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NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. We draw here on Ernest Bormann's symbolic-convergence communication theory. See his *The Force of Fantasy*.

2. *New York Times* columnist Frank Rich opined, "If cable has taught us anything during 'War in Iraq,' it is this: battalions of anchors and high-tech correspondents can cover a war 24/7 and still tell us less about what is going on than the mere 27 predigital news hounds who accompanied the American troops in Normandy on D-Day" ("The Spoils of War Coverage," 1).

3. Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?* 177, 206.

4. Pagliarini, Letter, 11.

5. Schlesinger, *A Life in the Twentieth Century*, 146, 155.

6. Fyne, *The Hollywood Propaganda of World War II*, 5.

7. Bernays, *Propaganda*, 101, 20.

8. Tye, *The Father of Spin*, 52.

9. Bernays quoted in Tye, *The Father of Spin*, 24, 40.

10. Tye, *The Father of Spin*, 95.

11. For more on this, see Foucault's *The Order of Things*, especially chapters 7–10; Lyotard's *The Postmodern Condition*; and White's *The Content of the Form*.

12. Churchill, "Their Finest Hour," 314.

13. The *Why We Fight* series was produced by the War Department and directed by Frank Capra between 1942 and 1945. These seven documentaries were created to explain to those in the armed forces why it was necessary to fight and win the war. The first in the series, *Prelude to War*, was released to the general public and won the 1942 Academy Award for Best Documentary. See Capra, *The Name above the Title*, 326–43; Dick, *The Star-Spangled Screen*, 2–9; and Barsam, *Nonfiction Film*, 183–91. The other titles in the series were *The Nazis Strike* (1943), *Divide and Conquer* (1943—nominated for an Academy Award for Best Documentary), *Battle of Britain* (1943), *Battle of Russia* (1944), *Battle of China* (1944), and *War Comes to America* (1945).

14. Or, as Elmer Davis of the Office of War Information put it during congressional hearings in 1943, "We stick to the truth abroad as well as at home. We tell a true story to every area but to each one we tell the kind of story that will best suit our interests" (quoted in Bishop, "An American Voice," 34).

15. Harmetz, *Round Up the Usual Suspects*, xiii.
16. Harmetz, *Round Up the Usual Suspects*, 56.
17. Harmetz, *Round Up the Usual Suspects*, 258–59.
18. Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 21; Dorothy B. Jones, “The Hollywood War Film,” 13.
19. Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 3.
20. Hampton, *History of the American Film Industry*, 299; Production Code quoted in Vizzard, *See No Evil*, 367; Hays quoted in Wiley and Bona, *Inside Oscar*, 25. See Vizzard, 366–81, for the complete Motion Picture Production Code that was formally adopted by the Association of Motion Picture Producers, Inc. (California) and the Motion Picture Association of America, Inc. (New York) in March 1930. The Code was revised several times and was eventually replaced by a film rating system in the 1960s.
21. Production Code quoted in Vizzard, *See No Evil*, 367.
22. Roeder, *The Censored War*, 20; Fussell, *Wartime*, 191–92.
23. Joint Army and Navy Public Relations Committee quoted in Roeder, *The Censored War*, 8; BPR memo quoted in Roeder, 20; Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 72–80; Dick, *The Star-Spangled Screen*, 127–28.
24. Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 119; Roeder, *The Censored War*, 20; Friedrich, *City of Nets*, 233.
25. See Bishop and Mackay, “The Federal Government Reports on Defense,” for a discussion of the genesis of the Office of War Information (OWI). Its forerunner was the National Emergency Council (NEC), which was formed by President Roosevelt as a supercabinet to coordinate government agencies fighting the Depression. The NEC was replaced in September 1939 by the Office of Government Reports, with Lowell Mellett as director. However, other agencies were also distributing government information. The Division of Information, for example, “furnished idea sheets, mat services, a weekly magazine, posters, pamphlets, leaflets, placards, radio programs from spot announcements to quizzes and dramas, movies and coordinated campaigns” (Bishop and Mackay, 7). Eventually, because of numerous agencies overlapping in terms of public relations and propaganda, Roosevelt signed the order to create the Office of War Information in June 1942, with Elmer Davis, a novelist and short-story writer as well as a distinguished radio commentator for CBS, as its first director. Among the agencies contained under this office were the Office of Facts and Figures of the Office of Emergency Management, directed by poet and librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish; the Division of Information of the Office of Emergency Management, headed by Robert Horton of Scripps-Howard; the Office of Civilian Defense, headed by Fiorello H. La Guardia; and the Foreign Information Service, directed by playwright Robert E. Sherwood. The Foreign Information Service became the Overseas Branch of the OWI but had problems of control, such as, “1) setting unified objectives and 2) physically controlling output, whether film, radio, publications or news service, to see that each item contributed to OWI objectives” (Bishop, “An American Voice,” 29).
26. Braverman, *To Hasten the Homecoming*, 139; Jacobs, “World War II and the

American Film,” 10; *Government Information Manual for the Motion Picture Industry* quoted in Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 66–67, and Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?* 191.

27. Jones, “The Hollywood War Film,” 2–3.

28. Letter quoted in Friedrich, *City of Nets*, 211.

29. See Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 113–41, for a detailed description of the increase in power of the Overseas Branch of the OWI.

1. BEFORE PEARL HARBOR

1. Ketchum, *The Borrowed Years*, 224; Chadwin, *The Hawks of World War II*, 31; FDR quoted in Goodwin, *No Ordinary Time*, 187; Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 19.

2. Ketchum, *The Borrowed Years*, 511; Doenecke, *The Battle against Intervention*, 37.

3. Rosten, *Hollywood*, 140, 162.

4. Nye quoted in Cole, *Senator Gerald P. Nye*, 186, and Woll, *The Hollywood Musical Goes to War*, 4. See Shull and Wilt for a list of movies mentioned by Nye and other anti-interventionists as being pro-war (*Hollywood War Films*, 411). The list includes *Escape* (1940), *Flight Command* (1940), *Foreign Correspondent* (1940), *The Great Dictator* (1940), *Man Hunt* (1941), *The Man I Married* (1940), *The Mortal Storm* (1940), *Mystery Sea Raider* (1940), and *Sergeant York* (1941).

5. Nye quoted in Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 41; Lindbergh quoted in Dear and Foot, *The Oxford Companion to World War II*, 30; Warner quoted in Woll, *The Hollywood Musical Goes to War*, 7; Rosten, *Hollywood*, 78.

6. Production Code quoted in Vizzard, *See No Evil*, 370; Friedrich, *City of Nets*, 50; *Hollywood Reporter* quoted in Shindler, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 1; Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 39. In surveying American films made between 1937 and 1941 by nine studios—Columbia, MGM, Monogram, Paramount, RKO, Twentieth Century–Fox, United Artists, Universal, and Warner Bros.—we found that of approximately 1,956 films, only about 6.2 percent were connected at all with world conflict. Counted were films set in China or somewhere in Europe, including Spain and dealing with the Spanish civil war; those that focused, however loosely, on fascism; those that seemed to show the might of the U.S. military; and general spy films. The number of films connected to war more than doubled between 1940 and 1941, but the percentage was still modest: 5.35 percent in 1940 and 11.8 percent in 1941. The Hays Office contended that in 1940 about 5 percent of American films were connected to political events (Koppes and Black, 20). Shull and Wilt have similar figures for war-related films from the 1937–1941 period, but they also discuss “discernable biases” and “topical references” as contributing to the overall “slide towards belligerency” (*Hollywood War Films*, 11); see part 1 of their book for examples and discussion.

7. See Glancy, *When Hollywood Loved Britain*, for a detailed discussion of Hollywood films that focus on British themes. He notes that in addition to the sympathy

of Anglophiles for beleaguered Britain, “‘British’ films drew consistently high earnings in the domestic market, but they also earned exceptionally high foreign grosses, and the additional foreign revenue often resulted in substantial profits” (68).

8. Wylie, *Keeper of the Flame*, 22.

9. See Karr, “The Dark Truth and the Silver Screen,” for a more detailed discussion of Nazi-sponsored organizations, youth camps, and activities in the United States. In addition, a 1939 mystery novel, *Crooked Shadow* by Kurt Steel, focuses on a Nazi youth camp on Long Island.

10. Karr, “The Dark Truth and the Silver Screen,” 90.

11. Film historian Bernard F. Dick, in *The Star-Spangled Screen*, discusses the background to these Spanish civil war films and the process by which they became politically neutered (15–20). He concludes, “For the studios the question was not ‘What are the characters’ politics?’ but ‘Will the picture play Peoria?’” (16).

12. *Variety* quoted in Karr, “The Dark Truth and the Silver Screen,” 90.

13. Gilbert, *The First World War*, 475; Wood, *Howard Hawks*, 165.

14. Hitchcock quoted in Truffaut, *Hitchcock*, 98. In the Truffaut interviews, when Hitchcock talks about his films in relation to the war, it is to point out how they were criticized for hurting the war effort. For example, the U.S. Navy complained that *Saboteur* implied that the *Normandie* had been sabotaged (106), and reviewers and columnists such as Dorothy Thompson complained that *Lifeboat* made the German character seem too superior to the characters from the Allied countries (113). Hitchcock explains his decision to return to England to make two propaganda shorts by saying, “I felt the need to make a little contribution to the war effort. . . . I knew that if I did nothing I’d regret it for the rest of my life” (115); this suggests that he didn’t consider his Hollywood films much of a contribution.

15. Harris and Lasky, *The Films of Alfred Hitchcock*, 95.

16. In *Espionage Agent* spies also use the cover of a peace organization.

17. There’s a similar sort of Anglo-American alliance between British and American intelligence services in the 1941 films *International Lady* and *Man at Large*.

18. A newspaper reporter’s awakening to represent America’s learning why it needs to fight was a frequently used trope. For examples, see Claudette Colbert in *Arise, My Love* (1940), Don Ameche in *Confirm or Deny* (1941), and Robert Young in *Journey for Margaret* (1942).

19. McGilligan, *Fritz Lang*, 256–58.

20. The creators of *Man Hunt* were fairly faithful to their source but made the film more explicitly political than the novel. *Rogue Male* focuses on the main character’s attempts to go it alone as the prey in a big-game hunt. The film specifies that Hitler is the intended target, while the novel mentions only the “head of a nation” (Household, 23) that the protagonist is stalking. The protagonist contends for most of the book that he was stalking for sport, but finally, under intense stress, he admits in his diary that he was trying to kill because a woman he loved had been taken and shot for “Reasons of state” (Household, 224).

21. Humphries, *Fritz Lang*, 81–85.

22. Maland, *Chaplin and American Culture*, 164, 166.

23. Clausius, *The Gentleman Is a Tramp*, 129.
24. Flom, *Chaplin in the Sound Era*, 131.
25. See Flom, *Chaplin in the Sound Era*, 142–44, for a sample of these reactions.
26. Maland, *Chaplin and American Culture*, 175–76; Milton, *Tramp*, 379 (Milton's muckraking and mean-spirited biography of Chaplin tries to make the case that at this point in his career Chaplin's films were essentially reporting the Communist Party line); Smith, *Chaplin*, 115.

2. THE WAR IN THE PACIFIC

1. Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, 260; Dear and Foot, *The Oxford Companion to World War II*, 855. Weinberg points out that these materiel losses were less significant than they seemed: most of the ships were repaired and returned to duty. More important, the Japanese had miscalculated the U.S. response to a surprise attack, inadvertently inspiring the United States to refuse to negotiate anything short of unconditional surrender (261–62).
2. Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, 312–14.
3. Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, 338.
4. Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, 344.
5. Young, "Captain Ed Dyess," 16.
6. Pentagon spokesman quoted in Schultz, *The Doolittle Raid*, 204–5.
7. Schultz, *The Doolittle Raid*, 277.
8. British resentment at the Yanks' claiming credit for British accomplishments has survived the war. It arose again with regard to *U-571* (2000), which depicts Americans capturing the German Enigma encryption machine, thus overlooking years of British code-breaking work.
9. They also, of course, define the Japanese as an enemy; we look closely at this in chapter 3.
10. This is based on an actual incident. A group of B-17s was scheduled to land at Hickam Field on Honolulu on Sunday morning, December 7. The planes arrived, unarmed and nearly out of fuel, and were attacked by both Japanese fighters and U.S. antiaircraft batteries but managed to land safely.
11. Dick, in *The Star-Spangled Screen* (206), explains the criticism Warner Bros. received from the press and the OWI over this film's unsubstantiated claim of fifth columnists working in Hawaii. *December 7th*, John Ford and Gregg Toland's strange documentary about the U.S. entry into the war (edited version released in 1943; complete version finally released in 1991), similarly establishes the threat posed by Hawaii's Japanese population but then belatedly admits that these people are, for the most part, loyal.
12. This is a fictionalization; many marines survived and were taken prisoner (Wukovits, "The Fight for Wake," 46–47). But the image of the marines fighting to the last man makes the connection to past American desperate stands that much stronger.
13. The liberation of Cabanatuan is the subject of Hampton Sides's *Ghost Sol-*

diers. Interestingly, Sides presents this as an untold story, but *Back to Bataan* told it only months after it happened.

14. See Jewell and Harbin, *The RKO Story*, 184. The rationing of some goods and materials began before the United States entered the war. RKO apparently made a deal with the army air forces for a larger share of some rationed materials in exchange for a celebratory film. Some of the delays in the production of *Bombardier* were due to the army's changing its mind about the nature of the film.

15. Schultz writes, "They learned that the highly secret Norden bombsight was not accurate for a low-altitude mission. A simpler bombsight, dubbed the 'Mark Twain,' was installed in each B-25. It had been designed by Captain [C. Ross] Greening and built at Elgin [Field] for a cost of twenty cents each. Not only was the new sight accurate, it was also easy to use" (*The Doolittle Raid*, 66).

16. Sherman, "The Secret Weapon," discusses the history of the Norden bombsight and the myths about its accuracy.

17. See Lawson, *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo*, 38. In the film version of *Thirty Seconds over Tokyo*, Ted Lawson's character (Van Johnson) also speaks of a submarine in Tokyo Bay radioing back the positions of barrage balloons, an interesting case of fictional narrative continuity between films.

18. This seems to have been based on an actual incident. On September 11, 1942, aboard the submarine *Seadragon*, pharmacist's mate Wheeler Lipps performed an emergency appendectomy on sailor Darrell Dean Rector, using makeshift cutlery. Reporter George Weller's account of the operation in the *Chicago Daily News* won a Pulitzer Prize (Goldstein, "George Weller").

19. Morella, Epstein, and Griggs, *The Films of World War II*, 208.

20. This is apparently based on an incident from the Battle of the Coral Sea. During the attack on and sinking of the Japanese aircraft carrier *Shoho*, the U.S. planes' communications were "patched into the American ships' public address systems so that the crews could identify with the action going on 184 miles to the northwest" (Deac, "Battle beyond the Horizon," 47).

21. Costello, *The Pacific War*, 358.

3. OUR ENEMIES

1. Royko quoted in Terkel, "*The Good War*," 138.

2. Barnes quoted in Morella, Epstein, and Griggs, *The Films of World War II*, 36.

3. Interestingly, in the novel Martin is a Communist; in the film he takes umbrage at being called a Red, a change that enhances his Americanness.

4. See Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, 234–40, for the Nazi co-optation of churches, including replacing the Bible with *Mein Kampf* as the sole book on the altar and removing the cross "from all churches, cathedrals and chapels . . . superseded by the only unconquerable symbol, the swastika" (240). The 1943 film *First Comes Courage* depicts a surreal Nazi wedding in which all the religious objects and symbols are replaced with Nazi paraphernalia.

5. Shull and Wilt, *Hollywood War Films*, 51.

6. Berlin notes the similar characterizations of the two detectives (“Mr. Moto,” 68).
7. Moeller, “Pictures of the Enemy,” 30–32.
8. Roosevelt, *The Public Papers and Addresses*, 10:514–15.
9. Cooper, *The Deerslayer*, 232.
10. Shull and Wilt, *Hollywood War Films*, 249.

4. OUR FIGHTING ALLIES

1. The film’s credits call this character Uncle Wilbur, but on the soundtrack he’s distinctly called Wilfrid.

2. At least the film acknowledges that the British and Americans have been at war with each other. *War Comes to America* (1945), the final installment of the Why We Fight series, manages to talk its audience through the American Revolution without ever mentioning whom the colonists were rebelling against.

3. Churchill, Broadcast, 199.

4. Vasey, *The World According to Hollywood*, 242, 54; Shull and Wilt, *Hollywood War Films*, 52.

5. Natalia is probably based on Ludmilla Pavlichenko, a sniper who killed 311 Germans and visited the United States in 1942 (Gallico, “What We Talked About,” 34). The trope of the Russian superwoman is present in less exaggerated form in many other films, often in passing. In *Corvette K-225* (1943), a celebration of the Canadian navy, the Russian merchant ship in the convoy is captained by a Russian woman. At the end of *Action in the North Atlantic* (1943) an American merchant ship arriving in Murmansk is greeted by female Russian dockworkers.

6. *Newsweek* quoted in Morella, Epstein, and Griggs, *The Films of World War II*, 176.

7. In *Counter-Attack* (1945) the Soviets secretly build a bridge across a river at night, keeping it just below the surface of the water. When their counterattack begins, their tanks seem to be miraculously rolling across the water.

8. Before Germany’s June 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union, American pop culture sometimes equated Nazi Germany and Communist Russia. A 1940 comic-book-style exposé, *Hitler and Stalin: The Murder Men and Their Plot to Rape the World*, supposedly written anonymously by an American foreign correspondent, graphically details Nazi and Soviet crimes and “the detailed plans by which Adolf Hitler and Josef Stalin believe they will shove democracy from the face of the earth and establish in its place a world dictatorship” (3). The 1940 rerelease of Warner Bros.’ *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* mentions the Soviet invasion of Finland as being the same as Nazi aggression.

9. In his book the real Davies notes his increasing skepticism about the trials as they continued.

10. Dear and Foot discuss how recently disclosed documents explode the buying-time theory of the nonaggression treaty. See *The Oxford Companion to World War II*, 780–82.

11. Neve, *Film and Politics in America*, 71. See Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes*

to War, 188–209, for background on bringing *Mission to Moscow* to the screen and the critical reaction to it.

12. See Costello, *The Pacific War*, 237 and passim, for an account of Stilwell's frustrations in trying to get the Chinese to fight.

13. Dick, *The Star-Spangled Screen*, 103.

14. Among the films that show German–Japanese collaboration in the Far East are *Escape from Hong Kong* (1942), *Lure of the Islands* (1942), *Remember Pearl Harbor!* (1942), *Secret Agent of Japan* (1942), *Submarine Alert* (1943), and *Two-Man Submarine* (1944). *Wings over the Pacific* (1943) goes so far as to feature a dogfight between an American and a German over a Pacific island. Even more unintentionally hilarious is a German colonel's (John Wosper) explanation of the plan to unite Germany and Japan after the defeat of the Soviet Union in *Miss V from Moscow* (1942): "Our submarines will presently shut off all American supplies to Russia, and this timed to coincide with our grand offensive on the east to join our yellow Aryan brothers."

15. Another film, *Spy Ship* (1942), presents an America First–type group as being led by traitors in the employ of Germany and Japan.

16. *China Sky* (1945), based on another novel by Pearl S. Buck, mentions the transport and rebuilding of factories in the mountains as well. This detail is also celebrated in *Battle of China* (1944), the sixth entry in the Why We Fight series.

5. OUR OCCUPIED ALLIES

1. Dear and Foot, *The Oxford Companion to World War II*, 823.

2. Burrin, *France under the Germans*, 44.

3. Roosevelt, *The Public Papers and Addresses*, 11:377–78. Roosevelt's speech is used as a voice-over at the end of *Edge of Darkness*.

4. Morella, Epstein, and Griggs, *The Films of World War II*, 111–12.

5. Stokker confirms the antagonism toward such women, called *tyskertøs* ("German whore"). She writes, "Even more despised than the Nazis, their leaders, and the occupying soldiers were the Norwegian women who befriended them" (*Folklore Fights the Nazis*, 57).

6. Burrin, *France under the Germans*, 28; Gide quoted in Burrin, 26; Peschanski et al., *Collaboration and Resistance*, 47, 173, 56; Burrin, 80. Marcel Ophüls's 1969 documentary *The Sorrow and the Pity* explores the difficult topic of collaboration during the German occupation of France. Many of the people Ophüls interviews reveal that they were more collaborative than they later wanted to admit.

7. Shull and Wilt, *Hollywood War Films*, 212.

8. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear*, 581. Also, Cook maintains that Roosevelt disliked de Gaulle so much that he preferred "to continue an unnecessarily sympathetic and friendly diplomatic relationship with . . . the defeated, collaborationist, pro-Nazi Vichy government" ("Send him back to Algiers," 35). See also Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, 728, and Stafford, *Roosevelt and Churchill*, 256, on Roosevelt's antipathy to de Gaulle.

9. The Office of War Information prohibited Warner Bros. from showing the film in North Africa. Robert Riskin, screenwriter of such classics as *Meet John Doe* and *It Happened One Night*, became head of the motion-picture division of the Overseas Branch of the OWI. Although he was told that the North African situation was under control by January 1943, several Frenchmen who had seen the film advised him that the picture might cause resentment there (Harmetz, *Round Up the Usual Suspects*, 284–86).

10. Weinberg, *A World at Arms*, 432–36.

11. A play on Joan of Arc's name appears in a Judy Canova comedy *Joan of Ozark*. This 1942 Republic film features Canova as a sharp-shooting mountain girl who foils Axis agents and scores a musical success singing "The Lady from Lockheed." Her heroism is most evident at the end of the film when she flies up to retrieve an unbroken champagne bottle from a newly christened bomber and then drops the bottle, which has been filled with explosives by enemy agents, on a conveniently passing Japanese submarine.

6. AMERICAN MEN AND WOMEN

1. LaSalle, *Dangerous Men*, 113.

2. LaSalle, *Dangerous Men*, 106.

3. Basinger, *A Woman's View*, 6, 14–15.

4. LaSalle, *Dangerous Men*, 45, 57.

5. Litoff and Smith, *We're in This War, Too*, 29, 81; Braverman, *To Hasten the Homecoming*, 22; Smith quoted in Braverman, 22.

6. The theme of ad hoc families being formed to fill the gaps in traditional families disrupted by the war occurs in many films. In both *The Human Comedy* (1943) and *Happy Land* (1943) a family loses a son in action, but at the end a pal of the dead son with no family of his own arrives on the scene and is welcomed into the family as a kind of replacement. In *Sunday Dinner for a Soldier* (1944) a poor grandfather and his four grandchildren invite a sergeant (John Hodiak) from a nearby airfield to dinner. As the day progresses, the sergeant, who ran away from his own broken home when he was fifteen, becomes like a member of the family. The film ends with him signing over his allotment check to them and bragging to the other men in the bomber command about his new family. Frequently the ad hoc family is created through formal or informal adoption. In *Journey for Margaret* (1942) the pregnant wife of an American war correspondent assigned to London (Laraine Day and Robert Young) is wounded in a bombing raid, miscarries, and is left unable to have children. While working on a story, the correspondent meets two British war orphans (Margaret O'Brien and William Severn) traumatized by the loss of their parents in the bombing. By adopting the children and bringing them to America, the couple begins a healing process for the children and themselves. In *The Pied Piper* (1942) a curmudgeonly British gentleman (Monty Woolley) is on vacation in the south of France when the war breaks out. As he makes his way across France trying to get home, he at first unwillingly, then paternally (or perhaps

grand-paternally), picks up orphans from a number of nations—even one from Germany—and manages to get them to England. In *The Amazing Mrs. Holliday* (1943) missionary Ruth Kirke (Deanna Durbin) brings eight orphans—American, European, and Asian—to the United States from China, but in order to get them into the country, she pretends to be the widow of an elderly and wealthy owner of a steamship line (Harry Davenport) who she thinks died when their ship was torpedoed. Ruth says of the children, “we’re not really related, but they’re just like a family.” A new nontraditional family is formed when the elderly owner shows up alive, gives his approval to the marriage of Ruth and his son, and adopts the children himself. In *Tish* (1942) a small-town girl (Susan Peters) goes to Canada to join the man she’s secretly married to, who is ferrying bombers to England, but she dies in childbirth after finding out that he’s missing in action. Spinster Tish (Marjorie Main), who thinks the child is illegitimate, claims that she’s the child’s mother to protect the girl’s reputation and her nephew, whom she wrongly suspects is the father. Her two spinster friends (Zasu Pitts and Aline MacMahon) join her in the deception and in caring for the baby. Finally, the pilot (Richard Quine) shows up alive, clears up the confusion, and, before he heads off to join the army, insists that Tish be the child’s mother while he is away. Underlining the unusual nature of the family being formed here, Tish says at one point, “This is going to be the only baby in the world with three mothers.” All these films expand the possible compositions of the family unit, and in several of them the role of head of the family is filled untraditionally: by an old man, by a woman, or by a community of women.

7. One of the nurses evacuated from Corregidor, Eunice Hatchitt, served as technical adviser for *So Proudly We Hail!* She called attention to those aspects of the film that she felt trivialized or misrepresented the nurses’ work. In particular she was appalled by Olivia’s character and the implication that the nurses did not treat Japanese patients with the same care and compassion they extended to other patients. The film was a box-office success, but the real Bataan nurses hated it and blamed Hatchitt for its misrepresentations of their experience (Norman, *We Band of Angels*, 125–29).

8. This was an odd choice by the filmmakers, since Germany didn’t have any aircraft carriers (see Schuster, “The European Axis Powers”; Taylor, “Germany’s Aircraft-Carrier Development”). Even Pete finds the news surprising. He says, “I never saw a German carrier, did you?”

7. HOME-FRONT ANXIETIES

1. Nevins, “How We Felt about the War,” 7–8.
2. The man shortage is also treated in *Get Going* (1943), in which employee Grace McDonald pretends to be a spy to attract the attention of personnel investigator Robert Paige.
3. Pringle, “The War Agencies,” 179–80.
4. Wolf and Black, “What Happened to the Younger People,” 70, 76, 84.
5. In *Beautiful but Broke* (1944) Joan Davis and her all-girl band see babies left

unattended in cars outside a defense plant and interrupt the journey to their first gig to help establish a day-care center.

6. Curtis recounts the difficulty Sturges had getting the script approved by the Paramount front office, the Hays Office, and the War Department Pictorial Board. Even the Catholic League of Decency demanded changes for the film to earn a “Morally Objectionable in Part for All” rather than a “Condemned” rating (*Between Flops*, 179–81, 184).

7. Hitchcock thought Steinbeck’s screenplay version of his novella “incomplete” and assigned the rewrite to MacKinley Kantor (whose book-length poem *Glory for Me* was the basis for *The Best Years of Our Lives* [1946]). Hitchcock was also displeased with this treatment and reassigned the story to Jo Swerling (Truffaut, *Hitchcock*, 113). Although Swerling gets credit for the screenplay, Hitchcock obviously was deeply involved in the final script. In a short-story version of *Lifeboat* that was published in *Collier’s*, Hitchcock is listed as the author, along with Harry Sylvester, based on “an original screen story by John Steinbeck” (Hitchcock and Sylvester, “Lifeboat,” 16). Steinbeck didn’t like the movie and asked his agent to have Twentieth Century–Fox remove his name from the film because “the picture seems to me to be dangerous to the American war effort” (quoted in Millichap, *Steinbeck and Film*, 85).

8. Hitchcock directed two short films, *Bon Voyage* and *Aventure Malgache*, in London in 1944 for the British Ministry of Information. The films were stories about the French resistance acted by the Molière Players, a French company that had taken refuge in England (Spoto, *The Art of Alfred Hitchcock*, 508). The films were supposed to be shown in France, in areas where the Germans were losing ground, to help the French people appreciate the resistance. However, *Aventure Malgache* was never released, possibly because it showed how divided the Free French were (Truffaut, *Hitchcock*, 116).

9. Many war films show combat groups with a diverse ethnic or regional representation to stress that all were “acting together . . . against the enemy” (Jones and McClure, *Hollywood at War*, 17). There are several instances when African American characters function in this way. See, for example, Oliver Cromwell Jones (Ben Carter) in *Crash Dive* (1943), who starts the film as a mess steward and eventually risks his life to help McDonnell (James Gleason) blow up a German installation, and Wesley Epps (Kenneth Spencer) in *Bataan* (1943), who “dies as heroically as the other soldiers in the face of the overwhelmingly superior Japanese force” (Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 180). In *This Is the Army* (1943) Joe Louis is asked if he feels nervous about joining the army. He replies, “I just quit worrying the day I got into uniform. All I know is I’m in Uncle Sam’s Army and God’s on our side.”

10. In the *Collier’s* short story there is even more violence on the part of the Allied characters. Mrs. Higgins rakes her fingers over Willy’s face when she finds out that her baby is dead. Kovac knocks out Willy to frisk him and then finds the compass. In the scene where Willy is beaten up and thrown overboard, Alice attacks Willy first, then Joe hits him with a rabbit punch before Kovac and Rittenhouse

lunge at him. Stanley stamps on his face, Kovac twists his neck, and Connie stabs him to death with the knife used to cut off Gus's leg. There are other interesting differences between the film and the short story. In the story Willy doesn't take an active part in Gus's death. Gus announces to Willy that he's going for a swim and Willy replies, "Sure, why not, Gus." He does nothing to stop Gus and later tells Stanley, "No use waking the others, and no one will miss Gus" (Hitchcock and Sylvester, "Lifeboat," 58). Also, in the story there is no second German who tries to get on the boat. In Steinbeck's novella Joe tries to save Willy after he has been pushed overboard (Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 310–11).

11. Reactions to the movie as propaganda were mixed. Bosley Crowther, in a January 23, 1944, review in the *New York Times*, states that the film "sold out the democratic ideal and elevated the Nazi 'Superman'" (quoted in Koppes and Black, *Hollywood Goes to War*, 309). Both Fyne (*The Hollywood Propaganda of World War II*, 79) and Dick (*The Star-Spangled Screen*, 206) comment on the moral ambiguity of the Allied characters' actions. Harris and Lasky see the film "as a sharp allegory of democracy's all-but-suicidal acquiescences to Hitler's bullying in the thirties and wartime forties" (*The Films of Alfred Hitchcock*, 119). François Truffaut told Hitchcock that he originally thought the film "intended to show that everyone is guilty" but later decided he was mistaken (Truffaut, *Hitchcock*, 113). Hitchcock called the film "a statement telling the democracies to put their differences aside temporarily and to gather their forces to concentrate on the common enemy, whose spirit was precisely derived from a spirit of unity and of determination" (quoted in Truffaut, *Hitchcock*, 113).

12. Among the questions asked about women workers at the beginning of the war were, "What sort of work should women do; . . . would they be willing to return to the home when the war was over; and, if no to the last, would they take a job from some returning GI?" (Lingeman, *Don't You Know There's a War On?* 159). Some books and films attempted to assure men that the traditional status quo would be restored when the soldiers returned. Toward the end of *The Gals They Left Behind*, a fictional series of wartime letters written to overseas husbands, one of the narrators writes, "We have started a strict regime of cold creaming at night, dining with lighted candles, and filling up the cracks in our hands with lotion" (Shea, *The Gals*, 112), indicating that the woman the soldier has been dreaming of will be there when he gets back. As far as Hollywood was concerned, "Popular war movies of the years 1941–1945 disclosed an ambivalence toward women's roles and status that would continue to permeate American society through the post-war era. According to these films, women could perform the usual work of men efficiently and competently, but they chose to do so only in a national emergency, for their deeper commitment was to their husbands, families, and homes" (Baker, *Images of Women in Film*, 133).

13. Fussell, *Wartime*, 268.

14. Other films show a similar disruption of entrenched power. In *A Medal for Benny* (1945) the town fathers of Pantera, California—all of them white, middle-class businessmen—are ecstatic when a local boy wins the Medal of Honor, but

they can't understand why the name is unfamiliar to them. The name they think is Benny Martin is actually Benny Martín, a troublemaking kid from the Mexican slums. Their attempts to hide this from the governor and a general representing the president backfire and end up exposing the assumptions of their politics of privilege. In *A Stranger in Town* (1943) a Supreme Court justice (Frank Morgan), vacationing incognito, joins with a young lawyer who is about to go into the service to expose and reform the corrupt power structure of a small town. And in the just-postwar *Colonel Effingham's Raid* (1945) William Eythe and a group of soldiers from a small southern city about to ship out warn the town fathers that their corrupt ways had better be cleaned up by the time they return.

15. The film was received well by contemporary critics (Curtis, *Between Flops*, 191). Koppes and Black find the “ambiguous view of military heroism” and the ending artistically unsatisfying but note that the OWI praised it as “a good picture of working democracy in America today” (*Hollywood Goes to War*, 174).

8. POSTWAR FILMS IN THE POSTWAR WORLD

1. Other war films use war dogs to represent men going off to war. See *War Dogs* (1942), *My Pal Wolf* (1944), and *A Boy, A Girl, and a Dog* (1946).

2. Schlesinger, *A Life in the Twentieth Century*, 350–51.

3. Hollywood's postwar celebration of the air force as our protection against the Soviet threat reaches its zenith in *Strategic Air Command* (1955).

