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PANEL: US RADIO IN
TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXTS

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FRIDAY
FEBRUARY 26, 2016

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The Panel met in the Library of Congress,
Room 620, 101 Independence Avenue, Southeast,
Washington, D.C., at 10:45 a.m., David Goodman,
Panel Chair, presiding.

PANEL MEMBERS

DAVID GOODMAN, Panel Chair, University of
Melbourne

JENNY DOCTOR, Syracuse University

DAVID JENEMANN, University of Vermont

ANNE MACLENNAN, York University, Toronto

RESPONDENT

ALEX RUSSO, Catholic University

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P-R-O-C-E-E-D-I-N-G-S

(10:49 a.m.)

CHAIR GOODMAN: We should begin this session. We're just a couple of minutes late. But it took all of us awhile to find the room. My name is David Goodman. And I'm delighted to be chairing this panel on U.S. Radio in Transnational Contexts.

We've got three terrific speakers. They'll have about 20 minutes each. And then Alex Russo is providing some response. And then we'll certainly have time for discussion.

So, In the order in which they're listed here I'll introduce each speaker before they speak. So, our first speaker is Jenny Doctor from Syracuse University.

She's the Director of the Belfer Audio Archive in the Special Collections Research Center at the Syracuse University Libraries. And she's an Associate Professor in the Department of Television, Radio and Film at the S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications, also at Syracuse

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University.

Her research in historical musicology has long focused on the dissemination of music on BBC radio. And her current research also encompasses sound recording, history and archiving, and American radio. So it's a great pleasure to welcome her.

Her publications include a 1999 book on the BBC and Ultra-Modern Music, 1922-36. Jenny is talking today on cultural radio in Britain and America in the post war era. So welcome.

DR. DOCTOR: Thank you. Can you hear me? Is that okay. This is a sort of in your face microphone. So I just want to make sure. I was originally going to talk about radio in Britain and America. But because of the nature of this, and because of the short time period I'm just going to talk about radio in Britain.

Everybody here knows about radio in America. So, I decided that most people didn't know my work on radio in Britain. And it also fits in

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very much with what Paddy Scannell was just talking about.

I was a graduate student working in the BBC Archives when Paddy was doing his research for his first book. And we used to sit next to each other and talk about the music part of that wonderful book. So, I thought that I would just cut out the American part in the interests of time.

So, when I was growing up radio was a constant companion in my household. And my mother had it constantly glued to WFMT, Chicago, which she still does, which poured a constant stream of mostly classical music transmitted mostly from sound recordings.

But there were also talks about the arts in the city. The Studs Terkel program was on every morning at 10 o'clock. And there live opera broadcasts, et cetera. And that was a huge influence on me as a young budding musician at the time.

But it was very odd that when I went off

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to study music formally at a conservatory, I didn't question the fact that radio did not feature at all in my music history classes at that time, even the ones focusing on 20th Century art music.

Sound recordings were essential tools for audio examples of material covered in class. But acknowledging them as documents in themselves, as musical and social phenomena, worthy of attention in their own right, or radio, that only happened with respect to the study of music concrete, electronic music and jazz.

So the relationship between 20th Century music and sound technologies in effect stopped there at that time. So, when I moved to England as a graduate student, and became immersed in the world of BBC radio, and I sort of went there on and off in the 1980s.

And then toward the end of the '80s I went and I stayed there until 2012. So I'm now dual national. And I just sort of became very immersed in British culture. And I taught there. And, you

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know, a lot of the things that Paddy was talking about became very much my life.

But because I think I was an American born that became very immersed in that culture, I think I thought about it a lot. And it showed me an entirely different model and expectation about what radio could be. And so, I started studying.

I also found the BBC Written Archives. And I don't know if you all know them. But they are extraordinary. So, they used to have a memo culture, where almost every thought and idea, and decision that was made was exchanged through memos to each other. And they had this registry system. So even the ones that are missing, we know that they existed.

And this memo culture today, I mean, they purged every once in awhile. So some things are missing. But it means that there's an extraordinary foundation for BBC radio that exists in paper, even though they weren't as good at saving things in sound, as actually America, something like

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NBC was.

So, I started studying in the BBC Archives in 1990. I still go there every chance I get. And I've spent, I've just spent many, many, many years. I was involved in the Official History of Radio 3 that Humphrey Carpenter wrote. And I've written many, many articles and books, mostly focusing on the music department.

But lately I've also been going, looking at little bit at television and jazz. So, I'm going to talk today about the BBC and mostly classical music. But if there's time I can talk about other things if people are interested.

So, I'm going to talk a little bit from a paper. But I'm going to try and cut things, because in the interest of time.

So, following World War I the BBC was established in November 1922 as a monopoly broadcaster in the United Kingdom. It was funded through the collection of small annual license fees from listeners, and was prohibited from

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advertising.

Initially formed as a company through, under a general manager, in 1927 the organization was reestablished as a corporation with a royal charter, and under the leadership of a Director General, John Reith.

As the BBC network of regional stations grew their daily schedule soon came to encompass a wide variety of spoken and music programs. And those included also programs of serious music, light music, and dance music.

Behind this array was a program policy that aimed to broad listeners' attitudes, direct their tastes, and expand their cultural interests. Entertainment was only a secondary objective. And this is very important. This is a very different approach than American media was.

Although the BBC recognized the importance of giving listeners a choice, and by the late 1920s developed the technical ability to transmit alternative programs, it was not until

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after World War II that the different stations broadcasted types of material aimed at a specific audience.

Before the war most listeners could receive at least two BBC stations, each of which transmitted the full range of possibilities. The choice came from balancing of these programs against other. When one station broadcasted programs of a serious nature, the alternative provided lighter fare.

So, in these interwar years the departmental divisions expose the BBC's press uses. Popular and light music was planned and programmed by the variety department, while the music department produced what was then considered the mainstay of music programming, serious classical music.

This is completely changed now, of course. This was central to Reith's paternalistic policy of "carrying into the greatest possible number of homes everything that is best in every

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department of human knowledge, endeavor, and achievement." That was the BBC's mission. In this case, attempting to raise British listeners' music education and cultural awareness.

In the music department program suggestions were proposed, and the details formulated and brought to fruition by the music program builders. Although a complex hierarchical apparatus was developed to control the BBC's programming in those early years.

In fact, the content and the shaping of programs were largely determined by the individual program builders. These men had broad expertise in various music repertoires, and could cast wide networking links across Europe and America. This, can you hear me? We're sort of, we have competing technologies right now.

This clarifies why contemporary art music in particular became a significant feature of the BBC's music schedule in the 1920s and '30s. Again, this is very different from what happened

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in the United States, which was mostly, if it was broadcasting classical music at all, it was broadcasting sort of standard repertory off of sound recordings.

The BBC was deeply involved in technological developments in transmission and reception. Experiments in microphone technology, studio development and recording apparatuses were also going on throughout this period. All that was separated from the decision making of the music department, except that it affected some ways that they carried out their work.

During this early period popular and serious music together accounted for nearly two-thirds of the BBC's daily program output. An important point here is that most of the music was broadcast live. Gramophone records accounted for only 14 percent of the music transmission time. And techniques of pre-recording programs did not develop until the late 1930s.

Since many established British concert

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organizers initially believed that broadcasting would reduce their audiences, and so refused to let broadcasts be transmitted from their concert hall, the BBC devised its own series of public concerts, starting in 1924.

In 1930 the BBC established the BBC Symphony Orchestra, with conductor Adrian Boult, which aimed to raise the station's orchestral output to a standard that could compete with Europe's finest and most established orchestras, such as the Berlin or Vienna Philharmonics.

This is not unlike the foundation of the NBC Symphony Orchestra with Toscanini as conductor in the mid 1930s, which had a similar objective in the American contest. So, when war was declared in September 1939 the BBC immediately combined -- By the way, how am I doing on time?

(Off microphone comments)

DR. DOCTOR: Okay. When war was declared, the BBC immediately combined its national and regional wavelengths into one domestic program,

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the Home Service. And the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and many of the music department staff were evacuated from London to Bristol.

It wasn't long before the BBC settled into new routines. Myra Hess began her lunchtime concerts in the National Gallery in London, which were immediately popular. And many were broadcast. And the BBC soon resumed the broadcasting of orchestral music, though on a far more limited basis than before.

For many of the reasons that we just heard Paddy talking about, the wartime BBC played an enormous role in British society during the war, focusing on two main functions, providing an adequate and trustworthy news service, and airing appropriate entertainment to raise the spirits of the nation. So, Reith is no longer the Director General, and entertainment is now its primary objective.

Wartime radio was listened to in new ways. Radio reached workers in factories and

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canteens, officers and messes, soldiers in camps and barracks.

And whereas the pre-war BBC in its highly paternalistic role offered to audiences what it determined that they needed, the wartime BBC in pursuing its remit to entertain and raise morale, gave audiences more of what they wanted. That's a huge difference actually.

In 1940 the BBC launched a second network, the Forces Programme, offering material that was lighter in nature, such as variety shows and dance music.

By 1942 this new program was being tuned into by 50 percent more listeners than the Home Service. Partially because it had a lot Vera Lynn who, by the way, the BBC, after she got so popular, took off the air for awhile. A very interesting, talk about controlling. Anyway, that's a different story.

Music filled many hours of the broadcasting day, providing listeners with

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familiar sounds that raised morale and productivity. Orchestral output contributed to the popular soundscape, with BBC orchestras performing programs of light classics and popular tunes several times each day.

More serious symphonic music was presented by the BBC Orchestra for an hour or so each afternoon or evening. But even during this spot the repertoire tended to favor familiar works by classical and romantic composers.

Whereas, recently composed music by continental and British composers had been a recurrent theme of pre-war programming, the wartime policy changed that focus.

New music was now only aired if it was consistent with the larger wartime programming trends. Thus, music by British and allied composers might be programmed, as long as it was accessible and engaging.

Now, during the war there was a remarkable surge of interest in classical music,

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specifically in orchestral music. With little else to entertain them during the long blackouts audiences flocked to concerts that were given at factories, in town halls, in cinemas, and in concert halls up and down the country, governmentally funded by the Council for the Encouragement of Music and the Arts, called CEMA.

This organization awarded grants to orchestras and opera companies, as well as to independent chamber music clubs. The effect of Government sponsorship of the Arts was immediate and lasting. Access for the general public to well performed music soon developed into unprecedented demand in concerts.

In particular symphonic repertory gained extraordinary popularity. And orchestral musicians, often women or foreign refugees, replacing British men called to active service, placed a plethora of employment opportunities.

When the end of the war became imminent the Government made the highly significant decision

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to continue funding the Arts, establishing a permanent body for administering an annual Treasury grant, under the new title The Arts Council of Great Britain.

Ironically, the overwhelming demand and supply of concerts in the 1940s was counteracted by a narrowing of repertory options. They started to make the concerts increasingly conservative. And in the main only a small collection of the most hackneyed classical symphonies and concertos were heard.

By the end of the war this was still the case. And the situation was exacerbated in 1946 when the Musicians' Union substantially increased payment rates for extra rehearsals, effectively limiting most performance organizations to one rehearsal per concert.

As one critic reported in 1947, what audiences most enjoy is a familiar work, a symphony or concerto by Beethoven, Brahms, Tchaikovsky, or possibly Sibelius, conducted by an internationally

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famous conductor with a maximum of glamour.

For three favorite piano concertos, Grieg, Tchaikovsky and Rachmaninoff No. 2, there seems to be an inexhaustible appetite. And this was true again and again and again. Those were almost the only works that were played in this period.

So, the practice of aiming radio programs at particular audiences, which the BBC had begun out of necessity during the war, was codified in the months following VE Day in May 1945 as the new BBC system of networks.

The Home Service offered a broad range of spoken and music programs aimed to appeal. In the words of the Director General, "To all classes paying attention to culture at a level at which the ordinary listener can appreciate it."

In 19, sorry, in July 1945, shortly after the war's end, the General Forces Programmed turned into the Light Programme, catering to popular tastes.

Finally, September 1946 saw the launch

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of the BBC so called ^Third Programmed, which featured cultural arts material. The conceptual interrelationships between the three networks was conceived as a pyramid structure, representing audience takeoff in popularity.

So the Director General articulated that the Light Programme would cover the lower third of the pyramid, the Home Service would take the middle third, and everything up to the tip, and then the Third Programmed would be at the very third tip of it.

And he said, I would want the Light Programme to play the waltz from Der Rosenkavalier. Then about a week or ten days later I would hope the Home Service would play one act, the most tuneful act of the opera. And within a month the Third Programme would do the whole work from beginning to end, dialogue and all. That was sort of the theory.

The Third Programme aired a variety of materials related to the Arts and serious thought,

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including classical music, jazz and opera, drama, literature, poetry, criticism, features, talks and discussions. There were also attempts at comedy, which aimed to lighten Third's content.

Although the Home Service broadcast all day and evening, closing down around midnight, the Third Programme initially broadcast for only six hours a day, from 6:00 p.m. to midnight. And each evening sought to broadcast --

Okay, three minutes. So I'll just get to the point. Although there were a lot of people who initially wanted to listen to the Third, only about half the population could actually receive it, due to transmission problems. And then, also due to the style of it.

Some of it was, the program material was deemed to be so esoteric that it was "so far removed from listeners' experience that they feel themselves at a loss to comprehend them. And also became disheartened, and even hostile."

But to some people, actually, if you talk

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to people today, they grew up on the Third. They absolutely love the Third. It was, as Paddy was saying, what actually spoke to them. And they believe that it really shaped the way that they, their cultural being in a way.

I've run out of time. So I won't go into exactly how it worked. I will say that in terms of classical music, the emphasis on contemporary music that was very strong before the war, started that way.

But it didn't continue that way, due to the personnel that was running the Third Programme, the program building. And they actually became interested in the early music movement.

And so this was a real leader. That was how they did their experimental music, was actually leading in the whole area of early music.

And I can talk to people who are interested in that more. But that was a real leading light in the area of early music. So contemporary composers felt very let down by it.

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And there was a lot of negotiation with the composers' groups.

And it wasn't until William Glock takes over in 1959 that the Third Programme, and later Radio 3 really come into its own again, in terms of both bringing together programs that brought together the newest in music and the oldest in music sort of together. That was where Glock really came into his own. So, I think that's all I will talk about. Thank you very much.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Thank you, Jenny. I will go straight on to our second speaker, who is David Jenemann. He's the co-director of the Humanities Center at the University of Vermont. And he's a professor of film and television studies at the same university.

His work focuses on intellectual and cultural history. He's published a book many of you will know on the exiled years of the Frankfurt School. He's also worked on a number of intriguing sounding topics, the history of ambivalence, and

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the politics of stupidity. I don't know if that's two projects or one, but they're --

And he's currently writing a book equally intriguing on the cultural life of the baseball glove, and researching the relationship between sports and modernism.

So it's a great pleasure to welcome him today to talk to us, not about any of those things, but from Father Coughlin to Benny Goodman, the Frankfurt School as Radio Archivists.

DR. JENEMANN: Thank you. Thank you very much. Can folks see the slides more or less? I'll have to read some things that are a little bit smaller. I wasn't sure what the conditions would be here.

I've changed my title ever so slightly to make it less sexy than what it was initially. This was the bait and switch. So now it's from Martin Luther Thomas, who I'm sure only a few of you know, to Walter Damrosch, who I'm sure even few of you know, the Frankfurt School and Others, it

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turns out, as Radio Archivists.

And my subtitle is really the title for myself. This talk is really for myself as I get back into some radio research after a period of times, for reminders on radio research.

And the reminders are not for all of you, who I'm sure know these things already. But they're really for me as I try to get back into and find some of the material I missed my first time through, when looking at Adorno and members of the Frankfurt School in America, and the projects they were working on.

As I'm sure most of you know, Adorno and Rudolf Arnheim, Hadley Cantril and others were involved in a fairly major undertaking with Paul Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton, which was called the Princeton Radio Research Project.

And the Princeton Radio Research Project was funded in part by the Rockefeller Foundation, sponsored by CBS and NBC. Frank Stanton was the Director of Research, and eventually

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one of the presidents of CBS, to find out what radio was doing to the American audience in the 1930s and '40s.

This was prompted most directly by the Orson Welles broadcast of the The War of the Worlds. And in fact, there's a chapter on the War of the Worlds broadcast in the radio research books. But also to find out how to get the best radio to the greatest number of people.

And so, Adorno was brought over to the United States. In part his visa derived from the idea that he would be the music director of the Radio Research Project. And he and Lazarsfeld, and the other members of PRRP, just to put it as briefly as possible, butted heads quite a bit. They did not see eye to eye.

And part of the reason why they didn't see eye to eye is because this is a moment in the history of sociological research where there's a fundamental question being debated as to whether sociology would be invested in what was called

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critical social research, or what Lazarsfeld was promoting, which was administrative social research.

And the idea of the Princeton Radio Research Project is that this would put both types of research, both critical and administrative on equal footing. And the, what happened was that the Radio Research Project ended up being a hodge podge of different methodologies and different programs.

And so, the first reminder I have to myself is that not all radio projects are created equally. And you see that in a letter sent by James Roland Angell, who was the former President of Yale University, who NBC poached to be their educational director, counselor.

Also, it turns out, I only just rediscovered this, is a Burlington, Vermont native. So I feel a close affinity to this guy, even though he was kind of nasty to everyone involved in the Princeton Radio Research Project.

He wrote a letter to John Marshall, who

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was the head of the Rockefeller Foundation, kind of the man who knew everything in all of this, claiming that Lazarsfeld was abnormally prolific, but often vague in formulation, in terms of the number and scope of projects that he wanted to undertake.

And you get a sense of that in the inventory of materials that appear in the Rockefeller Foundation, that are being used by the Princeton Radio Research Project.

And this is a little bit small. And so I'll just describe what's here. But there are eight pages of different studies that the Princeton Radio Research Project are doing.

In some instances the numbers of this very top one, which is audience responses. In some instances the number of hits, or the number of pieces of information number in the tens of thousands. In some instances there are only 25 or 30.

But in other instances there are tens of thousands of audience responses that are being

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looked at by the Princeton Radio Research Project. It's a massive undertaking.

What's fascinating, however, if you look at this register, how little of it is actual content. The vast majority of what the Princeton Radio Research Project was looking at was audience responses.

And so, Paddy, when you said you had to recreate the history of British radio, in part it's because people weren't actually looking at radio itself. They were looking at the response to radio. They were doing audience questionnaires. They were doing surveys. They were responding to accounts in the press.

And this was the case that the Princeton Radio Research Project was dealing with as well. Only a very few of the materials that appear in the register of the Radio Research Project are actual observations of broadcasts, very few of them.

And that dearth is reflected in the very first essay in the Radio Research 1941 volume,

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Rudolph Arnheim and Martha Collins Bayne, Foreign Language Broadcasts Over Local American Stations: A Study of Special Interest Program. An article that would seem to have absolute relevance to the RPTF, right.

The idea of these small local broadcasts of foreign language programs, and what's happening in them as they're being broadcast in the '30s and '40s. And there's a key line in the essay that sort of illustrates the problem we today face in finding this material.

And so Arnheim and Bayne say, when the returns were analyzed, that is the returns of these audience questionnaires, it became clear that differences in the listening habits of the various nationalities could not be explained without referring to the actual supply and content of the programs on the air.

In looking for such information no really satisfactory material was found. That is to say, they don't know what was actually aired.

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In 1939 and 1940 data became available as to the total amount of broadcasts in the various languages. But the psychological implications of such data were rather meager.

Finally, that is to say at the very end of all of this, it was decided that at least a rough content analysis of the major available programs was indispensable for an intelligent understanding of the whole matter.

And so, let me just make it clear what I'm seeing in this document, and in the documents from the PRRP. Is that for the thousands and thousands of materials they were looking at, more often than not they had no idea what was actually being aired.

And Arnheim and Adorno were particularly anxious to actually look at the material itself, to do content analysis. And in fact, much of the argument between Adorno and Lazarsfeld, and between Arnheim and Lazarsfeld had to do with this idea that one might actually want

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to look at or listen to what had been broadcast.

So, in terms of what was actually listened to Arnheim and Bayne, and their research crew went to about a dozen municipalities and listened to, set up listening stations of foreign language radio stations, in Italian, Polish, Spanish, Yiddish, German and Lithuania, and captured 800 hours of material.

Now, the question is, where is this 800 hours? Obviously there's some record of it, whether it's memos, whether it's transcripts, probably not recordings. And the question is, where does it go? Or where does it end up?

It doesn't end up in the Princeton Radio Research Project archives, the Bureau of Radio Research Archives in Princeton. It's not there.

However, in the acknowledgments for Arnheim and Bayne's essay, they make reference to the Federal Writers' Project. And so, if you go to the Federal Writers' Project there's a study on ethnography.

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And if you bore down into the finding aid for the study of ethnography, way down in you find this red, what I put in red, a bit of information. Additional questions on newspaper reading and radio listening habits were designed in cooperation with the Princeton Radio Project.

The special survey of the foreign language press interviewed producers of ethnic newspapers and radio programs, asking specific questions about their products' origins, leadership, and general history. And there it is.

So, just in the last five days I found where this material might be. So I got to go to New Jersey, which isn't so much of a hardship. But this leads to the second reminder for myself. All radio research projects are not necessarily called radio research projects. In fact, this is called an ethnography project.

And drilling down into the ethnography project finds this material. My little asterisk caveat is, some are called radio research projects.

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And that's primarily the case in, or it's primarily the case that they're not called radio research projects in terms of things like propaganda analysis.

And so, this is just a little snippet from Alfred McClung Lee and Elizabeth Briant Lee's *The Fine Art of Propaganda: A Study of Father Coughlin's Radio Speeches*.

And I only include this because he develops this taxonomy of propaganda, which is totally pertinent to the playbook being rehearsed during the various debates this year, at least one set of debates this year. And so, glittering generalities, name calling, you know, jumping on the bandwagon.

But I also love the little emojis, or proto emojis that McClung created for all of these. And what McClung would do is, he would take Coughlin's radio speeches and annotate them with these little emojis about when different techniques were being used.

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Now, from my perspective, as much as I'm taken by the emojis, and the fact that he's essentially writing the playbook for demagoguery that seems to be being read today, he also is recording these radio speeches. And so, the question is, where are these?

And it turns out, let's see, yes. They are in the New York Public Library, in the boxes of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis records.

And so, this organization, the Institute for Propaganda Analysis, which was a going concern for the better part of the '30s, a little bit into the 1950s, includes a lot of the transcripts and raw materials that McClung and Lee, that McClung Lee was using. Okay.

So, oh, man, that didn't transfer very well. So another avenue to explore, in terms of propaganda analysis, were the idea that a lot of organizations, particularly Jewish-American organizations were also running their own propaganda analysis wings.

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And this, which didn't come across particularly well, is a radio transcript, or a speech transcript from something called The Uncle Don Show. And The Uncle Don Show was a children's broadcasting show.

And the American Jewish Committee through The Uncle Don Show sponsored an All American Radio Contest. And what it was was an essay contest where kids write a little essay about why they were All American.

And you can't read this because of the way it's come across on the screen. Or can you? I don't know what you can see. You can't see it. But Uncle Don exhorts kids to tell why new Americans are every bit as American as they are.

The other thing that the American Jewish Committee was doing was a program called Dear Adolf. And this is the transcript of the, one of the programs, Dear Adolph. And they were meant to be letters written to Adolph Hitler by average Americans.

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In this case the script is for a letter written by an American soldier. What you will see if you look closely at this is that initially today's program, the fifth of the series, presents the well known screen actor.

And initially it has this guy Jeffrey Lynn, who was in a movie called The Roaring Twenties, then was promptly forgotten to history. And crossed out in handwritten scrawl is William Holden. So there was definitely an upgrade in this program.

And in fact, it turns out that the American Jewish Committee kept this, and has it on their website right now. Let's see if we have some sound. Oh, there we go.

(Audio played)

ANNOUNCER: The National Broadcasting Company, in cooperation with the Council for Democracy presents Dear Adolph, a series of six narrative letters written each week by Stephen Vincent Benet, one of the nation's greatest writers.

These broadcasts are based upon actual

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letters written to Hitler by Americans. Today's program, the fifth of the series, presents the well known screen actor William Holder, who is now a private in the United States Army Signal Corps, at the Photographic Center, Astoria, Long Island. Private Holden will relate the views of an American soldier as he addresses a letter to Hitler.

MR. HOLDEN: Dear Adolph, this is me, one American soldier. My dog tag numbers in the million. My draft numbers came out of the hat in every state in the union. I'm from Janesville and Little Rock, Munroe City and Nashua. I'm from Blue Eye, Missouri and the sidewalks of New York. I'm from the Green Mountains and the big sky-hooting plains, from the roll of the prairie and the --

DR. JENEMANN: Okay. Once again, I had to make sure the shout out to the Green Mountains was there before I stopped. So, you know, again, one of the things that I have to remind myself as I go back into this material is that you often have to look for material that isn't necessarily called

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a radio project. In this case it was.

In the case of the book by Leo Lowenthal and Norbert Guterman, called Prophets of Deceit, which was meant to be an analysis of American agitators, and American propaganda, in the book they also include radio research transcripts.

And if you take a look at the acknowledgment of the book you'll notice this line, for making source material available we wish to express special thanks to Leon Lewis of Los Angeles, and to Ms. Ellen Posner of the Library of Jewish Information in New York.

So, immediately my antenna go up and say, where are these two institutions? Well, the Library of Jewish Information, it turns out is the American Jewish Committee. So I know where that is.

But this guy Leon Lewis. That name rings a bell. Who is this guy? Leon Lewis was an attorney in Los Angeles in the '30s and '40s. And he ran a spy organization of Jewish citizens who were monitoring anti-Semitic activities, under the

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auspices of an organization called the Jewish Federation Council of Greater Los Angeles.

And its materials are at Cal State, Northridge. And it turns out that if you scroll down into the finding aid, to some of the names included, you'll see Phelps, G. Allison and Smith, Gerald L.K., both of whom were radio demagogues in the '30s and '40s.

And it turns out that the transcripts of these broadcasts that Lowenthal and Guterman were using in fact reside in this archive that you wouldn't necessarily go looking at, because you wouldn't know that Leon Lewis was recording radio materials. And in fact, he and his spy network were.

All right. So I've got three minutes left. And I want to say a little something about Adorno before I do so. So, reminder three for me is, always read the acknowledgments.

The acknowledgments are a rich source of information for people hunting for this material,

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and to know what to look for. So you have to know who Leon Lewis is, or I had to know who Leon Lewis was to make sense of that.

Reminder four, never underestimate the preservational power of what people disdain. This is the case for Adorno. Adorno hated much of what he heard on the radio, particularly having to do with classical music, because of the way that NBC in particular framed its classical music recordings.

More than anything else he hated Walter Damrosch's Musical Appreciation Hour, and the way that NBC marketed itself as a preservation organization for classical and American music.

And so, in *Current of Music*, a book, Professor Scannell, I recommend you take a look at, because of the long section on the radio voice that Adorno theorizes. In *Current of Music* Adorno makes some remarks on a propaganda publication of NBC, which it turns out I was able to find.

And it includes a section on American

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folk music. And Adorno's response to it is that the idea of simple melodies handed down orally, and so on, is an invention. You know, he wants to criticize this use of folk music as a primitive idiom.

And he ends by saying that this music represents a comparatively highly developed and late standard of musical feelings that are fundamentally different from the actual primitive folk songs as they existed in Africa.

Adorno's hatred for NBC and the way they presented their music extended to going on the radio himself. And so, in April 25th, 1940, and again, this is also in Current of Music, he went on the radio.

And the transcripts of these recordings we have. We know our listeners have had their fill of music appreciation broadcasts. This isn't another one. And the announcer goes on to introduce Adorno.

And Adorno, not surprisingly, sets

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himself up for only being on the air for five broadcasts, by going right after Schubert's Unfinished Symphony, in what I'm calling Adorno's School of Rock, by saying -- And this is where I'll end. Because my time is up.

Now, don't go away saying, doc, this is Adorno himself saying this, trying to ingratiate himself to the listeners. Now, don't go away saying Dr. Adorno claims that one of the melodies in Schubert's Unfinished Symphony has recently been heard rocking to and fro, or that we are in possession of a rhythmic formula for writing rocking music.

The accompaniment alone hasn't any such quality. Does this melody rock? You'll agree there's no sign of a rocking quality, or anything like rocking in it.

Now, remember this is 20 years before we have rock and roll. But I just love the idea that Adorno, you know, is proto-actively, you know, condemning the idea of rocking as a quality in music.

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With that I will conclude, if only to say, it has been a pleasure revisiting some of this material. And reminding myself of what an idiot I was to miss some of it the first time around.

And I hope that you guys, as we go through this project of finding some of this material, get to experience that same pleasure. Thank you very much.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Thank you very much. And our final speaker is Anne MacLennan from York University in Toronto. The program actually has you at the wrong place.

DR. MACLENNAN: Does it have it wrong?

CHAIR GOODMAN: I feel I've known Anne for a long time through a series of radio conferences. She's been working on the Canadian radio audience in the 1930s, part of a large funded project.

Her work on this I think has been interrupted a little bit by her term as Graduate Program Director at York. But she has some research

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leave coming up.

DR. MACLENNAN: That's right.

CHAIR GOODMAN: And she's --

DR. MACLENNAN: I'm back.

CHAIR GOODMAN: -- just about to tell us today about Crossing the Border: The Case of CBS, NBC and Mutual Stations Outside the United States. So welcome.

DR. MACLENNAN: Thanks. Thanks for having me here today. I can't tell if I'm talking too loud or too softly, because my ears are blocked.

Early American broadcasting, quite naturally across the border into Canada. We don't think about it as being evil from this side of the border. On the other side it was an issue of great contention. Should we regulate, or should we not regulate?

And most of the writing about it has been about regulating, and creating the great national network and, finally, the CBC and the white knight will ride in. And everyone will be saved, right?

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Well, it's a little messier than that and some unusual things happened. I'm going to talk about a few points in time that are sort of glossed over. They're talked about a little bit, but not too much in the research.

The archives help a lot, because there's quite a bit of letters and outpouring in the newspapers, and the newspaper clippings. Small archives have things, and are starting to talk about when the Americans crossed the border for real to set up shop in Canada.

Did you know that happened? We're kind of familiar with and I'll see if I get these right. WLW, station to the nation -- not just the nation, the whole continent -- you could hear that in Canada. It was drowning out other stations.

This became one of the early kind of conflicts and the discussion of directional antennas, and maybe bending it a little bit the other way, so we could hear our own stations possibly. It was very upsetting when border blasters happened

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on the other side.

We're still talking about building walls between the U.S. and Mexico and then Canada's next. We're getting a wall too, I hear. Maybe then we can keep our radio stations, and we can hear but more familiar we are with that, and that sort of the lack of regulation.

Have you considered those? What happened to Canada when we had these border blasters like WLW, and other fascinating stations, WABC, WJZ, all of them, WGN. You could hear them all in Canada, but not everywhere, right?

So this was one of the contentions in Canada. You could hear in Toronto and most of the history of Canada, whether it's radio or anything else, is the history of Canada according to Toronto. Really not Nova Scotia or PEI, or Saskatchewan, or anywhere like that.

So there are other considerations to make besides what did Toronto think. However, that's what most of the history books deal with is,

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what did Toronto think? Because that's kind of --
Well, I'm not from Toronto.

So, what happened when the Americans invaded Canadian airspace? Well, they kind of invited them in. Some people said, "No, no" and some people said, sure, set up shop. But there's a juncture in time, right here. It's in the news.

Washington is changing the allocations, as you know, right, when the Radio Act came in, and the federal, FRC came into play. All of the frequencies were allocated, and things started to change in the U.S.

Now, in the U.S. there was a greater concern for quality, high commercial standard. Perhaps that was, if you listen to Robert McChesney, to force other people, and get them off the air, those churches and community groups running radio stations. What kind of way was that to run radio anyways?

Michelle Hilmes also talks about that, and the idea of the public interest. It's very

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different in the United States than in Canada, at this point anyways and that the public, that they wouldn't be in the public interest, these stations that catered to maybe one religious group or one community group, because they were only speaking to that group, and occupying space on the air.

So, rules came into play in the United States that you don't have in Canada, high standards of maintaining live programming, and high technical requirements.

Dennis Duffy has a book called, "Imagine Please," about the west coast in Canada. He talks about this poor station that, actually, they were broadcasting with ship to shore equipment.

Canada's obsession with radio is a very early obsession because we were three oceans. So ship to shore communication and radio communication was important before we had radio broadcasting in this commercial, or national network sense. So, they were broadcasting with old ship equipment and they got permission, because you weren't supposed

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to play records and recorded stuff in prime time in the evening. But they did. They got permission. If you were very small, served a very small audience, and only played a little bit of the prime time hours, you could play on the record player.

So this poor pitiful station got permission to play on the record player and then the record player broke. They had an interview in which where one of the broadcasters says, how good you get at turning the record with your thumb. So, the standards are very different.

A lot of community stations were allowed to broadcast live in Canada, in church stations. The Jarvis Street Baptist Church in Toronto had one of the early stations, and maintained it right into the '30s.

The church is still there. I pass it all the time and I keep wondering, are there archives in the basement? Should I go in there? But those kinds of things all sort of disappeared.

As the stations and the allocations of

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frequencies were being jumbled in the United States, is it just coincidence that these things changed in Canada? Or is it something more?

At the same time, and I'm thinking 1928 -- prior to that Canada, and you'll see the regulation today with the CRTC, tends to favor the listener. Maybe not on purpose, but it does.

In the 1920s most of Canada was rural. A lot of Canada didn't have electricity. They tended to have crystal sets more than the fancy sets that you see in the big cities, with electricity and tuning knobs, and that kind of thing.

So if you're listening on a crystal set, it's a little harder to tune than the big fancy jobs they had in Toronto and Montreal. So, what happened? The compromise was one frequency per city.

So to do that people shared the time. You might get 2:00 to 4:00 in the afternoon. That's your station, broadcast then. You might get the evening if you had a lot of local programming.

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And you do have that with the stations that were connected with the CNR, Canadian National Railways, the cities where they had studios where they were producing original content, which were unusual kind of collections, Victoria, Ottawa, Moncton, Toronto, that kind of thing, and Montreal.

They would have evening time. So it's sort of privileged content in a certain way, and the audience that they were speaking to, religious stations obviously on Sunday, in a lot of cases.

So, in 1928 what's happening? The clear channels are getting brought into NBC and CBS and the networks are thriving and growing in the United States. Canada still doesn't have its own national network and there hasn't been that much talk about it up until then. That's when they start to talk about it because the stations all get jumbled around and they can't hear the American stations they were used to. That's what you find in the archives, the National Archives, a little bit in Wisconsin, City Archives like Toronto and all over the place.

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You'll find people complaining not only that they can't hear their local Canadian stations, because those American stations are coming over the border.

But they can't hear the American stations they used to hear, because of the frequency change and their life is a mess, because they have to change their listening habits. So there's a shuffling of the frequencies.

Another thing that's happening, sort of at the same time shoving the religious stations off the air, is the International Bible Students Association loses their stations that they've had since more or less the beginning. They are more a popularly known religious group as Jehovah's Witnesses right now but there were a lot of complaints apparently.

But there are a lot of complaints, if you really go into the archives, about a lot of things, about French stations, American stations, and not hearing American stations. This was not the

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only thing people were complaining about but this is something that there was a focus on.

They lost their stations in 1928 when this great shuffle was happening. They had a station in Toronto, I think more prized. They had a station in Burnham, UBC, which is outside of Vancouver, and couldn't have been very big at that time and that was the cheat, one frequency per city. But hey, let's go off to the side somewhere and set somewhere up, to try and make sure they hear us in Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal and that did happen quite a bit.

The CNR was the first national network that was talked about in Canada, that I had my issues with. It's not that national. You can hear it when you're in the train, as the train passes through town and then it's gone.

It has an hour a week or an hour a day, depending where you are, and how often the trains pass through. If you're in the middle they're there all the time. If you're somewhere like, I don't

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know, Saskatchewan, well, some of it. The weather apparently was a problem and all of these little things.

The CNR, that's much touted at that time, stations get dumped and they become part of the predecessor to the CBC, the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, but just prior to that CNR's having this big horrible political money scandal that's outside of the radio, and part of the railways, and politics there. So they're under scrutiny.

So what's rising up? Who comes into the market, just suddenly, coincidentally? NBC and CBS set up shop in Canada. Was it making good use of the timing of what's going on? Was it something that was wanted?

Why, did Canada just open the door and say, yes, come? They did, because they really didn't have a national network and they were run by the Minister of Marine.

Then they changed its name. It's the

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Radio Department of the Minister of Marine, then the regular department and then also Fisheries and Marine, and then back to Marine, until you actually have the Radio Act that doesn't get passed until 1932.

So I'm looking at this period where we don't really have a radio, we have, wireless and we have Radio Telegraph Act and this regular department from the Minister of Marine really does control things. But was it really a coincidence? Maybe not.

Maybe a lot of things were pushing to make the American stations happen. This is something that's not questioned a lot and there was a lot of push. A push from listeners, a push from NBC, a push from CBS.

This is my timeline and I wanted to put it at the end. But I thought maybe we need context. I also have a map. And I'm going to talk about it in a different context, but I feel like I need a map when I go outside of Canada. How many minutes?

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How are we doing?

CHAIR GOODMAN: Eight.

DR. MACLENNAN: Oh, eight, okay. Well, we'll look at the slides as I talk and then we'll come back to my timeline that I had at the end.

CFRB on the air for the first time 1927, this is also in the timeline, starts broadcasting. CKGW as you can see is starting a broadcast in Bowmanville.

Bowmanville, that's way outside of Toronto. They had this little zoo that you wouldn't want to be an animal in right now. They're off the highway.

The key stations I'm looking at are the ones that became part of American networks that were American affiliates, so, CKAC [in French], or CKAC, which seems weird to say, in Montreal was a French station that became part of CBS. That was unusual but they were set up since 1922, and they were very well established.

The most controversial, and the station

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that used the most American content in this period in Canada is the Cheerio Station, CKGW. G.W. stands for Gooderham and Worts.

Gooderham and Worts was a distillery. This is directly across the lake from Lake Ontario from New York, where they had prohibition and they could sponsor all these Gooderham and Worts products. Not overtly. They didn't talk about them. But they were the station. They had their own, they actually had a big studio, and a big operation.

And maybe unbeknownst to the radio people here, the Americans were listening to CKGW products, and produced shows in the U.S., not just in Canada. They were a big part of the network. They really jumped in with two feet.

If you look into the Wisconsin archives, where I was able to see how you sell radio stations and they're selling the time on the network. That affects the take-up of a program. So, we'll get to from the slides later.

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And there's the big welcome from Canadian Pacific Railways [slide]. Canadian Pacific Railways, competition to CNR that's slowly dying in the radio world, is rising up and hoping that they could have a network.

They have a little Trans Canada network that got squashed by that national network but they were trying, and trying really hard.

There's the outfit in Bowmanville [slide]. As you can see, they're the only thing in Bowmanville at that time and a good place to set up shop.

And what we can start to see from this kind of menu [slide], and I have a little piece up, pulled up, is they start at the very beginning when they're first broadcasting in 1929 with a little bit of American programming, even from the start, because you could get electrical transcriptions and that kind of thing quite early.

But let's go back. Let's go back to my timeline. [Slide] 1929, after this big shuffling

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of all these you start to see. I don't have a clicker where it can make lights for you. But imagine my hands over there showing.

1928 is big. CKGW gets a frequency in Toronto, making them a prime spot for NBC. They didn't have it before. They were over in Bowmanville trying to broadcast into Toronto.

The North American Radio Broadcasting Agreement, in terms of shuffling the frequencies, is there as a factor. The Aird Commission, which is a big deal, and everyone would know what it is in Canada, is when they were commissioned to talk about radio, and decide what to do about this great national network, and how we would settle it.

That's starting. They're starting to talk about having a network of their own, and having rules. That was the time to get in if you were going to be NBC and CBS.

It's very smart, because no one ever talks about why it happened, or how it happened too much -- a little bit. It just happened, but maybe,

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at the very right time.

Because you have CKGW, it becomes a NBC affiliate. CFRG become CBS. Both of those are in Toronto, so it makes sense. CKAC, CBS, and CFCF, NBC -- they did very well as an NBC affiliate, even though they're in Montreal.

CFCF existed up until, I want to say 2002. It was the first, actually it's a debate, if you read the Canadian histories, as opposed to the American history, it was the first station that broadcast in North America, not KDKA, but it depends what you count. Because KDKA says, well, ours were in the newspaper. So we're the first. It was close though, very close, within about a month. You see that there's a few other stations [slide] and eventually Mutual gets onto the scene, but very late in the game.

This is the plan that the Aird Report put out and this was what was very threatening to a lot of private broadcasters, because Canada waited so long. They were established

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broadcasters. You had the Cheerios Station. You had people as part of the NBC and this map [slide] is important because it's looking at all the stations and where they're going to situate. Three minutes left. Okay. What's really funny that I have to say? I don't know.

One of the things we have to think about in the family of funny, as we look at the listings out of the archives and out of the newspapers, is why there was no regulation in Canada.

You have to keep in mind the government. The Liberal government from 1921 to 1930, and then again from 1935 to 1948, when our Prime Minister was William Lyon Mackenzie King.

William Lyon Mackenzie King in his later years had seances with his mother and his dog, so he could talk to them still. But he took a political path of least resistance.

Radio was a hot issue. Was it something that he wanted to settle? I don't know. When it came to conscription in the Second World War he's

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very famous for saying -- Wait, I wrote it down. Not necessarily conscription, but subscription if necessary.

So, it's really interesting that in this little interval, he loses power in a sort of little flip thing that the Governor General has to settle. And it goes over at the beginning of the Depression to the conservative Government of Richard Bedford Bennett.

The Conservative Government's the least likely to bring into play something where you're spending all this money on a national network but he got saddled with it because, right out of the Aird Report.

King started to do it, but then didn't finish it. So, William Lyon Mackenzie King left it in abeyance, and Bennett got the task of finishing it off, which he did.

As you can see [slide], I don't know how well you can see it. I have a pull out [slide] where you can see it a little bit better. But what's

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interesting is this is just before and although they don't join in 1929, a lot of the stations joined a little bit late in the year. And it takes a little bit while to be sold for the season, right?

Because you're sold like you sell advertising now, right. Do you want, when you get Ma Perkins, do you want it? How many markets do you want it in? And so, these stations would be part of those markets, and be sold in a package. So it takes sort of a full year for some of them to be taken up.

And this is, what do we have here, CFRB in 1930. You could see Bulova Watch [slide], and local kinds of things that are in there. But towards the end of the evening you're starting to see CBS. But you also see CNRX, which was one of those phantom stations on the railroad [slide].

CKGW though, you could start to see a big take-up [slide]. You can't see it so much here [slide] but on the right in the future programs, where they show all the American programs in the

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evening, CKGW is right in there [slide].

And I'll flip through a few of them, because I'm sure I'm running low on time. But it's right there [slide]. You can track it. And what's very interesting is, I think CKAC, a French station that also had English programs.

So, if you had Auntie Maddie Story Time you would say here Ma Tante Madeleine would be next, same woman switches language, tells stories in French. Daily menu, and then, you know, tonight's dinner in French as well.

They introduced American programming [slide] and it was actually when I was in the Madison Archives that I was able to discover the weird take-up that you have there in the way the programs were sold because obviously something that was too "talky" might not sell that well on a French station, catering to a French market, even though it was sort of bilingual. It was only sort of bilingual.

So you have quite a bit of takeup. You also have the letters. This, the pull up here

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[slide], you see here the response in this handwritten note.

At the time, at this particular time what people wanted, they had no ear for Canadian stations is the pickup here. We eagerly looked forward to Saturday nights when they hear and enjoy their programs and what's celebrated in the Canadian history is this Canadian Radio League that organized itself. Graham Spry, Alan Plaunt, spearheaded this lobbyist effort to get CBC, the national network and they did so vigorously and quite successfully. They're not characterized as lobbyists.

And time is up. So I won't show you all the newspapers. But there's sort of an equal potential on both sides. Could it have been for keeping the American content, or having this national network?

They were divided among the audience, among the stations, among the players, among the politicians who criticized it as well. So there's quite a bit of controversy and it did land on one

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side, but we have the strange story of how American content got into Canada.

But when we did get the CRBC and the CBC, what did they keep on their stations? NBC and CBS.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Thank you. Okay. We've heard three terrific papers. And now to kick off our discussion, Alex Russo from Catholic University here in Washington is going to make some provocative comments.

DR. RUSSO: I don't know about that. I did mention this to Josh Shepperd when he asked me to do this. You know, I work on non-national network radio, which means smaller than national, not networks that go between, or programs and things that circulate between.

Though, as I look around the room, where also there's such a Murderers' Row of scholars of transnational radio here, that I'm going to try to keep these comments brief, so that we, the folks can have a conversation.

But what I was struck by in these three

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papers is something that I am reminded of, reading Rudolph Adorno's classic work on radio arts, published in 1936, where he noted the troubling ways in which radio is both inherently national, because it's around, the broadcasts circulate around particular languages. But how they are meddlesomely non-national, because those signals refuse to remain within those national borders.

So I wanted to sort of, one of the things I was sort of thinking about listening to these papers is the remarkable numbers of circulations of all sorts of ideas, of products, of concepts that do form some of the, you know, interesting questions around the different both national and local formations of radio.

But how they are defined, as Michele Hilmes says, suggested against one another, right. Or as they are defined against internal elements. Say, for example, French language versus English language broadcasts, you know, within the United States.

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Or what counts as a foreign language program, right, in the United States, right. And whether that counts as something that is in the common interest or the general interest, right.

So those sort of questions around cultural, or the value of the culture produced by distinctive communities and ethnic groups within the various countries also sort of suggests a problematizing of this idea of what the transnational is, right.

Likewise, we can see the circulation of personnel and their ideas around culture, whether it's the tensions around the importation of classical music or jazz into the BBC, right, or the importation of ideas around both new and, or modern and traditional classical music by German intellectuals as they come into the United States.

So, we can sort of see in the circulation of that personnel, they bring with them certain ideas around programming that is, as either high or low value.

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Finally, you know, I was sort of struck by this when looking at one of the slides from Anne is -- As some of you know I've done work on the Bulova time signal, right.

And by seeing the time signal advertised up in Canada, it also sort of suggests one of the dependence, at least in the commercial system, right, on the circulation of other kinds of products' distribution, right, without which the advertisers would not be interested in sponsoring programming, right.

And so that also, the linkage between material networks of distribution, as well as programs themselves that were, that sort of via transcriptions or tapes, that made those kind of questions.

And finally, I was also thinking of, in Anne's paper that sort of connected also with Paddy's keynote. The strangeness of the relation of the ocean to these kind of questions.

Whether it is the time signal that serves

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as the marker of the national boundary for people who listen to it in Britain, right. Or the potential for the violation of those national boundaries by those pirate ships that are anchored just outside of the coast, right.

So hopefully, you know, sort of thinking through these different kinds of circulations and dichotomies, we can sort of see how -- I don't, I think we might want to rename this panel a little bit.

Instead of U.S. Radio and Transnational Content, of recognizing that all these, all radio is transnational radio in various sorts of ways. Thank you.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Thank you. Okay. That's terrific. So now, we've got 15 or 20 minutes for questions and discussion. So we're open for questions from the floor. Yes, in the back.

PARTICIPANT: Thank you. It was a great panel. About the Lazarsfeld work, I worked in those materials for my research on Yiddish radio.

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And like yourself, I was led to the foreign language division of the paper.

And like yourself, I also found the link to the Federal Writers' Project. The problem is that the Federal Writers' Project didn't address foreign language writing. It's American writers writing in English.

So I ended up with the same thing, that I ended up with Jewish American content, which didn't fulfill the goal of what Lazarsfeld and Adorno were trying to do for establishing minority radio.

Because minority radio, for a very short few years in the beginning of broadcast history was not carried on major networks. It was low power community radio.

Instead, where I found the link to what Lazarsfeld was working with was not the Federal Writers' Project, but the Federal Theater Project, which had a subhead of Yiddish theater. And the Yiddish theater had a subhead of Yiddish Radio. And

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so, that became the tangible link to what they were doing.

And then that led me to finding notes from WEVD, which was the Yiddish Socialist station in New York, which had memos related to the analysis of their programming.

At that time there were a dozen stations in New York alone that had Yiddish language programs. And so, that became, because of the broadcast dissemination, that became the issue.

And so, in fact, using the English language material to reflect the research of the Princeton Radio Project is sort of a cul-de-sac. Because it doesn't really address, people who were English speakers, if they were going to listen to English language radio were not necessarily Yiddish speakers.

And it doesn't reflect the cultural aspirations and the cultural context of the listeners that Princeton Project was trying to address.

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DR. JENEMANN: Yes, you're absolutely right. And, you know, this is something that Arnheim and Adorno argued with Lazarsfeld about, you know, pretty routinely.

Adorno's response was frankly churlish, and a little bit of an overreaction. But he suggested that if you really want to know anything about how people responded to radio, you couldn't rely on audience cards and surveys.

You just had to send somebody to everybody's house who was listening, and watch what they were doing at that time, in order to make any sense of it, while notating what the broadcasts themselves were.

So, you know, to that extent, I mean, Adorno would be our sort of fantasy archivist, because he'd really want to know everything. But that's great that it's in the Federal Theater Project.

PARTICIPANT: In fact, if you want, the collection, my Yiddish radio collection is right

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across the street in the American Folk Life Center.

DR. JENEMANN: Excellent.

PARTICIPANT: It's part of those materials.

DR. JENEMANN: Excellent. Yes. I'm really keen to find the Lithuanian stuff. You know, the idea that they picked out Lithuanian radio as one of the case studies. Yes.

PARTICIPANT: I just wanted to stress the importance of North American Radio Broadcasting Agreement. Because the reason why the border blasters exploded was because in 1928 there was not an agreement with Mexico. Mexico asked for 12 air channels. And they said, you won't get them.

So the whole problem didn't end until 1963. So the border blasters were linked directly to 1928 probably because Canada got six air channels.

And then here's another point I just want to make, that the American networks had these Spanish speaking broadcasters. They were going all

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over South America.

And Mexico was part, because I come from Mexico and I have studied this very much, the problem of allocation of resources. So that's two remarks about radio.

DR. MACLENNAN: It's such an ongoing issue, sort of negotiating the frequencies on the content.

PARTICIPANT: Yes. All the time.

DR. MACLENNAN: Yes.

PARTICIPANT: And the Madrid Conference of 1932 was so important, particularly.

DR. DOCTOR: Can I, I'd like to make a comment in response to some of what David was talking about right at the end. First of all, there's some very interesting correspondence with Adorno in the BBC Archives, where they will not let him broadcast because he does not have, received pronunciation of English. And so, they do --

PARTICIPANT: What was the site of that, Jenny?

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DR. DOCTOR: That was 1941-ish. It may be slightly earlier. It might have been the late '30s.

DR. JENEMANN: Because he was in the U.K. in the '30s.

DR. DOCTOR: Yes. It might have been just the late '30s.

DR. JENEMANN: Yes.

DR. DOCTOR: It was right before he went to the United States. So, you'll help me with that.

PARTICIPANT: It was going to be about --

DR. DOCTOR: Sorry. Yes. It's been about 20 years since I've seen that letter. So, I'm sorry. It might have been like 1937-1938.

And the second thing is that, something I didn't get a chance to mention was that one of the biggest, one of the most important programmers in the Third Programme was someone called Hans Keller, who had an extraordinary personality. You might have even known him, Paddy. I --

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(Off microphone comment)

DR. DOCTOR: Okay. And he also agreed with a lot of the criticisms that Adorno was making of people like Walter Damrosch, and their equivalents in the U.K.

And Hans Keller developed a whole means of explaining music to people that was called Functional Analysis. And it was a wordless means of explaining classical music. And they would play these recordings. It was very popular actually, these completely wordless analyses. I can't explain it. I would have to play it to you.

Where, and then they would play, so they would get a live quartet, or whatever. It was, a lot of it had to do with quartet music. And they would play the functional analysis. Then there would be a silence, of course, because it's Third Programme. And then they would play the full quartet.

And people felt that it helped hugely to explain the music to them. That it was all about

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exactly what you're talking about. And functional analysis, there are people studying it today. I mean, it was a very big thing in the sort of 1950s and '60s.

And then, just the last thing is, on this idea of there being -- And, Paddy, this comes into something you were talking about earlier too.

The BBC has, and I don't know if you ever saw them. I didn't find them until fairly recently. They have --

PARTICIPANT: I probably went there.

DR. DOCTOR: Yes. I'm allowed to sort of go crawling around the actual archives. And I found daily, well, they're not daily. But from the wartime, it ended a little bit, from 1938 they start doing audience response.

They weren't allowed to do it in Reith's time. He didn't believe in it. But in 1938, after he goes, they start doing it. And I found that not just the main reports, which is probably what you saw.

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But there are actually these bound volumes that are actually really hard to see, with almost, every few programs they would ask for people's responses. And I bet there are Vera Lynn responses that aren't in the main things. But there are, I'll look for you if you want.

(Off microphone comment)

DR. DOCTOR: They're there. But you just have to, they're buried. So, I'm sorry, there's a lot of audience response innovation that a lot of people don't know about.

PARTICIPANT: Yes. I've been intrigued by the sound recordings of the Father Coughlin broadcasts that showed up about ten or 12 years ago. Most of them, or all of them have New Jersey station identifications.

What organization or what person recorded them? I don't know where the disks are. I haven't seen the labels. What, why would the, who recorded those?

DR. JENEMANN: We've got a brain trust

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here. It's actually not what I look at. I don't know Coughlin particularly well. I know, Michele, you've written about Coughlin, right?

PARTICIPANT: Not much. But, no, I don't know them.

PARTICIPANT: Where are those disks?

DR. JENEMANN: That's a great question. I mean, Adorno didn't write about Coughlin. He wrote about this guy Martin Luther Thomas. That's my, you know, that's my holy grail. I suspect that Lewis has the Martin Luther Thomas stuff in his papers. But --

DR. DOCTOR: Well, let's hope that this new database that we're trying to put together will bring together things like this, and give information about where these disks are, or whatever, these tapes, or whatever of radio.

Because I think there's a lot of pockets of collections of radio. And we do not know where they are. But we're trying to find out right now. And if you know of any of those collections, then

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report them.

CHAIR GOODMAN: But also, this question raises something I was talking to some people about a couple of days ago. That there are things on the web which we all listen and use without actually knowing anything much about their provenance, and whether they're an excerpt or --

PARTICIPANT: Yes. Because you wouldn't talk about the organizations that were looking, the propaganda organizations around New Jersey. Of course, Princeton, you know, is one thing.

But, you know, why these were recorded off of a New Jersey radio station. And that they had, you know, we've been looking for Coughlin broadcasts for decades. And suddenly, poof, here comes ten or 15 programs.

And they're all New Jersey station identifications on them. And we just get the tapes of them. Where is the, you know, who recorded them? Why did they record them? They were not recorded

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by a station. They were not recorded by the network. CBS did not record them.

DR. JENEMANN: So, and, you know, the other option, and again, this is not my area of expertise. But, you know, Coughlin published his radio speeches.

PARTICIPANT: Yes.

DR. JENEMANN: And it wouldn't be surprising if he also recorded them, you know, as recordings. And so, you know, that would be my suspicion.

PARTICIPANT: I have a comment. But you said Michigan though. If it's more out of Michigan.

PARTICIPANT: I mean, is this a different set of Coughlin than, I mean, we have a collection of Coughlin material here. Is this a different set or recordings?

PARTICIPANT: I don't know. What, are you talking about --

PARTICIPANT: I don't know the

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provenance of them. But I'd have to go down and look in the catalogue.

(Simultaneous speaking)

PARTICIPANT: I'm looking at the record for one of them right now. It says WHBI.

(Off microphone comment)

PARTICIPANT: By NBC radio. But we have, I get 58 hits in the SONIC database. Almost all of them are '38 and '39.

DR. JENEMANN: Right. Right.

(Simultaneous speaking.)

PARTICIPANT: But some of them are much earlier than that.

PARTICIPANT: HBI is located where?

PARTICIPANT: That's Jersey isn't it?

PARTICIPANT: That's the New Jersey station.

PARTICIPANT: Is that the one?

PARTICIPANT: Yes, yes. That's where they are.

(Laughter)

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PARTICIPANT: I thought I'd go look at this out in the --

CHAIR GOODMAN: Yes.

PARTICIPANT: Well, if I'm here, you know, we can --

CHAIR GOODMAN: We're going to move forward. Let's go to Michelle, a question at the back.

UNKNOWN: Actually, I just wanted to respond to that. I mean, it is true that Coughlin did start to record, and was strictly ad hoc. I think I'm forgetting right now.

So I assume those might be some of the ad hoc recordings when he was putting together his own individual network. And so, there are recordings out there.

But, you know, so these might have gone to the Jersey station. How they would have New Jersey call, you know, identification, and things like, that I don't know. I'm not quite sure how all that went together.

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But that doesn't help you find the recordings. What it does is just make them, you know, plausible, I'd say.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Yes. Okay.

PARTICIPANT: Yes. Just a speculation on that. New Jersey had a very powerful German American Bund. And one possibility is the --

PARTICIPANT: Yes. And that's the point. Because that's the point. Because you can see the disks to see if there's any identification about who recorded these.

PARTICIPANT: And of course, it is Coughlin with a hard G. He was from Canada. And he pronounced his name Coughlin.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Okay. I'm really, I've always said that. But half the world says Coughlin. Just like I was pleased to hear Anne say WJ-Zed, which --

PARTICIPANT: I was too. Thank you.

CHAIR GOODMAN: No one would say -- We're almost at lunch time. Are there any other questions?

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Can I just sneak, I was just going to ask Jenny really quick, like really, really quick.

But just, I mean, trade by the, talking about the BBC during the war popularizing the classics, and some resistance to it. I just hit me, you know, have you thought at all about how much is too much with music?

I mean, I'm remembering, you know, when Let It Be came out, for example. I'm sure it was on every half hour on a lot of radio stations around the world. The same with the Grieg Piano Concerto. Is once a month too often? You know, what is the level at which you begin to debase these treasures by exposing them too much?

DR. DOCTOR: There is definitely feeling by the people actually who love classical music that it was being debased.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Yes.

DR. DOCTOR: They were the ones who were complaining. It wasn't the people who were demanding it. So, the people who were demanding it didn't know,

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didn't seem to want to hear anything else. And that was the point. They just wanted to hear it over and over and over again.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Yes.

DR. DOCTOR: And people who love classical music were bored to tears, and wanted to hear other things.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Yes.

DR. DOCTOR: And you're right. There was definitely a feeling that it was too much. But there was also this amazing feeling that so many people were demanding it.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Yes.

DR. DOCTOR: Because that had never happened before. So it was sort of a mix, a mixture.

PARTICIPANT: I was also wondering if it wasn't kind of a rearguard action against the crooners, right. Considering something like, if we can't have this awful swing on the ground we'll just give them, well, we'll give the masses light pop. And that's going to look better.

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DR. DOCTOR: I think it was really a combination of things. It was a really, it was about national spirit during the war. And so, I think you're right in a way. It was all happening at the same time.

You have to understand, the crooners were still happening. The BBC actually wouldn't put crooners on the radio, as you know. Some people might not know in here. But they actually, there was, they didn't want that.

But I think it was really just, there was just this feeling that there wasn't a lot of entertainment. I mean, there was a really limited kind. It was so limited compared to what we have today. It's hard to imagine how limited it was.

And so, I just think people, it was a place where they could gather, where they could hear something that they felt uplifted them, and gave them something that was different. Got them out of what they had to deal with every day.

And I think that that is part of it too.

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It's just the circumstances of that moment were so very different than what we would experience. It wasn't just experiencing the music. It was experiencing sort of the absence of everything else, I think.

CHAIR GOODMAN: Okay. Thank you. Look, I think this has been both a fascinating and a very useful session. I like that we're not only interpreting things here, but almost trading box numbers in particular archival collections. So, can we thank our speakers once again?

(Whereupon, the above-entitled matter went off the record at 12:16 p.m.)

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