

Tom [Whitehead]: Okay, we're recording. And today is February the 24th, 2006. Tom Whitehead and Christine --

Catherine Galley: Catherine.

Tom Whitehead: I'm sorry. Catherine Galley. Is that the way you say it?

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Galley?

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Is that French?

Catherine Galley: Yes.

Tom Whitehead: It's not French.

Catherine Galley: Well, I guess it is French, but it's bizarre, because I end it in EY, which is not very French.

Tom Whitehead: It looks Irish. How do you pronounce it in France?

Catherine Galley: Galley.

Tom Whitehead: Galley.

Catherine Galley: A lot of people make a mistake in French, because they put it with ET at the end. Or AIS, because that's a common ending in France.

Tom Whitehead: So, it's Catherine Galley.

Catherine Galley: Correct.

Tom Whitehead: For my purposes. And because I can't pronounce French very well. And we're talking about the advent of radio in the early '20s and when it really took off. And what were we talking about when we decided to record this?

Catherine Galley: Well, we had a number of radio sets and the development of radio sets from basically -- 400,000 in 1923 to 6 million in 1927. And the cost also of these radio sets, which was -- in 1923, we have radio sets at \$23.50, and by the late '20s, in fact, the radio set that is the most sold is at 157 dollars. Which represented today, in today's dollars, is 1600 dollars.

Tom Whitehead: Right. Which seems a little hard to believe. But if you look at other research materials, you'll see that, particularly the advertising of radio, they advertised -- "they" meaning, I suppose, largely, RCA -- which used the Radiola name.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: I believe they used that in their record industry as well.

Catherine Galley: Mm-hmm.

Tom Whitehead: A lot of the ads show radios -- in the beginning the radios are crystal sets, which are kind of electric contraptions, home-made. And then, by the late '20s, not too late '20s, you have radios built into stylish furniture.

Catherine Galley: Sure. Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: And it becomes an item of furniture, with the -- at least in radio, in the radio ads, and probably in reality, families sitting around the radio, listening. So, it makes some sense that it was a more expensive device, like a TV set.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: But we were talking about was how radio sales in probably '24 -- it's in the Montgomery Ward catalogue, it's probably in the Sears catalogue, they're probably manufactured by RCA or who knows who -- there weren't that many manufacturers. But they sold under different brand names. So, it took off in roughly '23, '24, which must have been when it really hit the national consciousness. Although, I think it was talked about in an exciting way probably in '21, '22, when the number of radio stations began to increase.

And there had to be enough radio stations that people found it worth their while to pay money to have a radio. But we were also saying how, when it took off -- we're not exactly sure whether it was like '24 or '25, something like that -- and it grew extremely rapidly and then leveled off in the Depression and then took off again. And that's what we were talking about. And I was about to say that during the Depression, a radio was a very cost-effective way of getting entertainment. Because if you had a radio, you pay for it once, and you get a constant stream of talk, information, music, what have you. Entertainment. Whereas with --

Catherine Galley: The movies.

Tom Whitehead: With movies or with records -- you bought a record player, you had to keep buying records. So, somewhere in there, radio became -- and I think

the Depression probably helped radio, because it made it, in many ways, the most cost-effective way of getting entertainment. And probably more importantly to getting a perception or window onto the country and the world.

Catherine Galley: Mm-hmm. What was interesting -- I think what launched, really, the radio also and helped the radio tremendously was the Presidential election of 1924.

Tom Whitehead: And who was that?

Catherine Galley: Coolidge.

Tom Whitehead: Harding and Coolidge. Did Harding run again?

Catherine Galley: It was Coolidge, Davis, and LaFollette.

Tom Whitehead: Oh, LaFollette. Oh, boy. That's a story.

Catherine Galley: And what seems to be amazing is that, okay, Harding is just like -- very few people get the news. It seems that it will be announced on the radio, but basically people will just transmit it from the speaker, and City Hall will have more audience than the radio. But the 1924 election, and in fact I found a very interesting article by Don Moore, which really shows how, in fact, even the campaign started to be on the radio.

Tom Whitehead: Mm-hmm.

Catherine Galley: And people started to ask for more of that political dimension on the waves rather than just, like, the music or whatever was going on. And, in

fact, the result of the election of Coolidge will be the first national broadcast in 1924.

Tom Whitehead: Was that coast to coast?

Catherine Galley: Coast to coast.

Tom Whitehead: And was that --

Catherine Galley: Relayed by -- I haven't found -- and it seems that it varies, the dates vary, so it depends on which one. It seems the first test was done by the militaries in 1924. It was --

Tom Whitehead: By who?

Catherine Galley: The defense. The national defense test day on September 12, 1924. So, yes. That was not even the result of the election, but it was just the day before the election. Coolidge was able to give his final speech on record, 26 stations coast to coast.

Tom Whitehead: Well, the question I was going to ask was the thing we discussed last time, was the connection would have been across AT&T wires going out to the West Coast?

Catherine Galley: Mm-hmm. Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Was that connection -- did the networks have that connection all the time, every day, by then, or was it just a special event that they had the East and the West Coasts connected?

Catherine Galley: So, from what I've gotten the sense of -- and there was one article that said that by '24, before Coolidge did it, it was something that seemed very bizarre to even think about it. But after it was done, it seemed that it became very, very quickly something very common.

Tom Whitehead: Mm-hmm.

Catherine Galley: So, the technology sort of -- once it's done once, it seems that after that, it just develops very easily. I don't know if it's true technologically --

Tom Whitehead: No, no. No, it's amazing.

Catherine Galley: But it seems that once it's done, it's not any more a concern, even. You know, they can do it; then they go for it.

Tom Whitehead: Once it's done, it's commonplace. But before it's done, it's unthinkable.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: That's it exactly.

Catherine Galley: That's very much -- What is really funny, and I don't remember who said that, but there was someone who said, "Wow. The 1924 election will be the radio election. And so -- but by 1928, the fashion will be dead." Which is just the reverse. In fact, what is really interesting is that in 1924, the Presidential election helps the radio, basically. For the development of the radio, it's very important, because people are interested by that, and more radio sets will be sold. There is an excitement with the population.

And basically the Presidential election is a type of ad for the radio. But by '28, it's just the reverse, in fact. It's -- the Presidential campaign that has to adapt to the radio.

Tom Whitehead: Right.

Catherine Galley: And now suddenly there is a sense that, okay, the candidates will have to have a nice voice. They have to -- it's going to be very different. The rules of the game are going to be very different. It seems that Roosevelt, in 1924, was not a candidate, but he spoke on the radio, and everybody said, oh, he has a great radio voice.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah.

Catherine Galley: And I'm sure he became very aware of that, because he used it later on.

Tom Whitehead: And then you think of the Kennedy/Nixon debates on television and how the candidates perceived television.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. And that's again just [unintelligible] like that. And people started to say, oh, okay, that's a different world, and we have to look at it. And there is this mastery of the toy by the candidates.

Tom Whitehead: But did you find contemporaneous discussion of that phenomenon? In other words, it's one thing for us later to say, "Oh gee, the candidates had to find their way into how to use this medium, and it caused them to do their campaigns differently, and ultimately it caused different kinds of candidates to be strong, because they could project themselves through this medium." But did you find anything that showed that the people contemporaneously, when it was happening, understood what was happening?

Catherine Galley: I think some people started to understand what was happening. *The New York Times*, at that time, thought that future candidates may be chosen as to whether they were radiogenic or even photogenic.

Catherine Galley: Yeah, it seems that it happened that immediately some people. Because already *The New York Times* had all kinds of reference, and we need to find the reference there, because it's not in the indicated there, but it's from that time and cited. Already *The New York Times* they thought that, okay, it's going to be different. People will have to be radiogenic. Radiogenic.

Tom Whitehead: Radiogenic. That's good there.

Catherine Galley: Or even photogenic, you know. The movies had come up, so already in some ways the silent movies had made a step in basically providing the image of the President to the country. The radio suddenly --

Tom Whitehead: The movies?

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Silent movies. Yeah. It seems that the silent movies had already been used. I don't know when it happened first, but the movies --

Tom Whitehead: But of course you can't really -- you can't show a President talking in the movies, so it must have been just --

Catherine Galley: No, but the picture of the President coming out or, you know, that was like the face or the image of the President.

Tom Whitehead: Now, that's interesting.



Catherine Galley: So, it seems that suddenly they had to look relatively good, but suddenly, when they were on the radio, it started to be like they had to sound good, too.

Tom Whitehead: Right.

Catherine Galley: And so it changed the speech.

Tom Whitehead: Yes, and at the same time, almost exactly the same time, and probably to some extent because of the same technological development, you had talking -- the talkies, the talking movies.

Catherine Galley: Mm-hmm. Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: And people who had been silent screen stars had crazy voices, and they didn't make it.

Catherine Galley: Oh, no. Very few made it, in fact.

Tom Whitehead: Very few. So, there was a change there, too, and it was the same companies -- it was AT&T and RCA, maybe somebody else -- oh, yes -- well, it was principally AT&T and RCA who were developing the technology both for sound in the movies and radio broadcasting. Developments in radio broadcasting. And we still don't know when the national network was permanently established.

Catherine Galley: No. The first try was in 1924.

Tom Whitehead: Right, but we've -- we don't know if that was a special event or if it was -- if there were regularly scheduled broadcasts that covered coast to coast.

Catherine Galley: That's a programming issue.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah, it's kind of a -- well, it's a programming and technology issue, because the cost and the quality of cross-country lines from AT&T was an issue.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Some people didn't want to pay for that.

Tom Whitehead: Right. But presumably NBC did. And so I guess the question is when did NBC start? They obviously started doing special events as soon as they had the capability, because it was a way of showing off. Both AT&T could show off what it could do, and the radio could show -- the network could show off. But the question we still need to look at is when did NBC start doing regularly scheduled coast to coast programming?

Catherine Galley: That will be something I would look at, trying to find the info. There's a lot of info. Everything is so scattered.

Tom Whitehead: That's the problem. There is so much information, and it is so scattered.

Catherine Galley: Scattered. It's just incredible.

Tom Whitehead: Right. And pulling it together in the framework that we're looking at it, which is kind of a political economy, is difficult.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. But it's clear that there is certainly a need to do it, because everything is here and there, and you don't have a sense of really how the population reacted to that. You get snippets here and snippet there, and it seems very --

Tom Whitehead: It's true across the board. I have been trying to find somebody who could recreate the sound of 1920s radio. And it is -- I haven't found anybody yet, because you find engineers who will talk to you about the tubes they used in their transmitters back then. And you'll find museum broadcasts of radios, where somebody's got 233 different radios that were built in the 1920s. And you find people who have transcriptions of, you know, the original records of the programs. But you can't find anybody who can take a transcription of an early program, run it through a 1920s-style transmitter, put it on the air, receive it in a 1920s radio, and record it. And that --

Catherine Galley: Oh, wow.

Tom Whitehead: You'd think that that --

Catherine Galley: Yeah. That people could do that!

Tom Whitehead: No, no. Nobody's done it. But we're going to do it, because it's going to be on the CD included with the book. I don't know how we're going to do it, but we're going to do it.

Catherine Galley: There must be some people who could do that. It doesn't seem to be impossible technologically. I'm sure it's --

Tom Whitehead: The problem is like you said. The interest is so scattered. You can find people who would love to play a 1920s radio for you, receiving today's radio transmissions. Because they're interested in the radio set.

Catherine Galley: Okay. Yeah, yeah. That's --

Tom Whitehead: And you find people who will play the old transcriptions, because they were interested in the program. But you can't put them together. We'll do it.

Catherine Galley: Well, that's -- yeah, that's one of the -- that's something that I found really interesting. It's like, for example, I like this book. This book is really interesting.

Tom Whitehead: It's a good book.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. It's a good book. I really like also --

Tom Whitehead: We're talking about *Radio Voices* by Michele Hilmes.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. It's interesting. I haven't read it all, but, you know, I went and looked through it. And it's really interesting, he built -- And it's not just like focused on one aspect. It's more complex. But what I was really interested was on one of these illustrations, where there is a weekly program, radio phone service from 1921. And already there, I was able to see that there was a children's hour.

Tom Whitehead: Oh, yes.

Catherine Galley: So, it started always immediately there.

Tom Whitehead: What station was that? Do you know?

Catherine Galley: I don't know. Station WJZ. Newark, New Jersey.

Tom Whitehead: Newark. Owned by NBC -- owned by RCA or owned by --

- Catherine Galley: I don't know that. I'm still very much a novice regarding this.
- Tom Whitehead: Yeah, well, I don't expect you to know. I'm just kind of asking.
- Catherine Galley: Westinghouse and --
- Tom Whitehead: WJZ. Westinghouse Electric. So, it was a Westinghouse station. Westinghouse built -- they went -- and this is Harry Davis. H.P. Davis. He built a number of radio stations to provide the programming that was necessary in order to get people to buy his radio sets. I mean, it's a wonderful story. Oh, this is *Amos and Andy* I was telling you about.
- Catherine Galley: Yeah. Yeah, yeah. I learned a lot more, and there is plenty about that.
- Tom Whitehead: Oh, there's a lot about them.
- Catherine Galley: Yeah.
- Tom Whitehead: So, anyway. It did happen almost immediately.
- Catherine Galley: Yeah. And I know that -- I found a reference of a book that looks at radio and children from 1926 to 1956.
- Tom Whitehead: That's good.
- Catherine Galley: I will look at that book, because it should be an interesting reference. Women -- what is amazing in the ads that you can find on the radio -- a lot of them, it's a woman that touches the radio and is turning the buttons or doing that.
- Tom Whitehead: Really.

Catherine Galley: Which I find really, really surprising. Because I wouldn't expect that. Yet a woman -- once again, it's a woman --

Tom Whitehead: What years are we talking about?

Catherine Galley: 1920s! Immediately!

Tom Whitehead: But when in the '20s? Because it makes a difference.

Catherine Galley: Late 1920s here.

Tom Whitehead: Late '20s.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: But, you see, if you go back to that Westinghouse thing -- you don't have to go back, but --

Catherine Galley: Oh, maybe I have it. Or maybe not. I moved on.

Tom Whitehead: The one you showed me. No, that's okay.

Catherine Galley: No. I don't have it here.

Tom Whitehead: But you saw what that radio set looked like?

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: It was --

Catherine Galley: That one --

Tom Whitehead: It was a bunch of wires, headphones. It was a guy thing.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: It was a guy thing. And, in fact, there's a lot of talk that it was boys. It was young boys that built radio sets from parts. So, it was very much a male thing. But by the late '20s, just five years later, maybe -- let's say five years later -- the sets are being manufactured and sold in volume.

Catherine Galley: Mm-hmm.

Tom Whitehead: They're much easier to use.

Catherine Galley: Mm-hmm.

Tom Whitehead: They're not crystal sets anymore. They have tubes. And they work -- they function more or less like a radio of today with maybe a couple of extra knobs. And I -- in looking at these ads with women, you can come up with a couple of hypotheses. You could say that women became -- women took over the radio, and so this is reflecting what's going on in the home. I would bet you that what in fact it's showing is the radio manufacturers want to show that women can use the radio. I bet it -- I'll bet it's an effort to make radio something that women feel comfortable with. Because women are half the potential audience. It's a potentially big audience.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. But still, it's still surprising. For me, there is something very surprising in seeing lots of pictures of women next to the radio. I guess they got the right to vote, so suddenly they have been a lot more vocal.

Tom Whitehead: And the dresses are different.

Catherine Galley: Mm-hmm.

Tom Whitehead: Right?

Catherine Galley: Yeah. And there's a series of -- Okay, here's a whole --

Tom Whitehead: And the advertising is much more targeted. Now, are you being selective in just picking ads that show women?

Catherine Galley: I don't know. But there's a collection basically of ten images and, like, there is only one. The last one is with a man touching the radio.

Tom Whitehead: That's interesting.

Catherine Galley: And a lot of the pictures you find -- and they haven't done -- for sure it's not, like, exhaustive right now. But from -- what I got is just amazing. But that one, that one is touching the radio.

Tom Whitehead: That's pretty risqué.

Catherine Galley: But otherwise, it's women. Women touching the radio. Which --

Tom Whitehead: You know, there are lots of reasons -- lots of speculation about what --

Catherine Galley: That could be there. But it's, like, hmm. It's like there was --

Tom Whitehead: I'm reminded of the story of -- which, you know, we may get to, if the semester is long enough for you to do the research --



Catherine Galley: Well, I plan to work.

Tom Whitehead: Albert Lasker was one of the -- he and the guy from BBDO -- was one of the most prominent and creative advertising men in using radio to create audiences. I mean, to create markets for products. And there is a fascinating story of his creating the Lucky Strike brand to -- and using a famous opera singer -- to make Lucky Strike the cigarette that was for women to smoke.

Catherine Galley: Hmm.

Tom Whitehead: This was in the '30s, I believe, early '30s. And the logic was to make it socially okay for women to smoke in public. And the logic of that was -- his logic was women are half of the market for cigarettes, and we're only reaching half the market, because we're only selling to men. So, we can double our market for cigarettes, if we can appeal to women. And how much of that ad campaign was based on print and how much was based on radio would be a very interesting thing.

Catherine Galley: What I find -- I would not have expected at that time that it would have been the women that would have purchased the radio set.

Tom Whitehead: No, but particularly for these radios that became furniture-like -- and you've got to remember that the tube radios -- the crystal set was kind of a thing like the size of a loaf of bread, but a tube radio was big. It was big. And so turning it into an item of furniture was not very far-fetched. And for the woman of the house to agree that a substantial piece of the family budget should be invested in this piece of electronic equipment, it -- and particularly something that was in furniture -- I mean, certainly --

Catherine Galley: Yeah. They were responsible.

Tom Whitehead: Well, at least they had to agree to it, you know. So, the idea of making it appeal to women as something that was easy to use, that they could get enjoyment from, that would enhance the attractiveness of their home, I'll bet you that was a very conscious advertising.

Catherine Galley: That's a challenge.

Tom Whitehead: I don't know how we'd find that. I don't know how you document that.

Catherine Galley: You need to find, maybe, is a more -- and I've looked at trying to find the names of the women's magazines of the 1920s.

Tom Whitehead: True Confessions.

Catherine Galley: True Confessions?

Tom Whitehead: I don't know. I don't know what women read. Somewhere there's --

Catherine Galley: Ah, there is *Harper's* at that time. There is *McClure's*, *Scribner's*, *Ladies' Quarterly*, *Women's Home Companion*, *Ladies' Home Journal*.

Tom Whitehead: *Ladies' Home Journal*.

Catherine Galley: Yeah, which I think was an important one.

Tom Whitehead: That was big.

Catherine Galley: *Women's Home* -- yeah, *Home Companion*. [unintelligible] *Magazine*. *Youth Companion*. I don't know what is that one really.

Tom Whitehead: I don't know.

Catherine Galley: It must have been more for children.

Tom Whitehead: But you can -- somebody's done research and has the circulation numbers. And you can find that.

Catherine Galley: And see that. That is -- but what would be interesting is to see which type of advertisements were done, were commercially done in these magazines.

Tom Whitehead: As opposed to the newspapers or --

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Or *Popular Science*. And *Popular Science* wasn't read probably by very many women. But it was a very influential magazine in the development of radio.

Catherine Galley: They had a *Vogue Farmer* magazine. And the closest I found was *Farm Journal*.

Tom Whitehead: *Farm Journal*.

Catherine Galley: Yeah, *Farm Journal*.

Tom Whitehead: *Farm Journal* was by far the biggest, and it remained big. I remember reading it at my grandparents' in the '60s.

Catherine Galley: Because there was another one, which was *Farmers' Home Journal*.

Tom Whitehead: I don't know if they were the same thing in different --

Catherine Galley: *Farm Journal* ended publishing in 1939. *Farmers' Home Journal* ended in 1932. It started ten years earlier. Lots of magazines ended in 1939.

Tom Whitehead: Well, that's interesting. Because I read *Farm Journal* in 1960. So, something happened there. Maybe somebody just started a new magazine and used --

Catherine Galley: *Farm* -- it's just amazing. The number of *Farm Journal* whatsoever that started in 1810, '20, '30.

Tom Whitehead: I got you.

Catherine Galley: There are like at least 50 different ones that are *Farm* something, which is really odd. You know, like, okay, where is it? Oh, that one is in this state, and this one is in this other state. And you get the one in England too. But it's like, "Oh, big deal." It's clear. I don't think we don't have that many magazines.

Tom Whitehead: That's interesting. I sort of thought of the one that I used to see. But I can understand what you're saying. But, anyway.

Catherine Galley: I don't know. I don't know.

Tom Whitehead: Whatever was the big farm magazine in the '20s, it would --

Catherine Galley: I guess it's *Farm Journal* in the '20s.

Tom Whitehead: I don't know.

Catherine Galley: But after that, I think there is one that started again later on. But there was always that interruption.

Tom Whitehead: I need to take a break.

[Recording stops and resumes.]

Catherine Galley: There are women represented in the ads. There are children, too. And children become more prominent, as time goes on.

Tom Whitehead: I wonder why.

Catherine Galley: It seems that it is viewed almost like as a family gathering item. There must be some family values certainly connected to it, but I haven't found anything related to that directly, yet. But it could be that I haven't hit the right --

Tom Whitehead: Well, I'm sure that at some point children started encouraging their parents to buy radios, because there was programming that --

Catherine Galley: But it's like the programming -- the programming basically -- there was no programming before 1920s. And programming really takes off a lot during the mid '20s. And I will need to find something more precise than what I have found up to now, because that's --

Tom Whitehead: That's a very rich field. There's a lot written on programming.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. And knowing that radio drama was born in 1927. So, there. It moves on.

Tom Whitehead: I don't know what to draw from all of that. There was clearly a lot of confusion and experimentation and feeling their way and a lot of false starts. Some people trying new things. Some people carrying over things that worked from the past. One interesting thread is the relation of the Vaudeville industry to radio. Vaudeville continued well into the '20s and probably into the '30s.

But it fell on hard times with the Depression. It probably was shrinking even before then. And a number of Vaudeville stars moved from Vaudeville to radio and substantially carried on the type of routine they were doing in Vaudeville, just doing it on radio. And obviously some of it worked and some of it didn't. And I think that's interesting to me, because you can see the decline of Vaudeville as an industry, because of hard times, and radio becomes a much more cost-effective way of getting your entertainment.

So, why do you pay for a Vaudeville ticket when you can stay home and listen to the radio for free?

Catherine Galley: Mm-hmm.

Tom Whitehead: So, there's an interesting economic adaptation going on there. You know, I'd like to see a correlation at some point of the -- I don't know how you'd do it, I don't know if there's statistics on Vaudeville box office or whatever you call it. But if we could document that, that would be an interesting thread.

Catherine Galley: What I find really interesting that takes place, it seems, at that time -- from what I am getting as information, there is this massive flow of information. It's almost like the Internet, when the Internet was created.

Tom Whitehead: Well, I'm glad you said that, because that's a very good --

Catherine Galley: It's the same thing. It would be as difficult to document the first years of the Internet. Everything goes everywhere.

Tom Whitehead: The reason I was late is I was having lunch with Brian Lamb.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Do you know who that is?

Catherine Galley: I went to the talk he gave at the school.

Tom Whitehead: Oh, did you?

Catherine Galley: Yeah. It was very interesting. I really enjoyed it.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. Well, Brian and I got to talking, and it ended up being two hours. But today we were specifically talking about the Internet. And he told me -- I've forgotten the number -- but there are something like a million blogs on the Internet today.

Catherine Galley: I would guess even more.

Tom Whitehead: I think it was more. I just don't remember the number. And it has to be a lot like early radio. You had people who desperately wanted to talk for three hours a week about songbirds, you know.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah.

Tom Whitehead: And, you know, you had people who desperately wanted to talk about the evils of the Republican party. And you had people who desperately wanted to talk about --

Catherine Galley: Aliens.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. Aliens. And back then, they could, because you could get -- in the '20s, you could get a license for a radio station just for the asking. It didn't cost anything, and nobody regulated you.

Catherine Galley: Well, I found that Hoover tried to regulate that.

Tom Whitehead: He tried.

Catherine Galley: But the court in 1926 said there is no way.

Tom Whitehead: Right. So, up until 1926, if you wanted a radio station, you just wrote to the Commerce Department, and they gave you a license, and you could broadcast. And probably a lot of people did it without a license. So, there was a lot of experimentation and sorting out: what works, what doesn't work. I think it's almost exactly parallel to the Internet today.

Catherine Galley: It's like in France when suddenly there are radios where, you know, free radios, *Radio Libre*, were allowed -- suddenly there was, like, an incredible number of radios going on, and the broadband was just incredible. You would go on, at one point, and you would get, like, each time, like a new radio basically.

Tom Whitehead: What was the event that happened?



Catherine Galley: Because it was not anymore -- the government opened the waves to radios. Because it was very controlled until 1981.

Tom Whitehead: To commercial stations.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Till when?

Catherine Galley: 1981.

Tom Whitehead: Fascinating.

Catherine Galley: And then suddenly you had, like, this flow, this massive flow of radios that were created, basically overnight. And for sure, within a few years, it declined a lot. A lot of these radios disappeared.

Tom Whitehead: Oh, sure.

Catherine Galley: And, you know, there was consolidation taking place and stuff like that. So, now you have some, but you are not overloaded. But at that time, it had become absolutely insane, basically. 19.6 was something, 19.65 was something else.

Tom Whitehead: Did the government have a reaction to all of that?

Catherine Galley: That was the government that finally did that.

Tom Whitehead: I know, but once it happened.

Catherine Galley: When it happened suddenly, what people started to find, it was a bit too messy, in some way. And I don't know if it --

Tom Whitehead: Was it political or --

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah. It was political -- there was a socialist that decided to open the radios.

Tom Whitehead: Was there a lot of anti-government programming?

Catherine Galley: Oh, a lot of minorities types of things: gays and Africans and different groups that took over and decided --

Tom Whitehead: I'm curious, because I started the Astra project in 1981. And I think it was -- I started thinking about it in '81. No, that's not right. That's not right. When you said '81, it just triggered -- I really started putting it together in my mind in 1982. And it was probably in 1984 that the French government took such a -- took a terribly -- what's the word -- terribly heavy-handed effort to kill Astra. They really didn't want to lose control of the television that the people in France saw. And I'm just wondering if part of the reason they didn't -- part of the reason they were so sensitive to that was what had happened on the radios.

Catherine Galley: Oh, maybe.

Tom Whitehead: Just a few years before -- just a couple of years before.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Oh, yeah. Just a couple of years before.

Tom Whitehead: It would be interesting --

Catherine Galley: You know, I will be in France probably this summer. I will look at that and will, you know, can provide you with something.

Tom Whitehead: I mean, the French always want to control communications. But it would be really interesting to see if once they freed up the radio waves, if they then said we shouldn't have done that. I'm starting to think that.

Catherine Galley: It could be. It could be. Because suddenly the world -- lots of different radio was created at that time.

Tom Whitehead: Well, that's kind of a different topic, but it's very interesting.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. I can help with that. I'm sure -- I'll try to find information. But the problem is that the French don't use the Internet so well, so there is basically nothing in French on the Internet that's fairly limited.

Tom Whitehead: But you see the parallel with what's going on in the Internet today and what was going on with radio is one of the reasons I want to write this book. Because I think it would be helpful to people to know that we've been through this before.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: You know? We have.

Catherine Galley: Yeah, yeah. And --

Tom Whitehead: And here's how people felt about it at the time. Here's how it -- here's what -- how it sorted out.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. And how in some way people start to feel that they want to control.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah.

Catherine Galley: Because this type of mess. It's very creative chaos in some way. It's almost scary, because it's -- people cannot grasp it, really. Things happen, and they happen so fast. And it's a little reason to be like, yeah, it was impossible yesterday, but now we don't know how to do it without.

Tom Whitehead: Without.

Catherine Galley: It's like this very, very fast process. And I think some people -- I would say someone like Davis finds that exciting, I would imagine, and they go on. They dwell on that, and there is change. But there is always, always that fraction of the population that cannot stand change.

And any change is dangerous, and any change is going to create something they don't know. But anything new can be really troublesome. They prefer a very established and quiet society. And I think there are these forces. Right now what I read is more like -- especially with the early '20s, I haven't really looked at the '30s. I think it starts counting down, I guess, in the '30s.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. I think by the late '20s, you have radio -- the sales of radio receivers is a mass electronics -- mass consumer electronics industry. The pattern of three networks is set when Paley creates CBS. And the Radio Act of '27 and the Federal Radio Commission, by 1928 to '29, had imposed serious license restrictions, so that the frequencies that people broadcasted on was regularized. There were enough radio stations. There were three television -- three radio networks.

There was -- advertising had, in the form of sponsorships, at least, had come into its own as the primary means of supporting the economics of radio broadcasting. Which is kind of interesting, because people like Davis and Sarnoff thought that they were just providing the radio transmissions to get people to buy radios. They thought their business was selling radios. And at some point -- and the programming was just a -- it was kind of a come on to buy radios. But by the late '20s, I mean five years later, four years later, the transmission of radio is an industry.

And there's an economy of radio transmission, which is heavily funded by advertisers. So, that -- all of that happened so quickly.

Catherine Galley: Quickly, yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Which is amazing. But by -- I would -- and in part, I think this is one of the punctuation points of the book -- by the late '20s, by the time Roosevelt is elected, the late '20s, early '30s, the economic pattern for radio is set. There are hourly and half hourly programs, there's advertising, radio set manufacturing. And that is just -- that industry structure, industry pattern, is carried on into television. So, that pattern was with us from 1930 to 19-- Pick your decade. 1980? Probably 1990?

It probably wasn't until 1985 or so, or maybe even 1990, that there was serious numbers of viewers for cable channels. So, what's that? That's almost 50 years that that industry pattern continued. And it went from chaos to a fairly well-defined industry structure in five years, four years. It just -- bang. Of course, it didn't happen just bang, because as we've talked about, it was so chaotic and confusing.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. It's not very clear.

Tom Whitehead: No. And an interesting thing to me is you find people like Sarnoff and Davis -- I am just fascinated with Davis.

Catherine Galley: You know that there is a library, a Sarnoff library, in Princeton, with all these [crosstalk].

Tom Whitehead: I know that, and I've got to compare the two. Sarnoff gets all of the credit for creating NBC. Probably deserves most of it. But Davis is there behind the scenes, making it happen. And --

[Recording stops and restarts]

Tom Whitehead: What were we talking about?

Catherine Galley: Sarnoff and --

Tom Whitehead: Oh. I just -- that was just a longwinded way of saying that out of all that chaos, an industry structure, a framework, emerged and was locked into place. I wouldn't say locked into place, but it was pretty firmly in place, probably by '28, '29. So, I'm not surprised that you don't find any huge innovations in the '30s. But there were innovations. Roosevelt's fireside chat. There were lots of new -- there was a constant change of program content, but it was all within the same structure. And I'll bet you -- I don't know -- I was starting to say -- I think that both Davis and Sarnoff, you know, they clearly did not foresee, and Hoover -- they did not -- those are the people who made radio broadcasting, and Frank Conrad. It was really -- I guess it was really Davis, Sarnoff, Hoover, and Paley. And putting Paley aside, I'll bet you that all of this modern new music -- I'll bet you a lot of the programming, soap operas, I'll bet you it was stuff they never thought of in the beginning.

And I think they hung on to the idea that radio was such an important new technology, it would be used for cultural uplift and education. And they clearly went along with all of this new stuff, because it created audience and it sold radios. Sarnoff, you know, hung on for a very long time to the idea of classical music.

Catherine Galley: Then this guy's in 1931. So, in some way, I don't think he has much time to really get even out of the creative chaos that is taking place.

Tom Whitehead: Well, but if you buy my argument that the industry structure --

Catherine Galley: -- is set in --

Tom Whitehead: -- was pretty much in place. Paley created a -- Paley was a major disruption, because he created economic competition as a third network, and he was willing to be more explicitly commercial than Sarnoff was -- or Sarnoff and Davis were. I don't know how much Davis was involved in programming. I don't know how much Sarnoff was involved in programming.

I don't know who did the programming decisions for NBC. That's an interesting question. Some executive lost to history. But I would think that the record would show that Sarnoff, Hoover, and Davis, if you buy the -- I think that all three of them are important -- they didn't foresee what Paley did. So, Paley was an economic force, just in creating a third network. But he also was much more culturally -- he was disposed to be more blatantly commercial. It was kind of unseemly to put on lowbrow programming and sell -- and explicitly sell products. Explicitly use radio to sell products. So, Paley was a -- I think he finished it off. But he created CBS. He bought CBS in '28, yeah? So, by '31, the die was cast.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Sure. I don't know if he was -- I don't know how he died.

Tom Whitehead: Who?

Catherine Galley: How Davis died.

Tom Whitehead: Davis. Oh, I don't know.

Catherine Galley: You know, and so his last, last years, he would be maybe a bit --

Tom Whitehead: I think he was chairman of NBC when he died.

Catherine Galley: Okay. I thought maybe just --

Tom Whitehead: So, anyway, he would have been involved in making these industry structure kinds of decisions.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: And how much money do we spend on the network and what are our standards. I don't know how much he was involved in programming. But in a way it doesn't matter, because the structure of local stations, national networks, advertising support, mass sales of radio sets, penetration of almost all homes in the country, that pattern was -- that was what Davis would have been working on. And Sarnoff. Anyway. I'm not -- that's a long way around of saying I'm not surprised that you don't find many huge changes in the '30s.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. I haven't found anything that would account for [unintelligible], like for sure the fireside chats of Roosevelt and they are there. But it's



almost like an entity in itself. And it's more about what was on the air,  
than --

Tom Whitehead: Exactly.

Catherine Galley: Than really --

Tom Whitehead: Exactly.

Catherine Galley: What's happening or how it's -- you know, it was a --

Tom Whitehead: It's like when soap was invented or when sliced bread was invented, you know. It suddenly went from -- it very quickly went from, oh, gee, someone's invented sliced bread. And then very quickly it's Wonder Bread and Bunny Bread and wholesome bread and you know. And so the whole subject then becomes which brand of sliced bread.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Yeah. There is something I started looking at but didn't -- which is like the big difference between the U.S. and the UK and how in the U.S. the private sector was allowed really to play a much more important role, where in fact in the UK it didn't have.

Tom Whitehead: There's a different history in the UK, which I have just looked at, and I don't remember it very well. But I think it grew out of -- and I'm just now talking off the top of my head -- but I think it grew much like in the U.S. as an outgrowth of World War I. Because in World War I, each government controlled all of the -- well, there was no radio -- no, that's wrong, I take that all back. Because there was no radio broadcasting during World War I.

There was some reason that the British government -- I think it was because the British government put radio licensing under their postal service and telegraph service, which was a national monopoly. You'd have to check that. I'm not sure I'm right. But I think they put the regulation under there, and I think the thought was that radio transmissions were like telephone and telegraph, and it was something the government should do. Whereas, in the U.S., there was this -- there was a period of time where radio amateurs could just do it, and then when they required licenses, almost anybody could get a license.

And it wasn't -- there was really zero regulation until 1927. And even then, the regulation had to do with frequencies and powers and antenna sizes. So, in the U.S., it was free to develop as a commercial medium, and there wasn't any government. I think it's a fluke of where they put the radio transmissions in the first place. But that's an interesting -- and then there was a -- that's kind of interesting, but I think much more interesting is the discussion in both countries about how do you pay for this. Because the idea of a tax on radio sets was very much talked about in the United States, which is what the BBC ended up being.

Catherine Galley: That's what was in France, too.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah.

Catherine Galley: In France, we say, well, yeah, there was a tax on radio. What?

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. Still is in Britain. Oh, I'm not sure about radio.

Catherine Galley: Oh, on TV for France.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. TVs, not radios.

Catherine Galley: So, in the U.S., it never took off. Taxes were very important here in the U.S.

Tom Whitehead: Well, yeah, taxes are. But there was no government agency that needed revenues to support anything, whereas in the UK -- I don't know what was transmitted, but if I'm right that the radio transmitters were owned by the government, then a tax to provide revenues made sense. But a tax to provide revenues for programming made no sense in the United States, because it was all being done commercially.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah, there's an interesting little political economy analysis, comparative analysis, within --

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Because in some way, there must be more than just where they put it. Because they could have changed it. Could have -- it didn't have to take that path.

Tom Whitehead: No. No.

Catherine Galley: I think in the U.S. there were pressures to try to have, at some point, at least some people wanted to have, government taking over the radio.

Tom Whitehead: I don't know.

Catherine Galley: Who saw it as important -- some people saw it as something very important, commercially and from an educational perspective. And so I think it's the U.S. who would have been more like almost education. I

don't know if there was a Department of Education at the time. I don't think so, well, but almost like public schools.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. There was a lot of thought that public schools and colleges should have their own radios. But the idea of the government -- regardless of where the money came from -- the idea of the government paying for programming never was popular here.

Catherine Galley: No.

Tom Whitehead: But I'm sure you're right, that there was a debate, and there probably were people who foresaw what advertising would lead to. But they clearly didn't have any practical effect.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. It's always amazing to see the difference between this country and European countries.

Tom Whitehead: It's quite different models.

Catherine Galley: And how, in fact, the models are different, the pasts are different, the solutions are very different in past.

Tom Whitehead: And part of it is due to the cultural difference. But I suspect a very large amount of it has to do just with the accidents of history. Of whether it's a government agency that, you know -- the pattern in Europe was you had the Ministry of Post and Telegraph, which became the Ministry of Post, Telegraph, and Telecommunications. And they ran all the -- they ran the telephone network. So, it was pretty natural to think about them providing the infrastructure for radio broadcasting.

Whereas here, there was a battle between AT&T on the one hand and RCA and Westinghouse. That in some ways could be considered a counterpart. Where AT&T as the owner of the telecommunications infrastructure thought that they should build -- in fact, there's a fascinating story about AT&T -- and documentation of AT&T's plan to build a national network of radio stations that would be a monopoly. So, I suspect that -- and for a variety of reasons, they didn't succeed; it had a lot to do with patents and antitrust and other stuff -- but I suspect that the kind of the thought pattern that drove AT&T as the telecom monopoly to be the monopoly for radios has some parallels with what happened in Europe. That's an interesting analysis. Gosh, we could write ten books on that.

Catherine Galley: That's all? I don't really think it's just accidents of history. I think there is also a self-selection process.

Tom Whitehead: Oh, yes. I said industry.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: There is one thing.

Catherine Galley: But I think also this country has always been more excited about things that are new, maybe just because it's a young country and everything's changing. I find that there is something, I would guess -- especially when I look at the East Coast. It tends to go so much more towards what Europe is doing. Even if Europe is failing to do anything well. I'm like, "Why? Why? Why is there that move?" But --

Tom Whitehead: Not like Texas, huh?

Catherine Galley: Oh, very different.

Tom Whitehead: Did you like Texas?

Catherine Galley: There were things I really liked. There were things I really didn't like.

Tom Whitehead: You were where? Where were you? Austin?

Catherine Galley: I was in Lubbock.

Tom Whitehead: Lubbock.

Catherine Galley: So, it's really like the end of nowhere. What I really liked there was that suddenly I understood the concept of the frontier. And I think that concept has been absolutely critical in the history of this country. And basically there it still survives a bit. But I think that the young part of the country can find that again, and I think as that concept is dying on the eastern coast, people talk about the frontier, but the frontier is an abstract concept. It's not a real concept. It's not something they have and suddenly they lack. I think the country is changing.

Tom Whitehead: How would you define the frontier in that part of the discussion?

Catherine Galley: This incredible move -- that you can move further. You can explore new lands. You don't have to stay where you are. You are not stuck.

Tom Whitehead: Right.

Catherine Galley: Physically. Geographically. There's always someplace for you --

Tom Whitehead: Occupationally.

Catherine Galley: To be. Yeah. When you don't get that here. It's over. It's settled; it's urbanized; it's -- there is no more land really to divvy out. It's redevelopment now, and I think that's a very different spirit.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. It is.

Catherine Galley: And I would say as that spirit of the frontier is dying, the country is getting more towards the European model.

Tom Whitehead: I think you're right.

Catherine Galley: And for me the experience in Texas was very much -- isn't it amazing to get that spirit, and there are still those who had it, but it's almost -- it was so foreign to me. Because in Europe for sure, you cannot have that experience. It really died like a thousand years ago, I guess, at least, or even more. I think since the Roman stuff was over. But in this country, it was still there.

And for sure, the space, even the West was there. There was this huge, huge space. You could go and settle and be there, and nobody has a right to tell you anything.

Tom Whitehead: That's key. See, I grew up in that kind of environment.

Catherine Galley: Okay.

Tom Whitehead: In Kansas, it's just -- Kansas is not as rough and ready and rambunctious as Texas is, you know. But it's still very much the same mentality that, you know, who are you to tell me I can't build a house over here? Or if I'm going to build a factory on that farm, nobody's got anything to say

about it, you know? If I want to -- I mean, the presumption was that you could just do it.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah.

Tom Whitehead: And the idea that someone could stop you from doing it was incredible. I mean, it was literally unthinkable -- I mean, what do you mean I can't do that?

Catherine Galley: Yeah. But I think that spirit doesn't exist anymore.

Tom Whitehead: It's fading. It's fading.

Catherine Galley: I don't know how it is in Kansas. Maybe it's still there.

Tom Whitehead: I doubt it. I think it's fading.

Catherine Galley: Oh, the West.

Tom Whitehead: I think the residual is there. But you're absolutely right that it's fading.

Catherine Galley: But I think it's really changing, and it's changing fast.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah.

Catherine Galley: I find -- I came in 1992 for the first time. And I find that over 14 years, it has changed really quite dramatically. And I think 9/11, for sure, has had a major influence in the change. Which, in fact, for me is surprising, because Europe has had terrorist attacks regularly.

Tom Whitehead: But we never had.



Catherine Galley: Yeah. And in some way, people live with them. And for sure you are going to have all your bags checked, and it's going to last a year, or after a year it's over. When there will be the next one, we'll start again, but it disappears, because we cannot go on. Here, people can go on with it. I'm always surprised at the airports to see how people are very willing to do for taking their shoes off, taking everything off. And it's a pain, but nobody says anything.

Tom Whitehead: I do. Sometimes. Not very often.

Catherine Galley: But most people don't say anything.

Tom Whitehead: No.

Catherine Galley: It's fine. It's fine. It's great.

Tom Whitehead: Well, it's for safety.

Catherine Galley: It's safety. And I'm like, okay, well, we are far away from Ben Franklin in some way. How much security do you want? Because the answer is the safety worker; he is there when you get security as such a big, big concept around.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah, and the debate over the Patriot Act. I don't know if you follow that.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: It's really fascinating, because it's -- it reflects a major shift.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. There is no opposition.

Tom Whitehead: You know, the red states would normally be violently opposed to that.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah. Yeah. They should, but they are not.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. In a sense, it's almost flipped.

Catherine Galley: Mm-hmm. Yeah. I don't know why.

Tom Whitehead: But just the fact -- well, I'm not sure I do, either, but just the fact that it's the subject of discussion is something that couldn't really have happened ten years ago. It's interesting.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. It does -- suddenly everybody agrees. There is no opposition.

Tom Whitehead: Well, there's some opposition.

Catherine Galley: Well, some, but it's not like --

Tom Whitehead: It's not enough to really --

Catherine Galley: You don't get the 50 opposed to 50. You don't -- it's not at that level. What you get as opposition is really such a small minority, at least in the way --

Tom Whitehead: It's complaining, really.

Catherine Galley: It's whining. It's sounds --

Tom Whitehead: Whining.

Catherine Galley: Yeah, it's, like, it's okay if I growl at you. But there is nothing like that coming -- you know, you don't get, like, Hillary Clinton or, like, you know, a major representative of the Republicans that, you know, Tom DeLay when he was not indicted, coming and saying, "No way, nobody is that stupid." Yeah, well, you get Ron Paul in Texas who goes against and says, "No, I'm not going." But he's very --

Tom Whitehead: Right, right. But it's --

Catherine Galley: It's a very natural principal, voting.

Tom Whitehead: But there aren't a lot of those.

Catherine Galley: There are very few. In some ways, sometimes, like, well, you know what? I think I would prefer that the President had a label as Democrat. I'm sure that would create a lot more reaction to these things.

Tom Whitehead: It would change things.

Catherine Galley: Because in some way, I'm like, oh, how natural the decisions are, one side or the other. It's not because you put the label. It's like [Jacques] Chirac in France. You know, supposedly like RPR [Rally for the Republic]. It's supposed to be the "right," and I put lots of quotes. And, you know, what he takes as measures tend to be very much like -- very close to Communism, and I could put the label Communist -- Who wouldn't get it?

Tom Whitehead: Or at least Socialist, yeah?

Catherine Galley: At least Socialist. For sure, he's Socialist. And he's sounding more Socialist than the most Socialist President that ever been in the U.S.

Tom Whitehead: It's true, too. I mean, Bush has explicitly set out to be the big government conservative.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah. Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Which I think is stupid for the party, because the Democrats will always be better at big government than the Republicans.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: If the Republican -- any big government the Republicans set up, the Democrats will co-opt.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah. Always a mastery of that.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. They're masters.

Catherine Galley: That's part of their spirit, in fact. But it's part also of that architectural framework, so it works well for them, because they are for coherence.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. You see, this will come up later in my book, when we are talking about when I was in government in the Nixon administration. Because you had one school of thought in the White House is that we need to fight our enemies and use the regulatory process to intimidate the station owners to give our point of view more favorable coverage. And my principal argument when I was talking to the political people in the White House was what we've just been saying.

“Hey, guys, you know, if you facilitate and create regulatory controls that you can use to intimidate and control the network news coverage, guess

what? There's going to be a Democratic President, and he will use it much more effectively than you can. Duh.”

Catherine Galley: Yeah. And all of a sudden, it's like, oh.

Tom Whitehead: And, you know, we really went the other way. We went the way of -- I mean, Colson and others kept talking nasty to the networks and trying to intimidate them with talk. But we really went the other way of reducing government control.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Which I think is so much smarter. But it's like --

Tom Whitehead: Obviously I thought it. I think it.

Catherine Galley: Always, okay, I can't understand why people end up creating a regulatory framework to support their own opinions, ideas, ideologies, whatsoever, because ultimately when it shifts, the others can use it, and they have a precedent now. And --

Tom Whitehead: But there's a strong tendency on the left side of the spectrum to believe that you are intellectually superior and that you can control these things better.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah. Paternalism and condescending attitude towards all. You don't know, you are a victim of false consciousness.

Tom Whitehead: Right.

Catherine Galley: You don't know that -- in fact, we know better. And that's just your problem. But that we know we have with Marxist theory behind it, will justify all of that.

Tom Whitehead: Right.

Catherine Galley: So, we don't even need your opinion ultimately.

Tom Whitehead: Right. So, there's almost a -- I don't know what the word is -- almost a, I guess it's philosophical -- not quite religious but it's philosophical belief that we do need to set up these structures. Because people need it. Whereas on the Republican -- on the right hand side, it's -- there's historically been a reticence to do it. So, to have Bush coming from the right and arguing that we can set up big government that reflects our values and our view of the country is a -- it's a major shift.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah. Oh, yeah. Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: And it will be interesting to see if the Republican Party goes along with it.

Catherine Galley: I don't know. I have the feeling the next election will be owned by Hillary Clinton.

Tom Whitehead: It's a real possibility.

Catherine Galley: I'm like -- I would say, five years ago, I would say there is no way she can ever be elected. But now?

Tom Whitehead: I don't know.

Catherine Galley: And she's quite smart.

Tom Whitehead: Oh, boy. She's very smart.

Catherine Galley: She is very smart.

Tom Whitehead: And I think it might be the best thing for the country, you know, in a funny kind of way.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. I don't know what she would do, but --

Tom Whitehead: All my Democratic friends say she'll never get the nomination.

Catherine Galley: I don't know. She has positioned herself well.

Tom Whitehead: Oh, yeah. I know.

Catherine Galley: She has been very moved, and I don't like her, but I have to acknowledge, her moves have been smart.

Tom Whitehead: She's the smartest politician in Washington.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. She's incredible. And she speaks well, which is very important. I'm always embarrassed when Bush starts talking. I'm like oh --

Tom Whitehead: But you know, the -- yeah, compared to Bush, which is really a shame.

Catherine Galley: Day and night.

Tom Whitehead: But she's -- the people who control the machinery of the Democratic Party aren't very favorable towards Hillary. And by trying to move a little bit to the center, she's alienated the far left anti-war people. She could have -- she's going to have to -- she's got an interesting problem in getting that nomination.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. But she will suddenly get -- not all registered Democratic voters vote Democratic usually in the election. Some of them, I know, shift on Republicans. And as long as they are registered a Democrat, they will vote for the nomination. And I really expect that some people who are center could decide to change their registration there.

Tom Whitehead: It's possible.

Catherine Galley: To have her. Especially if suddenly it's very well known upon the news that she could lose that nomination at that level and have, you know, right center or center right deciding to vote for her, because she has been very quiet in the present on what she wants.

Tom Whitehead: If she could get the nomination, she's got a real chance. I just don't know - - I'm not a Democrat, so I don't know. But my sense is she's going to have a hard time getting the nomination.

Catherine Galley: Getting the nomination.

Tom Whitehead: But she'll -- She's --

Catherine Galley: She's competitive.

Tom Whitehead: She's smart and she's energetic and she's driven, and she might do it.

Catherine Galley: And there is a -- I would say she certainly fits certainly more the spirit of the country than -- I would say now than it was like even ten years ago.

Tom Whitehead: That's kind of scary.



- Catherine Galley: That's scary. But I don't know. I have a feeling people are more for government.
- Tom Whitehead: They're more used to it.
- Catherine Galley: They want it. Now, we're entitled to having government, taking care of them, doing things for them, wanting it. And I think it's in a very different spirit than what happened with Lyndon B. Johnson era.
- Tom Whitehead: Oh, yeah.
- Catherine Galley: It's for a very different reason, I think. I think the '60s being more about, like, oh, we want everybody happy. We want the war on poverty. We want all these better things, these social programs. Now, it's not even for that. It's government because I want to feel safe, it's because I am so scared, because there is -- there are so many risks around, and I want things to be controlled. And it's very repressive.
- Tom Whitehead: And the education of my children is not good, and the roads have potholes.
- Catherine Galley: Yeah, yeah. And all of that -- and people don't go for, like, well, you know, let's find an alternative. Some people do and home school their children and decide to go for alternative solutions. But most people say, oh, we need more money.
- Tom Whitehead: That's a very powerful metaphor. That if you just put more money, you solve the problem.
- Catherine Galley: Yeah. Yeah. And it doesn't work. But that's what we get.

Tom Whitehead: All right. Well, let's get back to where we were.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: So, where are you going next in your research, and what have we got that we can document? What have we got in the way of a structure that we're going to --

Catherine Galley: Okay, so maybe you want to tell me things that you would consider that I should look at or could propose or consider.

Tom Whitehead: That's a good question. Well, everything we've discussed is interesting. This is clearly a very rich field, but the thing I really want to focus on is radio becomes a national phenomenon and a mass medium. And I want to understand how that happened, how quickly it happened, what the public perceptions were. How it was portrayed in the newspapers and the magazines.

When did it become -- when did it really reach the national awareness? How much excitement was there? How long did that last? When did it -- as we were discussing -- when did it become so widespread and so prevalent that it just -- you forgot that you never had it, and now what you're interested in is what's the program at 8:00 tonight? So, you know, I think we need to look at some of the statistics on the growth of television stations, radio set sales, advertising of radio sets, and things like that *New York Times* thing that you mentioned to me, and how it affected elections, advertising campaigns. Whatever we can find that we can say with some specificity and document that this is what happened. I mean, I see quotes like that *New York Times* quote, and the *New York Times* has always been an influential --

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah.

Tom Whitehead: But I'm not sure it was as influential back then as it is today. There were other -- there were lots of other --

Catherine Galley: Yeah. More newspapers.

Tom Whitehead: But my guess is they were all pretty much saying the same thing. So, you know, how can we get away from just the isolated quote? Which I think probably pretty accurately reflects what was going on. How can we somehow get to something that we can document a little bit more definitively?

Catherine Galley: Okay.

Tom Whitehead: I need another break.

[Recording stops and restarts.]

Catherine Galley: We should continue with that, because it's really interesting.

Tom Whitehead: It is. This may be too much, but I'm going to give you two more books and tell you about this. This one is very good.

Catherine Galley: *Advertising the American Dream*. Mm-hmm.

Tom Whitehead: I'm sure it's in the library. I'm in the process of reading it. I've looked at it. There's a lot of good stuff. So, I'm making my own notes in this copy, so I want to keep this. These two books are very interesting, and I would appreciate it if you would -- you can take these -- but if you would look

through these, and next time we get together, let's talk about what we're finding in each of these books, because there's a lot of literature out there.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah. There is a lot.

Tom Whitehead: And I want to be -- I want to paint this picture accurately and interestingly, so I want to make sure we're right. But I also want to have it well documented in the sense of a good bibliography.

Catherine Galley: Mm-hmm. Sure.

Tom Whitehead: So, I -- part of what we're doing here is figuring out what are the relevant texts.

Catherine Galley: Okay.

Tom Whitehead: First of all, we've got to get the picture right.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: And we've got to document it. But also, in the process of doing that, we're going to have to sort out what are the texts we can rely on and so forth.

Catherine Galley: A literature review.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. These two are good. They're quite different. This one -- you can see.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. That's a cultural studies book, I would guess.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. But it's better done, I think, than most of them.

Catherine Galley: Well, yeah. But it's not like technology or history. Okay.

Tom Whitehead: And you can see I've marked it up.

Catherine Galley: Anthropology, maybe cultural anthropology.

Tom Whitehead: Whatever. It's got some good thoughts in it. This one I have not read except bits and pieces. And this is borderline rare book. I really don't -- it's hard to find it in libraries.

Catherine Galley: Cool. Okay. Who is the author of that one? Because there are a lot of history of broadcasting, you know, history of [unintelligible].

Tom Whitehead: Hiram Jones.

Catherine Galley: Jones.

Tom Whitehead: Very interesting guy. This is very much a picture of broadcasting, of radio economics. I think he wrote it like in '23.

Catherine Galley: Oh, wow.

Tom Whitehead: I mean, it's really early. '25.

Catherine Galley: Cool. That's early.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah, and it's clearly written by a guy who understands what he's writing about. I mean, he's not buried in the -- he doesn't have a narrow perspective. He's got a broader -- this is really a political economy book.

Catherine Galley: Okay.

Tom Whitehead: But it's very much grounded in what's going on in 1925. So, it's very contemporaneous.

Catherine Galley: That's really great.

Tom Whitehead: So, do not lose this.

Catherine Galley: No. I don't lose books. I'm a book lover.

Tom Whitehead: I am too.

Catherine Galley: I'm a book addict.

Tom Whitehead: But sometimes they get out of hand, and then I --

Catherine Galley: No. I make sure of that. In fact, there's a reference of that one to Jodi, so that she has it on the list of the books I have.

Tom Whitehead: Right. Well, give these to her as well. This one I want to keep reading, so you can get this in the library.

Catherine Galley: What I start to get as a sense -- and maybe I'm wrong -- but from what I'm starting to have a feel of something missing that I don't get much.

Tom Whitehead: What's that?

Catherine Galley: Is how people received this information in some way. Oh, not how they did it from a technological perspective, but how people reacted to that.

Tom Whitehead: Ah. That's --

Catherine Galley: Because there's a lot about, okay, the programs and the shows and the actors and the comedians and the programming and whatsoever. And that, in some ways, seems pretty easy to document. What doesn't seem to be there is like the letters to the editor. That's -- nowhere have I read anything of people reacting, that -- you don't -- you get journalists talking about things, but --

Tom Whitehead: But you don't get the letters to the editor.

Catherine Galley: Well, where's the layperson there? What do we have? Do we have any clue of how people had that? So it doesn't seem to be there. We don't have -- you know, now we have always these surveys of how do people react and people like it, didn't like, or whatsoever. We don't seem to have a lot about that type of information, because I tried to find it, and maybe it's not online, maybe it's more in books. But even in books that I have looked at, it's not there really. Or when it affects a culture, it seems it's more on the producers than on receivers in some way.

Tom Whitehead: That's a very astute observation. It's true across the board, until you start getting to Nielsen ratings. When you start getting into program ratings, then people start paying attention to what programs are popular and so on. But you're right, before then, there's -- it's missing.

Catherine Galley: It's not there.

Tom Whitehead: And it's one of those --

Catherine Galley: And since nobody cares in some way, or --

Tom Whitehead: It's -- I don't know why it is. But you're absolutely right. It's not there.  
And it's in many ways the most important part of the puzzle.

Catherine Galley: Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Because how the public reacted and why they reacted the way they did is  
fundamental.

Catherine Galley: And it seems always like it's manipulation or at least could be read, like,  
oh, as long as it's produced, people are almost like passive objects  
receiving the waves. That can be a part of them all. You sent it. I'm sure  
there will be something back. Boomerang effect. And it seems that we get  
the first part of the boomerang, we don't get the last part of it. And that's  
something missing, and in some ways frustrating, from that perspective.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah. You know, you're right on. I mean -- and if I may go back to  
engineering, it's a feedback loop.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: You know, the programming is produced, the radio stations are created to  
get people to buy radio sets so that, you know -- and then the people buy  
radio sets because they're interested in what the programming is. And it  
goes round and round. But all over the discussion is about what's the  
programming and the growth of the production side. And there's a lot of  
coverage of the content.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah.

Tom Whitehead: But there's not any coverage of why the content is what it is.



Catherine Galley: No. I'm like, if we, in business 80 percent of the products, of new products, fail.

Tom Whitehead: Yeah.

Catherine Galley: Because basically 80 percent of the products don't get the approval.

Tom Whitehead: Probably 80 percent of the content fails too.

Catherine Galley: So, it's like why do we not have anything here? It has not been really documented, it seems, or it's not --

Tom Whitehead: Well, but something else is going on here. I mean, there's the idea of the Nielsen rating. Audience popularity, you know. This show gets a higher rating than that show. Soap operas get higher ratings than opera. So, there's that kind of perceptions of what people want to see. But I think what we're dealing with here is something different. You've got an entirely new medium. Now, that's a pretty sweeping statement, and I ought to be able to document what I just said in that statement.

I'm not sure I can precisely as much as I should, but I'll just assert it. It's a fundamentally new medium. Because for the first time, people are hearing something that's happening across the nation. They're all hearing it simultaneously, give or take, because we've got this issue of East Coast versus West Coast. But people are all receiving the same thing at the same time, and a lot of it is new. And it's entertainment, music, news in their home. And it's instantaneous.

And it's oral. It's no longer written text. It's oral. It's immediate. All of these things. And what on earth are people thinking? You know? There's a worker in Pittsburgh, there's a farmer in Kansas somewhere, there's a

clerk in Alabama, you know, and they're listening to this. For the first time, they've got a voice from far away. And there used to be a radio show called *Here and Now*. I mean, it is here, and it is now. You know, I'm there. And there's just so little written about that.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. Yeah. That's -- at least I haven't found it yet.

Tom Whitehead: Well, I would keep on looking, because I really want to find that.

Catherine Galley: Okay. Because I'm like, fine, that's bizarre. And there is also another thing that I don't know exactly what the range is, but there is a national network and there is the local networks, or the local radios. And it seems that the local radios are also very important.

Tom Whitehead: I think they were.

Catherine Galley: And I don't know what the convergence is between these really broad coverage and more local information system in some way. It's --

Tom Whitehead: That is also a good point. Radio really started as a local medium. The network idea came later. And it was partly because of AT&T, who, being a monopoly, thought about creating a national monopoly of radio stations and connecting them with wires, because that's what -- "What do we do at AT&T? We connect things with wires." So, I think part of it was just that.

Catherine Galley: But they would subsist together.

Tom Whitehead: Yes.

Catherine Galley: Even now, there are local ones and there is national --

Tom Whitehead: That's true. That's true. But it was much more important in the early days. And I think it's because it started out as local. And probably because local trading markets were more different than they are today. The products that were advertised -- there were regional manufacturers. There were regional brands. We talked about this last time. The movement from regional brands to national brands.

It was obviously happening. But radio was part of helping that happen. But at the time radio came in, there still was -- there were local department stores. There were local grocers, there were local brands of food, there were local brands of soap, local brands of flour. So, I think there was probably a -- there were local and regional trading interests, markets, and those people advertised. So, they probably supported local and regional networks for quite some time, and you're absolutely right to recognize that, because there's a tremendous temptation to look back and say, oh, that's the way it inevitably was. And from the point of view of the story I want to tell, being able to say the industry structure of three networks was established and firm by 1930 -- I mean, that's kind of a compelling thing to say. But it glosses over the regional stuff.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. I think there it's not as documented either.

Tom Whitehead: Well, and it -- I'm sure it wasn't clear to the people how much -- how important the national network was versus the regional network. I don't know. You can make the case after the fact that there's economies of scale. If you're going to pay Jack Benny or the Marx Brothers, you can afford to pay them more if you've got a national audience, or conversely you could spread the costs over a longer period. There are those kinds of arguments.

But going back to what we were saying about radio being such a novel mechanism, medium, I would guess there was a lot of uncertainty about regional versus national networks and local versus national. There was certainly a lot of debate in the Congress. One of my other research assistants is looking at how the pattern of local stations was created by the licensing process. And there was a very conscious compromise between national and regional and local programming -- national, regional, and local stations -- in terms of how the power levels were assigned.

And that was debated in Congress. There was a difference of opinion between the House and the Senate. The House was more in favor of local, small local broadcasts, low-power broadcast stations with many of them. The Senate was more in favor of fewer high-powered stations. So, there you've got it. It's economics; it's politics; it's also public perceptions. They really dealt with all of this stuff, you know. They really did.

Catherine Galley: Oh, yeah. Oh. It's clear that they dealt with some important -- And when did it happen, at that time? What are the years when that --

Tom Whitehead: '27. '26, '27, '28. When the -- where is it? My information retrieval is disorganized, but sometimes it works. Well, this is all so rich and so complicated. I'm reminded here. Why don't you just take this and look through it? But be careful.

Catherine Galley: Oh, maybe I have that already. That's quite a lot. If I want to go through these books.

Tom Whitehead: Well, I think you should at least look through this.

Catherine Galley: Look through that? Okay.

Tom Whitehead: But let me interpret it for you. This is a fascinating resource book.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. I guess. Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: It is what it says. Okay.

Catherine Galley: I can imagine.

Tom Whitehead: And if you skim the -- and it's not paginated. It's got the original pagination of all the documents. If you just skim the parts of this --

Catherine Galley: Title One.

Tom Whitehead: This Title One article. And Title Three. And I mean just skim, because there's a lot of stuff there you don't care about. But there are little gems, you know, in a few places. And then look for stuff like this, which is -- this is in the hearings. And there's very interesting stuff here. They talk about -- This is 1934. And there are hearings in 1926, '27 that are interesting. But you get them here talking about the Davis amendment, which was a requirement that the Federal Radio Commission set up regional as opposed to national coverage. And the people in the West and the Midwest felt they were being shortchanged, because all the frequencies were assigned to high-powered stations in the East, you know.

So, the Davis amendment is something that you should specifically look at. Actually, maybe I've already -- take those. I won't burden you with this one. But there's just a lot of interesting discussion about things like regional coverage, like here you have in 1934, you have Mr. Sykes, who is the chairman of the Federal Radio Commission, and Senator White, who I've forgotten where he is, and they're talking about do we need the

Davis amendment anymore? Do we need the law to say, to specify how radio stations are divided up among the parts of the country?

Catherine Galley: Geographic. Yeah.

Tom Whitehead: Geographically. And how much power should they get. And this is just right out of Congressional hearings.

Tom Whitehead: But yeah, I mean, these issues were very much considered -- oh, you know what else? Instead of this -- although there's good stuff in here. You should look at the -- I wouldn't read the original stuff, but read about Herbert Hoover's national radio conferences.

Catherine Galley: Yeah. I'll look at that for next week.

Tom Whitehead: Do this for next week.

Catherine Galley: And then look at that later on.

Tom Whitehead: And take a look at parts of this. And this is good, because it's -- you know, it's got the right kind of theme. It covers the right period. And just skim through. And as I said, let's try to identify what are the texts we can rely on.

Catherine Galley: Okay. Yeah. A literature review.

Tom Whitehead: All right.

Catherine Galley: All right.

**End of recording.**