, escape from the prison); *Pimpernel Smith* (the hero deceives the Gestapo).

The mental function of the crime film has frequently been discussed, as has its bad effects. There is every indication that the fear that crime films stimulates crime is exaggerated and on the whole, in Denmark at least, ungrounded. On the contrary, in the opinion of psychologists and psychiatrists, it is more likely that the crime film gives youth an outlet for suppressed aggression in a way that is harmless from a social point of view. It is likely to

serve the same function as the liberty films. The young spectators can find vent for inward rebellion and yet finally rejoice when law and order conquer.

The idyll, too, is rather poorly represented in the selection. *Going My Way?* seems to be the most important. It has not reached farther than the capital and is preferred by women. *I Love Someone Else* is mainly an idyll, and a marked "woman's film." *Country Life* is an old-fashioned idyll with the chubby Edvard Persson in the principal role. There are also rather marked traces of the idyll in *The Sullivans*.

Compared to the severe films, the idyll shows an ambivalence in the attitude of youth, especially women. The craving for liberty, the rebellion against family ties are rather often hinted at in the idyll; for instance, in the young parson (Bing Crosby) and his attitude toward the elderly parson (Barry Fitzgerald) in *Going My Way?* But it does not lead to conflict. The conflict is suspected and feared, but it is smoothed away. The family ties conquer, not because the elements of conflict are solved or removed, but because these elements suddenly are denied. It can be done, and it is often done by young love, sublimating its sexual instinct as in *I Love Someone Else* in which Viby wins her man by being sisterly and motherly. Altogether the idyll and the severe film seem to emphasize that sex is sin: the girl in *Die Goldene Stadt* must die because she dared to throw herself into the metropolitan milieu, which is characterized as sexual; the girl in *Black Roses* must die because she broke out of the safe and moderate peasant milieu, giving herself to an artist, a stranger. In that way there will be no idyll; such is the lesson. Both types are among the preferred.

Finally, another type, very faintly represented, is the immoral film. While the idyll and the severe film are not contrasts but two aspects of the same moral, the immoral film contrasts with both. There is only one among the twenty-six, *Heaven Can Wait*, preferred in the capital as number five. It is not so terribly immoral, but it acknowledges the existence and the importance of sexual

life, at the same time handling this otherwise fatal theme in a very light manner. Lubitsch speaks ironically of the bourgeois morals and shows ironical sympathy with his frivolous principal character, the rake. No, it is hardly fit for those who take morals seriously, nor for the idyll-worshippers who close their eyes. It is, no doubt, a rather disengaging film, somewhat dangerous. Unfortunately, at the time of the inquiry it had not reached farther than to the capital; it would have been interesting to follow its fate in the other areas, where severe films and idylls, two types that are only represented with one each in the capital, are preferred.

If we were to make a comparison between the capital, the provincial towns, and the country I think we must say that the capital shows a little more lightness; that is, they are less naïvely victims of their feelings. Accustomed to city life (and to many kinds of films) the youth of the capital look upon the film in a more conscious way and therefore in a more artistic-critical way. An ironical, satirical, nonnaïve liberty film like *To Be or Not to Be* is one of the first in the list of the capital; a “dangerous” and “immoral” film like *Heaven Can Wait* has many votes, and a matter-of-fact film with a documentary trace like *Bataille du Rail* has a striking number of votes among the young men, who seem to have a less naïve taste than the girls.

But what can we say of the function of these films in the country as a whole? Half of the preferred films are definitely serious. This does not, to me, indicate any wish to escape from the problems of everyday life. Sixteen of the twenty-six films can be characterized as problem films.

However, I wonder whether, after all, the remaining ten apparently nonproblem films do not represent problems to the youth. It all depends on what one understands by “problems.” We must bear in mind that, in the main, feature films offer a non-intellectual, emotional kind of experience, and the question of “problem” must be considered in the light of this fact. A film like the very popular *It's in the Air*, which is intellectually and socially

“without problems,” is no doubt able to cut a number of knots in the mind of a young person, not only by amusing harmlessly, but by contributing to his pseudo environment. Something similar may be said about the two fairy tale films, especially, as I have tried to show, about the also very popular *The Thief of Bagdad*. A few, such as *I Love Someone Else*, have some of the old-fashioned “wish-dream” atmosphere about them, but is that escape? *I Love Someone Else* is, at any rate, partly played in an everyday atmosphere, but the plutocrat milieu, which is also represented in the film, is rather conventional.

In my personal opinion the films chosen rather seem to confirm that youth use films not so much to escape from everyday life as to relieve tension. The severe, tragic films, in which, for instance, the young female principal character atones for her sin by committing suicide, are no doubt, capable of giving the spectator a chance to go through the sufferings involved in an exaggerated, but safe way, without serious personal risk and suffering.

Whether any of the films serve as a means of escape from everyday life, thus making young people less able to solve their problems, is and must be, with the sparse knowledge we have as yet, a question of interpretation and even a question of belief.

But at any rate, as far as the majority of the preferred films is concerned, they could hardly be accused of having the effect of escape. They may be documentary in their style and philosophy, like *Bataille du Rail* and *The Red Meadows*, and thus in harmony with life; or they may be psychological “bull’s eyes” that, by the choice of simple and above all common, human types, have a clarifying effect, from *Discreet Residence* and *Die Goldene Stadt* to *It’s in the Air* and the highly symbolical *The Thief of Bagdad*.

Even though this attempt at a psychological analysis of preferred films has been inspired by an honest will to understand what stirs in the young people’s minds, it dare not claim to be scientifically exact or statistically correct. After all it is a question of being able to understand the human minds of large groups,

which is perhaps the most difficult object of research. It is a hazardous undertaking to tell something about 8,000 young people's mental lives in the cinema! At any rate, the fact is that we have proofs here that certain films have attracted thousands and even millions of young Danish cinemagoers, and certainly have had some effect upon them.

I doubt whether the film producers are always fully aware of the power they possess and whether they are aware of the social responsibility they have as a consequence.

Measuring the Broadcast Audience

WALTER K. KINGSON

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FAN MAIL was once the measure of a broadcaster's popularity, and a performer's value went up in proportion to the number of letters he "pulled" each week. These happy, innocent days came to an abrupt end when Archibald Crossley announced a scientific audience-measurement system which would count the nonletter writing part of the audience, too. Writers, performers, and advertising men waited eagerly for each new Crossley program-rating report. Then "What's his Crossley?" gave way to "What's his Hooper?" as National Hooperatings swept the measurement field, claiming far greater accuracy. But Hooper now competes with Nielsen, Pulse, Schwerin, and others, firms whose systems of analysis dominate audience measurement. Hooper specializes in local measurements, and Nielsen is making a bid for the national field, claiming that for the first time there exists an accurate, reliable survey of the unseen radio and television audience.

Consider, for a moment, the task of measuring the radio-television audience. It is not the total number of set owners; that is the maximum potential audience. It is the number of people listening to or viewing a specific program at the same time. They are not in a single, easily counted group, like theater and motion picture audiences, but broken up into small, widely scattered family circles. They turn their sets on and off with the interest of the moment, which changes with the seasons and the hours. Their listening or viewing is conditioned by many unrelated factors: weather conditions and the strength of station signals; availability of other entertainment; the state of their health and of the nation. Thus, it is not only an unseen audience, but a constantly changing one. Systems of audience measurement must be of a continuing nature to equalize the unrelated factors over a period of time. But,

since the potential audience is numbered in millions, it cannot be surveyed as a whole. Audience measurement surveys are based on samples. How to obtain a reliable sample is the chief problem in radio-television audience measurement. The task of adequately sampling an audience of millions in an area the size of the United States on a subject as intangible as listening or viewing habits is obviously complex. But audience analysis is fundamental in the American system of broadcasting.

Radio and television support themselves through the sale of time. The advertiser or sponsor buys time in order to sell his product. Ultimately he judges the value of his advertising by checking his sales chart, but when he buys a program or a spot announcement, he wants to know how many people are likely to be listening at that time. To plan a program or a sales campaign he wants to know roughly who they are: housewives, men, children, families. But to know that several million housewives will be listening to the radio or watching television around eleven in the morning is not sufficient. What do most of them like to listen to or see? They will have a choice of several programs, in most areas. There are many other things he would like to know in order to plan an effective sales campaign: buying habits, income group, occupations, and so on.

In other media, newspapers and magazines particularly, the market is defined through circulation figures and geographic distribution of deliveries, while tastes, interests, and even incomes can be estimated by the content, style, and purpose of the publication.

In the early days of radio, stations attempted to match this information by offering advertisers maps showing the area covered by the station, its population, and breakdowns indicating the numbers of farmers, factory workers, school teachers and so on in the area. That was fine, except that it did not indicate how many of these people had radios, nor how many of them listened at any given time. The number of radio sets sold in the area helped define

the potential audience, but still, no one could judge how many people listened to what programs. Fan mail gave an inconclusive answer; obviously not every regular listener writes letters to the station or performers, but what would be a good ratio between volume of mail and number of listeners? Would one out of every five listeners write? Or one out of every thousand? But there was no other gauge of audience size, so stations encouraged fan mail through request numbers of music programs, out-and-out pleas to "drop us a card if you like this program," contests, and free prizes. Four hundred thousand listeners requested the free "news-papers" offered by Lum and Abner, and fifty thousand mailed in cigar bands for Kate Smith's picture. But were they regular listeners, or just people who had heard of something for free? Advertisers, as the buyers, and stations and networks as the sellers, both wanted to know. They welcomed uncritically the first organized attempt to supply the information.

In 1929, the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting was organized through a research organization in Princeton, New Jersey. Under Archibald Crossley, the CAB offered program-rating reports based on telephone calls made to thousands of listeners in thirty-three cities. Over the phone, listeners were asked what programs they had heard that morning or afternoon or the previous day. Reports were issued twice a month, and were available only to subscribers. Few but advertising agencies and networks could afford the service, but they paid gladly for the confidential reports which gave them a picture of the unseen audience. At last they had facts about the size of the audience, location of the market, relative popularity of performers and types of programs, and the hours of heaviest listening.

Five years later, however, C. E. Hooper organized a competing audience-measurement service, one which he claimed had far greater accuracy than the CAB. Crossley reports were based on recall by the listener after considerable time had elapsed since his listening. Memories are notoriously fallible, and Hooper ques-

tioned the reliability of the recall method. His measurement service counted the actual audience at the time broadcasts were in progress, through coincidental telephone calls.

Hooperating reports were based on eleven million telephone calls per year in one hundred and three cities. Trained interviewers averaged fifteen calls per quarter hour and asked a selected series of questions: "Were you listening to your radio just now?" "What program were you listening to?" "What is advertised?" "Who else in the family is listening to the program?" and "Is someone else listening to a second radio?"

Information gathered through these calls was processed and ratings established according to a statistical analysis of the sample. The sample thus obtained was projected for nationwide application. In addition to these national ratings, Hooper developed City Hooperatings, measuring popularity of programs in individual cities, and two mail surveys.

Competition between Hooperatings and the CAB was intense. Broadcasters and advertisers weighed the relative merits of the two surveys and, since it stood to reason that listeners' memories of what they had heard on the air were less reliable than their reports of what they were listening to at the time they were asked, more and more took their business to Hooper. After 1941, the CAB abandoned recall for coincidental telephone calls, but by then the Hooperating service was dominant, and in 1946 the CAB was discontinued.

Already, however, other audience survey firms had entered the field, challenging both the CAB and Hooperatings on the grounds that their samples were inadequate for national projection. The size of Hooper's sample was not important. The difficulty was that it was made up entirely of homes with telephones, in large cities. Several million homes in the United States have radios but no telephones; Hooperatings could not claim to represent the preferences of the nation when it omitted nontelephone homes and rural and small-town homes. The new survey firms offered reports

based on findings from samples representing the total listening population.

For a number of years, Hooperatings remained the index of audience preference in radio, and were expanded to include television. But in 1950, Hooper sold his national radio and television services to his chief critic and competitor, the A. C. Neilsen Company, retaining his City Hooperatings and some other special research services.

Although the A. C. Neilsen Company of Chicago was established as a business in 1942, Neilsen had been experimenting with research techniques since 1938, only four years after the birth of Hooperatings and three years before the CAB switched to coincidental telephone calls in a vain attempt to survive.

Neilsen recognized the importance of a representative sample, and also the advantage of a coincidental survey technique; that is, one which does not depend upon listener recall. A representative sample would include not only nontelephone homes but homes in remote and widely separated areas. It would be easy enough to survey these homes by mail, but a mail survey depends ultimately on the listener's memory. He either reports what he recalls having heard or, as in one of Hooper's supplementary surveys, keeps a diary, recording the names of programs as he listens to them—if he remembers to.

Neilsen's solution to the problem was the audimeter, an electronic device installed in homes. Originally the audimeter was attached to receiving sets; now it can be hidden in a closet and attached to an electric light wire over which a signal is passed from a special oscillator attached to the set. The audimeter registers set use by station and hour on a continuous tape, moment by moment. It can register up to four sets per home.

The coverage area of the Neilsen survey is 97 per cent of the country, and the sample consists of fifteen hundred homes, selected to represent every type of person and income group from coast to coast.

The Nielsen Radio Index attempts to answer another of the questions time buyers ask: "Does popularity of a radio program actually increase sales of a product?" Field men, with permission of the lady of the house, examine and list products used in each audimeter home, noting package size and similar details. These field men are primarily concerned with keeping the audimeters in repair, and, obviously, the radio and television sets in audimeter homes. The repair service is free, and as an inducement for cooperation, field men carry merchandise catalogues, and at two-or three-month intervals, the housewife is allowed to select a free item, ranging in value from \$2 to \$10. In addition, every two weeks, when the housewife inserts a new cartridge of tape in the audimeter, she is rewarded by two bright new quarters. Her job is to mail the old cartridge to the Nielsen home office for tabulation, and to insert a new cartridge every two weeks when it arrives by mail. To prevent delay, the audimeter is equipped with a buzzer that sounds constantly from the time an old cartridge is removed until the new one is inserted.

Small as the sample is, Nielsen claims that its accuracy, based on U. S. Census figures, makes possible a national projection. The tapes reveal listening habits such as tuning out the closing commercial, the decline or growth of audiences, differences in seasonal and geographic listening habits, and so on. The audimeter, however, cannot distinguish between the radio or television set left on by mistake, or as a muted background for conversation, and the one turned on for concentrated listening.

Data from the tapes is analyzed and issued to subscribers in Nielsen-Rating Reports, giving statistically computed Nielsen ratings for approximately 300 network programs and a condensed breakdown of the findings, including the number of homes reached, the total audience, the full network audience, and, for each program, the average audience and its percentage of the total audience. More complete information is given in the monthly Complete NRI Report.

The claims to reliability of the Nielsen reports rest upon the statistically accurate, selected sample and the elimination of human error through the use of the audimeter. The weakness of the audimeter, mentioned above, is that it does not reveal how many people listened to or watched various programs, but only records how many sets in how many homes were tuned to various programs. And the sample may be too small for reliable national projection. While the mere size of a sample is no guarantee of its reliability, Nielsen reports sample a percentage of the population so small that its representative character can be questioned, though it is statistically accurate as far as it goes.

But the A. C. Nielsen Company is by no means the only audience-research service available. Broadcasters and advertisers have a choice of several, using a variety of survey methods and providing several kinds of information.

In 1941, a system of door-to-door interviews using aided recall was set up under the direction of Dr. Sydney Roslow, as "The Pulse of New York," later expanded to Pulse, Incorporated. Today, Pulse surveys radio-television audiences in seven cities.

Households to be interviewed are selected by a random process and interviewers are sent to selected blocks within an area to conduct personal interviews. Four periods of the day are surveyed. The period from 8:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon is surveyed between 12:00 and 1:00 P.M.; 12:00 noon to 4:00 P.M. is surveyed between 4:00 and 5:00 P.M.; 4:00-7:00 P.M. and 6:00-8:00 A.M., between 7:00 and 8:00 P.M.; and the period from 7:00 P.M. to midnight is surveyed between 5:30 and 7:00 P.M. the following evening. Seven consecutive days divided into these four parts are surveyed each month. Usually, the first seven days of the month are selected for survey.

The interviewer is given a roster on which is listed all programs available during the period being surveyed. They are divided into quarter hours, listing time, station, and the name of the program. First, the interviewer tries to find out what times the radio or tele-

vision sets were on in each home. If an interviewer is studying the 8:00–12:00 period, he conducts the interview shortly after 12:00, and helps the respondent reconstruct her morning's activities hour by hour to obtain accurate recall of when the radio or television set was on. When the times have been determined, the respondent is given the program roster, to identify the programs heard or seen. By reading the roster the respondent avoids recalling only "name" shows.

Pulse reports are published monthly. Each gives the per cent of homes the total number of interviews for each quarter hour represents; a weekly rating based on a five-day total of interviews for each quarter hour from Monday through Friday; and a rating for each Saturday and Sunday quarter hour. A second figure, showing the per cent of listeners for each program, is listed beside the rating.

Besides including nontelephone as well as telephone homes, Pulse, Inc., insures a balanced sample from quarter hour to quarter hour, within each period surveyed, and provides a record of continuous listening over a period of several hours, thus making possible studies of flow of listening from program to program. In addition, the face-to-face interview provides an opportunity to discover whether an entire program was seen or heard, or only part. Frequently, too, reactions to the programs are sought, to find out not only the size of the listening audience but what parts of the program the audience liked or disliked.

The main criticism of personal-interview audience measurement has been that it depends, again, on memory. Pulse, Inc., feels that its method of aided recall removes inaccuracies of memory.

However, in January, 1950, Pulse completed its first Simul-Pulse survey. Simul-Pulse uses coincidental house-to-house audience interviews, instead of aided recall interviews. Interviewers do not ask about listening that occurred some hours before, but, like Hooper phone interviews, asks what was being listened to or viewed at the moment of the visit. Pulse ran its first Simul-Pulse

survey for New York's WOR in the first week of November, 1949, when interviewers made 50,000 house-to-house visits in the New York metropolitan district. The new technique, according to Dr. Roslow, gives an accurate count of listeners as well as homes, enabling advertisers to compute cost-per-thousand listeners.

Meanwhile, in Whittier, California, in September, 1948, Television Research Associates was formed, taken over in November, 1949, by Coffin, Cooper, and Clay, Inc., to provide consumer research, with television research as one of the services.

Interviews are conducted in homes in Los Angeles County, based on a random sample. The respondent is given a diary to be kept for one week, with no inducement except, "To help us see that you get the kind of television programs you want." Tele-Que reports are published monthly.

Two years before Tele-Que was started, the Schwerin Research Corporation began the commercial testing of radio programs by a panel method similar to the program-analyzer survey developed earlier by Paul Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton, with whom Horace Schwerin had done early work in audience measurement.

The Schwerin survey is not designed to measure the size of the audience, but its immediate reactions to a program. Some three hundred people are invited into the studio for each panel session. Each fills out a questionnaire covering detailed information concerning age, education, occupation, listening and viewing habits and preferences, and such facts as monthly rental, and possession of a telephone. The audience is then given "Reaction Sheets" and an "Opinion Ballot" for each program to be heard or viewed. The program begins and members of the audience are asked to "score" the program at intervals. To signal the audience when to react, numbers are flashed on a screen. Listeners mark their reaction in numbered squares on the reaction sheet. For each number there are three squares: "Interesting," "Mildly interesting," "Not interesting," providing a continuous record of audience reaction. When the program is completed, the audience answers questions

on the "Opinion Ballot." The ballot, like the reaction sheet, is printed with numbered squares. Three squares, labeled "Yes," "No," and "No Opinion" are provided for each number. The conductor of the test reads the questions and the audience marks the answers in order. Typical questions might be: "Do you listen regularly to this type of program?" "Was the acting good?" Reaction sheet and opinion ballot together provide a detailed analysis of the program. After sufficient data has been obtained, a cross-section sample matching the outside population is selected and the general reaction pattern of the program determined.

It has been suggested that audience reactions in a studio panel situation may differ from reactions to the same program at home, and since 1949, when Schwerin expanded into television research, home-testing experiments have been conducted.

Members of the television "home jury panel" are given a score sheet which combines questionnaire, reaction sheet, and opinion ballot. The score sheet is made up of numbered squares, with the squares for each number labeled "Good," "Fair," and "Poor." The numbers are flashed at intervals on the top of the television screen, from the studio, and viewers mark their score sheets as the numbers appear.

Questions eliciting opinions of the program are printed on the back of the score sheet. In a test of "The Black Robe" telecast over WNBT in New York, the jury was asked such questions as: "Did you think this program gave an accurate presentation of a police court?" "Did you feel that the judge's remarks in the opening part of the program added to the show?" "Do you think enough different camera angles were used?" "Did the people who appeared sound too rehearsed to you?" Most questions were to be answered by checking "Yes," "No," or "No Opinion."

When results of such program testing are compiled, a cross-section sample is again projected to determine total listener reaction.

The national and regional audience-measurement surveys are

primarily concerned with programs. What kinds of programs appeal to the most people? What kinds appeal to the most women, or children? What kinds of programs draw the largest audiences in the evening? Indirectly, the surveys reveal much concerning listening and viewing habits, local and regional differences in preferences, and other useful information such as the significance of promotion, reactions to commercials, importance of station strength, and so on. From the accumulated data it is possible to estimate the relative popularity of various radio stations in the surveyed areas. But it can be only an estimate. Nevertheless, local advertisers want the same market information available to national sponsors. Both local stations and national networks are interested in finding out the size and composition of individual station audiences. The subject is not entirely shrouded in mystery, of course. Every individual station has some method of estimating its audience coverage. But as C. E. Hooper said, "Needed was a substitute for the confusion resulting from one station's use of a compass to describe its 'coverage' area, another its imagination, another its half-milivolt contour, a fourth its 'mail' map, a fifth its 'merchandiseable' area."

Hooper City Ratings provide individual station audience measurements for stations in seventy cities, and Conlan Surveys are available to any station in any community. Conlan Surveys are based on coincidental telephone interviews conducted day and night for a period of a week. Though the sample is larger than that used by Hooper, the telephone-home limitation remains the same. In addition to these, some universities offer skilled audience research facilities to local stations, usually based on house-to-house interviews, and often providing more intensive and probing research than the national organizations can. And, of course, many stations conduct surveys of their own devising, often naïvely assuming that what Hooper could do, they can do, too; that is, use a telephone. Without background in research methods, nor any information concerning statistical analysis nor what constitutes an

adequate sample, one station called numbers picked "at random" from its own mailing list, and came up with the good news that it was the most popular radio station in town.

But even the reliable surveys differ enough in technique to make comparison of results risky.

To meet the need for uniform station audience measurement, the Broadcast Measurement Bureau was established in 1945, with the financial support of the broadcasting industry and the hearty endorsement of the American Association of Advertising Agencies and the Association of National Advertisers.

The BMB survey is conducted by mail. Ballots are mailed to over half a million families in more than 20,000 urban communities and 3,100 rural areas. The sample is based on a cross section of each of the 3,072 counties in the United States, weighting economic and cultural levels in relation to geographic location and size of the community. County returns are not tabulated until at least half the ballots for each type of community have been returned. After returns are tabulated they are released to subscribers, expressed in terms of percentages of listening intensity county by county.

Families in the sample selected do not sign their ballots, but fill out questions such as: "How many people are there in your home?" "Do you have a telephone?" "Do you have an auto?" They list the call letters of the stations they listen to, and check the frequency with which they listen to individual stations at night and during the day.

The individual station reports are augmented by Area Reports, a summary of individual station reports for each city and county. Networks use Broadcast Measurement Reports of individual stations in their chain to establish network coverage. Previously each network surveyed its coverage area independently, and though results were reliable, they could not be compared with results of other network surveys conducted by different techniques.

In 1950, the NAB approved the new million-dollar Broadcast

Audience Measurement Incorporated, to replace the Broadcast Measurement Bureau.

While the above by no means represent all the many audience surveys in radio and television, they serve as examples of the different types of measurement services. Critics may disagree, particularly with reference to quantitative surveys, as to the adequacy of the samplings on which the surveys are based. However, the place of audience surveys is firmly established in the broadcast industry, and so long as they can persuade radio and television clients to buy time on the air, they will continue to be used.

Hollywood Market Research

LEO A. HANDEL

LEO HANDEL has conducted a number of audience surveys for the motion picture industry and is author of the book, *Hollywood Looks at Its Audience*.

THE SCIENTIFIC analysis of the motion picture audience is one of the latest entries in the field of communications research.

Radio research came into being as soon as broadcasting achieved prominence; its best-known exponents are the quantitative ratings. The "Hoopers" and "Niensens" are well on their way to the basic English dictionary. Readers of newspapers and magazines have been under more than superficial scrutiny for many years and even book publishers examine their markets through the analytical glasses of the market researcher. Television, the lusty newcomer in the field of mass communications, was chaperoned since it first blurred a screen by careful audience analyses which, at the outset at least, followed gingerly in the big footsteps of radio research.

Hollywood, by and large, resisted the development of high-level audience research. In the race between intuition and the IBM machine the latter came in a poor second. The reasons for the reluctance to use reliable audience research in the film industry are manifold. Most frequently we hear that movie making is basically an artistic endeavor. We would gladly accept this statement if the same people did not tell us, after turning out a series of utterly commercial cliché pictures without batting a solitary eyelash, that movie making is just a business like any other. It is keyed to maintain long, visible lines in front of the gaping mouths of 20,000 box offices in order to satisfy the invisible lines of the stockholders behind the cashier.

Some movie makers misinterpret the function of audience research. They see in it not an instrument for their use but a substitute for executive acumen, an attitude remote from the minds of

the researcher. Also, many industry executives have never bothered to familiarize themselves with the principles of market research. They feel not infrequently that the principle of sampling was conjured up by an ambitious salesman and are unwilling to accept it.

Furthermore, the industry still clings to some archaic methods of measuring audience reaction, such as uncontrolled sneak previews, preview cards, too much reliance on fan mail, and, naturally, the mystic "feel" of the market which seems to reach its heights of potency in the air-conditioned private dining rooms of Bel Air and Miami Beach.

Market evaluations via guesswork permitted some fixed ideas to take roots in the industry. One of the outstanding misconceptions pertained to the sex composition of the audience. In the preresearch era it was taken for granted that at least 65 per cent of the movie-goers were women. The product was keyed to this audience. The simplest polls shattered this opinion. Research studies conducted independently by such diversified agencies as Columbia University, the University of Iowa, and the Motion Picture Research Bureau show that half the audience are women, half men.

Part of the conventional industry audience research is based on the best yardstick of them all—the box office dollar. Excellent analytical work is done to evaluate the market from the hard cash point of view. However, the use of these figures is often carried to extremes not warranted by their substance, and the industry box office analysts will be the first to admit that fact if you talk to them confidentially.

Box office figures are the results of numerous factors. While they demonstrate the over-all commercial performance of a picture they can not always gauge the various components of a picture. Film revenues are the result of the intrinsic quality of a picture, advertising, publicity, promotion, the popularity of the stars and featured players, and the drawing power of the title. Seasonal in-

fluences and the weather are at work. Competitive pictures, the general success of contemporary pictures, and the position in a cycle affect the attendance. There is also the presence of counter-attractions, the second feature or stage show, which make it difficult to apportion revenues to the various elements of the program. Even though these influences are at work we find that the drawing power of titles or the effectiveness of advertising campaigns are measured by comparative test-runs in different territories. Influences more potent than the test criteria may offset the results.

The basic idea of factual audience research is to go directly to the ticket-paying customer and to obtain from him the required information. Modern market research techniques merely supply the tools, mainly the statistically correct cross section and the creating of an adequate psychological frame of reference.

One of the first milestones of audience research was set in this country in the early 'thirties. A group of psychologists and sociologists were given the opportunity of studying the effect of films on children. This complex of investigations, mainly remembered as Payne Fund Studies, was published in various volumes under the heading *Motion Pictures and Youth*.¹ The findings were neither intended for nor utilized by the industry in any appreciable manner. Also, from the point of view of the modern audience researcher they cover only a small segment of the audience and not enough emphasis was given to satisfactory sampling.

In the early 'forties the use and development of industry audience research began to accelerate. At this time Audience Research, Inc. (ARI), was formed by Dr. George Gallup in Princeton and began to serve a number of the major and some independent producers. The author's Motion Picture Research Bureau (MPRB) came into being and formed an exclusive working arrangement with MGM which was mainly because of Howard Dietz's realistic interest in this new field.

ARI and MPRB developed many of the basic techniques of film

¹(The Macmillan Co., 1933.) Some of the main contributors: Edgar Dale, Ruth Petersen, L. L. Thurstone, Frank K. Shuttleworth, Mark A. May.

audience research. Among them were star ratings, a method to determine the popularity and popularity trends of players. The MPRB rating, for example, is based on the proportion of movie-goers who know about the player and their intensity of like and dislike.

Various methods were found to determine the absolute or relative drawing power of titles. A good title or a bad title may make the difference of many thousands of dollars at the box office. Title importance increases if the popularity of the players decreases.

The old-fashioned sneak preview was replaced by controlled preview surveys employing special interviewers who built up a predetermined sample and used carefully worded questionnaires. The results of the studies made it possible to set up Audience Appeal Indices for the pictures.

Polygraph recorders, originally used in the testing of radio programs, were adapted for film research. We will come back to this technique a little later.

Publicity penetration surveys were devised. They determined the proportion of movie-goers who were reached by advertising and publicity for a certain picture at a certain time. These studies were synchronized both with long-range national and short-range local campaigns, and the advertising manager had factual information on the results of his efforts.

Aside from these tests, which usually pertained to one specific picture or to an element thereof, studies of general interest were conducted. They concerned themselves mainly with the size and composition of the motion-picture audience. The objective of those surveys was twofold: they yielded factual information and, at the same time, supplied facts necessary for the construction of samples.

An interesting sidelight of the use of audience research was the great interest shown by Arthur Loew, head of the MGM foreign department, who initiated studies which led to all corners of the earth—Latin America, England, China, and India.

World War II was responsible for further developments of film research due to the activities of the Research Branch of the War Department. Under the guidance of Harvard's Dr. Stouffer the agency tested training films and determined the effect of the indoctrination films made for the armed forces. Some of the excellent work conducted by this unit was published by the Princeton University Press.²

Fact-minded Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Association of America, established a research department for this industry organization in 1946. The ambitious research program was to be governed by a Committee of Audience Research consisting of key members of the industry. In spite of Johnston's urging to procure sound statistical data about America's movie-goers and, just as important, nonmovie-goers, the member companies of the MPAA did not approve the project. The research committee, after sponsoring some minor interindustry statistical studies, discontinued its activities. So, in spite of Johnston's efforts, the movie industry is still the only major business in the United States which has never made a serious attempt to study its potential market. The reasons why people stay away in droves from the theaters are determined by intuition. But, especially in this question, different industry luminaries have different intuitions. In the meantime the "Lost Audience"³ is left to shift for itself at the neighborhood bar or the television set without paying due homage to the theater palace around the corner.

The late 'forties showed a decrease in the use of general audience research. ARI lost some of its business in spite of the valuable services it rendered its clients. Looking back we cannot help thinking that the psychological approach used by ARI in their client relationship might have caused some of the reluctance this organization experienced—and this is an unfortunate thing for a firm dealing mainly with psychological problems. The ARI ac-

² Carl I. Hovland and others, *Experiments on Mass Communications*, Studies in Social Psychology in World War II, Vol. III (Princeton, 1949).

³ Geoffrey Wagner, "The Lost Audience," *Quarterly of Film, Radio, and Television*, VI (1952), 338-350.

count executives, probably in their eagerness to promote this new service, tried to assume too large a status within the organizations they served. Instead of advising what decisions might be taken as a result of the audience studies, they often told the industry executives what to do.

While the producers and marketers of entertainment pictures still maintain a wait-and-see attitude toward modern film audience research, makers of industrial pictures are using it at an ever-increasing rate. The American Telephone and Telegraph Company, for example, which has perhaps the best and largest company film library, seldom releases new films before they are tested by a research organization⁴ and revised by the producer. This effort constitutes an insurance that the objective of the picture, usually a public relations message, was reached.

An interesting development in the field of industrial picture production may be seen in a new Los Angeles organization "Audience Tested Productions." This firm coordinates film production and audience research under one roof. The audience testing centers around a polygraph recorder, the Cirlin Reactograph, a development of the Program Analyzer originally devised by Dr. Paul Lazarsfeld of Columbia University and Dr. Frank Stanton of Columbia Broadcasting Corporation. The Reactograph records the reaction of an audience, individually and collectively, to a film while it is exposed to it. The recorder unit of the Reactograph consists of a chemically treated moving tape against which rest fifty electrical styli. As the respondents view a film they press "like" and "dislike" buttons to indicate their reactions. As they press a button an electrical current passes through the respective stylus and burns a mark on the paper. If they express "like" a solid line appears, and if they express "dislike" a dotted line is etched on the tape. If they have no reaction, no mark is shown. Time intervals are marked on the tape to synchronize the reactions with the timed scripts.

⁴ Schwerin Research Organization.

Depending on the purpose of the film, areas of "understanding" and "not understanding" can be determined by Reactograph tests rather than "likes" and "dislikes."

The major advantage of the Reactograph is that it can locate the sequence which evoked positive or negative responses more reliably than interviews which depend solely on the respondent's memory. Areas of "dislike" or "not understanding" isolated by the Reactograph become the basis for interrogation, frequently depth interviews, with the members of the sample audience. After the Reactograph indicates *where* communications breakdowns might occur, the interview may show the reasons *why* a sequence of the picture did not register in the desired manner.

Polygraph recorders were tested by Columbia University, CBS, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, and the War Department. Their reliability and validity of determining audience reactions was established satisfactorily.

Producers of film features used the Reactograph mainly for editing purposes. Budgets and time usually do not permit any reshooting even if the tests pointed to this necessity. Consequently, polygraph test charts were often considered "post mortems." The television film series may give grounds for a more extended use of the Reactograph. Weaknesses in story approaches or characterizations determined in one episode may be corrected in subsequent films.

To recapitulate: Audience research is well entrenched in all media of mass communications except the film. Even here important inroads have been made in the fields of industrial, educational, and television pictures. The chances are that this type of activity will cross-fertilize audience research for entertainment pictures.

A Bibliography for the Quarter

Book Editor, FRANKLIN FEARING

BOOKS

THE STUDIES of the symbol and communication practices of modern man appear in increasing numbers. This is probably in part the result of a conviction that the primary characteristic of human affairs on this globe is the struggle for the minds of men, and that the only certain way the minds of men can be reached and commanded is through the use of symbols. Certainly symbolic processes are essential to the techniques of placation, domination, and persuasion, and culture is shared, stored, and transmitted by them. The study of the key symbols in world politics is part of a research project concerned with revolution and the development of international relations (Radir project) conducted at the Library of War, Revolution, and Peace at Stanford University. Four monographs published by the Stanford University Press report the theory and results of these studies. The first of these is *The Comparative Study of Symbols* by Harold D. Lasswell, Daniel Lerner, and Ithiel de Sola Pool (1952, \$1.25). The remaining three by Ithiel de Sola Pool are *The Prestige Papers*, with an introduction by Bernard Berelson (1952, \$1.75), *Symbols of Democracy*, with an introduction by Peter H. Odegard (1952, \$1.50), and *Symbols of Internationalism*, with an introduction by Quincy Wright (1952, \$1.25).

In one way or another these studies demonstrate the intricate and intimate relationships between symbols, political ideology, mythology, and communication, and the attitudes, values, and beliefs of man. It may be that he cannot have ideologies or ideas without symbols, certainly without them there is no communication. When we consider the extraordinary effectiveness of such nonlanguage symbols as flags, monuments, crosses, and the like, and the even greater potency of the complex symbol patterns

called myths, as conveyers of meaning and guides for action, especially political action, it is easy to see why symbol research is important. We want to know what groups in society control these potent tools and for what ends. We want to know how these patterns are perpetuated, and, above all, we want to know under what circumstances a particular set of symbols is rejected and another accepted. It is here that we may be able to understand some of the basic aspects of social change—one of the primary objectives of the Radir project. It is a basic postulate of these researches that the consequences of revolutionary change in any society is a “rapid and extensive change in the vocabulary of the ruling few.” In effect these are studies of the vocabularies of the ruling elites.

Such an extensive venture into symbol counting and analysis inevitably raises the question of the relation between the symbol and “reality.” It is popular to dismiss this problem with the view that slogans, myths, clichés, key symbols, etc., are “mere” fictions, hence unreal, and composed of the stuff of phantasy, to be brushed aside as irrational and possibly dangerous. Such a view ignores the central place of fictions in human society. As Lasswell points out “the proper office of fictions is to provide metaphorical allusions to the common destiny, and by so doing to nourish the ties of cohesion between young and old.” This does not mean, of course, that the relation between myths and “reality” is unimportant. This is, in fact, a critical problem. In a particular society the body of fictions may have become so rigid, be so compulsively used, and have become so unrelated to reality as to have lost their utility. But the dimension on which the myth is so to be tested, however, is not its truth or falsity which implies that the “true” world may be apprehended without myths. The important test is concerned with the degree to which the fictions man uses are effective tools in mastering a changing world.

In the first of these studies, *The Comparative Study of Symbols*, the general theoretical and methodological framework of symbol

survey research is established. The basic technique is content analysis which in these studies is applied to the editorial output of the great "prestige" newspapers of the five major powers—the *New York Times*, *London Times*, *Izvestia*, *Le Temps*, and the *Frankfurter Zeitung* (or *Volkischer Beobachter*). A period of approximately sixty years is covered—1890–1950.

In *The Prestige Papers* trends in attitudes as expressed in these newspapers are analyzed by means of counts of 416 key political symbols. In *Symbols of Democracy* the concern is with such questions as: Has democracy become a more sacred word over the years? How do the newspapers studied rank in the attention they give to democracy and related symbols? What is the orientation of the papers toward the people and is there a discernible trend in the symbolic references? Under conditions of dictatorship are democratic symbols frequent or are they avoided? In *Symbols of Internationalism* the concern is with patterns of hostility and friendship, the symbols of national security and diplomacy, and the trends in attitude toward internationalism.

In drawing conclusions which it is impossible even to summarize here the authors must have been aware of the temptation to overgeneralize their data. It would be easy, for example, to generalize from content analysis of editorial matter in the "prestige" papers to "the people" or to "the nation." On the whole the authors have been admirably cautious. For this reviewer it would have been desirable if they had included certain psychological constructs in setting up their theoretical models. The role of myths, ideologies, and symbols in the *perceptual structuring* of "the world" has been discussed by social psychologists, and this concept could have been fruitfully used in setting up hypotheses for testing. While these monographs have much highly technical discussion, in all of them there are sections or chapters which the technically untrained person can read with interest.

The British Film Industry is the report of a full-dress study undertaken by PEP at the request of the British Film Institute.

It is published by PEP (which is merely identified as Political and Economic Planning), 16 Queen Anne's Gate, London, S.W. 1, 1952, 18 s. In Part I it traces the history in Britain of "the storyteller of the people" from the foundation of the industry in 1896 through the "conquest by Hollywood in 1914" and the various economic crises in the war years to the "recovery and relapse" in 1945-1948. Part II is concerned with the backgrounds of the industry today. The chief features of this background are three: the power of the large combines, the extent of American interests, and the increasing degree of government intervention in the affairs of the industry. Part III presents an analysis of the operations of the industry. Here are discussed the characteristics of the cinema's programs and audience, booking problems, wages, salaries and profits, methods of financing, distributing problems, and the overseas market for the British films.

This is a comprehensive and authoritative study carried out by a staff which is obviously highly competent, but, oddly enough, completely anonymous. That they had access to high-level sources of information, and brought to their assignment a scholarly detachment especially in the presentation of the historical development of the industry, is clear. In regard to the last, it is interesting to note the urbanity with which the somewhat ticklish subject of historical origins is dealt. The proper (from the British point of view) position is accorded William Friese-Greene and his patents in 1890 for an "apparatus for taking photographs in rapid series." "It would be convenient," say the authors "to name this man as the undisputed inventor of cinematography, but to do so would be less than fair to the many other inventors who were engaged in the problems of producing the illusion of moving pictures." Edward Muybridge, "an Englishman living in the United States," the Frenchmen E. G. Marey, Charles Reynaud, and Louis Le Prince are also given credit as is Thomas Edison. This is a valuable and, considering the subject, a highly readable book. One could wish that a similarly objective study of the American industry were in prospect.

The announced purpose of *Radio English* (McGraw-Hill, New York, 1952, \$3.60) is to present the essentials of competent writing and speaking, utilizing radio as a means rather than as an end. It is intended primarily for use in speech courses in High School. Part I is concerned with writing and broadcasting radio continuities (including voice and breath control), Part II with newscasting, Part III with the preparation and organization of radio talks, interviews, and discussions, Part IV with the writing and directing of radio drama, and Part V with television to which are allotted approximately twenty pages. Appendixes contain a script of a radio play, the inevitable glossary of radio and TV terms, and a bibliography of books on radio and TV. In spite of the vocational disclaimer, the book gives the impression that it is intended to introduce the student to a career in radio. It is clearly and interestingly written with an abundance of examples and illustrations, mostly of nice-looking young people taking part in live broadcasts. If the book which I received is a sample, it is badly assembled mechanically. Most of the foreword, the table of contents, and the first four pages of Chapter I were missing. This made the book begin rather unexpectedly with a full-page picture of two good-looking youngsters rather self-consciously posed around a very old-fashioned radio console. The authors of *Radio English* are Florence Felten French, formerly director of dramatics, Kansas State Teachers' College; William B. Levenson, assistant superintendent of schools and formerly supervisor of radio, Cleveland, Ohio; and Vera Cober Rockwell, formerly professor of English, University of Puerto Rico and codirector of English house, English Language Institute, University of Michigan.

A substantial proportion of the films produced in Germany during the Golden Age have a quality which is not easy to define. They may variously be characterized as phantastical, mystical, and metaphysical. The average movie-goer probably thinks of many of them as "horror films." Whatever their primary characteristic, they are not realistic or naturalistic. Their themes are frequently

concerned with the supernatural and the treatment is nonrepresentational. The concentration of these films in one country and largely in one period—1919–1933—has been interpreted as expressive of something in the German “temperament,” or in the period itself. Lotte H. Eisner in *l’Ecran Démoniaque* (Editions André Bonne, 15, Rue Las Cases, Paris, 1952, 450 francs) in a series of interpretive essays discusses these films as expressions of “L’Expressionnisme.” No simple statement will readily express all the philosophical and metaphysical implications of this concept. Psychologically, however, it is a statement in cinematic terms of a phenomenon known as physiognomic perception. Briefly, physiognomic perception is the kind of perception in which the face of nature is not seen in its own terms but as possessing animate, vital, or affective qualities. Instead of clearly distinguishing between the self and the not-self, the perceiver in physiognomic perception sees the world about him as a reflection and extension of his private feelings and moods. It is a type of perception frequently implicit in poetical metaphor. It is different from metaphor, however, since it is not a linguistic device, but a direct attribute of the experience of the perceiver. For example, the settings and action of *Dr. Caligari* are physiognomic in the sense that they show a world as seen by a particular perceiver rather than presenting recognizable actions occurring in a recognizable world.

Why the cinematic productions of a particular period and people should be so extensively preoccupied with techniques and statements of this sort poses, of course, the problem to the film historian and theoretician. It is the problem with which Mme Eisner’s book is concerned, and it is the problem with which Kracauer was concerned in *From Caligari to Hitler*. Eisner relates the phenomenon to the philosophic and aesthetic theory of expressionism. Each chapter contains a critical analysis of one or more films. Among the films examined are those of Murnau (*Nosferatu*), Wegener (*The Golem*), Lubitsch (*Anne Boleyn*), Lang (*Niebelungen*, *The Death of Siegfried*), Wiene (*The Cabi-*

net of Dr. Caligari), Pabst (*The Joyless Street*), and the Nazi films directed by Leni Riefenstahl (*Triumph of the Will*), and many others. These films are studied philosophically and aesthetically as examples of expressionism and the theater of Max Reinhardt.

The Theatre: Three Thousand Years of Drama, Acting and Stagecraft (Longmans, Green and Co., New York, 1952, \$8.00) is a new and revised edition of a book by Sheldon Cheney which first appeared in 1929. As the dust cover truly says "the glow of the theatre is over this volume." Beginning with revels and rituals of Dionysus it carries the story to Eugene O'Neill and Maxwell Anderson, and Walter Hampton and Katharine Cornell. There is even a chapter on moving pictures, radio, and television which are rather condescendingly called "machine-age developments." Such a book represents a tremendous amount of research and extraordinary scholarship, and, in this instance, is exciting to read as well.

The output of dictionaries of special subjects continues. We have recently mentioned in these pages *The Dictionary of the Arts*, *The Dictionary of Folklore*, and *The Theatre Dictionary*. Now comes *The New Dictionary of American History* compiled by Michael Martin and Leonard Gelber (Philosophical Library, New York, 1952, \$10.00). It is not too clear to this reviewer just who the readers of these dictionaries are. The specialists in each field are not likely to be satisfied with the brevity of the dictionary citations, and the general reader will use one of the encyclopedias. In the present volume there are 695 pages of articles beginning with one on Cleveland Abbe, a meteorologist who served the U. S. Weather Bureau, and ending with the Peter Zenger case, a famous colonial trial which established the principle of freedom of the press. The articles are short, well written, contain no documentation, and are, in the main, interesting.

RESEARCH, JOURNALS, ETC.

Why Did He Do It? is the title of a series of six transcribed radio documentaries containing interviews with a burglar, an arsonist, a juvenile delinquent, an embezzler, a prostitute, and a drug addict. The commentaries (excellently done by George Hicks) are explanatory and interpretive. The interviews are authentic and revealing. They do not, of course, answer the question raised by the title of the series. Such a question could not be answered in a fifteen-minute recording. It seemed to this listener that too large a proportion of the recording time was devoted to the commentary with the result that Mr. Hicks seems occasionally to be unnecessarily interrupting the interview with somewhat labored interpretations. If the recordings do not tell why they did it, they do succeed in turning such bloodless abstractions as prostitutes, juvenile delinquents, and arsonists into people—an eminently worthwhile end. Various specialists in the mental health field served as consultants for the series and Eric Barnouw was the editor and script writer. The series was produced by the Communications Materials Center, Columbia University Press. The sets, sold for nonbroadcast use, are ten-inch microwave phonograph records, 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ RPM (\$15.00).

Hobart Mass Communications Studies, 1949-50 (Department of Sociology, Hobart and William Smith Colleges, Geneva, N.Y., \$1.00) consist of a series of reports of a group of modest research projects conducted by students under the supervision of Martin S. Allwood. They are mainly concerned with various aspects of communications on a college campus and in a college community. These include studies of newspaper reading, radio listening, book ownership, rental and public library use, and comic-book reading. There is even a study of TV in the bars and grills in Geneva, New York. These studies would scarcely qualify as major researches, although some of them are extremely suggestive. They are especially interesting as examples of what undergraduate students can do in the way of original research under inspired leadership.

What are the "great" films of all time? Any list based on any set of criteria of "greatness" will be (and this is a masterpiece of understatement) controversial. Two such lists arrived at in quite different ways are discussed in the August-September issue of *Films in Review*. One, "A 60-Year Calendar of Motion Pictures," is by Professor Walter H. Stainton of Cornell University's theater and films department. The other is presented in an article by Hans Koebner, reporting the results of a questionnaire responded to by sixty-three screenwriters and directors in an international referendum conducted in connection with the World Festival of Film and Art recently held in Belgium under the aegis of André Thirifays of the Cinémathèque Belgique.

Professor Stainton says that he "searched for films that indicated, or initiated, a trend, or that represented a high standard of accomplishment for the times." Box-office appeal, while not excluding, was not a requisite for inclusions. Here, by years, are his selections.

- 1893: *Fred Ott's Sneeze*, Edison.
- 1894: *The Execution of Mary Queen of Scots*, Edison.
- 1895: *Young Griffon and Battling Barnett*; *Lunch Hour at the Lumière Factory* and nine other 50-foot films by the Lumière brothers.
- 1896: *Sea Waves*, *Umbrella Dance*, etc. Edison Vitascope; *The Soldier's Courtship*, Robert W. Paul; *The Kiss*, Edison.
- 1897: *Corbett-Fitzsimmons Fight*, Enoch Rector; *Derrière L'Omnibus*, George Méliès.
- 1898: *The Passion Play*; *Tearing Down the Spanish Flag*; *Views of the Pope*, Biograph.
- 1900: *Cinderella*, George Méliès.
- 1901: *Queen Victoria's Funeral*.
- 1902: *A Trip to the Moon*, Star Film.
- 1903: *The Life of an American Fireman*, Edison; *The Great Train Robbery*, Edison.
- 1905: *Personal*, Biograph.
- 1906: *The Dream of a Rarebit Fiend*, Edison.
- 1907: *Ben Hur*, Kalem.
- 1908: *The Assassination of the Duc de Guise*; *Film d'Arte*; *Romeo and Juliet*, Vitagraph; *The Adventures of Dolly*, Biograph; *After Many Years*, Biograph.

- 1909: *The Violin Maker of Cremona*, Biograph; *The Lonely Villa*, Biograph; *Gertie the Dinosaur*.
- 1910: *The Way of a Man*, Biograph.
- 1911: *The New Stenographer*, Vitagraph.
- 1912: *Man's Genesis*, Biograph; *Queen Elizabeth*, Agence Générale Cinématographique; *The Durbar*, Kinemacolor; *The New York Hat*, Biograph.
- 1913: *Traffic in Souls*, Universal; *Quo Vadis?* Societa Italiana Cines.
- 1914: *The Massacre*, Biograph; *The Perils of Pauline*, Eclectic-Pathé; *Tillie's Punctured Romance*, Keystone.
- 1915: *The Tramp*, Essanay; *The Birth of a Nation*, D. W. Griffith Corp.
- 1916: *Civilization*, Triangle; *Intolerance*, Wark Producing Co.
- 1917: *The Immigrant*, Mutual.
- 1918: *Woman*, Maurice Tourneur; *Shoulder Arms*, First National.
- 1919: *J'Accuse*, Pathé; *The Miracle Man*, Artcraft.
- 1920: *The Mark of Zorro*, United Artists; *Passion (Madame du Barry)*, Union-UFA.
- 1921: *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, Decla.
- 1922: *Nanook of the North*, Revillon Frères; *The Witch*, Swedish Biograph.
- 1923: *The Covered Wagon*, Famous Players-Lasky; *A Woman of Paris*, United Artists; *Crainquebille*, Les Films Artistiques Français.
- 1924: *Greed*, MGM; *Le Ballet Mécanique*, Fernand Léger; *The Marriage Circle*, Warner; *The Navigator*, MGM.
- 1925: *The Last Laugh*, Universal; *The Big Parade*, MGM; *Siegfried*; *The Battleship Potemkin*, Goskino.
- 1926: *Mother*, Mezhrabpom-Russ; *Moana of the South Seas*, Famous Players-Lasky; *Don Juan*, Warner.
- 1927: *Ten Days That Shook the World*, Sovkino; *The Jazz Singer*, Warner; *Sunrise*, Fox; *Underworld*, Paramount.
- 1928: *Steamboat Willie*, Columbia.
- 1929: *The Passion of Joan of Arc*, Société Générale des Films; *Broadway Melody*, MGM.
- 1930: *All Quiet on the Western Front*, Universal; *Little Caesar*, First National; *Anna Christie*, MGM.
- 1932: *Grand Hotel*, MGM.
- 1933: *42nd Street*, Warner; *Cavalcade*, Fox; *The Private Life of Henry VIII*, London Films.
- 1934: *It Happened One Night*, Columbia.

- 1934-7: *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, RKO.
- 1935: *Becky Sharp*, RKO; *Mutiny on the Bounty*, MGM; *The Informer*, RKO.
- 1936: *Modern Times*, United Artists; *The Plow That Broke the Plains*, U. S. Resettlement Administration; *Carnival in Flanders*, Discina International.
- 1937: *The Awful Truth*, Columbia.
- 1938: *The Lady Vanishes*, Gaumont-British.
- 1939: *Pygmalion*, MGM; *Stagecoach*, United Artists; *Ninotchka*, MGM.
- 1940: *The Grapes of Wrath*, Twentieth Century-Fox; *The Long Voyage Home*, United Artists; *Citizen Kane*, RKO; *Fantasia*, RKO.
- 1941: *Gone With the Wind*, MGM; *How Green Was My Valley*, Twentieth Century-Fox; *Target For Tonight*, Warner.
- 1943: *The Ox-Bow Incident*, Twentieth Century-Fox.
- 1944: *The Memphis Belle*, U. S. Air Force.
- 1945: *The True Glory*, Columbia; *The House on 92nd Street*, Twentieth Century-Fox.
- 1946: *The Best Years of Our Lives*, RKO; *Open City*, Mayer-Burstyn; *Henry V*, United Artists; *Brief Encounter*, Eagle Lion.
- 1947: *Monsieur Verdoux*.
- 1948: *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre*, Warner; *Dreams That Money Can Buy*, Films International; *Fiddle De Dee*, National Film Board of Canada; *Hamlet*, Universal-International.
- 1949: *The Loon's Necklace*, Crawley Films; *Quartet*, Eagle Lion; *The Snake Pit*, Twentieth Century-Fox.
- 1950: *Kind Hearts and Coronets*, Eagle Lion; *The Titan*, Michelangelo Co.; *Beaver Valley*, RKO.
- 1951: *Gerald McBoing Boing*, Columbia; *Rashomon*, RKO; *The Red Badge of Courage*, MGM.
- 1952: *The Quiet Man*, John Ford.

The listings of the screenwriters and directors as reported by Koebner do not, unfortunately, include a complete analysis of the questionnaire returns. We are not given the names of those responding, nor any indication of how the original list was made up. Nevertheless the list of the ten pictures receiving the most votes is interesting. These are *The Battleship Potemkin* (32 votes), *The Gold Rush* (25 votes), *Bicycle Thief* (20 votes), *City Lights*

(15 votes), *La Grande Illusion* (15 votes), *Le Million* (15 votes), *Greed* (11 votes), *Hallelujah* (10 votes), *Brief Encounter* (9 votes), *Dreigroschenoper* (9 votes), *Intolerance* (9 votes), and *Man of Aran* (9 votes).

Among the runners-up are *La Passion de Jeanne d'Arc* (8 votes), *Les Enfants du Paradis*, *Foolish Wives*, and *Storm Over Asia* (7 votes each), *L'Age d'Or*, *The Birth of a Nation*, *Broken Blossoms*, and *Devil in the Flesh* (6 votes each).

The following received five votes each: *Ninotchka*, *Nanook of the North*, *La Kermesse Héroïque*, *Open City*, *Citizen Kane*, *Kameradschaft*, *Henry V*, *Tabu*, *All Quiet on the Western Front*, *The Crowd*, *The Best Years of Our Lives*, "M," *The Pilgrim*, *Variety*, and *The Last Laugh*.

The following received four votes each: *A Nous la Liberté*, *The Blue Angel*, *The Baker's Wife*, *Gone With the Wind*, *The Kid*, *Kind Hearts and Coronets*, *Sous les Toits de Paris*, *Stagecoach*, *White Shadows in the South Seas*, and *A Woman of Paris*.

The following received three votes each: *L'Atalante*, *Nosferatu*, *The Big Parade*, *Le Crime de M. Lange*, *The Cabinet of Dr. Caligari*, *Dead of Night*, *The Grapes of Wrath*, *Modern Times*, *Mother*, *Our Daily Bread*, *Peter Ibbetson*, *The End of St. Petersburg*, *Red Shoes*, *Trouble in Paradise*, and *Atonement of Gösta Berling*.

Although the names of all the respondents are not given, the listings of selected individuals are of interest. Among these are:

CARL DREYER: *The Birth of a Nation*, *Arne's Treasure*, *The Battleship Potemkin*, *The Gold Rush*, *Sous les Toits de Paris*, *Quai des Brumes*, *Brief Encounter*, *Henry V*, *The Petrified Forest*, and *Open City*.

VITTORIO DE SICA: *Man of Aran*, *The Kid*, *La Chienne*, *Le Million*, *l'Atalante*, *Kameradschaft*, *Storm Over Asia*, *The Battleship Potemkin*, *Hallelujah*, and *La Kermesse Héroïque*.

ORSON WELLES: *City Lights*, *Greed*, *Intolerance*, *Nanook of the North*, *Shoeshine*, *The Battleship Potemkin*, *The Baker's Wife*, *La Grande Illusion*, *Stagecoach*, *Ninotchka*, *The Best Years of Our Lives*, and *Bicycle Thief*.

- KING VIDOR: *Intolerance, Sunrise, The Last Laugh, The Big Parade, Brief Encounter, Red Shoes, Open City, City Lights, Citizen Kane, and The Best Years of Our Lives.*
- CAROL REED: *City Lights, Ninotchka, Les Enfants du Paradis, Gone with the Wind, La Ronde, All Quiet on the Western Front, La Kermesse Héroïque, Variety, The Baker's Wife, and Pygmalion.*
- ELIA KAZAN: *The Battleship Potemkin, Aérograd, The Gold Rush, Flesh and the Devil, Open City, Bicycle Thief, Shoulder Arms, Target for Tonight, The Baker's Wife, Marius, Fanny, and Cesar.*
- BASIL WRIGHT: *The Battleship Potemkin, Earth, Greed, Nanook of the North, Zéro de Conduite, The Grapes of Wrath, La Grande Illusion, Monsieur Verdoux, The Baker's Wife, and Student of Prague.*
- LUIS BUNUEL: *Underworld, The Gold Rush, Bicycle Thief, The Battleship Potemkin, Portrait of Jennie, Cavalcade, White Shadows in the South Seas, l'Age d'Or, I Am a Fugitive from a Chain Gang.*

The Library of Congress has just published the latest semi-annual issue (July–December, 1951) of the *Motion Pictures and Filmstrips* section of the *Catalog of Copyright Entries*. This issue lists some 1,200 theatrical and nontheatrical motion pictures and film strips copyrighted during the second half of 1951. The first section gives the following data for each film: the date of release, size, color, running time, credits, cast, literary source, descriptive note, and official copyright information. The several indexes are designed to assist persons who want to buy films or to plan film programs and include a subject index to the nontheatrical films and selected film strips; a list of films useable for television; and an alphabetical list of the copyright claimants, producing companies, sponsors, and authors represented in this issue.

These semiannual catalogues are available from the Register of Copyrights, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D.C., for \$1.00 a year. They provide current information to supplement the 1,250-page cumulative catalogue, *Motion Pictures, 1912–1939*, which was published in 1951.

The *Broadcasting Yearbook, 1952* (National Press Building, Washington 4, D.C., \$5.00) is a compendium of useful information about radio. With patience one may penetrate its 480 over-

size pages of advertising and discover, among other things, a complete directory of AM and FM stations of the U. S. listed by states; an interesting 1951 radio audience analysis; an analysis of 1951 radio advertising; a complete directory of the FCC and a summary of FCC rules for applicants for station licenses; a directory of Canadian radio stations; a directory of the major American networks; a directory of advertising agencies handling radio accounts; and a directory of all AM and FM stations by call letters.