

Hollywood and Broadcasting

FROM RADIO TO CABLE

Michele Hilmes

University of Illinois Press
Urbana and Chicago

Will Hays later advised the studios not to give in to the complaints of the exhibitors, arguing that as soon as the studios formally agreed that radio appearances in fact reduced the box-office value of screen stars, exhibitors could use this as a bargaining tool in film negotiations, driving down rental prices.²⁴

In fact, throughout the period exhibitor reaction was not undivided. Although many theater owners, particularly the larger independent groups, did regard radio as a threat, others saw in radio an opportunity to promote films on the local level. This difference in reaction reflects a pattern of film industry collision of interests that goes back as far as the days of the Motion Picture Patents Trust. Janet Staiger points out that it is difficult to generalize motives for actions across large interest groups; each group may contain elements within it that, often because of local legal or business circumstances, may act in ways dissimilar with, or even contradictory to, goals of affiliated or parent organizations. Given, too, that ownership ties between the integrated studios and theater companies were often only through a fractional share of stock, interests and goals of parents and subsidiaries might differ considerably. This diversity of reaction to radio amid exhibitors is reflected in trade publication reports.²⁵

In between reports on the deleterious effects of radio-listening on box-office receipts, the *Motion Picture Herald* ran several articles on radio as a medium of film publicity. On January 21, 1933, a theater owner contributed an article entitled "How to Nail Profitable Radio Tie-Ups to the Box Office." In it he recommended such promotional devices as short spots of Hollywood gossip centered on a given film or stars; locally acted and produced "trailers," dramatizing scenes from the film currently in play; organ concerts broadcast from the theater itself (a popular radio staple); broadcasting the preceding stage show; and using on-air quiz games or film-related contests.

A February 11 article discussed another use of radio: to broadcast radio shows to an audience inside the theater over the ERPI sound system now that most theaters were wired, although ERPI objected to this usage. The February 25, 1933, issue contains an article by Jack Cohn of Columbia Pictures, who urged theater owners to use radio to "get people back into the theater-going habit." One basic technique used to accomplish this benefited all aspects of the industry in a very simple manner, still employed today: "Hollywood made sure to use the names of its films as part of the titles of its theme songs, so radio—like it or not—would automatically plug its pix when announcing the song titles and recordings played."²⁶

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Radio Programming Takes Shape

The history of the development of the forms and structures of the radio programming wafted over the airwaves to an unsuspecting public in the early 1930s is truly remarkable; unfortunately, the medium's genuine achievements and innovations in programming, although bringing an amount and variety of entertainment to a wider audience than ever before reached by a mass medium, remain overshadowed in many accounts of that period by the rapid rise in number, and lowering in tone, of the radio advertising commercial. Yet, as the historians Robert E. Summers and Harrison B. Summers write, "beginning in 1929 and 1930, radio entered an era of program experimentation, invention, and development without parallel in any other period in the history of broadcasting."²⁷

Most of this material represented borrowing and modification of existing art forms; with the exception of the talk show and the quiz or audience participation show, two possibilities novel to broadcasting, radio adapted the forms and formulas of vaudeville, theater, concert, and film to fit its burgeoning needs. Hollywood participated in the development of all these formats.²⁸

A comparison of the broadcasting schedules of the networks from 1929-30, 1934-35, and 1939-40 shows three main trends. First, although between 1930 and 1934 the total number of hours in a typical week spent broadcasting music of all types rose from 59 to 74.5, it then declined from 1935-39 to 56, representing a gradual decrease in music's importance to the radio schedule. The earlier increase must be attributed at least in part to the dramatic rise in overall hours on the air; in 1929, a typical network station broadcast between the hours of noon and 11:00 P.M., or only sporadically during a longer day. By 1934, the average day began at 6:00 A.M. and proceeded with a fully packed schedule until sign-off at 1:00 A.M. or later. Most of the early-morning, late-night, and fill-in hours were occupied by music. The second noticeable trend is that the amount of on-air drama during prime-time (evening and Sunday afternoon) schedules increased from 11 percent in 1933 and 20 percent in 1939 to 26.7 percent in 1944. The third trend, the rise of afternoon serial drama, or "soap," from a negligible quantity in 1929-30 to seventy-five hours a week by 1939, later developed into another area of interplay between radio and the Hollywood "women's film."²⁹

Hollywood influence played an important part in all three of these trends. The film industry's participation in radio programming occurred in two distinct stages: the period up to and including 1936, marked

by sporadic involvement and the innovation of one or two variety shows, and the post-1936 period during which Hollywood-based programming proliferated and soon began to dominate over programs produced elsewhere. Once again, as with the entry of CBS into radio networking, the decisive factor in this change involved the telephone company.

AT&T and Coast-to-Coast Broadcasting

Up until 1936, although coast-to-coast long lines were in place, and had been since 1915, the telephone company maintained a policy of charging additional fees over and above normal line charges, which were themselves substantial, for broadcast hook-ups emanating elsewhere than New York City. These charges were based on a policy of figuring fees on a cost-per-circuit-mile basis, rather than actual, or air, distance. Because the major transmitting facilities of both networks were based in New York, AT&T charged the broadcasters on a per-mile basis for the Los Angeles to New York circuit in addition to charges from New York back out to stations across the country. In other words, to reach an NBC affiliate in Denver with a show originating in Hollywood, the network would have to pay first for the land lines connecting Los Angeles to the central transmitter in New York City, then for the wires connecting New York to Denver, even although direct Los Angeles to Denver wires were in place and capable of transmitting radio signals—all these charges figured per circuit mile, usually much less direct than actual distance. This practice considerably increased the relative cost of West Coast-originated shows, leading to various problems in pre-1936 Hollywood-radio cooperation.³⁰

First, because the networks preferred to avoid the additional fees, film stars were encouraged to come to New York City for radio spots, a practice film producers claimed disrupted ongoing movie work. Second, the reverse borrowing of radio stars for film work (a growing trend in the early 1930s) was made difficult and prohibitively expensive. For example, when the creators of the popular "Amos 'n Andy" radio serial were invited to make Check and Double Check for RKO in 1931, the studio contracted to pay the comedy team's \$1,000-per-day line charges so that their daily show could continue to air throughout filming. Third, the policy discouraged the building of permanent studios and transmitting stations on the West Coast; Chicago in the early 1930s remained a more thriving center of radio than Hollywood with its millions of dollars of captive talent.³¹

The situation rapidly reversed itself after 1935, but it took a federal investigation to prompt the telephone company to rethink its rate structures. On March 15, 1935, Franklin D. Roosevelt authorized

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Congress to undertake a massive investigation of AT&T and other telephone company practices, both as a fact-finding study and in order to determine "the effect of monopolistic control upon the reasonableness of telephone rates and charges; and the reasons for the failure generally to reduce telephone rates and charges during the years of declining prices."

One of the particular areas of enquiry was that of interstate toll rate structure. The FCC reported that during the period of the investigation from June 1, 1935 to January 15, 1937, "as a result of negotiations between the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, long distance telephone rates were reduced on a basis equivalent to an estimated savings to the public of \$12,235,000 per annum," and, more specifically, the investigation produced "revision of wire service charges to radio stations... it is estimated that these revisions will result in annual savings to broadcasters of \$530,000."³²

The removal of double rates to the coast produced a veritable deluge of Hollywood-produced programming over the next five years, with both major networks building new studios in Los Angeles. This "Trek to Hollywood" as the Literary Digest officially dubbed it, reflected both the public's insatiable interest in the stars, scripts, and formulas developed by the movies and the culmination of a fruitful period of borrowing and cross-interests that began in the earlier period for both industries.³³

Hollywood's Role in Radio Programming

Hollywood contributions played a major role during the 1930s in the development of four distinct types of programming: the variety special, the dramatic series featuring big-name guest stars, the publicity-gossip show, and the radio adaptation of movie hits. Each of these made its initial appearance before 1935, but reached full stature in the later 1930s.

Variety

The variety special, based on standard vaudeville practice, combined big names, lesser stars, and regular performers in a mix of music, comedy, dialogue, and short dramatic vignettes. As described in chapter 2, Samuel Rothafel, "Roxy" to millions, pioneered this early variety forms on radio; the addition in 1928 of big-name Hollywood stars helped boost its popularity further.

Among the foremost variety shows on network radio, from its inception in 1932 throughout its lengthy life, was Maxwell House coffee's

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"Show Boat." Set on a fictional paddle-wheeler that made weekly Thursday night stops at various ports, the show contained music, variety acts, and comic sketches, usually featuring one or more well-known names from Hollywood or Broadway. Making high ratings each year of its existence, "Show Boat" attracted MGM as its co-producer (with Maxwell House) in 1937, and changed its name to "Hollywood Good News" along with its format. Other popular variety shows featuring Hollywood talent included the "Rudy Vallee Show," which premiered on NBC in October 1929; the "Kraft Music Hall," debuting in 1933 on NBC; and Al Jolson's "Shell Chateau" sponsored by the Shell Oil Corporation from 1935 to the mid 1940s.

Dramatic Series

The dramatic series format, often featuring big-name stars, originated with the appearance in 1929 of the long-standing dramatic program "First Nighter," sponsored by Campana Balm. Built around the kind of imaginary flexibility of space and time unique to radio, "First Nighter" opened with a character known as "the genial first nighter" taking a fictional stroll up Broadway to the "Little Theater Off Times Square," where he purchased a ticket and was shown to his seat by an usher just as the curtain went up. Halfway through the show "intermission" would be called to allow for a commercial break, then back to the show as the buzzer sounded and the usher cried "Curtain going up!"³⁴

The plays presented ranged from adaptations of genuine Broadway shows to original creations for radio, many of them written by the well-known radio dramatist Arch Oboler, later of "Lights Out," a "Twilight Zone" predecessor. Although the show evoked Broadway and was in fact produced in Chicago, it soon became a vehicle for Hollywood talent, usually appearing on guest status among a crew of radio regulars. This basic formula would increase in popularity and presence on the radio throughout the 1930s; "First Nighter" itself lasted through 1945 in a variety of time slots and network changes. Campana Balm remained loyal; although its ratings declined from the mid-20s to a 10.8 in its last season, "First Nighter" provided a model for a score of followers, including a second shot at success launched by Campana Balm in 1933. "Grand Hotel," using a dramatic framework based on the Academy Award-winning film of the previous year, involved a series of famous "guests"—in two senses, now—in light-weight fictions by a different writer each week. It stayed on the air until 1938, then gave up in the face of a proliferation of imitators.³⁵

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In the 1934 season alone, four other drama programs appeared that focussed on Hollywood: "Gigantic Pictures," sponsored by Tastyeast on the NBC Blue Network; "Irene Rich Dramas" from Welch's Juice, also on NBC Blue; a sustaining NBC Blue show called "Motion Picture Dramas"; and a short-lived serial called "Sally of the Talkies" sponsored by Luxor Products on the Red Network.

The year 1935 brought to the air a show that became known as "one of the most intelligent" on the air: "The Calvacade of America," a series based on historical dramatizations and featuring top Broadway and Hollywood names on a guest basis. Beginning on CBS, then moving to NBC in 1939, it stayed on the air for eighteen years and built a reputation for thorough and accurate research as well as dramatic appeal. Sponsored by DuPont ("Better things for better living through Chemistry"), "Calvacade" drew on the expertise of a board of academic advisers headed by Frank Monaghan of Yale, and also featured special productions written by talents such as Carl Sandburg, Stephen Vincent Benet, Maxwell Anderson, and Robert Sherwood. The show's aura of seriousness and prestige attracted stage and screen actors who had formerly remained aloof; Clark Gable made his first radio appearance on "Calvacade," and serious actors such as Raymond Massey (playing Abraham Lincoln), Charles Laughton, Lionel Barrymore, Dick Powell, Tyrone Power, and Edgar G. Robinson portrayed various historical figures. Orson Welles and some of his later Mercury Theatre troupe began on "Calvacade". Although "docudrama" is a form supposedly invented by television in the 1970s, its roots, like so much of television's programming, lie in radio.

Another anthology program using film talent, "Hollywood Playhouse," came on the air in 1937 on the NBC Blue Network, sponsored by Woodbury Soap and hosted by a succession of film names including Charles Boyer, Jim Ameche, Tyrone Power, and Herbert Marshall. Its run was brief, however; by 1939, having failed to gain more than an 11.8 rating, it went off the air. Another similar program, the "Silver Theater" on CBS (predictably sponsored by the International Sterling Company) met with improved success, attracting stars such as Rosalind Russell, Joan Crawford, Douglas Fairbanks, Helen Hayes, and Henry Fonda.

After 1938, the appearance of Hollywood and Broadway talent on radio, and vice versa, became so commonplace an event that it became the rule rather than the exception. However, two other program types appeared before 1938, the Hollywood gossip "column" and the movie adaptation.

Gossip Column

Publicity and Gossip

The catalyst behind exhibitors' fears of radio was a type of program that, almost from its first days, drew on Hollywood for material: the broadcast gossip column. Louella Parsons, Hedda Hopper, Walter Winchell, and scores of lesser known gossip purveyors found an avid audience for their tales of Hollywood life. In January 1932, the Hays Office launched an investigation of "alleged slurs on film stars and studios by radio columnists," but went on to announce that despite the disreputable reporting by one or two radio columnists, the broadcasting industry and Hollywood retained a good relationship: "There is a complete understanding between radio and pictures."³⁶

The movie producers' annoyance at the exploitation of their stars' names and reputations over the air remained mitigated, however, by the usefulness of the free publicity. The studios' disfavor soon shifted to a desire to avoid mismanaged star publicity; radio gossip and talk shows could be as effective a tool for movie promotion as printed ads and posters, providing that the stars themselves were protected from their own impulses.

One of the first network gossip columns appeared in the 1930-31 season on NBC Red, "Rinso Talkie Time." This program lasted only one season, but in 1932 NBC ran two new "talk" spots on its Blue Network: a show called "D.W. Griffith's Hollywood," hosted at least nominally by the director himself, and the beginning of the long-running "Walter Winchell Show," originating at first from New York and focussed primarily on Broadway. Winchell continued to broadcast from New York for most of his career, but much of his material derived from Hollywood-renowned personalities and events. He remained on the air continuously from 1932 to the years of long-form radio's bitter end, bringing listeners "lotions of love" from Jergen's lotion until 1948. In 1945 he and Louella Parsons began a cooperative venture for Jergens, featuring Winchell from New York on Sundays at 9:00 P.M., followed by Parsons from Hollywood at 9:15. A fierce rivalry between the two for Hollywood scoops kept the show's ratings high until 1951, when the advent of regular television broadcasting caused radio ratings to fall precipitously throughout the industry.

Several other lesser-known gossip purveyors appeared during radio's early years. For example, in 1933 "Madame Sylvia" went on the air, first for the Ralston Company, then for Ry-Krisp. Her twice-weekly program on NBC Red ran for only two seasons, but 1934 saw the appearance of another successful specialist, Jimmy Fidler "Your Hollywood Reporter," on the NBC Blue for Tangee Corporation, and later

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from Drene shampoo on CBS until 1941 and Carter on ABC until 1950. Another famous name joined the group in 1939: Hedda Hopper. Although never cornering the largest ratings, these shows retained a loyal audience until supplanted by television in the late 1940s. They do not necessarily represent a form of participation in radio much encouraged by the studios; however, such shows could and did quite effectively promote and publicize Hollywood films and stars. They were also to serve as a recurrent bone of contention between studios and exhibitors throughout the 1930s and 1940s. Louella Parsons herself maintained a radio presence, off and on, from 1928 through the early 1950s, in a show sponsored by Sun-Kist oranges, but "Hollywood Hotel" was her most successful effort.³⁷

The Movie Adaptation

Frequently credited with having "brought radio to Hollywood," "Hollywood Hotel" first appeared in 1934 on the CBS chain. Combining the variety format with guest-star drama, the show originated with and was hosted by Louella Parsons, who used her considerable influence to persuade big-name stars to appear for free. This money-saving idea helped to offset the AT&T surcharge still in effect for West Coast transmitting. Who could risk a refusal at the cost of falling from Miss Parsons's good graces?

"Hollywood Hotel" promoted the gossip and talk format to a kind of respectability and reinforced the popularity of the star-studded variety act, but it also pioneered a new form of film-based programming that would prove to be extremely popular and mutually beneficial for both the film and radio industries. "Hollywood Hotel" featured the weekly enactment of a scene from or a condensed version of a film soon to be released by one of the studios. Often using the actual stars of the film, these twenty-minute vignettes served not only to popularize the radio show but also as excellent publicity for the films. In 1938, the radio show itself served as the basis for a movie, Hollywood Hotel, starring Louella Parsons in her real-life role.

The movie-adaption program best remembered by radio listeners, which represents the culmination of its type, was the "Lux Radio Theatre." "Lux" started out as a vehicle for radio versions of Broadway shows and was based in New York City; not until the AT&T line charges dropped in 1936 did "Lux" move to Hollywood, where it signed on as master of ceremonies the well-known director of screen extravaganzas, Cecil B. DeMille. From its debut on June 1, 1936—an adaptation of "The Legionnaire and the Lady" with Clark Gable and Marlene Dietrich—to its controversial loss of DeMille in 1945,

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"Lux Radio Theatre" remained one of the most popular shows on the air. Gaining a 25.1 rating in its first season, the 9-10:00 P.M. Monday show hit a peak of 30.8 in the 1941-42 season. It remained one of radio's top ten shows through the 1940s and spawned a host of imitations. Its introductory words, "And now... Lux Presents HOLLYWOOD!" and its sign-off phrase, "This is Cecil B. DeMille, saying Goodnight to you from Hollywood," became catchphrases across the country.³⁹

The show was sponsored by Lever Brothers, which seemed to be willing to spend enormous amounts of money by radio standards to make its Lux soap flakes a household word. DeMille received \$1,500 per week at first, later more than \$2,000, just to introduce the show each night, provide a few comments between the acts, and sign off dramatically—as well as for his enthusiastic endorsement of the product during the show. Actual direction was done by Frank Woodruff, listed as assistant director, but DeMille's name and production style proved to be well worth the cost. As one account had it, "Danker [Daniel J. Danker, Jr., head of the Hollywood office of J. Walter Thompson, Lever Brothers' advertising agency] had wanted an extravaganza, and he got it... In the DeMille years more than 50 people were required for each show. Sometimes the stage couldn't hold them all."³⁹

"Lux Radio Theatre" attracted nearly all the top names in Hollywood during its fifteen-year career, and many more supporting stars. DeMille claimed that more than five hundred top stars had been heard, with the sole exceptions of Chaplin and Garbo. Among the films adapted to the requirements of the hour-long aural presentation were "Dark Victory," with Bette Davis and Spencer Tracy; "To Have and Have Not," with Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall; "The Thin Man," with William Powell and Myrna Loy; "Mr. Deeds Goes to Town," with Gary Cooper; and "A Farewell to Arms," with Clark Gable and Josephine Hutchinson. A few shows, such as "Dark Victory," "How Green Was My Valley," and "This Above All," were presented on "Lux" before being released to the screen. Most, however, were broadcast immediately after the film's first run and served to boost theater attendance, according to studio executives. The show was broadcast from the Music Box Theater in Hollywood before a live audience of a thousand people, in order, according to DeMille, "to give the players and director the lift that only a living audience can provide." Such a production did not come cheap; stars received a flat fee of \$5,000 per performance, bringing the typical weekly production cost to more than \$20,000.⁴⁰

Although the prestige and popularity of "Lux Radio Theatre" made radio performances by top stars an acceptable and even a desirable

part of movie promotion, the fact remains that the "Lux" idea originated not in Hollywood but in a New York advertising agency, and that control of the program rested in the hands of the agency and its client. Warner Brothers Studio took steps in 1938 to correct the situation. Drawing on the emerging talent in its famous "Warner's Academy of Acting," the "Warner Brothers' Academy Theatre" dramatized and promoted Warner Brothers films in production. Such budding stars as Susan Hayward, Carole Landis, and Ronald Reagan could be heard regularly; part of the show's attraction was an informal "chat" with the actors and actresses at the end of the show. Unlike "Lux," the "Academy Theater" remained under the production control of Warner Brothers, who sold advertising slots within it to the Gruen Watch Company. Also unlike "Lux," the show was not aired over a major network. Instead, Warner syndicated the series through the Trans-America Broadcasting System for sale to independents and smaller chains on an individual basis. This syndication strategy was one that Hollywood would pursue with great success later as it diversified into television production.⁴¹

Another tactic, producing another highly popular film adaptation show, "The Screen Guild Theater," was to compete with the high salaries of "Lux" by persuading top talent to appear free—in the name of charity. Gulf Oil sponsored the show and donated comparable amounts per star to the Motion Picture Relief Fund, which used the money—estimated at more than \$800,000 by 1942—to build a retirement home for aging and impecunious actors and actresses. Some of the series' productions included "Dark Angel," with Merle Oberon, Ronald Coleman, and Donald Crisp; "Design for Scandal," with Carole Landis and Robert Young; "Altar Bound," with Bob Hope, Jack Benny, and Betty Grable; and "Bachelor Mother" with Henry Fonda and Charles Coburn. Although never achieving quite the ratings of "Lux Radio Theatre," the "Screen Guild Theater" remained solidly popular from 1938 to 1951, attracting a line-up of stars as luminous as "Lux"'s.

Other anthology dramas that evolved later and were based on this format include "Hollywood Premiere," another Louella Parsons vehicle, on NBC in 1941; the "Dreft Star Playhouse," which began on June 28, 1943 on NBC; "Hollywood Startime," an RKO production which featured interviews in the RKO commissary at lunchtime; "Hollywood Mystery Time" on ABC; "Hollywood Star Preview" running from 1945 to 1950 on NBC; the prestigious "Academy Award Theater," whose premiere production, "Jezebel" with Bette Davis, aired on March 30, 1946; the equally serious "Screen Directors' Playhouse," which opened on NBC on January 9, 1949 with a production of "Stagecoach"

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starring John Wayne; "Hollywood Players" on CBS; and the "Hollywood Star Playhouse" which aired first on CBS, then ABC, then NBC through the early and mid 1950s and provided Marilyn Monroe with her first broadcast date in 1952.

1938: Symbiosis

After 1938, the cross-fertilization of Hollywood and the radio industry blossomed on a multiplicity of levels, each contributing to the other in an increasingly symbiotic relationship. A score of radio programs evolving from the prototypes discussed previously emerged from 1938 through the war years, as well as a new type, the radio series based on the characters or situation of a successful film. Of this latter type, "Stella Dallas," a long-running soap-opera prototype, appeared in 1937, the same year that King Vidor's classic remake of the film (released in a silent version by Henry King in 1925) was released. The series ran for 18 1/2 years. "The Adventures of the Thin Man" came on the air in 1941, based on the 1934 film (itself based on the novel by Dashiell Hammett) that starred William Powell and Myrna Loy.⁴¹

Radio at the Box Office

The film industry also drew upon radio. Beginning in 1932, radio supplied the movies with a steadily increasing supply of ready-made talent and material whose established radio appeal could be used to make popular films. On January 12, 1932, Variety announced that Fox Pictures had just purchased the rights to a radio script for the first time: "The Trial of Vivienne Ware" by Kenneth Ellis, which had run as a serial on radio. This borrowing of story ideas and characters worked both ways; besides radio shows inspired by films, the studios soon developed the idea of basing films on radio shows or formats.

One of the earliest examples is The Big Broadcast of 1932. Paramount produced this light-weight but successful film to capitalize on the growing popularity of such radio personalities as Bing Crosby, Kate Smith, George Burns, Gracie Allen, and Cab Calloway. Based on a thin plot about a failing radio station that is saved from bankruptcy by a star-studded revue, the idea proved so profitable that it was followed by Big Broadcast's of 1936, 1937, and 1938.

By early 1933, several movies in production starred radio personalities such as Kate Smith, Rudi Vallee, Bing Crosby, Jack Pearl, George Burns and Gracie Allen, Ed Wynn, and Eddie Cantor. A few of these entertainers, well known on the vaudeville circuit, had already made films in Hollywood. For example, Eddie Cantor starred in six previous

films: Kid Boots (1926); Special Delivery (1927); Glorifying the American Girl (1929), a Paramount musical also guest-starring Rudy Vallee, Florenz Ziegfield, Jimmy Walker, and Adolph Zukor; Whoopee (1930); Palmy Days (1931); and The Kid from Spain (1932). He went on to make nine more that were entertaining and fairly profitable, if not particularly distinguished. Rudi Vallee had also made one film previously, The Vagabond Lover in 1929, but he is remembered primarily for his work in radio, which carried him on through his extended film career.⁴³

George Burns and Gracie Allen, on the other hand, as popular vaudeville and radio comedians, got their film start in the Big Broadcast of 1932 and went on to achieve their greatest popularity in television. Bing Crosby, although starting out with a primary reputation as a radio "crooner," achieved considerable success in films. His first film, King of Jazz for Universal in 1930, followed by The Big Broadcast, established his box-office appeal; in the years between his film debut and his later success on television, Crosby starred in more than fifty films, most for Paramount, not all memorable, but at least moderately successful. Among the most popular were Crosby's "road movies" made with Bob Hope and Dorothy Lamour for Paramount in 1940, 1941, 1942, 1945, 1947, 1952, and 1962.

Many other radio stars appeared in and inspired films through the 1930s and 1940s. Other borrowing also occurred, the most famous of which is Orson Welles's switch from the acclaimed Mercury Theatre to RKO to make Citizen Kane in 1940. The reasons for this sudden increase and ease in borrowings between the two industries lay with the actions of a seemingly unrelated third party, the telephone company, whose belated lowering of West- to East-Coast rates sparked what came to be known in the trade as the "Swing to Hollywood" of 1936-38. With decreased transmission charges in effect, the major networks, which had originated all schedules in New York, decided to build their own studios on the West Coast—in Hollywood. NBC erected a modern structure next door to the RKO studios in 1937, "on the site of the old Famous Players-Lasky movie lot"; CBS purchased an existing broadcasting station and set up network transmission facilities and a new studio there. "To Hollywood! becomes a broadcaster's cry as New York agents of sponsored programs tire of chasing movie stars just off the boat from Europe, or catching flying Big Names on the wing eastward. 'A radio center as well as the movie capital' becomes the slogan for Hollywood."⁴⁵

The Reappearance of Television

A second factor in the heightened mutual interest of film and radio centers on yet another technology: the reemergence of television as an

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imminent possibility. If 1931 marked the "brightest moment in television's false dawn,"⁴⁶ 1936 became the beginning of its true although still gradual arrival. Some commentators felt that RCA's purchase of RKO had as a hidden agenda the idea of "protect[ing] itself when television became a fact."⁴⁷ Most writers and industry personnel assumed that when television did come into its own, the film industry would play a major part in it. "Visionaries believe that the years will see radio and the screen in even closer alliance, especially with television ahead. Films are expected to be the backbone of the television art."⁴⁸ Whether these would be regular full-length Hollywood films or films made by the Hollywood studios especially for television remained a debated point, but there was no doubt about the linkage of the two industries in one way or another.

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Some still scoffed, however, at the film industry's preparedness to meet the coming technological revolution. As early as 1936, the *New York Times's* radio column leveled some familiar-sounding charges at the "film barons," stating that "here, except for a recent investigation conducted in behalf of two or three producers who wanted to check on the progress of the medium, little interest has been shown" and that, "the town [Hollywood] is unconcerned over the threat of television competition." The article was headlined, "Dodging That Big Bad Television." Its points were mitigated somewhat by the concluding statement, however: "Hollywood... feels that there are too many problems to be solved before the medium becomes a threat and... producers are confident they will be able to jump in at the proper moment and take advantage of anything the process offers." This outlook comes closer to the facts of the situation, as history shows; although much important technical and regulatory ground was laid for television in the 1930s, its presence would not be felt until after World War II.⁴⁹

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In the meantime, interest in television in Hollywood took another form: in 1936 the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences assigned its Research Council to provide a report on industry preparation for television. It concluded that "Hollywood's 'psychological preparedness' for television was in contrast to the costly 'scepticism' with which many greeted the change from silent to sound pictures."⁵⁰ Overall, the committee felt that the film industry stood well prepared, both technically and economically, for the advent of television, but that "no change is imminent."⁵¹ Paramount's purchase in 1938 of a half interest in DuMont Laboratories—one of the innovators in television research—would appear to confirm that view. Between 1938 and 1948, other investments in television broadcasting technology on the part of the film industry would follow (chapter 5).⁵²

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Renewed Conflict: "Hollywood Good News"

However, one group within the industry viewed the increasing comfort and mutuality of the Hollywood-radio relationship with growing alarm. That group consisted of the never completely quiescent exhibitors, who saw in the prospect of television the fulfillment of their worst nightmares about radio. Added to this fear was the enormous popularity of the new "Lux Radio Theatre" movie-adaptation format, and plans announced in 1936 for a further film foray into broadcasting: the MGM-Maxwell House hour that began in late 1937 as a continuation of "Show Boat." Called variously "Hollywood Good News" or "Good News of 1938," the show used the same format pioneered by "Lux"—movie adaptations with the original stars, interspersed with "behind-the-scenes" interviews and previews of coming movie attractions—but this time Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer would act as producer, retaining all artistic and financial control, with Maxwell House as sole sponsor. For this MGM would receive \$25,000 a week from the coffee company as well as all the increased box-office appeal it could generate. In return, it threw open its entire stable of talent ("except Garbo") to the greater glory of Hollywood, radio, and Maxwell House coffee.⁵³

However, the show proved less successful than its rival. *Newsweek* wrote that radio audiences "couldn't decide whether Metro Goldwyn Mayer was trying to sell Maxwell House, or if the coffeemakers were putting out Metro Goldwyn Mayer in airtight containers." Although ratings were fairly high—a 13.2 in the first year and a 20.2 the second—MGM slowly and quietly withdrew as Fanny Brice, introduced in the show's first year, gained in popularity. By 1940, the show was known as the "Fanny Brice-Baby Snooks Hour." Most sources attribute MGM's withdrawal from the show to theater owners' protests combined with the show's excessive costs.⁵⁴

In 1936, exhibitors' complaints to Will Hays's office had again provoked the announced intention on the producers' part of setting up a special committee within the Motion Picture Producers and Directors Association (MPPDA) to "regulate stars' radio appearances."⁵⁵ Through the late 1930s studios increasingly demanded supervision of their contract players' radio dates, including one-half of any fees or salaries earned. This response effectively answered one exhibitor complaint, that "many stars have killed their value [at the box office] by unglamorous appearances on the air,"⁵⁶ without detracting much from the growing crossover of film and radio talent. Another exhibitor complaint, that Hollywood-based radio shows aired during prime theater-going hours (defined as broadly as 12 noon to 9:00 P.M. by some exhibitors)

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o. v. l. o. s. t. i. n.

led to the scheduling of shows at off hours, like the Paramount production on Sundays at 12:30 P.M., and "Lux"'s move to the 9-10:00 P.M. time slot.⁵⁷

Again in 1938, after a series of small lawsuits against the distribution practices of the major studios, exhibitor complaints focussed Justice Department attention on the movie industry. In July of that year the Justice Department filed a petition in the Southern New York District, asking finally for the divorcement of exhibition from production and distribution and citing not only the five major studios (Paramount, Fox, Loew's-MGM, Warners, and RKO) but also Columbia, Universal, and United Artists. In 1940 the companies signed a consent decree, which stopped short of divestiture but did involve a modification of current practices, including any further investment in theaters. However, the timing of the suit against Paramount's purchase of its stock in DuMont laboratories may indicate the direction at least one studio was preparing to take in the event of divestiture. In 1944 the Justice Department reopened the case, leading to the decrees of 1948 that split exhibition from production-distribution and permanently changed the face of Hollywood.⁵⁸

The movie industry was not alone in attracting the attention of federal regulators, however. Douglas Gomery suggests that the "second depression" of 1937 prompted the government to focus its criticism on large trusts and monopolies as an explanation for the economic downturn, and that the film and radio industries provided particularly large and colorful targets. The FCC initiated its investigation of chain broadcasting in November 1938, resulting ultimately in the divestiture of the NBC Blue Network, which became the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) in 1944. The creation of this third network, combined with the movie industry divestiture, would have an unforeseen effect some ten years later, when the merger of ABC with the divested United Paramount Theater Corporation finally made the last-place network into a viable operation. It also had the side effect of driving the DuMont network, partially owned by Paramount Pictures, out of business. Furthermore, while creating new and difficult business conditions for the film companies during and after divestiture, the lingering shadow of the antitrust litigation of the past two decades made the film industry's entry into the business of television much more difficult (chapters 5 and 6).⁵⁹

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The "Lux Radio Theatre of the Air"

The previous three chapters have traced several key developments that led to the increased influence of Hollywood on radio programming. The reduction of AT&T land-line rates to and from the West Coast in 1936 provided, as with its bottleneck on leasing network lines in the late 1920s, a hidden but crucial factor in the ability of Hollywood interests to participate in radio production. The growing strength of commercial sponsors in program production through the intermediary of the major advertising agencies contributed to the decline of network sustaining programs; the creation of important but as yet unrecognized loopholes in the government disposition of the "radio problem" permitted both the dominance of the two major interconnected networks and their heavy dependence on the output of the agencies.

These forces, along with the regulatory and industrial strictures set in place in the 1920s (chapters 1 and 2), constitute what might be called the macroeconomics of the film-broadcasting industry interface. They are the major factors behind the subsequent development of broadcast programming, setting the basic structures and conditions of possibility for what would come later. A traditional political economy approach to the media might stop here, having delineated the necessary—but, as Stuart Hall reminds us, not necessarily the sufficient—conditions for broadcast texts to develop as they did.¹ Hall's critique of the shortcomings of the political economy model grows out of his own theoretical approach, which conceives of the communicative act as a process consisting of three "determinate moments": the process of encoding, the message form itself, and the decoding process. Although Hall's own work, and the work of the "cultural studies" school in

general, has tended to focus on the decoding process—by which a message form is perceived and interpreted by a viewer—the moment of encoding occupies an equivalent and equally important position in the communication model.

The institutional structures of broadcasting, with their practices and networks of production, their organized relations and technical infrastructures, are required to produce a programme. . . . Of course, the production process is not without its 'discursive' aspect: it, too, is framed throughout by meanings and ideas: knowledge-in-use concerning the routines of production, historically defined technical skills, professional ideologies, institutional knowledge, definitions and assumptions, assumptions about the audience and so on frame the constitution of the programme through this production structure.²

Thus the encoding process includes not only production techniques, but also the forces behind the development of those very techniques: the institutional structures of broadcasting, organized relations, and accepted practices, all of which contribute to the message form. And although the message itself takes on a symbolic structure, expressed through language forms or codes, which does not become complete until it is received and decoded by an audience, the moment of production plays a "predominant" role, because it is the "point of departure for the realization" of the message form itself.³

Furthermore, as Hall develops in later works, encoding forces must be examined concretely, within the context of a specific historical period and specific circumstances, in order to arrive at an understanding of the symbolic constructions set in place by these institutions, and thus the range of decodings available to the receivers. Finally, this encoding process is a conflicted one, not expressing unity and consensus of intention on the part of the encoding institution, but instead reflecting the internal conflicts and struggle for dominance within and throughout the encoding process, as a "struggle and contestation for the space in which to construct an ideological hegemony."⁴ Applying Hall's model, the question then becomes, Out of the welter of competing interests, economic pressures, regulatory restrictions and social conditions that make up the institutional structures of broadcasting, how did the unique and distinctive forms of the broadcast text arise? Out of all of the possibilities for expression and use, why did American radio evolve into its characteristic segmented, serial, disrupted discourse of primarily entertainment programs? No sweeping general rule will suffice to explain these developments; instead a close look at the specific historical circumstances surrounding the origination of individual programs, pro-

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regulatory, and aesthetic issues relevant to this history. Second, the show's continuing popularity as one of the long-term highest rated on radio recommends it for study, because success itself says much about the particular context of a given text. Third, it is a key text in the history of radio programming forms, giving rise to many similar shows patterned after its success, and in its rise and fall it followed closely the major historical trends and forces more than, perhaps, a less popular, less successful, more eccentric or marginal show might. In addition, its success has ensured that more materials are available, including tapes of the shows themselves, than would exist for a lesser program, somewhat easing the problems of the historical study of radio.

Advertising Chatter

By the end of the 1930s, programs produced by advertising agencies dominated the airwaves, particularly during evening hours. According to Llewellyn White, the percentage of commercial as opposed to sustaining programs for the entire broadcast day grew from 23.6 percent in 1933 to 49.4 percent in 1944 on NBC, and on CBS from 22.9 to 47.8 percent in the same period. By 1944, evening hours consisted almost entirely of sponsored programs. In terms of concentration of advertising and programming power within the agencies themselves, by 1944 three of the nation's largest advertising agencies (J. Walter Thompson; Dancer, Fitzgerald; and Young and Rubicam) between them controlled about one-fourth of total commercial time on the three major networks. In 1945, almost half of CBS's total billings of \$65,724,362 came from only six advertising agencies representing seven sponsors.

Although Stephen Fox quotes the radio writer Carroll Carroll as saying, "You can't imagine... with what crushing surprise radio made its guerrilla attack on all advertising agencies. It caught few ready for it but all prepared to fake it," the speed and enthusiasm with which the agencies adjusted to the age of radio is attested to by James Playstead Wood: "For the first time advertising had a medium which it controlled."

Unlike magazines, heretofore the dominant advertising medium, a separation between the editorial content and the advertising adjacent to it was no longer necessary; with radio, the advertiser created the "content" as well as the commercial message.¹⁰

Although individual advertisers moved to include radio in their advertising strategies quite early—WEAF's list of clients in 1923 included Macy's, Colgate, and Metropolitan Life—some resistance to the medium existed in the more established agencies during the 1920s.

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One reason for this had to do with opposition from within the existing media market. Worried by potential competition for the advertising dollar, the newspaper and magazine industries opposed radio in its early years, influencing some agencies to take a cautious stance toward radio advertising in order to protect their good relations with established media outlets. Also, the practice of "indirect advertising," although attracting many companies through shows such as the "Lucky Strike Dance Orchestra," the "A&P Gypsies," the "Cliquot Club Eskimos," and "The Palmolive Show," limited the amount and type of advertising that could be done over the air. Before the establishment of the large networks, programs had to be placed on a station-to-station basis. Because no ratings system yet existed, many advertisers preferred not to trust the audience estimates of local stations and to stick instead with the measurable circulation figures of the print media. But with the formation of NBC in 1926, a far larger audience became possible, and both NBC and CBS took active steps to promote the concept of radio advertising. In 1930, the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting (Crossley) rating system was established as a joint venture of the American Association of Advertising Agencies and the Association of National Advertisers. According to Ralph M. Hower in his history of the N. W. Ayer advertising agency:

Until 1930, all agencies tended to look for attractive programs and then to seek advertisers who would take a fling at broadcasting. After 1930, much of the original glamor and mystery of radio had vanished, and men had to take a more realistic approach. The Ayer firm rapidly developed the view that an agency must start with the client's sales problems, determine whether radio can help, and then devise a program which will achieve specific ends in terms of sales. The complete reversal of the method is significant.¹¹

This process, of examining the client's sales problems and, if necessary, devising a radio program to fit, was often a lengthy and complex one. According to the N. W. Ayer history, the Radio Department of the agency became a separate entity in 1928. "Its duties were to assemble information about all phases of broadcast advertising, build up programs, hire talent, direct production, and handle the leasing of station time and all other details connected with broadcast programs..." The very largest sponsors, such as Procter and Gamble, created and maintained through their advertising agencies—in this case, Blackett Sample Hummert—an ongoing radio production department. Because Procter and Gamble was one of the first companies to see the immense potential in radio for advertisement of their household products, Blackett

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Program	Production	Time	Total
Lux Radio Theatre (guest movie stars)	15,000	17,300	32,300
Eddie Cantor (Texaco)	15,000	11,900	26,900
Al Jolson (Lever Bros)	12,000	10,400	22,400
Major Bowes' Amateur Hour (Chrysler)	25,000	20,100	45,100
Burns and Allen (General Foods, for Grape Nuts)	10,000	10,600	20,600
Town Hall Tonight (Fred Allen, sponsored by Bristol-Myers Co.)	10,000	15,800	25,800

Source. *Fortune*, May 1938, p. 54.

The programs are listed in order of their ratings according to the Cooperative Analysis of Broadcasting, or Crossley Report. In addition, as *Fortune* noted, "All but four of the ten 'big' shows listed... are produced in Hollywood, and so, for that matter, are most of the other important evening network programs."

As programming strategies developed, so too did the art of the radio commercial. One important feature of original radio advertising, now virtually a thing of the past, was the integrated commercial message: an advertising plug arising so smoothly out of the program action, or actually written into the narrative, that it was indistinguishable from the dramatic structure. Ma Perkins endorsed Oxydol detergent and frequently found cause to use it in the course of her domestic activities on radio. Fibber McGee and Molly likewise found frequent reasons for using Johnson's wax on their show. Allen cites a proposal for a soap opera from Irna Phillips for Kleenex in which the show opens with the main character sitting at her dressing table removing her makeup with—surprise—Kleenex.¹⁶

Jack Benny and his troupe made Jello commercials famous by working references to the product into their comic routines—although this kind of "gag" announcement could backfire, making the radio director of the *Saturday Evening Post* article advise his hypothetical client to avoid such a format. More common was the straight commercial plug read or enacted by members of the program cast. As Roland Marchand wrote, "The Maxwell House program, a pioneer in the interwoven commercial, scrupulously maintained the continuity of mood. Program characters delivered the commercials as they gathered around the table with the program host, the Old Colonel, to share coffee and reminisce about olden days at the Maxwell House Hotel (the program's setting), when Teddy Roosevelt had characterized the coffee as 'Good to the last drop.'"¹⁷ When the program cast member was a Hollywood star,

the integrated ad took on the properties of a celebrity testimonial, lending a ready-made aura of glamour to the product. The celebrity testimonial remains one of the major advertising strategies today, and the agency known for its innovations in this area is J. Walter Thompson, not surprisingly also the creators of the "Lux Radio Theatre."

The Creative Site: J. Walter Thompson

The J. Walter Thompson firm has a long history in the development of advertising. Its founder, James Walter Thompson, got his start in 1870 in New York and contributed to the rise of magazines as an advertising medium and as a part of American culture. One of the first to see the immense advertising potential in the weekly and monthly publications, Thompson's list of magazines under exclusive contract by the turn of the century included the *Atlantic*, *Century* (successor to *Scribner's*), *Harper's*, *Lippincott's*, *Godey's*, *Peterson's*, and the *North American Review*. The firm went on to become one of the prototypes of the complete advertising agency. It tended to specialize in products appealing to women as consumers, from soaps and cosmetics to food products. In 1916, Thompson sold out to a group of employees headed by Stanley Resor, who in 1917 married another top JWT employee, Helen Lansdowne. Lansdowne was one of the first women to rise to the top of the advertising profession; her influence helped to make JWT successful with the female market it pursued. Her successful campaign for Woodbury soap was influential in Procter and Gamble's 1911 decision to employ JWT to advertise its Crisco cooking oil, the first time the large consumer products company had employed an outside advertising firm. Together Helen Lansdowne and Stanley Resor managed the J. Walter Thompson firm for the next thirty years and were influential in its innovative move into radio.¹⁸

Helen Lansdowne Resor must also be credited with a JWT trademark which led directly to the "Lux Radio Theatre" strategy: the celebrity testimonial. Although the testimonial is one of the oldest advertising strategies, Resor's contribution lay in attaching the product testimonial to a famous name. Her first coup, in 1924, involved persuading Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, a New York socialite, to endorse Pond's cold cream in exchange for a hefty donation to a charity of her choice. Other "great lady" endorsements followed, including Queen Marie of Rumania, Mrs. Reginald Vanderbilt, and the Duchess de Richelieu. From the crowned heads of Europe, it was a short step to Hollywood.¹⁹

JWT's involvement in radio began in the 1920s. One of its earliest successes was the bringing together of Rudy Vallee with Fleischmann's

yeast in 1928, one of the most successful shows on the air at the time. That same year JWT sent a representative to Hollywood, one of the first of the major New York agencies to do so. This representative, later head of the Hollywood branch office established in 1934, was Daniel J. Danker, Jr., a Harvard-educated promoter who became something of a celebrity in his own right during his influential career in Hollywood. By 1930, JWT had put together radio programs for eighteen of its clients, accounting for more than twenty-three hours per week of network time.

One of JWT's more important accounts was the manufacturing giant Lever Brothers. The Cambridge, Massachusetts, company was a wholly owned subsidiary of "gigantic" Lever Brothers and Unilever Company, nominally under Dutch ownership but managed from London—in fact, according to *Fortune*, "among the three largest British investments in the U.S." Lever Brothers' U.S. product line included Rinso soap flakes, Lifebuoy health soap, Lux flakes, Lux toilet soap, Spry vegetable shortening, and a few lesser brands. In terms of sales volume in the soap and vegetable fat trade, Lever Brothers ranked second only to Procter and Gamble in the U.S. market, with earnings of more than \$90 million in 1940. For products such as these, aimed at a consumer market primarily consisting of housewives and requiring a large volume of sales to a widespread and relatively undifferentiated consumer pool, radio represented the perfect advertising medium. Both companies maintained large radio presences from the early 1930s until the switch to television. Indeed, it is possible that in terms of radio program innovation, an examination of the rivalry between the soap giants, Lever Brothers and Procter and Gamble, may reward the serious scholar far more than a study of the rivalry between the two major networks.²⁰

Large advertisers such as the two soap companies often split their accounts between several agencies. In the 1930s, JWT, Lever's first agency in the United States, handled the prestigious Lux flakes and Lux toilet soap accounts. Rinso and Spry were handled by the Ruthrauff and Ryan Agency, who also had Lifebuoy until it was given to the William Esty Agency in the mid-thirties. Another Lever product, Lipton tea, was managed by Young and Rubicam, which as of 1940 stood to gain a few more Lever accounts. Thus, although the actual creative work was accomplished within the agencies and differed in approach according to agency style and specialization, the client company made the decisions about which campaigns to select and in which medium to place them. The link and corporate identity behind advertising campaigns can be seen in the fact that in 1940 Lever Brothers maintained a total of six radio shows on the air, two during the day and four

evening shows, produced by different agencies for different products. Such data demonstrate two points: first, that the advertising agencies of the network radio era resembled today's television production companies (largely branches of Hollywood studios), which actually create and produce the shows, whereas the manufacturers and advertisers on radio resemble today's network programming departments, making the overall conceptual and scheduling decisions; and second, that the soap companies and their agencies influenced far more than the "soaps." Lever Brothers in particular was known for its sponsorship and innovation in evening prime-time shows.²¹

The Evolution of "Lux"

Conceptually, the beginnings of the "Lux Radio Theatre" radio show can be traced to the celebrity advertising campaign developed by the J. Walter Thompson Agency for Lux toilet soap. As noted, JWT frequently relied upon the celebrity testimonial, and in the case of Lux soap had become known by 1928 for its use of Hollywood star endorsements. Magazine copy demonstrates a progression from the generically chic society ladies of 1925 to specific celebrities. For example, in a 1928 advertisement, E. Mason Hopper, a "director for Pathé DeMille" states, "Beauty may be 'only skin deep' but nothing is more essential than the loveliness of a girl's skin. A star's adoring public and exacting director demand that beauty first of all." This opinion is accompanied by a picture of Phyllis Haver, who confirms the issue by stating, "No star can hope to look lovely unless she has really velvety smooth skin—studio skin. Lux Toilet Soap leaves my skin so gently smooth that I have no fear of the high powered lights of the close-up." A 1929 advertisement features the "Wampas Baby Stars," who "all use Lux Toilet Soap for smooth skin" and the famous line, "Nine out of ten screen stars use Lux Toilet Soap." Although a few of Lever's other products use the occasional star endorsements, the campaigns for Lux soap flakes and Lifebuoy, for example, remain distinctly different, the one emphasizing the "gentleness" of the flakes on hands and clothing, the other developing the famous "B.O." theme and emphasizing health aspects. Lux soap's focus on Hollywood celebrities led directly to the strategy behind its radio show.

One person who must be given credit for the success of Lux's appeal is Danker, the JWT Hollywood bureau head, who handled negotiations with screen stars and other personnel so successfully that, according to *Fortune*, most stars were not even paid for their endorsements. "Making the right friends and doing favors for them with the flair of

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an Irish politician, Danker succeeded partly by sheer personality, and later on by pointing out to picture players that Lux testimonials meant free national advertising. Finally it became fashionable for actresses to sign exclusive releases for Lux. Whether or not this is strictly true, the fact does remain that Lux, via Danker, was singularly adept at obtaining these endorsements. However, some of this luck may also be linked to the hefty fees paid to stars on the "Lux Radio Theatre," who frequently doubled in the other advertisements. Danker remains a key figure behind the radio show; his good relations with the studios and their executives and personalities helped in obtaining studio cooperation along with a perception of the radio show as a boost for film publicity rather than competition. Although once he had gotten the show off the ground Danker's day-to-day participation seems not to have been critical, he functioned as chief negotiator for film properties and stars, a process in which his flamboyant personal lifestyle apparently served him well.²²

The "Lux Radio Theatre" was created by JWT for Lever Brothers in 1934 as a vehicle for radio versions of Broadway plays; it was to be similar to the popular "First Nighter" program, also broadcast from New York City. Starting on the NBC network on Sunday afternoons, it switched to CBS in 1935 and to the more favorable 9:00 P.M. Monday time slot, where it stayed for the rest of its radio existence. When ratings began to slump in the second year, attributed by one source to a "severe shortage of adaptable Broadway material," J. Walter Thompson assigned the young account executive Danny Danker to the task of pulling up the show's ratings. Mindful of the success of "Hollywood Hotel" and of the increasing practice of using Hollywood talent in variety shows, Danker made the recommendation that the show move in its entirety to Hollywood. With AT&T service to the West Coast finally improved and affordable, JWT approved the change and "Lux" broadcast "live from Hollywood" for the first time on June 1, 1936. Danker is also credited with the decision to hire Cecil B. DeMille as emcee.²³

The decision to hire DeMille was critical in setting the tone that led to the program's success. The factors that led to the decision, however, are clearly presaged in JWT's previous radio experience and practice, particularly with its most successful show of the time, the "Fleischmann's Yeast Hour," a variety show hosted by Rudy Vallee. Put on the air in 1929, this show pioneered many of the elements of the variety series, creating spin-offs in situation comedy, drama, and even documentary form that later became staples of radio broadcasting. Vallee himself served as emcee-announcer, bringing a different group of guests together

each week in the setting of a fictional nightclub created, like the theater of "First Nighter," from the endless flexibility of time and space available to radio. Vallee's role as the nightclub host allowed him to provide the same kind of framework and interconnections later supplied by DeMille for "Lux": introducing the show, performing numbers himself, then bringing out the different guests, even working the commercial announcements into the fabric of the show:

During a simulated intermission the host, crooner Rudy Vallee, sauntered among the tables introducing his guest to fans until they happened to overhear a conversation at one table. Vallee said, "Let's listen," to his friend (and to the radio audience). A change in tone quality signaled a change in microphone; then the radio listener found himself joining Vallee in eavesdropping on a young couple who were marveling at the man's great success in business since he had been taking Fleischmann's Yeast.²⁴

To further the fictional device, Vallee's guest introductions often took the form of a personal reminiscence, as he recounted how he had met the guests and realized how perfect they would be for his show.

By setting Vallee up not only as on-air host, but also as producer, writer, director, and talent scout for the program, Vallee tied tighter together the dramatic illusion desired by the program's true producers, JWT and Fleischmann's, by obscuring the functions of the advertising agency and sponsor personnel in creating the program. Vallee acted as a kind of screen behind which the commercial interests of the variety hour could hide. His presence emphasized the program's entertainment function over its economic purpose—a goal constantly pursued by the broadcasting industry. In fact, as Marchand quotes a J. Walter Thompson internal memo, "The facts are that Vallee doesn't know now what is going to be rehearsed this afternoon. He doesn't write one word of the script. All of the things about how he first met these people, etc., we make up for him." The strategy had proved so successful, according to the JWT memo, that "all the theatrical publications are now hailing Vallee as the greatest showman in radio."²⁵

JWT employed an identical strategy with the "Lux Radio Theatre." In many ways the decision to hire DeMille as the emcee-host, then, contributed more than any one other element to the character of the show; the entire structure would be created around the personality, or persona, of the host. Thus DeMille was similarly perceived by his audience as the main creative force behind the program, personally selecting film properties, inviting stars to recreate or reinterpret the roles in the film, bringing them out during "intermission" or at the end of the show for an informal chat during which the sponsor's product

balance between the interests of the studios and the interests of the advertiser would collapse. For example, should the advertiser demand that the adaptation of *Casablanca* be rewritten to show Ingrid Bergman using Lux soap before she goes out to the climactic meeting with Bogart, the studio, in this case Warner, would be rightfully indignant about misuse of its commercial property, and benefit would cease to accrue to the studio in terms of favorable publicity for its own product. On the other hand, should the film property and personas of the stars be allowed to dominate the commercial message completely, or should the commercials come to be seen as an annoying and unnecessary interruptions, benefit to the advertiser for such an expensive show would be reduced greatly. Hence the utility of the "frame," or staging of the show, in "Lux"'s case accomplished so ably by DeMille—and by the team of agency copywriters headed by Carroll Carroll, whose task it was to compose the frame and to integrate it within the fabric of the evening.

This frame underwent changes as the radio show progressed and gained in popularity and prestige. The earliest shows, such as "Lux"'s initial Hollywood broadcast of "The Legionnaire and the Lady" (based on the 1930 Paramount film *Morocco*), featured far more direct hype for both Lux products and for current and forthcoming studio projects, with more direct involvement in actual commercial endorsements by DeMille and studio personnel. During the broadcast, DeMille used one "intermission" segment to bring forward Fred Datig, casting director of Paramount Studios, who endorsed Lux Toilet Soap in these terms: "I look for players who screen well—who have lovely figures, good features, and fine complexions. This means a lot to both stars and extras—Lux Toilet Soap is the official soap over on the Paramount lot and every other great studio in Hollywood."²⁶

To even out the balance of publicity power during the evening, at the end of the broadcast DeMille introduced Jesse Lasky, who spoke for a few minutes of Paramount stars and productions, mentioning Adolph Zukor and Samuel Goldwyn in the course of his talk, and ending with a final glowing recommendation for Lux soap. During the following interviews with Marlene Dietrich and Clark Gable, stars of the evening's broadcast, each managed to insert a plug for his or her upcoming film. Dietrich further reinforced the Hollywood glamour of the production by singing "Falling in Love Again" from *The Blue Angel*. DeMille closed with a further short endorsement of several productions about to be released by Paramount and other leading studios.

This, however, was a somewhat atypical broadcast, because it represented the program's Hollywood premiere and included a larger than

usual studio audience composed of leading Hollywood figures. Later, as production became more routine, the show became a vehicle for Lux soap flakes advertising, rather than the toilet soap. A separate, less prestigious announcer was used to narrate the commercials, which were inserted at two different "intermissions" occurring at roughly twenty-minute intervals. And although lesser-known stars sometimes directly mentioned Lux soap in their post-program talks, Hollywood's hotter properties confined their enthusiasm to studio, rather than Lever Brothers, products.

A more typical structure of the "Lux Radio Theatre" went something like the following: After a transition announcement about "Lux"'s imminent broadcast by the network announcer, a blare of trumpets and a musical fanfare preceded the famous "And now... Lux Presents HOLLYWOOD!" [more fanfare] "Ladies and Gentlemen... your producer... MR. CECIL B. DEMILLE," over applause from the studio audience. DeMille then took over the microphone, gave his greetings and a bit of chit-chat, and announced the upcoming attraction and stars, working in at least one relatively low-key plug for the Lux product. Then, as a different musical score appropriate to the film about to be heard played in the background, DeMille in effect exited from the commercial frame of the show and entered the fictional construction, playing the role of the dramatic narrator essential to setting up the scene for the action to follow. In the analysis of the adaptation of "Dark Victory" that follows, it is evident how important the role of the narrator was in making this transition, not only from commercial to dramatic setting, but also from visual to purely aural presentation of the narrative. The actors then took over, in a version of the film property in which most details of action, character, and setting had been compressed into dialogue and in which sound effects played an important part.

Then, between acts of the three-part presentation, intermission was called. The transition from dramatic material to outright commercial was accomplished by a musical cue and applause, followed by the voice of the program's commercial announcer, who narrated the commercial announcement itself. After the advertisement for Lux soap flakes—which could run on for two minutes or more—DeMille came back on the air in his "bridging" function, leading back into the narrative. A similar testimonial was enacted at the end of the hour after the close of DeMille's narrative and a commercial announcement; DeMille then brought out one or more stars or technical personnel such as make-up experts or costume designers, often leading the conversation to the utility of Lux soap in the normal Hollywood work day. After this, with

further musical bridging and thanks and congratulations all around, the show closed.²⁷

"Dark Victory"

The Academy Award-nominated film *Dark Victory* starred Bette Davis, Humphrey Bogart, and George Brent in its theatrical version. I choose to examine this film's adaptation to a "Lux" episode for pragmatic as well as theoretical reasons. First, this particular program happens to be one for which an audio recording is available; not all of the "Lux" episodes were recorded for posterity, and of those that were, not many are available outside archives or museum settings. Second, the success of *Dark Victory* both as a film and as a "Lux" episode makes it worthy of consideration; audiences found it to be a particularly satisfying film, and the ratings for the broadcast version testify to the accuracy of spokesmen's reports that "the most popular plays... are those which are supposed to appeal more directly to women: plays such as 'Dark Victory', 'The Constant Nymph', or 'Wuthering Heights'."²⁸

Third, this particular program has a more interesting history than most: beginning as a moderately successful Broadway play by George Brewer and Bertram Bloch, it enjoyed a fifty-one-performance run at the Plymouth Theatre in New York, opening on November 7, 1934, and starred Tallulah Bankhead as Judith Traherne.²⁹ Purchased by Warner shortly thereafter, it was next performed on "Lux" in a lesser-known version starring Barbara Stanwyck and Melvyn Douglas that aired on April 4, 1938. It is unclear whether this release occurred before or after the decision to film the story had been made. In 1939, *Dark Victory* appeared in its best-known reincarnation as a theatrical film, starring Bette Davis, George Brent, Humphrey Bogart, Ronald Reagan, and Geraldine Fitzgerald, among others. The adaptation was written by Casey Robinson, the director was Edmund Goulding. In general, the film was received as a standard tearjerker, "emotional flim-flam," a "goopy collection of cliches," and "a glutinous star vehicle,"³⁰ but audiences flocked to see it. Next came the second, more prestigious "Lux" version, starring Davis and Spencer Tracy, that aired on January 8, 1940, presumably leading up to or reinforcing the film's Academy Award nomination for best picture. In 1963, the property was remade as *Stolen Hours* starring Susan Hayward; the made-for-television version followed in 1975 as "Dark Victory," starring Elizabeth Montgomery. Goopy and glutinous the story may be, but obviously possessed of staying power.³¹

Framing the Narrative

Analysis of the "Lux Radio Theatre" version of the film *Dark Victory* is complicated, however, by the multiple frames or contexts, involved in the presentation of the material, all of which contribute to the overall meaning of the program. It is important to establish, first, the pertinent material of this analysis, an issue often made difficult in the analysis of broadcast forms. Rather than an uninterrupted presentation of a clearly discrete, coherent, and autonomous work (as in the case of a theatrical film), the broadcast presentation intersperses the primary dramatic material with commercial announcements, commentary, and promotional material having to do with upcoming programs, the network or station itself, etc: what Raymond Williams refers to as the "flow" of the television discourse.³²

The same is true for radio; indeed, because network radio originated this "flow," it is especially pertinent to study its utility within the overall institution of broadcasting, as well as its function in the show itself. This notion is particularly relevant to radio program analysis in that, unlike television's spot advertising structure, where relatively unrelated materials are joined by the networks or stations in a relatively unpremeditated manner, network radio operated by signing over the entire time slot to one sponsor, thus putting the entire range of material broadcast in the hands of one unifying creative department. To concentrate merely on the ostensible "subject" of a broadcast program, then, as many studies have done, is to create an artificial and unrepresentative construct having little relation to the real broadcast event as it was both produced and experienced.

Thus three dominant institutions are concerned in the production of "Lux": the network or broadcasting institution, the commercial purpose of the sponsor as mediated by its advertising agency, and the "Hollywood" institution, which provides the dramatic heart of the program. These dominant interests can be seen in the structures of the text, in what I will refer to as frames. By the term *frame* I refer to recognizable units of textual structure and organization that reflect, and result from, the interests and goals of the different groups concerned in its production. I use the term *frame* first to represent the limiting and determining function of each level of radio discourse, by which the "textualized" needs and interests of each successive institution to a certain extent "contain" and control the next; and second, because it often occurs in discussions of discursive structures. For instance, in his "Encoding and Decoding" article, Stuart Hall refers to the "meanings and ideas" that "frame" the constitution of the program within

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the communication structure. A definition of the term *frame* in Hall's work, and as I will use it, might be "a discrete, identifiable structure of codes or signifying practices used by an institution." This adds to Erving Goffman's use of the term as the "organization of experience" or "definitions of a situation... built up in accordance with principles of organization which govern events" by postulating an element of intent, of organized interest that produces meaning, as opposed to Goffman's more passive, empiricist definition (e.g., organization is simply "there," we perceive it).³³

Each frame represents the site of intersection and "textualization" of the intentions and participation of one identifiable group or institution involved in its production; each frame, in turn, employs its own structure of codes and signifying practices to produce "meanings and ideas." The outside frame, Frame 1, mediates through various types of narrative or forms of address the conventions, needs, and economics of "a program on radio." Frame 1 reflects primarily the interests of the network, consisting of scheduling, time constraints, and the general economic structure and function of network broadcasting, which sells time on the air for money, promising exposure to an audience through linkage with a number of local broadcasting stations. Frame 1 also functions to reconcile the commercial purposes of broadcast radio with the regulatory structures of the federal government. It is made apparent in the text, not only through largely "invisible" limiting and structuring factors—such as time limitations, acceptance and scheduling of programs, and technical and content restrictions—but also through the voice of the network announcer, which leads into and out of the program, or may intervene for station identification (and a reminder that the network is there) during the show. This frame is the largest context for radio analysis and would affect almost any program on radio similarly. Frame 2 articulates the commercial function of the program: the interests of the sponsor as mediated by its chosen advertising agency. In terms of program material, then, Frame 2 includes the sponsor's introduction of the program, the narrator's presentation of the content of a specific show, the commercial messages themselves, and other materials belonging to the program but not to the film adaptation itself. In the case of "Lux," this frame is divided between the outright commercial interests—the voice of the sponsor's spokesman and other characters featured in the actual commercials for Lux soap flakes—and the "Hollywood" component of the program, personified by "producer" Cecil B. DeMille.

The Hollywood referent is an important component of Frame 2. Because Lever Brothers and JWT chose this particular kind of program

precisely because of the glamour, prestige, and "pre-marketed" interest a Hollywood-based advertising strategy could add to a marketing campaign, the choice of DeMille as narrator was critical to the program's success. DeMille's invocation of the Hollywood mystique, introduction of stars, background information on the film properties, references to studios and backstage personnel, conversations with celebrities, and so on are used, implicitly and explicitly, to tie the appeal of Hollywood to the Lux soap product. Without this mediating frame, within which Hollywood interests (promoting films, stars, and general atmosphere for future box-office impact) could be brought forward, little would exist to either attract studio support of the effort or to distinguish these film adaptation programs from the general run of serials and original radio dramas that made up the bulk of radio dramatic programming. Almost all film adaptation programs employed this second frame in some way, although "Lux," through judicious use of the DeMille persona, was able to give the Hollywood frame far more weight and glamour than some of its competitors, perhaps one of the reasons for its leading position in program popularity.

The third and inner frame consists of what could (and later, with television, would) be called "the program itself": the adaptation of the film of the evening. This is the dramatic material used as "bait" for the other frames, the central core of entertainment or interest used to draw listeners to the radio set. However, unlike the dramatic structure of the traditional theatrical film, whose economics dictate a form quite different from the radio program, the "inner frame" of the broadcast program is permeable, segmented, not marked by forms and discursive practices designed to tie the entire work together in a seamless whole, but rather designed to be interrupted, to lend itself to segmentation and disruption, to provide opportunities for the audience not only to enter the diegesis but to exit it as well (but only as far as the surrounding frame). Because this disruption, this permeability, is a dominant characteristic of the commercial broadcast discourse, both in radio and television—and a necessary one to broadcast economics as they developed in this country—the transitions from one frame to another become particularly important.

Transitions play a crucial role in the broadcast text because they provide the integrating force that unites the work and the various (and in some ways competing) aesthetic and economic needs of and for which the program is constructed. Music is the device most commonly used to effect and to mark transitions, but it is frequently reinforced by narrative explanations. In the following discussion of the show, the transitions will be given particular consideration, for it is here that the

seams in the continuous and smoothly flowing broadcast narrative are revealed, along with the "sutures" required to lead the listener into the text. In textual transitions some of broadcast's codes are revealed as they attempt to obscure some of the forces at work behind the scenes.

Roland Barthes, discussing the codes at work in the novel, states "our society takes the greatest pains to conjure away the coding of the narrative situation... the reluctance to declare its codes characterizes bourgeois society and the mass culture issuing from it: both demand signs which do not look like signs." The radio program's framing structure, by which the listener is led from the narrational situation into the artificial construct of the narrative, corresponds to the examples Barthes uses of "narrational devices which seek to naturalize the subsequent narrative by feigning to make it the outcome of some natural circumstance and thus, as it were, 'disinaugurating' it"—such as epistolary novels, manuscripts supposedly discovered by the author, stories told to the author by some participant, films that begin before the credits, without the "marker" that states "this is a film," and so on. (One thinks of the elaborate narrational framing of semiotician Umberto Eco's popular novel, *The Name of the Rose*).³⁴

And, although all forms of creative expression act to obscure some of their generative forces and techniques, the broadcast medium is particularly adept. The reasons for this again can be traced back to the fundamental economic structures of broadcasting, by which entertainment is used as bait for commercial messages. Because time is held captive by both the broadcast and the film—both must take place in a set pattern, during a set time, unlike reading a printed text—the ability of the audience to skip over or screen out commercial material is greatly reduced. In order to hold the audience's attention, overtly commercial material—which in itself may have limited entertainment value, or which the audience may resist, or, more important in the broadcast institution, which may not necessarily be construed as serving the public interest, convenience, or necessity—must be surrounded and enclosed by more appealing material in an attempt to obscure the hook behind the worm, the purpose behind the text. Hence the elaborate framing mechanism of the broadcast discourse.

Frame 1

The "Lux Radio Theatre"'s presentation of "Dark Victory" opened with the first, important transition from Frame 1, the broadcasting frame, to Frame 2, the program-as-program, the radio program aware of itself as such and not embarrassed to reveal its commercial purpose. As with most transitions in radio, music plays an important part in

"cuing" the listener, as does the applause of the "live studio audience," drawing on conventions already well established and understood by 1936. With the well-known declaration, "Lux Presents Hollywood!" made by the show's announcer, followed by a rising musical overture of the show's theme, the program effects an exit from what was, at this time, the rather "vacant" world of the network into the sponsored program; CBS, as the network most receptive to the programming needs of its commercial sponsors, tended during prime time to fade from the foreground almost completely. Thus the transition from Frame 1 to Frame 2 is rather suppressed, existing more in significant absence than in presence, especially on CBS, the advertisers' network. NBC during this period remained somewhat more obtrusive, in keeping with its organization and economics.³⁵

Frame 2

The transition from Frame 1 to Frame 2 would be followed by the announcer's introduction: "The Lux Radio Theatre brings you Bette Davis and Spencer Tracy in 'Dark Victory'. Ladies and gentlemen, your producer, Mr. Cecil B. DeMille!" [music rises to climax, applause]. The announcer's role in the case of this program took on overtones of the theatrical variety show or vaudeville, providing the "Lux Radio Theatre" with a plausible means of exiting from the previously broadcast material and entering the world of the Hollywood spectacle presided over by DeMille. After the applause died down, DeMille would confirm the unique "Hollywood" element of the second frame with the equally well-known line "Greetings from Hollywood, ladies and gentlemen." He would then launch into the introductory "frame" material so carefully prepared by J. Walter Thompson scriptwriters, combining Hollywood lore and glamour—in the case of this broadcast, the recent Oscar awards won by Davis and Tracy—with an initial plug for the sponsor's product, given an equal dramatic weight by DeMille's charged delivery. "Tonight even the unemotional lights in front of the Lux Radio Theatre have a special glow of pride in our players and our play, 'Dark Victory'. Our stage is set for a prize-winning achievement—and so is the stage in your home, when Lux Flakes is starred. Many domestic producers have discovered that casting Lux Flakes in a leading role is good business at the household box office."³⁶

This rather forced analogy is a typical feature of the "Lux" interior frame. To use another example, after an adaptation of the W. C. Fields movie *Poppy*, Fields and co-star Anne Shirley spoke with DeMille as follows: after a short humorous monologue in which Fields recounted his experiences as a "valet de chambre" to a circus elephant and refers

to his face turning red as a result of a small boy mistaking his nose for that of an elephant, Anne Shirley giggled and stated, "But Mr. Fields, don't you know that anything washed in Lux never changes color? Might I recommend that you dip your trunk—I mean, nose, excuse me!—into a noggin of those beautiful Lux suds?" Fields then replied, "Madame, do you too wish to impugn my honor? I shall be heckled no more! Mr. DeMille, I bid you good night!"³⁷

For "Dark Victory," however, the Oscar nominees were not subject to such crass commercialization—so as not to tarnish this particularly highly burnished Hollywood gloss, no taint of hucksterism was allowed too close to Davis or Tracey. Instead, atypically, the two stars were never required to talk about anything other than the Hollywood component, including their recent and forthcoming films and small plugs for other studio-related material. During this particular "Lux" performance, the actual commercials were all read by the show's announcer (not DeMille, but a faceless voice later given credit by DeMille as Mel Ruick). For the first "intermission," the transition occurred immediately following the show's first major climax: after the operation on Davis's brain tumor, the doctor closed the first act with the line, "She'll die within a year" [rising tragic music, crash of gong, applause]. The announcer's voice then came on the air saying, "You have just heard Act 1 of 'Dark Victory' starring Spencer Tracy and Bette Davis. Mr. DeMille brings you Act 2 in just a minute. But first, I have some important news for you. Listen a moment, and you'll hear how it sounds on the wires [sound of telegraph key]. The telegraph key is saying just three words. Here's what they are: New Quick Lux. Yes, that's our big news for millions of housewives."³⁸

A dialogue then ensued between the announcer and another commercial character, introduced as "Sally," who interjected, "You know, I thought Lux flakes just couldn't be improved. They're so swell!" After a minute-long promotion of Lux flakes, the announcer closed the commercial and effected the transition back to the second frame with the words, "Now our producer, Mr. DeMille." DeMille came back on the air—with a shift of microphones to produce a slightly more "distanced" effect than the close-up mike techniques used in the commercial announcement, creating an impression of theatrical space—to announce: "Act 2 of 'Dark Victory', starring Spencer Tracy as Dr. Frederick Steele and Bette Davis in the role of Judith Traherne, with Earline Tuttle as Ann" [theme music up, then falling under DeMille's voice]. DeMille then shifted into the other important aspect of his role as emcee, that of narrator.

A similar transition occurred during the second intermission. After rising music and the familiar gong crash, the announcer said, "In just a moment, Mr. DeMille brings you Act 3 of 'Dark Victory'" and then proceeded with another conversation with "Sally" extolling the virtues of Lux flakes, during the course of which a testimonial letter from a Lux user was read. At the end of this commercial the hour's sole overt manifestation of Frame 1, the "network" frame, occurred, as a voice said, "This is the Columbia Broadcasting System." Frame 2 quickly reasserted itself with rising music and DeMille's introduction to the third act. The routine varied slightly with the final commercial break after the conclusion of the play. This transition exited not only to the commercial framework but also introduced the main part of the Hollywood component, usually occurring in the form of a dialogue between DeMille and the stars of the performance after its conclusion. This time the announcer would state, "In just a moment Mr. DeMille returns with our stars" and close with "Now Mr. DeMille is bring our stars to the microphone."

Thus Frame 2 is dominated by the persona of DeMille, who served as an important bridge between the commercial purposes of the program and the Hollywood component, not only in his persona, but also in his function as he introduced the inner frame and provided the first and last commercial plugs. Rather than disrupt the flow of the fictional narrative with an abrupt transition to the commercial voice, DeMille's function as the narrator and master of ceremonies allowed the "closed" and fictional world of the film adaptation to give way gradually to the alien voice of the Lux salesman, smoothing over what otherwise would be an abrupt "break" between closed fictional narrative and the direct address of the commercial announcement and mediating between the conflicting needs of the show's commercial sponsors, on the one hand, and the demands of the Hollywood fictional film on the other. Although as the broadcast medium developed, and its forms became conventionalized and accepted, this buffering function became abbreviated, it can still be seen on broadcast television in the form of program "markers": logos or still frames, often with a voice-over, marking the transition from program to advertisement.

As previously noted, the Hollywood elements involved in the production of the "Lux Radio Theatre" played an important role in its overall popularity and in the "mise-en-oreille" of the program as a whole. DeMille played the role of the Hollywood impresario, bringing stars and screenplays together for an appreciative audience, constantly involved in the creative process of bringing the glamour of Hollywood

to the air. The following excerpt from his opening introduction on the "Dark Victory" broadcast is a good example.

If there's a little more grey in my hair this week, believe me it came from the task of finding the right dramatic material for such splendid artists as Bette Davis and Spencer Tracy. In fact we considered and rejected dozens of plays before selecting the one we think is perfect, "Dark Victory." As a producer, I've always disliked the type of play known as a "vehicle," one that's designed for the actor instead of the audience. And when there are two noted players in a cast, there's a double danger that the play will turn out to be a double vehicle. But "Dark Victory" has grip and power and human appeal. And when our curtain falls on the third act, I believe you'll agree with me that this play is really a great emotional experience. Each woman in our audience will unconsciously put herself in the place of Judith Traherne; each man will wonder what he would have done as Dr. Frederick Steele."³⁹

At the end of the program, DeMille traditionally interviewed the stars of that night's performance and perhaps included a commercial message within the interview. For "Dark Victory," DeMille led Davis and Tracy into a conversation that focussed firmly on Hollywood, with the stars discussing their mutual regard for and past appearances with each other. However, at the end, Davis was allowed to inquire, "What are you planning for the 'Lux Radio Theatre' next week, Mr. DeMille?" and after DeMille's announcement that the next week's broadcast would be "Sing You Sinners" with Bing Crosby and a few further credits, she closed the show with "I know we're all going to enjoy that, Mr. DeMille"—a fairly standard exchange for the better-known performers. In general, the closing interviews provided an opportunity for the unseen radio audience to "listen in" on an informal, out-of-character chat among the famous director and the stars of the performance just heard, and perhaps recently viewed in the theater. The intimacy of the radio experience gave audiences the chance to participate in a casual moment with the stars, often involving a small joke or piece of monkey business, in their off-screen personas—an opportunity rarely accorded film viewers before the days of television. This listening in, intimate atmosphere also enhanced the efficacy of the commercial message—if Anne Shirley or Evelyn Keys happened to endorse Lux soap casually, how much more compelling than a regular commercial. The air of intimacy cultivated by the stars and host of the show could also be used in their absence to sell the product: before beginning the narration of the 1946 performance of "To Have and Have Not," host William Keighly implicated the "Bogart family" (Lauren Bacall and Humphrey

Bogart, that night's stars) in a Lux endorsement, although they never spoke for themselves in the matter:

To bring the Bogart family to rehearsals, we had to lure them from their brand new mountain home... if you should drop in on a friendly visit of inspection, as I did, you'd find Lux flakes doing their part in washing curtains, bedspreads, blankets, etc. etc. etc. When I commented on this fact, Bogie assured me that on his fifty-four-foot yawl in Newport Harbor, which is the Bogart's home away from home, Lux flakes are a standard part of the equipment, making this family loyal to Lux flakes on land and sea."⁴⁰

These endorsements, whether actual or imputed, provided the necessary smooth transition, or suture, between the commercial function of the program and one of its entertainment functions, the glimpse into Hollywood and its processes. But the other function of the host of the show, whether DeMille or one of his successors, tied this secondary commercial-entertainment function to the inner frame, or primary dramatic material of the evening. The narration, together with sound effects and music, made it possible to condense and take away the visual aspects of a film, yet still present a recognizable narrative.

The Inner Frame

One of the first tasks facing the scriptwriters of the "Lux Radio Theatre" consisted of attempting to squeeze an hour and one-half to two hours of visually dramatic material into a fifty-minute, audio-only narrative. Although some films made the translation better than others, the basic Hollywood precept of narrative always received primary consideration—the narrative had to make sense as a story, possessing a beginning, middle, and end—no matter what kind of thematic and symbolic reduction had to take place to achieve this. This is certainly the case with "Dark Victory," in which most elements not directly related to the relationship of Judith with Dr. Steele were jettisoned immediately. In addition, economics of production mandated that as few actors and actresses be used as possible: because of DeMille's salary, substantial fees paid to the studios for the use of their stars, plus the Hollywood-style production values of the program, the cost of producing the show was heavy. In order to afford the top stars who provided the show's main appeal, cuts had to be made in other places. Where it proved impossible to eliminate peripheral or minor characters from the radio version, the show's regular staff of relatively unknown talent came into play.

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The basic plot of "Dark Victory," in stage, screen, and broadcast version, involves the character of Judith Traherne (Bette Davis), a young, wealthy Long Island socialite, who is diagnosed by Dr. Steele (George Brent, Spencer Tracy) a brain specialist, as having a brain tumor. Although an operation performed by Dr. Steele temporarily relieves her symptoms, her "prognosis negative" means that she has only a few months to live. Despite the efforts of her secretary-companion, Ann (Geraldine Fitzgerald, Earline Tuttle) and those of Dr. Steele, with whom a love interest develops, to keep her imminent demise a secret from Judith, the truth slips out and a period of wild living and denial of her feelings for Steele follows. During this period brief dalliances with a playboy figure (played by Ronald Reagan in the film version) and her stable manager (Humphrey Bogart) occur, but only lead her to realize that to die "decently, beautifully, finely" she must stop denying her fear and admit her love for Steele. They marry and move to Vermont, where Steele has set up a laboratory to conduct serious research. Soon thereafter, the fatal symptom of darkening vision occurs, and Judith dies after first having selflessly sent her husband away to receive an award for his work.

In the radio version of the story the playboy character played in the film by Ronald Reagan is eliminated entirely; the stable manager's role played by an oddly miscast Humphrey Bogart is not only reduced, but also changed significantly. The relationships between Ann and Judith, and between Ann and Steele, through simplification become much more schematized and sparse in connotation. In addition, the lack of time and background information reduces the complexity of characterization overall. Characters become in many cases little more than stereotypes, thus limiting the realistic and affecting properties of the text. To substitute for lack of depth in the radio diegesis, the role of the narrator, performed once again by "our producer, Mr. Cecil B. DeMille," becomes crucial.

DeMille must accomplish two primary functions in the structure of the "Lux Radio Theatre." First, to compensate for the reduced amount of dramatic material necessitated by the time constraints of the broadcast version, he provides bridges that summarize and provide background material for the story; second, this narration must lead the listeners smoothly into and out of the inner frame of fictional diegesis, back to the commercial frame. As an example of the former function, as DeMille returns the listener to the inner frame after the second commercial break, he states (over a musical transition): "With only a few months of life before her, Judith Traherne lives desperately, cramming her days and nights with excitement, striving vainly to forget."

Here the words "desperately," "cramming," and "excitement," although unable fully to translate the twenty minutes of screen time devoted to this plot development, still manage to convey important information regarding Judith's activities and frame of mind. DeMille follows this line with, "At a horse show in New York, her reckless jumping has won her first prize, and now she stands at the bar, receiving the [slight pause] congratulations of her friends." Thus the scene is set, and although it takes an attentive listener to pick up on DeMille's slightly ironic use of the word "congratulations" (following the term "reckless"), which indicates the damage done by Judith to her reputation and standing with her friends during the preceding period, enough information is given to smooth the transition back into the narrative as it proceeds.

To accomplish the second task of the narrator, the "Lux Radio Theatre" quite deliberately and specifically leads the interpretation back to the "Hollywood" frame by playing up the stars of each evening's performance in monologue and interview, clearly establishing the actor or actress's presence in the production, often of a more intimate level than possible in the filmic production. Thus, although we cannot see Bette Davis as Judith Traherne in the radio version, we are made well aware of her real-life presence in the broadcast studio and of her star qualities by DeMille's beginning monologue. Throughout the show, although the character created on radio may not be as convincing or as affecting as the one created in the film, we are aware of the presence of Davis as that character—perhaps more so, because the relative permeability of the radio text disrupts our process of identifying the actress as fully with the character she plays—and because the much shorter time period allotted to the drama forces a simplification and reduction of its dramatic material.

The transformation of "Dark Victory" into a broadcast production, then, involves a process of simplification and segmentation that encloses the narrative within a series of intentional frames and provides frequent transitions from one to another. This strategy may also begin to account for one of the characteristics of the broadcast message, its seemingly shallow diegesis, constantly subject to interruptions and self-referential elements that contrast with the intense identification demanded by the film: DeMille's function in "Lux" is in effect to lead the viewer repeatedly out of the fictional frame, back to an awareness of those concerned in its production, who then in turn endorse a product. In other words, the audience is led, not deeper into the fictional world created by the drama, into the thoughts of its characters and deeper consideration of its themes, but instead is constantly pulled back,

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interrupted, made aware of the presence of stars and producer—of Bette Davis, not Judith Traherne, of Spencer Tracy, not Dr. Steele, of DeMille the showman—and thence led to the product being advertised.

Structures of the Commercial Broadcast Text

The Hollywood film has traditionally been regarded as a “closed” representational system using a predominantly linear method of plot development and strict adherence to a realistic aesthetic demanding a tightly controlled diegesis.⁴¹ No extraneous information is contained within the frame, nothing occurs that cannot be accounted for by the demands of the narrative and the conventions of the traditional style. The conventions of the “classic Hollywood film” include such techniques as point-of-view construction and self-effacing narration, which intensify the spectator’s identification with the characters on the screen and heighten his or her involvement with the “realistic” enclosed world created by the film. This is certainly the case with the film version of *Dark Victory*, which changes the progression and location of the narrative to correct any “artificiality” resulting from the work’s original stage setting. For instance, instead of the first scene occurring in Dr. Steele’s office, as in the play, the film begins with a scene in which Judith falls from a horse as a result of tumor-induced double vision, to avoid the awkwardness of a flashback or an overdependence on dramatic dialogue to establish previous events.

The broadcast text, on the other hand, has frequently been characterized as “disjointed,” with a relatively shallow diegesis that disallows the intense identification with the narrative so prevalent in film. John Ellis sees the television image as “engaging the look and the glance rather than the gaze [of the film spectator].” Television viewing’s “random quality,” with spectators “drifting in and out of the viewing experience over a period of time,” has the effect of “greatly minimizing the possibilities for spectator engagement,” producing low viewer involvement, according to Farrell Corcoran.⁴² Although these writers and others attribute the source of television’s unique qualities to different aspects of the broadcast medium—its multiple and varied texts, constant shifting of modes of address, continuous presence in the home, the use habits of its viewers, and its heavy reliance on the sound component of its discourse—each of these “causes” can be seen as secondary characteristics, deriving from structures, both textual and economic, originated by the early radio programs. The broadcast text as developed in the United States on the commercial networks is fundamentally a segmented, disrupted, permeable discourse because it was created by

and for advertisers, for the express purpose of capturing the audience’s attention only to redirect it to the product advertised.

This structure can be seen particularly clearly in an examination of early radio programs, such as “Lux,” because they are the site of innovation of both the economic structure of broadcasting and its characteristic mode of discourse. The tension between the interests of the various producers of the radio program, working through a structure of frames and transitions, act specifically and primarily to lead the reader away from the dramatic narrative itself to intertextual considerations having more to do, in “Lux”’s case, with the nature of Hollywood and the carefully associated commercial product than with the presented work. Although this concept may appear almost avant-garde in its self-reflexivity, these frames are themselves products of encoding; their referents, in the case of “Lux,” lie in the myth or mystique of Hollywood and similar sets of meaning that the sponsor wishes to tie to the product being advertised.

From the tightly ordered, heavily symbolic universe of the film narrative, the radio version becomes little more than a “sketch” or outline for what was the film, a permeable discourse that permits the listener to exit easily from the dramatic diegesis—but immediately “recaptures” that listener by directing his or her attention to the other sets of codes, or frames, at work. Although the audience of the broadcast version of “Dark Victory” may not become as involved with the character of Judith Traherne as does the film viewer, he or she will be led back time and again to imagine Bette Davis, the actress, playing that part, partially through specific foregrounding of the star function in the show’s “Hollywood” frame, which in turn contains its references to “Lux” soap, lending associations to the product as desired by the advertiser. DeMille, whose equally encoded persona as program host presides over this process, represents the synthesizing force that mediates the tension between the program’s three different frames of intent: network, advertiser, and dramatic program.

But what, then, of the structures of the contemporary dominant broadcast form, broadcast television, long after the program “host” or emcee—still present in many early TV productions—has vanished from the scene? With the emergence of the networks as the primary programming agency in the late 1950s (chapter 5), the role of the sponsor diminished to the simple purchase of thirty- or sixty-second spots adjacent to the programs selected and scheduled by the networks, and produced by the television production companies with whom the networks contract. Thus Frames 1 and 3 begin to elide, obscuring Frame

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2 as the network takes onto itself the commercial interests formerly held by an independent sponsor.

To further reduce the seeming importance of the role of the sponsor in network television, the marked transitions between the various frames of TV have been played down, streamlined but not entirely eliminated. Today's transitions from the inner core of the program to the commercial break take the form of a simple fade to black, or a cut to a show's logo in still frame, perhaps with a tag of theme music. Some programs have eliminated the transition marker altogether, suspending the viewer in temporary uncertainty about the "product" status of what he or she is seeing. Perhaps this is a "psychological" marker. Today's narrator is not explicit but implied, usually invested visually in the opening sequence with which each program is introduced. The old transition, "And now, a word from our sponsor . . .," once so familiar, has been eliminated entirely, except on public television, the economic base of which is very different. Frame 1 becomes much more explicit, as we are bombarded by network previews and announcements ("Stay tuned for . . .," "Don't miss . . .") promoting high awareness of the network itself as a recognizable author of the television discourse—a necessary strategy in an era of proliferating channels and program services.

In effect, then, as television has evolved, the function of Frame 2, the realm of the sponsor, has been not eliminated but increasingly denied, disconnected from the content of the programs themselves, relegated to a seemingly distant source separate from the actual content and function of television. Today's commercials seem to attempt to "sneak" into the flow of programming, often taking the protective coloring of the programs themselves—or increasingly, resembling another form of programming, the music video—in order to minimize the sense of transition from one mode of narration to another, in order to obscure the source of ultimate economic power in the structure of broadcast television. Each frame identified in the preceding discussion is made up of and utilizes a complex system of codes and signifying practices that need to be examined in detail, with close attention paid to specific historical and production conditions. This analysis of the framing structures of the broadcast discourse can only point out the largest categories, but perhaps it can provide a starting point, at least, for future exploration, as the structures worked out in the early days of broadcast radio provided the starting point for the emergence of television programs and forms.

The Transition to Television

As successful as the "Lux Radio Theatre of the Air" was, we no longer experience its like today. The radio film adaptation has gone the way

of the nickoledeon and vaudeville—transformed by changing circumstances into a form barely recognizable by its former standards. "Lux" did make the initial transition to television in the early 1950s as the "Lux Video Theatre," but its existence was short-lived. Why was a successful show like "Lux" forced to make that highly unsuitable transition in the first place? The next chapter will discuss the abandonment of radio for television on the part of advertisers, made inevitable by the policies and practices of the major networks. But having been forced to be seen as well as heard, why did the video version of "Lux" fail to live up to its predecessor? The reasons for this relate to the economics and to the formal structures of both film and television.

The television version of "Lux" began in very much the same way as did the radio program. From October 1950 until September 1952, Lux broadcast one half-hour of adaptations of stage material from New York, moving to Hollywood in September 1952 but continuing with nonfilm, theater-based material until August 1954, when the program moved to NBC for a full-hour broadcast slot, Thursday nights from 10:00-11:00. During that same season, 1954-55, the radio program went off the air after several years of declining ratings. Theatrical film adaptations became the main staple of the video program, with James Mason as host that season, followed by Otto Kruger, Gordon MacRae, and Ken Carpenter. As with the radio show, interviews with the stars and studio personnel connected with the evening's performance remained *de rigueur*, but several factors rendered such appearances less effective than their radio predecessors.

First, during this same season, 1954-55, Hollywood began to make its presence felt on television using a different strategy than it had with radio. Rather than allow others to control the production of television programs, most major studios went into production for themselves (chapter 5). Second, 1955 is the year in which theatrical films began to show up on network and syndicated television. With the films themselves available, the purpose of the Lux concept was called into question. Why allow movie properties to be exposed to audiences in a reduced, live, rewritten format when the films themselves could now find a new market on TV? Technical conditions as well as economic constraints mandated against a visual experience that could in any way approximate the production values of a theatrical film; if inferior productions were to be allowed to "use up" a film's appeal with a broadcast audience, wherein lay the benefit for the film industry?

Also, with the Paramount decrees of 1947 conditions in Hollywood itself had changed; studios no longer held stars under the kind of long-term contracts as they had formerly, able to loan them out to radio or

other studios at will. The "Lux Video Theatre" was never able to attract the top stars and properties that the radio program drew so well, thus lessening the appeal of the commercial endorsements for Lux soap as well as the benefit to the film studios. For example, an adaptation of "Double Indemnity" (December 16, 1954), although drawing on the Billy Wilder-Raymond Chandler film scenario, lost a good part of its original appeal with such stars as Laraine Day and Frank Lovejoy in the leads. "Casablanca" (March 3, 1955), with Paul Douglas, Arlene Dahl, and Hoagy Carmichael could hardly purport to be the same property as the film. By spring 1957, more adaptations based on plays and short stories had begun to creep into the schedule, and in the fall 1958 season the show's name was changed to the "Lux Playhouse," going back to a one half-hour format and alternating on Friday nights on CBS with the "Schlitz Playhouse of the Stars." With changing circumstances surrounding both the film and broadcasting industries, the tension among the interests of the networks, the commercial sponsors and their agencies, and the studios they depended on for audience appeal shifted into a different formation. Relations between Hollywood and the broadcasting business entered a new phase.

NOTES

1. Stuart Hall, "Cultural Studies: Two Paradigms," in *Media, Culture, and Society: A Critical Reader*, ed. Richard Collins et al. (London: Sage, 1986), p. 47.
2. Stuart Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," in *Culture, Media, Language*, ed. Stuart Hall et al. (New York: Longman, 1983), p. 377.
3. Stuart Hall, "Encoding and Decoding in the Television Discourse," Occasional Papers, Centre for Cultural Studies, University of Birmingham, 1973, p. 2. David Barker applies Hall's theories to television production in "Television Production Techniques as Communication," in *Television: The Critical View*, 4th ed., ed. Horace Newcomb (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), pp. 179-96.
4. Stuart Hall, "The Toad in the Garden: Thatcherism Among the Theorists," in *Marxism and the Interpretation of Culture*, ed. Cary Nelson and Lawrence Grossberg (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 48.
5. Janet Staiger, "Mass-Produced Photoplays: Economic and Signifying Practices in the First Years of Hollywood," in *Movies and Methods*, vol. 2, ed. Bill Nichols (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), pp. 144-61; Douglas Gomerey, "The Coming of Sound to American Cinema," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1975; Charles Musser, "The Early Cinema of Edwin Porter," *Cinema Journal* 19 (Fall 1979): 23.
6. Robert C. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986), p. 128.

7. Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), pp. 90-91; Mike Budd, Steve Craig, and Clay Steinman, "Fantasy Island: Marketplace of Desire," *Journal of Communication* (Winter 1983): 67-77; Sandy Flitterman, "The Real Soap Operas: TV Commercials," in *Regarding Television*, ed. E. Ann Kaplan (New York: AFI Monographs, 1984), pp. 84-96.
8. Erik Barnouw does credit the agencies, notably Young and Rubicam, with providing the impetus that brought Hollywood into radio, although his attribution of specific credit can be debated; elsewhere, he mentions some of the people who played a role in writing and acting in early radio programs, but in a sporadic and anecdotal manner. The study of advertising has brought little in the way of detailed historical accounts of the actual process of program innovation; a survey of the literature of advertising gives the impression that students of that field live in the moment: for every historical account, no matter how personal or eccentric, ten studies of current techniques and strategies line the shelves. One history, Stephen Fox's *The Mirror Makers* (Random House, 1983), provides interesting and valuable detail on the history of some of the major firms; however his focus—on the development and alternation of different advertising strategies and styles—and his overall thesis, implied in the title—that advertisers merely reflect trends and forces in society rather than create them—weaken Fox's discussion of the impact agencies may have engendered on other social institutions, including radio.
9. Nick Browne, "Political Economy of the Television (Super) Text," in *Television: The Critical View*, ed. Newcomb, pp. 585-99.
10. Llewellyn White, *The American Radio* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1947), pp. 54-67; Fox, *Mirror Makers*, p. 150; James Playstead Wood, *The Story of Advertising* (New York: Ronald Press, 1958), p. 413.
11. Ralph M. Hower, *The History of an Advertising Agency: N. W. Ayer & Son at Work 1869-1939* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 199.
12. Hower, *N. W. Ayer*, p. 169; Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, pp. 116-17; Fox, *Mirror Makers*, pp. 159-60.
13. Kenneth L. Watt, "One Minute to Go," *The Saturday Evening Post*, April 2, 1938, pp. 8-9; April 9, 1938, pp. 22-23.
14. Watt, "One Minute to Go," April 9, p. 23.
15. *Fortune*, "Radio II: A \$45,000,000 Talent Bill," May 1938, p. 54.
16. Allen, *Speaking of Soap Operas*, p. 119; Allen quotes from Phillips's proposal: "Thus", Phillips suggested, 'the transition from commercial announcements to the story can be practically painless, and a great deal of actual selling can be done in the story itself.'"
17. Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 106.
18. Fox, *Mirror Makers*, pp. 30-31, 80-82; *Fortune*, November 1947, p. 94.
19. Fox, *Mirror Makers*, pp. 88-89.
20. "Mr. Countway Takes the Job," *Fortune*, November 1940.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 116.

22. Ibid., p. 97; "Daniel J. Danker, Jr.," *National Cyclopedia of American Biography* (Clifton, N.J.: J. T. White, 1926), 33:223.
23. John Dunning, *Tune in Yesterday* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 378; Bernard Lucich, "The Lux Radio Theater," in *American Broadcasting: A Sourcebook on the History of Radio and Television*, ed. Lawrence W. Lichty and Malachi C. Topping (New York: Hastings House, 1975), p. 391.
24. Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, p. 161.
25. Ibid., pp. 94, 106.
26. Lux Radio Theatre, "The Legionnaire and the Lady," June 1, 1936; from audio recording in the collection of the Museum of Broadcasting, New York, N.Y.
27. Several "Lux" productions were used to establish normal program structures: "Dark Victory," aired January 8, 1940 (Minneapolis: Radio Reruns, 1977); "To Have and Have Not," aired October 14, 1946 (Sandy Hook, N.J.: Radiola, 1971); "Poppy," aired March 7, 1938 (Minneapolis: Radio Reruns, 1977); "The Legionnaire and the Lady," aired June 1, 1936 (New York: Museum of Broadcasting Collection); "The Al Jolson Story," aired February 16, 1948 (Mobile, Ala.: Mobile Public Library Collection).
28. Frank Daugherty, "He Sells Soap!" *The Christian Science Monitor Weekly*, March 25, 1944, p. 8.
29. *The Best Plays of 1934-35* (New York: Dodd Mead, 1935), p. 404.
30. From reviews cited in Leslie Halliwell, *Halliwell's Film Guide*, 3d ed. (New York: Avon Books, 1984), p. 303.
31. Gene Ringgold and DeWitt Bodeen, *The Films of Cecil B. DeMille* (New York: Citadel, 1969), pp. 370, 372.
32. Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, pp. 86-94; Michele Hilmes, "The Television Apparatus: Direct Address," *Journal of Film and Video* 37 (Fall 1985): 27-36.
33. Hall, "Encoding/Decoding," pp. 128-38; Umberto Eco, "Towards a Semiotic Inquiry into the Television Message," *Working Papers in Cultural Studies* no. 3 (Autumn 1972): 103-21; Erving Goffman, *Frame Analysis* (New York: Harper, 1974).
34. Roland Barthes, *Image Music Text* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), pp. 114-17.
35. Frame 1 is also remarkably hard to study historically in its textual manifestations, because it is precisely these network announcements, connectors, and transitions that subsequent recordings of radio programs deemed unnecessary and uninteresting and edited out. It is difficult to find recordings taken from radio in their entirety from the 1920s, 1930s, and even early 1940s, thus my conclusions here are highly tentative.
36. Lux Radio Theatre, "Dark Victory."
37. Lux Radio Theatre, "Poppy."
38. Lux Radio Theatre, "Dark Victory."
39. Ibid.

40. Lux Radio Theatre, "To Have and Have Not."

41. See, for example, Bill Nichols, *Ideology and the Image* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981); Daniel Dayan, "The Tutor Code of Classical Cinema," in *Movies and Methods*, ed. Nichols; Kristin Thompsom and David Bordwell, "Space and Narrative in the Films of Ozu," *Screen* 17 (Summer 1976): 42-43.

42. John Ellis, *Visible Fictions* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 128; John Fiske and John Hartley, *Reading Television* (New York: Methuen, 1978); Farrell Corcoran, "Television as Ideological Apparatus: The Power and the Pleasure," *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* (June 1984): 141.