

## BBC Features, Radio Voices and the Propaganda of War 1939-1941

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In the early years of the Second World War the BBC Department of Features and Drama became a crucial source for articulating a sense of national unity and for providing accounts of the war to counteract Nazi propaganda. Even before the outbreak of war a Defence Subcommittee advised the BBC that ‘The maintenance of public morale should be the principal aim of wartime programmes’,<sup>1</sup> and the early years of the war saw a range of programming designed to boost morale and foster a sense national unity, from early morning prayers (*Lift Up Your Hearts*) and physical exercises (*Up In The Morning Early*), to *Music While You Work* and variety shows (such as *Helter-Skelter*), to increased educational programming.<sup>2</sup> At the same time the presence of features in the BBC radio schedule expanded. Writers such as Louis MacNeice and Stephen Potter were employed to script and produce features that took on a particular wartime role in broadcasting information and generating a form of official propaganda that could reinforce the shared goals of the Allies.<sup>3</sup> If the monologic power of the fascist radio voice underpinned the success of Hitler’s regime in Europe, the features commissioned by the BBC sought to thwart this power with creative expressions of the heterogenic but communal experiences of the British and their allies. However, this essay uncovers the tensions between political and aesthetic conceptions of the radio feature at the beginning of the war. As I go on to argue, it was in the period 1939-1941, which spans the ‘Phoney War’ and the first British military engagements, that friction arose between anxieties about the presence of the radio voice and its reception by listeners, and the BBC’s attempt to use the power of the radio medium to present a real account of the war. Political expediency, technology, radio aesthetics, the exigencies of war and the affectivity of sound were all negotiated through radio features as the Second World War escalated. Although the importance of radio features in the BBC’s wartime programming has been well-established in scholarship,<sup>4</sup> this essay critically engages with the paradoxical disembodiments that were navigated in early wartime features and reveals how the deployment of features as official white propaganda was attendant on a curtailment of the affective force of radio voices.

As a ‘new’ medium, radio had ‘emerge[d] into and help[ed] to reconstruct publics and public life’,<sup>5</sup> and by the late 1930s the feature, as a nascent radiogenic form, began to play a central role in how BBC radio sought to construct a patriotic public. But the combination of dramatic recreation (dramatized scenes, sound effects, music) with actuality accounts of violence, national struggle and warfare in radio features produced particular, public responses to the influence of radio which impacted the activities of the BBC features department at the beginning of the war. As a blind medium the power of radio propaganda lay in its potential to produce affective listening, the intensification of one sense (listening) generating a physical, emotive response to the presence of sound. Siobhán McHugh explains that ‘the affective power of sound and voice, combined with the intimacy of the listening process, means we can be moved by listening’ to personal testimonies or accounts.<sup>6</sup> But the hazards of a disembodied aural presence that could engender physical, personal emotions in listeners, generated particular issues as BBC wartime features developed and sought to dramatise contemporary events and actual people. As a result, whilst producing programmes which could bind the nation together in opposition to Nazi Germany in the opening months of the war and as British military campaigns escalated across 1940, the BBC features department also had to pay careful attention to what their radio voices might embody for and in their listeners.

While the drama output of the BBC Department of Features and Drama involved adaptations of literary texts for the radio (novels, short stories, plays, Shakespeare) alongside radiogenic work, features were, in the words of Lance Sieveking ‘peculiarly, particularly, and integrally the stuff of radio.’<sup>7</sup> Features became increasingly important in the lead up to and early years of the Second World War - Jeanette Ann Thomas points out that BBC feature output grew from only five programmes in 1933 to over two hundred in 1938 -<sup>8</sup> and in May 1936 Laurence Gilliam was appointed Assistant Director in charge of BBC Features, under Val Gielgud who was the BBC’s Head of Features and Drama. Features seemed to follow a similar trajectory to the BBC’s drama output at the beginning of the war with what Thomas describes as a ‘steady stream of “morale” features drawing on the traditions and history of the nation’ offering a ‘nostalgic portrayal of rural England’.<sup>9</sup> However, with the series *Home Front* that Gilliam proposed in late 1939, images of rural England were replaced by accounts of contemporary, national personas and regional diversity.

*Home Front* ran on the Home Service from September 1939 to May 1940 and the first thirty-minute programme in the series, ‘Children in Billets’ aired on Saturday 30 September (3.30-4pm). Subsequent programmes included ‘The Home Fires Burning’ from the Welsh region, ‘Harvest of the Sea’ and ‘Women in War’.<sup>10</sup> BBC staff and freelancers were also commissioned by Gilliam to devise features that provided a background to the news, such as ‘The Spirit of Poland’, ‘The Empire’s Answer’ and ‘All France is Here’.<sup>11</sup> As Gilliam argued in an internal BBC memo in November 1939, feature output ‘up-to-date has included a large proportion of what may be called “morale” programmes, dealing with abstract subjects such as patriotism, and democratic virtues’, and he suggested ‘supplementing the present line with programmes more specifically intended as counter-propaganda’.<sup>12</sup>

The BBC had a ‘complex’ relationship with the Ministry of Information (MOI) at the beginning of the war,<sup>13</sup> and though it never came under direct government control, the Minister of Information could veto any broadcast and the MOI vetted every broadcaster. For the MOI the BBC had an important role in producing positive propaganda, what Tim Brooks defines as ‘White – official – propaganda [. . .] clearly recognizable for what it was. There was no attempt to hide its origins. It was particularly useful for spreading accurate news about the war or Allied activities’.<sup>14</sup> But the feature, framing and contextualising news and events whilst drawing on the affective force of dramatisation, was a unique propagandist tool. In his memoir *Years of the Locust* Val Gielgud reflected on the wartime ‘strength’ of ‘Feature Programmes’ at the BBC, while the writer and producer D. G. Bridson, who described himself as ‘joining the BBC when the Feature Programme was coming to birth’ highlighted the need for the BBC, in the early months of the war, to ‘get radio linked up purposefully behind the national war effort’.<sup>15</sup> Gilliam himself invested heavily in the truth claims of features, emphasising their supposed authenticity in his ‘Introduction’ to the 1950 volume *BBC Features*:

In its simplest form, the feature programme aims at combining the authenticity of the [broadcast] talk with the dramatic force of a play, but unlike the play, whose business it is to create dramatic illusion for its own sake, the business of the feature is to convince the listener of the truth of what it is saying, even though it is saying it in dramatic form.<sup>16</sup>

Gilliam’s account of the ‘truth’ of features belies the actual crafted and edited nature of the features produced by the BBC at the beginning of the Second World War. Kate Whitehead describes features as ‘something of a hybrid between documentary and drama’ that could convey ‘the facts in an entertaining, even emotive way’ as opposed to the “straight”

reporting of News and Current Affairs Departments’, and that took on a ‘basically propagandist role’ during the war.<sup>17</sup> Sian Nicholas describes features as ‘a leap forward in indirect techniques of propaganda’ that were consolidated by the BBC in 1942-3,<sup>18</sup> and Gilliam himself reflected that, though features ‘fitted no known formula’ when they were conceived as a genre in the 1930s, ‘the Second World War projected them [features] suddenly to the position of powerful propagandist agencies’ because their truths could be simultaneously factual and emotive.<sup>19</sup> But the propaganda power of features was something still being explored by writers and producers at the start of the Second World War. Writing in November 1939, when the potential of features in propaganda broadcasting was still nascent, Gilliam distinguished between two types of wartime features: firstly he identifies ‘[p]ositively propagandist’ features ‘designed to stir directly the national pride of ourselves and our Allies without descending to a jingo level’ and includes ‘Looke to your Moate’ and ‘For Ever England’ as this type.<sup>20</sup> Secondly Gilliam highlighted features that were ‘[p]ropagandist by implication only’, ‘their primary axiom being accuracy of fact and complete balance of point of view’. Gilliam proposed that this model was exemplified by ‘The Home Front’[sic] and ‘Shadow of the Swastika’[sic]<sup>21</sup> a series of features he commissioned in 1939, soon after the outbreak of war.

*The Shadow of the Swastika* was a series of topical features, based on actual documents, which covered the rise of the Nazis from the First World War to the invasions of Czechoslovakia and Poland. *The Shadow of the Swastika* was broadcast fortnightly from Friday 10 November 1939 (9.25-10.00pm) to Thursday 29 February 1940 (9.30-10.15pm).<sup>22</sup> From the outset *The Shadow of the Swastika* was presented to radio audiences in the *Radio Times* as ‘authentic’ and based on ‘documentary evidence’ even for the ‘fictional conversations’ which ‘were the things people of that type really did say’.<sup>23</sup> The scripts were written by Igor Vinogradoff and A. L. (Albert Lancaster) Lloyd with music composed by Walter Goehr (under the pseudonym George Walter which Goehr used for his popular pieces). Vinogradoff was a Russian-born historian, Lloyd a staunch Marxist with a particular interest in folk song, and they were both employed as staff writers at the BBC during the war years; Lloyd had experience of wartime features writing on the *Home Front* series and with Gilliam as producer on ‘The Empire’s Answer’. The eventual schedule for *The Shadow of the Swastika* involved nine episodes, the first and eighth of which were frame pieces, offering an overview of German history and the rise of the Nazis, and which repeated scenes and material from the central six episodes, and the ninth an ‘Epilogue’ piece based on events in the war so far. The published version of the scripts was organised through the Drama and Features Department by Gilliam and included just six episodes (the broadcast episodes two to seven): *The Rise of a Leader*, *The Road to Power*, *The Reichstag Fire*, *Hitler over Germany*, *The Shadow Spreads*, *The Road to War*.<sup>24</sup>

Lloyd and Vinogradoff were not consulted before the publishing agreement was made with John Lane, to Lloyd’s obvious annoyance as he had already agreed to serialise the features in the Sunday newspaper *Reynolds News* and was himself looking for a possible book publication. *The Shadow of the Swastika* was directly claimed as the property of the BBC and MOI, who funded the series and distributed hardcopies of the episodes across the commonwealth and to allied nations under the MOI Transcription Scheme,<sup>25</sup> and key editing decisions for publication appear to have been made by Gilliam rather than the authors. The two writers did contribute a Foreword to the volume and were given a £20 bonus on the book’s publication. The publication was advertised in *The Listener* thus:

The script of the series has now been published (John Lane 5s.) in a form specially edited for reading. The nature of, and reasons for, the emendations are explained by the authors in their foreword. The text, however, is essentially that

of the original script and should be of equal interest to listeners who wish to recall those very effective broadcasts and to students of the technique of radio drama.<sup>26</sup>

The authors' Foreword, when it refers to the 'emendations' for publication, propose a distinction between 'what sounded good and natural' and what 'looks artificial to the eye', describing the cuts in the scripts of 'indications for effects—like those for music' and 'some entire passages', as necessary to translate the programmes into 'cold print'.<sup>27</sup> *The Listener* announcement, however, elides the aural-print fracture that the Foreword proposes, arguing that the printed page is 'essentially' that of the broadcasts and can function as a prompt to 'recall' the aural experience of the broadcasts and exemplify the 'technique' of the radio feature. That *The Shadow of the Swastika* is here described as a 'radio drama' provides an interesting rationale for some of the changes in the scripts, and also seemingly contradicts the authors' insistence on the factual nature of their radio writing. The elision between *The Shadow of the Swastika* as broadcast features and the *Shadow of the Swastika* [sic] published scripts as drama, highlights how features and drama existed on a fluid spectrum at the BBC.<sup>28</sup>

The status of *The Shadow of the Swastika* as dramatic features with a factual base was reinforced in the opening statement broadcast before each episode:

Original documents, both published and unpublished, have been consulted. Every quotation and statement of fact have been verified, and the dramatised episodes are all founded on ascertained fact [. . .] The authors have had the services as consultant of E. L. Woodward, Fellow of All Souls' College Oxford.<sup>29</sup>

Referring to the research foregrounded in this announcement, Siân Nicholas describes the 'unusual care' with which the series was produced and Gilliam's emphasis on 'perfect impartiality' in these features' treatment of recent German history.<sup>30</sup> The emphasis on veracity is reiterated in the published version of the scripts which has a bibliography at the end that lists texts as different as Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (1925), Erika Mann's *School for Barbarians* (1938), on the Nazi's indoctrination of children, and Christopher Isherwood's 1939 novel *Goodbye to Berlin*.<sup>31</sup> Lloyd and Vinogradoff state explicitly in the Foreword that they drew on 'a hundred books', 'newspaper cuttings, confidential reports, and magazine articles [. . .] in order to work out an authoritative dramatic treatment'; 'We made no statement and dramatized no incident without good authority', they claim.<sup>32</sup> However, as *The Shadow of the Swastika* was funded by the MOI who also provided information for the broadcasts,<sup>33</sup> its 'verified' 'facts' were also directly in the service of anti-Nazi propaganda. Nevertheless the bibliography, with its inclusion of works of fiction (six other novelists besides Isherwood are cited), indicates the writers' interest in creating a credible diegesis for their reconstruction of twentieth-century German history, alongside the generation of authentic radio voices which could channel official white propaganda.

The writers' Foreword to *The Shadow of the Swastika* acknowledges the propaganda aspect of the broadcasts but claims this is 'nothing new to the BBC' while emphasising the 'facts' of these features.<sup>34</sup> An implicit distinction between the verified facts of *The Shadow of the Swastika* and Hitler's propaganda machine and his rise to power was also made in the second broadcast episode. Hitler's first speech in *The Rise of a Leader* is concerned foremost with propaganda:

You must get publicity; else you will never become known, Propaganda! That's all that counts! If this party is to prepare the way for the national resurgence, we've got to have a programme! Without a programme we can't get at the big public. And that we've got to do. Gentlemen, [fading] listen to me!<sup>35</sup>

This initial speech by Hitler, which associates him primarily with publicity, propaganda and a programme, emphasises the purpose of *The Shadow of a Swastika* features series in exposing and countermanding his propaganda. Hitler's exhortation 'Gentlemen, listen to me!' is a telling detail which foregrounds the aural space as one that Hitler's fascist programme sought to dominate. Other episodes reflect on the propaganda machine that underpins Hitler's regime. *The Road to Power* highlights the importance of the German businessman and politician Alfred Hugenberg's media empire in the Nazi's rise to dominance in German nationalist politics, while in *The Road to War* Hitler is presented 'speaking from Nuremberg' 'on the wireless', and his speech at the *Sportspalast* in Berlin (4 September 1940) is introduced with the detail 'Hitler stands on the flag-draped platform and shouts into the microphone'.<sup>36</sup> *The Shadow of the Swastika* pursues an alternate to the Nazi 'programme', opening up the radio broadcast and the public it can reach to voices which counter the logic of Nazi propaganda. As such it appears both formally and thematically aware of the role radio played in making 'imagined communities more tangible' and reformulating 'intimate publics' into a 'ritual of national identity' which could have a crucial political impact.<sup>37</sup>

Against the monologic of Hitler's propaganda, the radiogenic *The Shadow of the Swastika* combines noise and music with speech to create an aural space that exceeds the control of a singular radio voice. The broadcasts thus make good use of a multiplicity of radio speech, particularly various forms of technologically mediated voices; loudspeakers, radio broadcasts, news announcers, telephone conversations. The technological reproduction of voices are foregrounded in particular ways and serve to delineate the distance between the source and sites of reception of speech. Telephone conversations, for example, illustrate the contraction of time and space through communication technology, but also its failure, such as the Austrian Chancellor's unsuccessful attempts to reach Mussolini on the telephone in *The Shadow Spreads*.<sup>38</sup> Telegrams are dictated and read aloud, exemplifying the translation of speech into recorded language that the episodes themselves embody in the transformation of real events into a written script which is then realised as broadcast sound. Amplified voices, marked as 'Loudspeaker' voices in the PasB scripts to distinguish them, are presented as the mouthpiece of 'the enormous propaganda machine of Dr. Göbbels' [*sic*].<sup>39</sup> At points, an explicit tension is staged between radio voices, such as in *The Reichstag Fire* where the Narrator's factual account of the German elections in March 1933 (which was immediately succeeded by the Enabling Act which gave Hitler dictatorial powers) is intercut with a 'Radio Voice' reading regional poll results, the sound of an 'enormous cheering crowd—"Sieg Heil, Sieg Heil"', and conversations in the street of worried citizens and Nazi supporters. The scene ends with the Narrator moving from these sounds and voices of disruption, violence and oppression to symbols that encapsulate the Nazi totalitarian state; 'The card index, the rubber truncheon, and the concentration camp are symbols of the new order'.<sup>40</sup> The move from a sonic scape to figurative language in the script signals the triumph of Nazi rhetoric in which fascist ideas become a physical presence in the world.

As with the *The Reichstag Fire* scene, the broadcasts also use acousmatic sounds recorded in Europe, of marching feet, machine gun fire and cheering crowds, as a central part of their aural-scape. In an article for the *Picture Post* in March 1940, Gilliam emphasised the factual nature of these sounds:

Hundreds of records in the B.B.C. Record Library were examined for authentic sound effects. The cheers of the Nazi throngs at the Nuremberg Congress, at the German entry into Vienna, at the Berlin Sportspalast, in the Reichstag, were extracted from recordings made at the time and collected for use in the production so the atmosphere should be as authentic as the text.<sup>41</sup>

This claim to an ‘authentic’ noise proposes another level of veracity (that of actual sound as opposed to sound effects) which also relies on technological mediation (in this case recording). The issue of sound effects concerned radio sound engineers and producers in the early years of radio drama and, as Neil Verma discusses, by the late 1930s broadcast sound effects were becoming standardised and, in effect, decoupled sound from its supposed object-source.<sup>42</sup> Gilliam’s representation of the broadcast sound effects for *The Shadow of the Swastika*, however, counteracts any sense of aural alienation that may result from the presence of recorded sound in a live broadcast. Indeed the veracity of the ‘text’ is reinforced by the technologically mediated historical source, producing an authentic aural atmosphere that is not reliant on live presence alone.

To conclude the published scripts of *Shadow of the Swastika* [sic] Lloyd and Vinogradoff chose a significant ending from the broadcast episodes that brings together sound, voice and truth:

[*Martial music, and after a few seconds the voices come in, measured and pompous to the beat of the music.*]

1<sup>st</sup> NAZI: German people, your country is at war!

2<sup>nd</sup> NAZI: The war will make Germany greater and richer!

1<sup>st</sup> NAZI: German men, your country needs you!

2<sup>nd</sup> NAZI: The war will make Germany greater and richer!

1<sup>st</sup> NAZI: You were born to die for Germany!

2<sup>nd</sup> NAZI: The war will make Germany greater and richer!

TOGETHER: You were born to *die* for Germany!

[*Music*]

[pause]

WOMAN: Men and women of Germany! *Were* you born not to live? Were you born to die for—Hitlerism?<sup>43</sup>

This conclusion juxtaposes the rhetoric of Nazi propaganda – amplified by the aural presentation of the statements (martial music, pompous intonation, repetition, volume and male voices) – with the quiet commonsense questioning offered by a woman’s voice. The female voice is deployed as a gendered counter to the masculinist rhetoric of the Nazis, signifying a maternal connection to nurturing, birth and life.<sup>44</sup> The ‘Woman’ opposes the empty rhetoric of the German voices with tone, content and the absent body that her gendered voice evokes, exemplifying the effective staging through sound that characterises the success of *The Shadow of the Swastika*. However, this was actually the end of the eighth episode broadcast on February 8, 1940 (a framing overview episode called *From War to War*). *The Road to War* (which was the last script included in Lloyd and Vinogradoff’s published *Shadow of the Swastika* [sic]) ended in its broadcast version on January 25, 1940 with recordings:

(CHAMBERLAIN: 1<sup>ST</sup> RECORD DOWN TO “STATE OF WAR EXISTS BETWEEN US”)

NARRATOR: The Prime Minister ended his speech with these words:

(CHAMBERLAIN: 2<sup>ND</sup> RECORD ENDING WITH “THE RIGHT WILL PREVAIL”)

NARRATOR: They are evil things that we shall be fighting against.

(RECORD: HITLER, ENDING WITH CHEERS)

(ORCHESTRA, HITLER THEME TO FINISH)<sup>45</sup>

The sounds that bring the seventh episode of *The Shadow of the Swastika* to a close at the moment of the outbreak of the Second World War are the actual voices of the British and German leaders, examples of Gilliam's 'authentic' aural atmosphere. Using recordings in this way, with their tangible connection to the physical speech of Chamberlain and Hitler, this conclusion moves *The Road to War* securely into the space of actuality and away from the emotive and dramatic reconstructions of the preceding broadcasts that self-reflexively deploy the technology of broadcast.

*The Shadow of the Swastika* broadcasts were an important success amongst contemporary critics and listeners: 'Here at last is a programme of moment' commented Grace Wyndham Goldie in *The Listener*, going on to note 'the series presents to us and to the world a clear indictment of the Nazi party [. . .] to the best of my knowledge it is the first deliberate propaganda we have ever had in dramatic form from broadcasting.'<sup>46</sup> *The Listener* on July 25 1940 reported that 'The BBC Listener Research Department calculated that about twelve million people listened to "Shadow of the Swastika" [sic],<sup>47</sup> the largest ever audiences for feature programmes. Similarly, a Listener Research Memo from Robert Silvey (BBC Listener Research Director) to Gilliam concluded that, overall, *The Shadow of the Swastika* made 'a great impression on listeners' and that 'it has clearly been highly successful.'<sup>48</sup> The programmes were broadcast internationally and claimed a significant mention in Gilliam's August 1940 article, 'The Job of the Radio Feature Man Today', for *London Calling*, the monthly magazine for the BBC's World Service shortwave broadcasting service.<sup>49</sup> Here Gilliam described features such as *The Shadow of the Swastika* as 'treating in dramatic form the events and personalities of contemporary history' and offers a striking analogy for the series: 'No gangster serial has ever had so large or so enthralled an audience as these programmes [. . .] It was the finest gangster story ever. And it was true.'<sup>50</sup> The tensions between the 'gangster' popularity of *The Shadow of the Swastika* and its truth-claims are manifest here, with Gilliam evoking the drama and suspense of a popular genre which enthralls audiences whilst asserting the veracity of the radio content. Silvey's listener research on the series pointed to its 'great impression on listeners' and its success in 'catching hold of the public's imagination'; he observed that 'Listeners' reactions to it seem to be affected to an unusual extent by subjective considerations'.<sup>51</sup> This account of the response to *The Shadow of the Swastika* ('impression', 'imagination', 'affected' and 'subjective') evokes just that sense of affective listening that the drama of personality, recent events and sound could educe in the feature form. But there is a sense of anxiety about *The Shadow of the Swastika* and its relationship to truth, personality and the impression on listeners which lies behind, for example, the decision to withhold the name of the actor playing Hitler until after the final broadcast.<sup>52</sup> In his *Picture Post* article, published in March 1940, Gilliam revealed that Marius Goring had been chosen to play Hitler after a lengthy search which included rejecting any amateurs 'who had achieved enormous success in their own circle by a dexterous use of the small black moustache, the down-sweeping lock of hair, and the up-lifted arm', specifically refusing the idea of a Hitler impersonator.<sup>53</sup> Nevertheless he describes the two-week audition stage, which involved extensive exposure to different performances of Hitler's voice, as 'a nightmare memory' highlighting the perils of proximity to a vocal personation of the Nazi dictator.<sup>54</sup>

The *Picture Post* article on *The Shadow of a Swastika* also provides a visual record of Goring's radio role in devoting the entire front cover to an illustration of him at the microphone, subtitled 'The Voice of Hitler'. Inside, a full-page photograph of Goring in a

recording is paralleled to a small photograph of Hitler, with the body postures and hand gestures of the two men in the images an exact mirror of each other. The photograph caption declares:

Marius Goring as the Führer. He has heard Hitler speak many times over, He himself speaks perfect German. He has listened to records of the Führer until he knows every pitch and intonation of his voice. Even his gestures—though they are never seen—unconsciously imitate those of Hitler. When he goes before the microphone he is a man possessed.<sup>55</sup>

The photograph and accompanying words work hard to bring to visibility Goring's microphone performance, mentioning the 'never seen' similarities to Hitler's 'gestures'. The uncanny suggestion that Goring is 'possessed' contrasts to Gilliam's more measured account of Goring-as-Hitler which attempts to return his performance to a disembodied realm of sound. Gilliam wrote that Goring, who had lived in Germany, has 'a psychological insight . . . [into] the mental and vocal image of the Fuehrer', suggesting that, despite the accuracy and impact of Goring's performance, it remains a safely incorporeal one.<sup>56</sup>

The impact of radio voice and sound was something at the forefront for the writers of *The Shadow of the Swastika*. In their Foreword Lloyd and Vinogradoff describe how

It is impossible for the printed page to give the same impression of the tension of such scenes as, let us say, that in which the Jewish doctor is operating on the child who has been drilled in anti-Semitism at school and in the Hitler *Jungvolk*. Over the air, the contrast between the child's clear dreamy voice and the brutal poem he is reciting, between the exquisite ghostly music and the matter-of-fact efficiency of the doctor's voice, created a dramatic effect which could never have come off in film or theatre, for the whole point lay in sound and sound alone.<sup>57</sup>

Lloyd and Vinogradoff refer here to a scene in *Hitler Over Germany* (broadcast on December 28 1939) in which Dr Aarons, played by Bryan Powle, one of the BBC's Repertory Company actors, operates on the young boy Karl who has been accidentally shot during pistol practice. The presentation of the indoctrination of children here, which underpins this scene, draws on Erika Mann's *School for Barbarians* and culminates in Karl's parents' realisation that they are 'Afraid of our own children', a terrifying possibility that George Orwell would later deploy in his depiction of the Parsons' children in the totalitarian dystopia of *1984* (published in 1949). As Lloyd and Vinogradoff describe, the surgery scene relies both on the explicit contrast between Aarons as the '[calm]' and '[quiet]' doctor deploying a scalpel to save his young patient and Karl's unconscious outbursts ('Sharpen your long knife in the alley', 'Kill the Jews! Kill the Jews!'), and on the aural space which contrasts a child's voice and a doctor's patience over a musical score that is quietly eerie.<sup>58</sup> The idea of 'sound alone', voice and music isolated from visual clues is important to Lloyd and Vinogradoff's conception of their feature, and highlights the central dynamics of its success. The 'sound alone' functions to create an actuality but also an empathetic force which, through the very disembodiments of radio, evokes an affective response in the listener.

That *The Shadow of the Swastika* works as 'sound alone' is also emphasised in the Drama and Feature Department's response to interest in the script from film producers. Requests from Twentieth-Century Fox and Pyramid Pictures to buy the film rights in early 1940 were met with concern about the aesthetic and political implications of translating the features into a visual medium. Advice was sought from the MOI, and the Deputy Director of the Film Section of the MOI, G. Forbes, offered a detailed response after reading the scripts:



‘The scripts are brilliantly written to produce the desired effect in the chosen medium, i.e. sound, without visual images’, he observes, but ‘[t]o attempt to follow them closely in a film by simply adding visual images would be artistically inept and foredoomed to failure’. Forbes also points to the ‘practical difficulty’ of the lack of ‘“library” picture-material [. . .] for more than a minute fraction of the scenes to be portrayed’ and concludes ‘that to make staged shots of the scenes would be costly and would entail representation of living statesmen etc., to which the Foreign Office would not consent in any case.’<sup>59</sup> That ‘sound alone’ – in the form of the radio feature – is an acceptable presentation of factual history, whereas the visual ‘representation’ of ‘living statesmen’ would be denied consent by the Foreign Office, exemplifies how the supposed incorporeality of radio voicing meant it could avoid the kind of censorship that beset wartime visual media. The BBC’s lawyer R. Jardine Brown agreed with the MOI advice and the, quite lucrative, offers from Twentieth-Century Fox and Pyramid Pictures were turned down.

A few months after *The Shadow of the Swastika*, another feature was aired which dealt directly with the presentation of recent history and caused a controversy around the representation of living (and dead) individuals on the radio. *Narvik* by Terence Horseley was broadcast on Whit Monday 13 May 1940 (9.35-10.15pm) and it offered, as the *Radio Times* described ‘A dramatic reconstruction of a great naval feat of arms’ including the ‘well known’ ‘Admiralty message to the Hardy’s captain—“Use your own judgment”’.<sup>60</sup> The *Radio Times* claims that ‘Terence Horsley, with the help of Admiralty officials, has written this dramatic reconstruction of Narvik’ and that ‘[y]ou will hear the sort of things men said to one another, the way they thought, and how they actually went into action against a greatly superior force.’<sup>61</sup>

The feature was commissioned at short notice from Horseley, a journalist, pilot with the Fleet Air Arm and later editor of *Empire News*, probably as he was simultaneously co-writing *Norway Invaded: The First Full Story*, with James Tevnan. Published in May 1940 as part of the *Cherry Tree War Special* series by Witherby Grove Press, *Norway Invaded* covered the combat in the seas around Norway and its invasion by the Germans in April; the fourth chapter was devoted to ‘The First Battle of Narvik’ on 9-10 April 1940.<sup>62</sup> The script of *Narvik* closely follows Horseley and Tevnan’s book, drawing directly on the Admiralty communiqué on the battle, issued on 23 April 1940 and the eye-witness account of Petty-Officer Neal of the *Hardy* both of which are reproduced verbatim in *Norway Invaded*. As a feature, therefore, although it was much less extensively researched than Lloyd and Vinogradoff’s *The Shadow of the Swastika*, *Narvik* was closely based on the factual reports included in Horseley and Tevnan’s *Norway Invaded*; for its details, including minor events such as the encounter with a Norwegian soldier at the beginning of the feature and large portions of the dialogue, Horseley’s *Narvik* draws heavily on Petty-Officer Neal’s account.

*Narvik* endeavours to create a sound drama from the eyewitness testimony, with many combat sound effects and directions for pace, indicating in the script, for example, that for a key action scene the actors should ‘Play the following fast’.<sup>63</sup> At another point Horseley’s script notes of the Narrator’s speech that ‘This must be given as a running commentary, like a football match’,<sup>64</sup> a rather awkward analogy for the actor reading, given the intense combat scene he is narrating. Reviewing *Narvik* in *The Listener*, Goldie follows the *Radio Times* in describing it as ‘a “dramatic reconstruction” of the naval action’ and evaluates its ‘attempt to re-present for us over the microphone the living drama of our violent time’ as ‘unusually successful’. She also highlights the tensions between actuality and drama that beset the early wartime features of the BBC:

It immediately raises the whole point of what productions like this are trying to do. Are they merely an extension of the news service? Do they, in fact, correspond to the quick books of journalism? Are they only endeavouring to give us fresh details about events which we have been following with breathless attention? [. . .] For they do not confine themselves to giving us new and detailed facts. With their music, their sounds and their dramatic speech they endeavour to create in the listener a dramatic emotion. And it is just because of this that programme like *Narvik* are so full of dangers and so full of opportunities.<sup>65</sup>

Horseley's *Narvik* was drawn from his 'quick book of journalism', but adapted into a radio broadcast it moves into an aural space of 'dramatic' sound and speech and, as Goldie suggests, it attains an affective force capable of producing 'dramatic emotion' in the listener. But, alongside these 'opportunities', the 'dangers' Goldie identified in a feature like *Narvik* were realized in one particular listener's response to the BBC broadcast.

There were many British casualties in the Battle of Narvik, including the Captain of the *Hardy*, Bernard Warburton-Lee, who is played as the (unnamed) 'Captain' in the feature. Whilst another listener declared, after the broadcast, that the BBC should 'not permit vulgarly sensational attempts at the dramatization' of the 'glorious acts' of 'Navy, Army, and Air Force',<sup>66</sup> Mrs Elizabeth Warburton-Lee, the captain's wife, wrote to *The Times* with a particular protest:

Had they told the story simply and correctly it contained all the drama necessary and no one would have listened to it with greater pride than I. But to impersonate the voices of the living and the dead is unpardonable.<sup>67</sup>

Val Gielgud offered his apologies for the 'deep distress' caused, in a response published in *The Times* a day later, countering criticism by claiming the script for *Narvik* had been submitted for scrutiny to the Press Division of the Admiralty and to a surviving crew member.<sup>68</sup> But Archibald Southby, MP for Epsom, raised the central issue of his constituent, Elizabeth Warburton-Lee's, complaint in the House of Commons on 29 May, condemning the 'impersonations of both living and dead persons [. . .] over the air', and asking the Minister of Information, Duff Copper, to 'prevent the recurrence of similar action in the future'.<sup>69</sup> When *Narvik* was repeated on the Empire Service on May 28 this compounded the issue further and on June 12 Southby discussed the issue again in the House of Commons, describing the 'unpardonable bad taste' and 'revolting innovation' of personating serving troops.<sup>70</sup> In response, Cooper informed the House that the BBC deeply regretted any pain caused by the broadcast and assured that 'he had satisfied himself that machinery now existed whereby he could exercise complete control over what was said upon all important political matters'.<sup>71</sup> The radiogenic feature form may have been evolving in response to aesthetic and technological developments and playing a central role in the white propaganda of the BBC during the opening months of the war, but as Britain moved into active conflict in Europe the reconstruction of great exploits had to be referred to a set of procedures distinct from these aesthetic, technical and propaganda concerns. This arises not simply because of the danger of representing 'real' events, but because of the affective force of radio impersonation.

That BBC feature policy changed after the *Narvik* controversy is apparent. In Gilliam's August 1940 article, 'The Job of the Radio Feature Man Today', he distances feature output from the reconstruction of battles and the personation of active servicemen, noting that 'in the war itself, in the operations of the fighting Forces, radio has found grand material for feature treatment' but makes it clear that this material is 'Not in the battle-fronts' which, he states 'is the sphere of the news reporters.'<sup>72</sup> Despite Gilliam's understanding of

the propaganda potential of features the *Narvik* controversy impacted on the BBC Feature section's conception of its relationship to current events, and in February 1941 there were still restrictions in place on features with Gilliam conjecturing that '[t]here is considerable hope of removing the ban imposed on us last year in dealing with war-time exploits of the Services, provided we can avoid direct impersonation of identifiable members of the Services alive or dead.'<sup>73</sup> When BBC Features did turn again to directly covering the battle-front exploits of the Services on 8 May 1941, it was to follow carefully the lead of a government ministry (the Air Ministry) and produce a feature that was, as far as possible, an exact reconstruction of government propaganda.

The hour-long feature *The Battle of Britain*, written and produced by Cecil McGivern, was based directly on the Air Ministry pamphlet *The Battle of Britain: An Air Ministry Account of the Great Days from 8<sup>th</sup> August-31<sup>st</sup> October 1940*, authored by Hilary Aiden St. George Saunders and published two months earlier in March 1941.<sup>74</sup> Saunders wrote detective and spy thrillers, and mystery novels in collaboration with John Leslie Palmer under the pseudonym Francis Beeding. His propaganda pamphlet for the Air Ministry, written 'chronologically in a clear, racy and accessible narrative style',<sup>75</sup> became an international bestseller, with 4.8 million copies sold in Britain by end of 1941 and 42 editions (including an illustrated one for children) appearing in 24 languages by 1942.<sup>76</sup> McGivern's *The Battle of Britain* was similarly popular; the news editor of the *Daily Mail* wrote to the BBC asking, as a result of 'enquiries from several of our readers', for a repeat of the programme which had been 'most enthusiastically received' after its first broadcast on the Home Service on Thursday 8 May, 1941 (8-9pm).<sup>77</sup> *The Battle of Britain* was broadcast again on Friday 8 August, 1941 on the Home Service (9.35-10.35pm) with a revised script and new production, and this production was rebroadcast on Monday September 14, 1942 (Home Service 9.25-10.25pm) with a further new production on Wednesday September 22, 1943 (Home Service 9.40-10.40pm). The feature was published in a collection of McGivern's features, *Bomb Doors Open and other Radio War Features* in 1941, with this published version of *The Battle of Britain* closely based on the revised PasB script for the 8 August 1941 broadcast. The key change to the initial script was the introduction of a German and a (Woman) Rome announcer reading misinformation bulletins on the air raids on London; McGivern's published script includes this addition which highlights the difference between the propaganda circulated by the axis powers and the facts of the Battle of Britain as presented in the feature. Writing in *The Listener*, Goldie acknowledged the success of the feature, describing it as 'the type of propaganda which the BBC is right to give us'.<sup>78</sup>

Though using available dramatic and acoustic devices, *The Battle of Britain* achieved success and avoided controversy by not naming any characters, by including only actual recordings of the voice of Hitler, and by following very closely the style and content of the Air Ministry pamphlet. Nicholas argues that the 'painstaking verisimilitude' of features such as *the Battle of Britain* meant such programmes had 'a new and effective appeal to the listener, achieving the impact of drama [. . .] while avoiding the personalisation that had so pained critics of *Narvik*'.<sup>79</sup> By deferring to official white propaganda and suspending the powerful presence of the individualised radio impersonation, *The Battle of Britain* and subsequent wartime features did indeed avert the criticisms levelled at *Narvik*. McGivern's feature foregrounds a government version of battle-front events and cautiously manages the intimate power of radio voices: it was dramatically 'effective' in its goal as propaganda, as Nicholas argues, but not affective or subjective in its impression on listeners' imagination, thereby avoiding the charged interpersonal connection of listening to an actual person voiced on the radio.

*The Battle of Britain* and the responses to BBC features explored in this article highlight how the sounds and voices of radio had to be carefully negotiated in the first

eighteen months of the Second World War. The famous MOI campaign exemplified in 'careless talk costs lives' propaganda images highlighted the perils of what was 'said' in wartime, but what was 'said' by voices in BBC features, impersonating real individuals, offered both particular opportunities and particular dangers. In curtailing the force of the personalised voiced testimony on radio and focusing on an objective verisimilitude and officially sanctioned accounts of events, features secured a central place in the white propaganda efforts of the BBC.<sup>80</sup> However, what was sacrificed to this war effort was some of the most innovative, individual and self-reflexive use of the 'sound alone' of radio that had been crucial to the success of ground-breaking radio features like *The Shadow of the Swastika*.

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## Notes

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- 1 Report of the Defence Subcommittee on War Time Programmes, January 11, 1939; quoted in Briggs, *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom*, vol. 3, pp.87-8.
  - 2 On the wartime role of the BBC see Briggs *The History of Broadcasting in the United Kingdom*, vol. 3; Nicholas *The Echo of War*; Havers *Here is the News*.
  - 3 On Louis MacNeice's wartime features see Wrigley, 'Introduction', pp.9-17.
  - 4 On the development of BBC Features and their propagandist role see Whitehead *The Third Programme* chapter 6 'Features'. Critical accounts of the role of features in the BBC's wartime programming are given in Thomas, *A History of the BBC Features Department 1924-1964* and Nicholas *The Echo of War*. Amanda Wrigley points out that "'propagandist" and "morale-boosting" seem to have been used as synonyms by the BBC at this time; [features] were designed to actively support the Allied cause without the broadcast of outright lies', Wrigley 'A wartime radio *Odyssey*', p.82, n3.
  - 5 Gitelman, *Always Already New*, p.26.
  - 6 McHugh, 'The Affective Power of Sound', p.496. McHugh is specifically focused on the affective impact of oral history on radio, but her framework is also relevant for considering the power of voice and sound in features that use (dramatized) individual voices to articulate contemporary historical events.
  - 7 Sieveking, *The Stuff of Radio*, pp.25-6
  - 8 Thomas, *A History of the BBC Features Department 1924-1964*, p.68
  - 9 Thomas, *A History of the BBC Features Department 1924-1964*, p.110
  - 10 'Children in Billets', aired on Saturday 30 September (3.30-4pm) and was written by A L. Lloyd (a BBC staff writer) and Stephen Potter; 'The Home Fires Burning' aired on Wednesday 18 October (8.30-9pm) and was written and produced by T. Rowland Hughes (who led on features for the Welsh region); 'Harvest of the Sea' aired on Monday 23 October (8-8.30pm) and was devised and produced by Alan Melville (a BBC staff-writer); 'Women in War' aired on Sunday 19 November (7-7.30pm), and was produced by Olive Shapley (a freelancer for the BBC who produced *Woman's Hour* between 1949 and 1953).
  - 11 'The Spirit of Poland' aired on Tuesday 3 October, 1939, 8-8.30pm (author/producer unknown); 'The Empire's Answer' by Gilliam and A.L. Lloyd aired on Friday 6 October, 1939 8.30-9pm; 'All France is Here' by Moray McLaren the assistant director of BBC Features aired on Saturday 4 November, 1939, 10.30-11.15pm.
  - 12 'Draft Statement on Policy of Features and Drama in Time of War. For Home Service Board Friday 1<sup>st</sup> December 1939', 21 November 1939', BBC WAC R19/352/1. Gilliam reports on all the features mentioned above in this memo.
  - 13 Nicholas, *The Echo of War*, p.16; for detail on the BBC and the MOI see Briggs section IV chapter 2 'Controllers and Controlled' and Nicholas pp.16ff.
  - 14 Brooks, *British Propaganda to France*, p.xvii.
  - 15 Gielgud, *Years of the Locust*, p.181; Bridson, *Prospero and Ariel*, pp.14, 77.
  - 16 Gilliam, 'Introduction' in *BBC Features*, p.10.
  - 17 Whitehead, *The Third Programme*, pp.110, 111.
  - 18 Nicholas, *The Echo of War*, p.65.
  - 19 Gilliam, 'Introduction' in *BBC Features*, p.9.
  - 20 Looke to your Moate' was broadcast on Sunday 21 March, 1937, 9.05-9.50 pm; written by the historian Arthur Bryant it was produced by Gilliam. 'For Ever England' was broadcast Thursday February 1, 1940, 7.30-9.10pm; compiled by Val Gielgud Head of BBC Drama it was produced by Moray McLaren.
  - 21 Gilliam, 'Draft Statement on Policy of Features and Drama in Time of War. For Home Service Board Friday 1<sup>st</sup> December 1939', 21 November 1939', BBC WAC R19/352/1.

- 22 Nicholas notes that *The Shadow of the Swastika* ‘originated in requests from a number of organisations, including the Board of Deputies of British Jews, for a popular history of the Nazi movement that might counter press allegations that German anti-Jewish propaganda had some justification’ (*The Echo of War*, pp.150-51).
- 23 ‘Expert on Nazis’, *Radio Times* 840, November 3, 1939, p.3. This edition of the *Radio Times* also included a one-page extract of the script from the first episode, accompanied by archive photographs of Hitler in 1932 and 1933 (p.8).
- 24 The broadcasts were as follows: *The Story of the Nazi Party*, Friday November 10, 1939, 9.15-10pm; *The Rise of a Leader*, Friday November 17, 1939, 9.45-10.30pm; *The Road to Power*, Wednesday November 29, 1939, 10.15-11pm, *The Reichstag Fire*, Thursday December 14, 1939, 8.15-9pm; *Hitler over Germany* Thursday December 28, 1939, 7.45-8.30pm, *The Shadow Spreads* Thursday January 11, 1940, 6.45-7.30pm; *The Road to War* Thursday January 25, 1940, 7.45-8.30pm; *From War to War*, Thursday February 8, 1940, 7.45-8.30pm; *The Nazis at War* Thursday February 29, 1940, 9.30-10.15pm. These first broadcasts were on the Home Service and recordings are extant in the BBC Sound Archive at the British Library, London: these are erroneously catalogued under the title *Under the Shadow of the Swastika*
- 25 Records of the MOI transcriptions and distribution of *Shadow of the Swastika* can be seen in the file *Transcriptions: Shadow of the Swastika*, BBC WAC, E17/192.
- 26 *The Listener*, 60, July 25, 1940, p.125.
- 27 Lloyd and Vinogradoff, ‘Foreword’, *Shadow of the Swastika*, pp.12, 11, 12, 10.
- 28 The lack of a firm distinction between some features and the radio play format is discussed in Drakakis ‘Introduction’ pp.8-9 and Whitehead *The Third Programme*, pp.109-111.
- 29 ‘Opening Announcement at 10.15pm: BBC Home Service Wednesday 29<sup>th</sup> November, 1939, 10.15-11.00pm’ (*The Road to Power*) BBC WAC 19/1142/1.
- 30 Nicholas, *The Echo of War*, p.151.
- 31 Lloyd and Vinogradoff, *Shadow of the Swastika*, p.194.
- 32 Lloyd and Vinogradoff, *Shadow of the Swastika*, ‘Foreword’, p.9.
- 33 This relationship with the MOI is clear from the letters contained in BBC WAC 19/1142/1; see also Nicholas, *The echo of war*, p.151.
- 34 Lloyd and Vinogradoff, *Shadow of the Swastika*, ‘Foreword’, p.10.
- 35 (*The Rise of a Leader*) *The Shadow of the Swastika* 3, November 17, 1939, p.7, Play Library Scripts BBC WAC
- 36 (*The Road to War*) *The Shadow of the Swastika* 7, January 25, 1940, p.7, Play Library Scripts BBC WAC
- 37 Douglas *Listening In*, pp.23-4; Loviglio *Radio’s Intimate Public*, p.xv, see also Ehrick, *Radio and the Gendered Soundscape*, on the relationship of radio’s “intimate publics” and “imagined communities” ‘to ‘the development of twentieth-century politics’ (p.2).
- 38 (*The Shadow Spreads*) *The Shadow of the Swastika* 6, January 11, 1940, p.21, Play Library Scripts BBC WAC.
- 39 (*The Road to War*) *The Shadow of the Swastika* 7, January 25, 1940, pp.9, 16, Play Library Scripts BBC WAC.
- 40 (*The Reichstag Fire*), *The Shadow of the Swastika* 4, December 14, 1939, 8.15pm-9pm, p.7, Play Library Scripts BBC WAC.
- 41 ‘Shadow of the Swastika’, *Picture Post*, March 2, 1940 p.24.
- 42 See Verma, *Theater of the Mind*, p.46.

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- 43 *From War to War*, Thursday February 8, 1940, pp.27-8, Play Library Scripts, BBC WAC; this section is published at the end of Lloyd and Vinogradoff, 'The Road to War', *Shadow of the Swastika* p.193 with additional directions.
- 44 Wrigley notes that the female voice also had an important role in MacNeice's wartime features where they served to 'carry energetic political purpose' despite being cast in 'seemingly subsidiary or supporting roles' (Wrigley, 'Introduction', p.14).
- 45 (*The Road to War*) *The Shadow of the Swastika* 7, January 25, p.23, 1940, Play Library Scripts BBC WAC. This scene is marked as 'new page' in the PasB script and is not published in Lloyd and Vinogradoff's *Shadow of the Swastika*.
- 46 *The Listener*, 566, November 16, 1939, p.986.
- 47 *The Listener* 602, July 25, 1940, p.125.
- 48 R.J.E. Silvey memo to DFD (Laurence Gilliam), 'Listener Research: The Shadow of the Swastika', January 24, 1940. BBC WAC 19/1142/2.
- 49 *The Shadow of the Swastika* was rebroadcast on the Overseas and Empire Services soon after the Home Service broadcasts, and by the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (in early 1940); see Nicholas, p.151.
- 50 Laurence Gilliam, 'The Job of the Radio Feature Man Today', p.4.
- 51 R.J.E. Silvey memo to DFD (Laurence Gilliam), 'Listener Research: The Shadow of the Swastika', January 24, 1940. BBC WAC 19/1142/2.
- 52 BBC files show that the early version of the proposed announcement to precede *The Shadow of the Swastika*, which named both Goring as Hitler and Genn as narrator, was replaced with a final version that named only the writers and composer (see drafts in BBC WAC R19/1142/1).
- 53 Gilliam 'Shadow of the Swastika', *Picture Post*, p.24.
- 54 Ibid.
- 55 Gilliam, 'Shadow of the Swastika', *Picture Post*, p.23.
- 56 Ibid, p.25.
- 57 Lloyd and Vinogradoff, 'Foreword', *Shadow of the Swastika*, p.11.
- 58 (*Hitler Over Germany*) *The Shadow of the Swastika* 5, p.12, Play Library Scripts BBC WAC; the musical direction is not included in the printed script (see Lloyd and Vinogradoff, *Shadow of the Swastika*, pp.118-19).
- 59 G. Forbes to R. Murray-Leslie, Director of Productions, Pyramid Amalgamated Pictures Ltd., 'Letter from the Deputy Director of the Film Section of the MOI,' February 20, 1940. BBC WAC, R44/173. This file contains further correspondence about proposed film versions of *The Shadow of the Swastika*.
- 60 *Radio Times*, 867, May 10, 1940, p.16
- 61 Ibid.
- 62 Horseley and Tevnan, *Norway Invaded: The First Full Story*
- 63 Horseley, *The Battle of Narvik*, p.8, Play Library Scripts BBC WAC.
- 64 Horseley, *The Battle of Narvik*, p.10, Play Library Scripts BBC WAC.
- 65 Goldie, 'Critic on the Hearth' May 16, 1940, p.987.
- 66 Frieda Rollo of Essex, letter in *The Times* May 16, 1940, p.7.
- 67 *The Times* May 16, 1940, p.7.
- 68 *The Times* May 17, 1940, p.7
- 69 'Extracts from Parliamentary Debate' BBC WAC, R32/44 P.Q.s *Narvik, 1940*.
- 70 *The Times*, June 12, 1940, p.3.
- 71 *The Times*, June 12, 1940, p.3.
- 72 Gilliam, 'The Job of the Radio Feature Man Today', p.4.



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73 Laurence Gilliam memo to DFD (Geilgud) ‘main points to be discussed at Feature Meeting 19<sup>th</sup> Feb 1941’. BBC WAC R19/352/4.

74 Saunders, *The Battle of Britain*.

75 Campion, *The Battle of Britain*, p.94.

76 See Campion, *The Battle of Britain*.

77 D.K. Watson (News Editor *The Daily Mirror*) letter to BBC Press Officer May 9 1941. BBC WAC R19/79/1. This production was rebroadcast on the Forces service on Wednesday 28 May 1941 (9.20-10.20pm). A recording of the first production can be accessed online <http://www.bbc.co.uk/archive/battleofbritain/11425.shtml>

78 Goldie, ‘Critic on the Hearth’, August 22, 1940.

79 Nicholas, *The Echo of War*, pp.201-2.

80 *The Harbour Called Mulberry*, for example, an account of the Normandy landings in June 1944, broadcast on the Home Service Monday March 5, 1945, 9.30-11pm, was written by McGivern in co-operation with the Admiralty, the War Office, the Ministry of Supply, the Ministry of Labour, the Ministry of War Transport, and the Ministry of Information Films Division and featured only generic characters (‘Trooper’, ‘Contractor’, ‘Workman’, ‘Sailor’); see *The Harbour Called Mulberry*, Play Library Scripts BBC WAC and the documents on the production in BBC WAC R19/477.