

The City (1939): The Use of Film Media in Promoting the Suburban Ideal

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INTRODUCTION

During the last century, Americans have left their cities for the suburbs in unprecedented numbers. At last count (Census 2000), more than 68% reside in the suburb, compared to 10% in the city, and 20% in rural areas. This shift in residential patterns is paralleled by the rapidly growing number of films in which a suburban setting plays a significant role. Numerous movies such as *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House* (1948), *Please Don't Eat The Daisies* (1960), *The Stepford Wives* (1975), *Suburbia* (1984), *Edward Scissorhands* (1990) and *The Truman Show* (1998) are set in a suburban environment and depict the everyday concerns of suburban dwellers as perceived by the movie industry. Hollywood, however, was not the first to discover the suburb as an alternative to the urban setting. This distinction belongs to Ralph Steiner and Willard van Dyke, two independent filmmakers, who directed and photographed *The City* (1939), a documentary about the evils of city dwelling and the possibility of reclaiming the "good life" through suburban housing initiatives.

The City marks a turning point in American film history. Instead of celebrating the urban environment as modern, fast and exciting as was the case in earlier city films,¹ *The City* laments the lack of nature, and portrays the contemporary city as polluted, chaotic, inhuman and destructive. Following a problem-solution format common to American documentaries, it compares the modern city (problem) to the New England village (ideal) and shows that the quality of life can be improved by the creation of model rural-industrial communities, called "Greenbelt Cities," located outside the city proper (solution).

Produced by the American Institute of Planners for the 1939 World's Fair, *The City* opened to an estimated 44,932,978 visitors and was shown two times a day for over a year.² The film was enthusiastically received by the press. Full-page spreads in *Life* and *The New York Times Magazine*, plus a rave review in the *New York Post*, helped it draw large audiences

and thus become a successful advertisement for city planning and urban renewal in America.³ And because the film presented an upbeat conclusion at the end of a grueling Depression, it also appealed to the audience's longing for fundamental social and environmental improvements that would ensure a better life.

NEW DEAL POLITICS AND THE MAKING OF 'THE CITY'

The City, through its focus on the everyday problem of making our cities livable, came about as a reaction to decades of dissatisfaction with the haphazard, wasteful, and inhumane development of America's urban centers. Despite Thomas Jefferson's fears that crowded urban centers were inherently corrupting and in contrast to his dream of an agrarian Republic with an independent, dispersed population, the nineteenth century gave birth to major American cities, home to legions of desperate and impoverished people living in congested and unhealthy environments.⁴ The Depression, marked by hunger, unemployment, displacement and fear, further exacerbated the unhealthy urban conditions and inspired politicians, planners and documentary filmmakers to propose alternatives to the status quo.

Under Franklin D. Roosevelt's presidency (1933-45), this was about to change. The New Deal politics needed a medium to inform the general public about vital social and economic problems as well as a way to underscore the necessity of its programs. Under the direction of the Resettlement Administration, the government first sponsored radio and photography campaigns and, by 1935, decided to produce films in order to reach a broader segment of society. For five years the successful governmental use of film as a medium for information and exhibition allowed critical filmmakers access to the general public and "put documentary on the map with a flourish."⁵

THEMATIC STRUCTURE	I: NEW ENGLAND	II: INDUSTRIAL CITY	III: COMMERCIAL CITY	IV: ESCAPE	IV: NEW COMMUNITY	CONCLUSION
DIDACTIC STRUCTURE	THESIS (the glorified past)	ANTITHESIS (the untenable present)	SYNTHESIS (the imminent and possible future)			
LEWIS MUMFORD'S "FOUR MIGRATIONS"	FIRST MIGRATION (clearing the land)	SECOND MIGRATION (helped by machine)	THIRD MIGRATION (desire for financial direction)	EXODUS (recognition of unsustainability)		

It comes as no surprise that the usefulness of the film media in transmitting social and political messages was duly recognized by the American Institute of Planners. In 1938, they established *Civic Films* as a public relations device to communicate members' ideas about the "ideal city" to a larger audience. Clarence Stein, the designer of Radburn and, like Pare Lorentz, a consultant for the Resettlement Administration, raised \$50,000 from the Carnegie Foundation for a film about city planning.⁶ Possibly influenced by extensive public criticism of the recently built greenbelt towns,⁷ the film sponsors chose to fight back by promoting these towns—really suburbs—and selected the 1939 New York World's Fair as the venue for presentation.

Clarence Stein had originally approached Pare Lorentz about the film. Lorentz, however, turned it down and Stein made contact with Ralph Steiner, the cinematographer of *The Plow*. Together with Willard van Dyke, one of the cameramen on *The River*, Steiner founded American Documentary Films to undertake the production of *The City*.⁸ They were joined by Henwar Rodakiewicz (production), Aaron Copeland (score), and Lewis Mumford (narration), a member of the American Institute of Planning.

The City, with its agenda of promoting the reform and improvement of everyday living environments, became the "most famous film at the Fair."⁹ The conception and production of the film, however, would have been unthinkable, had it not been for the fertile environment created during Roosevelt's presidency. Because numerous New Deal programs challenged the status quo of unregulated growth and development practices, and supported, at least initially, many new approaches and ideas geared toward the improvement of everyday life, documentary filmmakers and planners were able to apply their

skills to separate projects. The withdrawal of governmental funding, on the other hand, prompted a collaboration between the two. Most likely, without this crucial initial support, neither the social documentary nor the greenbelt town idea would have been able to flourish and become an integral part of American culture.

FILM FORM AND CONTENT

The City is essentially a propaganda piece promoting the suburb. Its central message that a healthy living environment can only be achieved by building "a better kind of city close to the soil once more,"¹⁰ follows a clear rhetorical format. Its three-part didactic structure presents the viewer with the beauty of pastoral life in a 19th century New England community (thesis), follows this with a critique of both steel town and metropolis (antithesis), and finishes by praising the combination of traditional rural values and technological achievements as seen in a Greenbelt town (synthesis). At the same time, the film, in the guise of a linear history of urban development, incorporates Lewis Mumford's theory of the *Four Migrations*: from rural settlements to industrial cities to commercial centers, and finally, away from the congested cities into the countryside.

The film starts by visually introducing the viewer to the village, set in a countryside surrounded by trees and meadows. The camera moves from a farmhouse to a picket-fence-lined street to the gently rippled water of a lake. The following text is superimposed on this idyllic lakeside scene:

"Year by year our cities grow more complex and less fit for living. The age of rebuilding is here. We must remold our old cities and build new communities better suited to our needs."

The text sets the tone for things to come. It creates a stark contrast to the enchanting visual imagery – a device used in abundance throughout the film – and introduces its message for the first time. The text disappears, and the camera pans to a watermill where a sudden gush of water starts it turning slowly. Now the visual journey through the village begins.

Through the eyes of a boy we observe a blacksmith, a town meeting, and women doing crafts in their homes. We join a miller at work, and see men working the fields or enjoying their gardens in their golden years. Cemetery, church, work shops, fields and meadows are the icons of this pastoral setting. The pace is slow, unhurried, as is the narration that accompanies the first segment. We observe leisurely, and stand by and watch as the blacksmith forges the steel.

Shrill fanfares suddenly break the lull as the foundry takes the place of hammer and anvil. No longer part of a pastoral New England community, the viewer is transported to the industrial landscape of Pittsburgh. Natural imagery, so prevalent in the New England village, does not define this environment. Instead, smokestacks, machinery, industrial plants and their refuse define the landscape. This city is the antithesis of the pastoral life seen earlier. Shot after shot underscores the poor living conditions of its inhabitants, and depicts them as expendable attachments of the machine.

“Machines, invention, power, block out the past! Forget the quiet city, bring in the steam and steel, the iron men, the giants. Open the throttle! All aboard! The promised land! Pillars of smoke by day! Pillars of fire by night! Pillars of progress! Machines to make machines! Production to

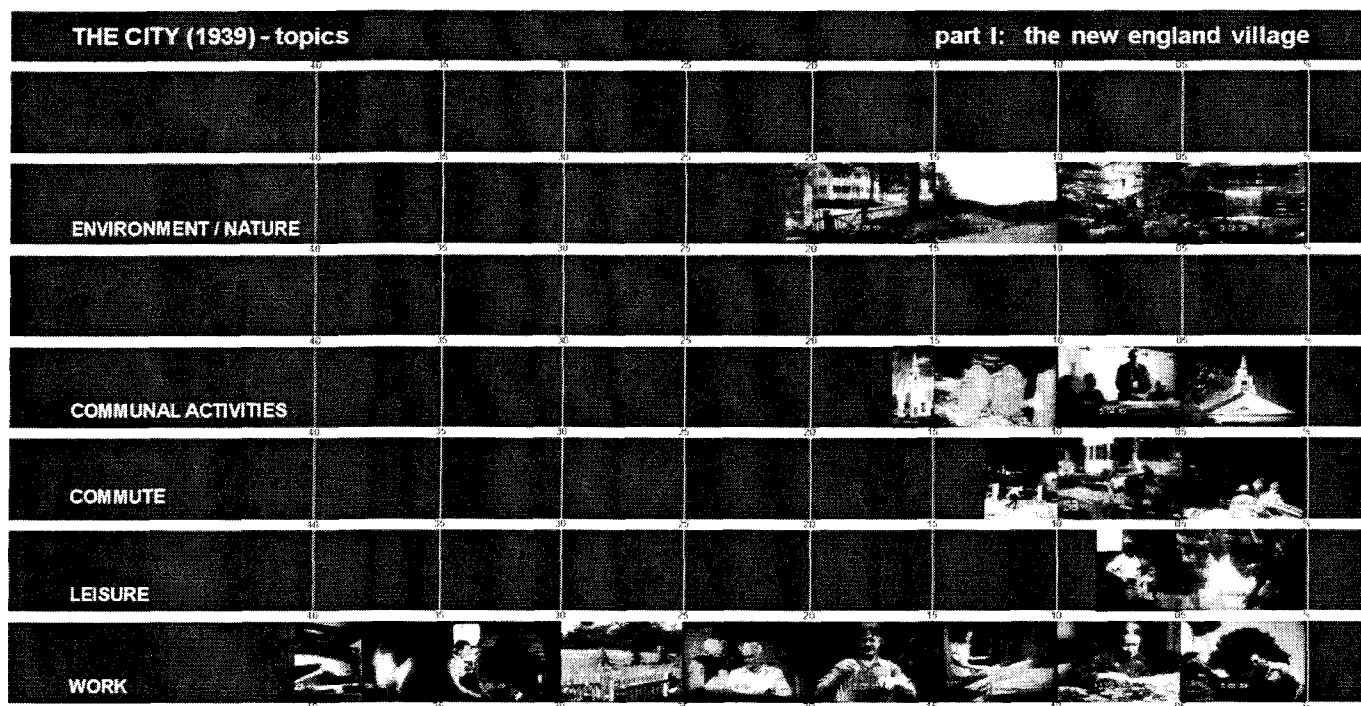
expand production! There’s wood and wheat and kitchen sinks and calico, already made in tons and carload lots, enough for tens, thousands, millions, millions! Faster and faster! Better and better!”¹¹

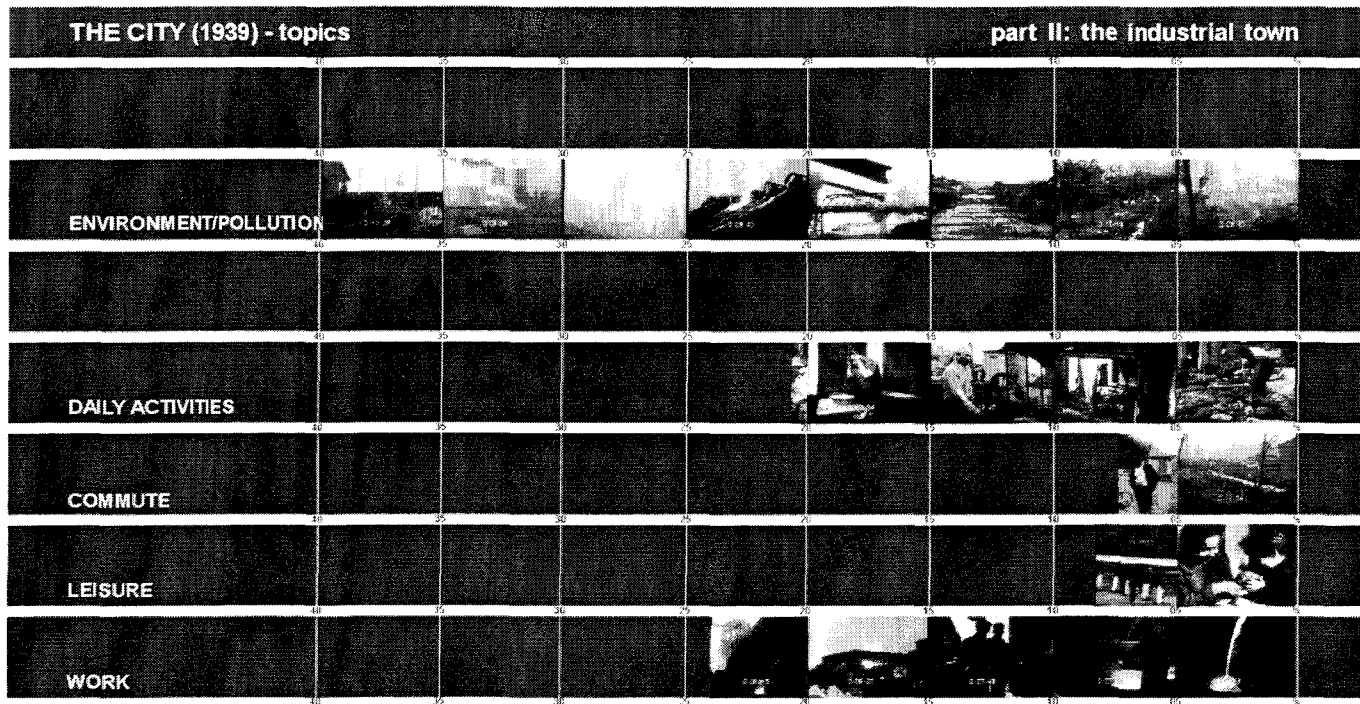
The excited delivery of the above narration, the faster pace of the montage and the syncopated chords of the sound track all reinforce the contrast to the first section. Time is money here, no one has the time to sit and contemplate their surroundings, nor would they want to if they could.

Behind the clouds of smoke appears another kind of city: the metropolis, the place of commerce. As the camera looks up at its imposing skyline, a rapid-fire monologue begins, sounding like an auctioneer trying to sell us on the benefits of this place:

“Follow the crowd! Get the big money! You make a pile and raise a pile. That makes another pile for you. Follow the crowd! We’ve reached a million! Two million! Five million! Watch us grow! Growing up! It’s new. It’s automatic. It dictates records, seals, stamps and delivers in one operation, without human hands. What am I bid? What am I offered? Sold! Who’s next? The people, yes. Follow the crowd to the Empire City, the Wonder City, the Windy City, the Fashion City! The people, yes! The people, perhaps.”¹²

Subways, elevated trains and ferries take the place of smoke stacks, only to spew out crowds of people instead of toxic fumes. The geometrical lines and angles of the built environment clash with the chaotic movements of people and cars in the streets. This meeting of men and machine is portrayed through congestion, accidents and lawless behavior. Police, an ambu-





lance and a fire truck are shown stuck in traffic, unable to control the breakdown of order or to provide relief.

Contrary to the street, order reigns inside the buildings where people are subjected to the machine and the processes it governs. Work and consumption are mechanized and impose the rhythm of the machine on human action. People type, eat, drink and move with machine-like precision. Intended as comic relief by the filmmakers, this depiction of human behavior is troubling nevertheless: the inhabitants of the commercial city are mere cogs in the machinery, devoid of an individuality that might set them apart from another.

At the end of the work week, the city empties. The crowds that have navigated and enlivened its buildings and streets now clog the thoroughfares at the periphery. The desire to escape the hectic and congested environment of the commercial city leads only to more congestion at its periphery. Death ensues as a vehicle crashes down a cliff.

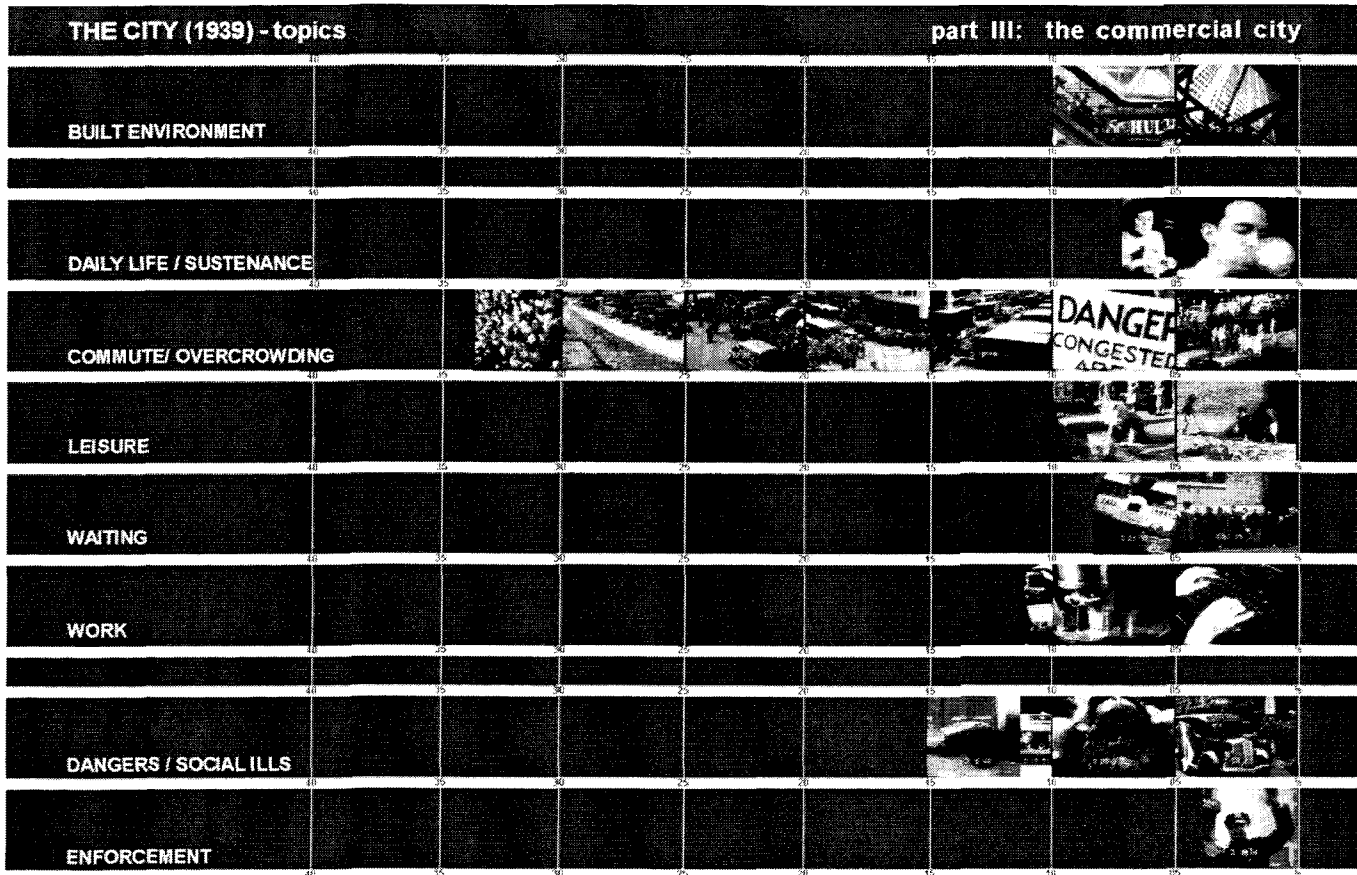
Almost two thirds of the film are devoted to the linear, historic evolution of our departure from a holistic existence in harmony with the natural cycle of life. Water and vegetation are replaced by fire and smoke, and people become subservient to the machine. Whereas the New England environment is devoid of any separation between work, living, and communal activities, the industrial landscape of Pittsburgh clearly distinguishes between home and work environments. Communal activities are nonexistent, and children are left to their own devices. The commercial city doesn't even show the home, but limits its scope to the streets and the workplace. Children, although occasionally shown, have no business here. Neither spaces nor

activities are provided for them. A series of filmic devices underscore this evolution. At the beginning, the static content of the frames depicts one person in his/her environment. By the time it gets to the commercial city, this simplicity has given way to multiple lines of people, all intersecting the surface of the screen at different angles. The stability of the natural environment has been captured by an almost motionless camera at eye level. Later, the city is viewed from above, at an angle and at a distance emphasizing body parts or shadows rather than human beings. Shots become shorter and shorter in order to build up a sense of urgency and to underscore the need for change. This leads to the last section of the film, which releases the built-up tension and provides the solution in the form of a greenbelt community.

Fanfares introduce the new town as we see shots of heroic construction workers far above the ground, of the Hoover Dam, power lines, an airplane and a streamlined train. These are the signifiers of the new times, clean, fast, and powerful.

"Science takes flight at last for human goals. This new age builds a better kind of city close to the soil once more. As molded to our human wants as planes are shaped for speed. New cities take form, green cities!"²³

Fittingly, we first see the new settlement from an aerial perspective, idyllically situated in the midst of the countryside and surrounded by forest and meadows. It has an orderly layout, and is connected to other settlements or industrial parks by freeways. As the camera descends towards the roadway it captures streamlined busses moving unhindered across an expanse of concrete roadways, transporting the workers to the



“sunlit factories and laboratories” that have taken the place of the steel mills and mines. Scientific and technological achievements have made the return to the pastoral ideal possible.

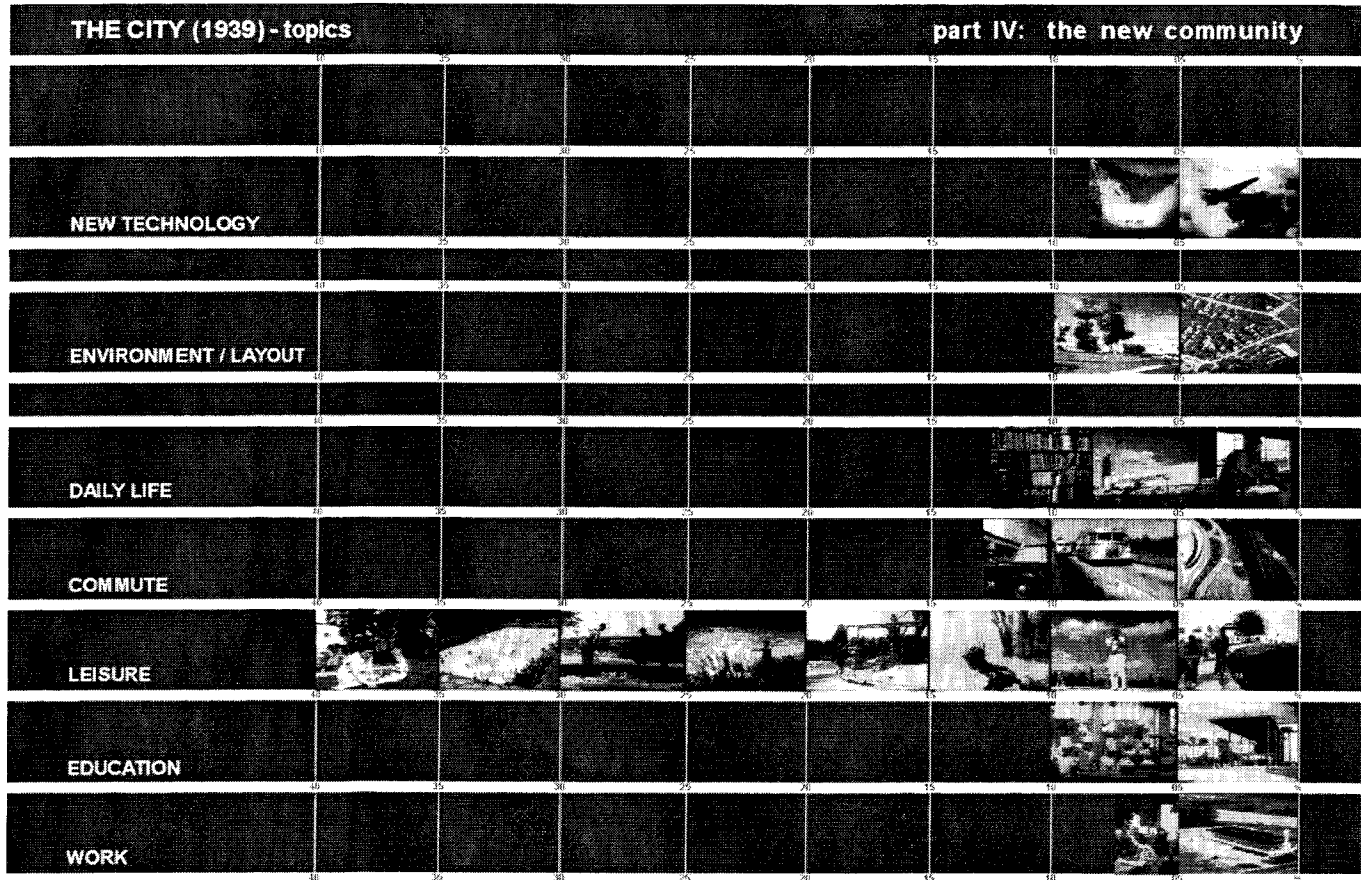
The new settlement, just like its New England predecessor, is embedded in the natural surroundings. Once again, it is through the eyes of a boy that we explore the town. The school, park, sports field, lake, and playground are just a few of the many stations we visit, all connected by paths for walking and biking, and free of automotive traffic. Compared to the previous segment, work, commute, and daily chores are rarely shown. The essence of this community is leisure living, made possible by industrial production and commercial distribution that takes place elsewhere.

Filmic devices and editing techniques further reinforce the connection between the New England village and the greenbelt town. Frame after frame shows small groups of people engaged in shared activities, thus emphasizing the harmony and cooperation among residents. Natural curves and organic lines allude to the light, open areas of the New England village, and small subsistence gardening recalls the harvest scene from earlier in the film. The community center and school, however, now fulfill the role of the meeting house. Again, the visual narrative emphasizes the role of children: they play at the pond or lake, and learn by watching adults doing their chores. Objective and moderate narration, as well as a musical return to

melodic themes introduced in part one, contrast with those used in the industrial and commercial sequence. At the same time, individual shots become longer again, decelerating the pace of the visual information to the level experienced during the film’s lyrical beginning.

The City ends with a reiteration of the benefits of the greenbelt community, and contrasts its advantages with the desolate environment presented in the industrial and commercial cities. As the camera cuts from children playing in rubble and waste to children in playgrounds, from dilapidated structures to well laid-out apartment buildings, and from a polluted skyline to an orderly settlement pattern amidst trees and meadows, the narrator proclaims:

“You take your choice. Each one is real, each one is possible. Shall we sink deeper, sink deeper in old grooves, paying for blight with human misery? Or have we vision, have we courage? Shall we build and rebuild our cities clean again, close to the earth, open to the sky? ... All that we know about machines and soil, and raw materials, and human ways of living is waiting. We can reproduce the pattern and better it a thousand times. It’s here! The new city! Ready to serve a better age! You and your children, the choice is yours!”¹⁴



The film's didactic structure goes beyond the mere definition of the four environments and their dialectic relationship. The visual emphasis on specific actions or backgrounds in each segment also helps categorize the various stages of urban development. The dominating themes progress from WORK (thesis, New England village) to POLLUTION and CONGESTION (antithesis, industrial and commercial city) and rest on LEISURE as the synthesis between technological progress and pastoral ideal. Most importantly, however, the linear progression through the history of urban development artificially closes the potentially endless dialectic cycle of thesis / antithesis / [syn]thesis / antithesis By casting the model settlement as the inevitable outcome of the dissatisfaction with life in a steel town and a metropolis, the planners added substantial weight to what otherwise would have been just one of many propositions.

PROGRAM

The film clearly shows what it would be like to live in a greenbelt town. We observe people at home and in the community, doing their daily chores in a planned environment.¹⁵ This exposure allows us to reconstruct the program through observation, despite the fact that none of the design principles underlying the suburban settlement type are explicitly stated. By incorporating shots of a moving train and airplane

the film implies that the new settlement is to be located outside the city.

Embedded in a natural environment of forest and meadow, the greenbelt town features quaint streets and quiet neighborhoods, resembling to some degree the New England village. The surrounding greenbelt prevents its shape from changing and discourages growth.

Never letting cities grow too big to manage. Never pushing the meadows, fields and woods too far away. This works as well for modern living as once it did in old New England towns.

Homes are separate from the workplace. Residents ideally walk to work, but most likely commute either by automobile or bus.

Factories are set apart from living quarters, but close to rail and motor road. With space to spread about in. Light industries are near at hand, the heavy ones are set apart.

All residences, either row-houses or multifamily dwellings, are arranged in clusters and are in close vicinity to the educational, commercial, and cultural establishments of the community. Curvilinear footpaths wind through the clusters and connect them. Underpasses separate the pedestrian from the automotive routes.

Each house is grouped with other houses, close to the school, the public meeting hall, the movie, and the market.

The school, playground, sports field, and library are the most important elements of the new community. A spacious arrangement as well as functionality and sunlight are the main characteristics of the educational facilities. In addition, several amenities such as a golf course, a concert hall, a clinic, and a public pool serve the residents.

We can't tell where the playing ends and where the work begins.

We mix them here. We learn by living. Playgrounds, schools, libraries are meant for everyone, not just for a few who get a break.

The settlement pattern fosters collaboration. Small subsistence gardens near the residential clusters, a communal laundry facility and a produce market allow female residents to do their daily chores while watching their children.

The gardens are everywhere. They are everybody's business, too.

Even the washing needn't break the woman's back. Machines can take it, and the wife needn't be cooped up and lonely on washing days.

The daily marketing is part of the fun. In fact the market is just an annex to the kitchen. Another chance to chat about the children with the measles or the weather.

Finally, the film proclaims that the pattern presented is not unique, but will be replicated all over the country.

A million people spread in a dozen or two of open cities are free to move about much faster than if they are jammed together in one overcrowded center. We can reproduce the pattern and better it a thousand times.

Although the planners refer to these settlements as greenbelt towns, their program actually conforms to the definition of a suburb as "a residential district located on the outskirts of a city."¹⁶ It may look superficially like a New England village, but the programmatic requirements of decentralization and the separation of work and home, as well as an emphasis on children and their schooling, differentiate the new settlement from the old village. This was compact, combined work and home—often under one roof—and prepared children for adulthood through exposure to the adult world. The garden suburb thus shares only its bucolic surroundings with its agrarian predecessor.

MESSAGE

Rather than proposing how cities can be repaired or improved, *The City* is an anti-urban call to action. Both the text at the beginning and the narration of the final segment propose that we rebuild "our cities clean again, close to the earth, open to the sky," far away from the "disordered turns of steel and stone." The city, described as a place where people have an "unrolling tickertape instead of life" and "where Mr. And Mrs. Zero cannot move or act until the other millions zeros do," is visually presented as lawless and beyond control, as either polluted or overcrowded, and is deemed beyond repair. Unfortunately, this one-dimensional depiction of the urban environment makes no attempt to explain the socio-economic reasons that led to overcrowding, pollution, and substandard living quarters,¹⁷ nor does it propose a solution to these problems. It also ignores the city's positive attributes. Cultural institutions such as the concert hall, the theater, the museum, or the library are conspicuously absent in the metropolitan sequence. The eye of the camera avoids showing us the parks, the neighborhoods, and the playgrounds, all of which contribute greatly to metropolitan life. Instead, albeit humorously, the city is shown as a machine instead, dominating and devouring its occupants. Chaos, speed or individualism, the typical positive metropolitan attributes of modernity in previous city films,¹⁸ are presented as negative, ominous, and inhumane in *The City*.¹⁹

This negative portrayal of urban life is countered by the proposal of a new communal society. The civic culture of the greenbelt town affirms traditional American patterns based on order, security, cleanliness and collective activity.²⁰ To achieve this new order, the dirty and messy production process is banned from the community. The physical separation between workplace and living-place is mirrored by the division of communal and residential functions into separate entities. Each element is tightly scripted, and consists only of mono-functional spaces. There is no mystery here, no possibility of discovering anything new. Each activity is clearly spelled out through its location, placement and design. Planned order replaces the chaos of the city, and sameness of appearance takes the place of diversity.

The film goes on to show a homogenized world of white middle-class residents with clearly defined gender roles. Women, depicted as an equal part of the workforce in both the New England village and the commercial city, now find themselves relegated to childrearing, shopping, meal preparation and the occasional gossip session in the communal laundry facility. Men, on the other hand, are promised to "have a little time to watch [their] kids and play with them," despite the remote location of the model community that demands an extensive highway system in order to connect it with the place of employment.

The City avoids the political controversy that surrounded the establishment of Greenbelt towns and effectively stalls any discussion about its ideological framework. It effectively communicates the need for this new settlement type by appealing to our primal instincts that seek the well-being of our children. We see frame after frame of happy children engaged in play, learning and painting at school or roaming around in a sprawling environment. "The children need the earth for playing and growing."²¹ "Just watch us grow, the scales won't hold us soon."²² "It's here! The new city! Ready to serve a better age! You and your children, the choice is yours!"²³ Who can argue with children playing at a jungle gym, testing their first steps on the meadow, building model airplanes and gazing happily at the bright future?

After years of depression and at the eve of World War II, *The City* provides the audience with a chance to envision a return to the agrarian myth promoted by Thomas Jefferson and others. Despite the many critical voices that challenged the film's "emotional plea for a decentralized future [as paying] little regard to the hard realities of housing,"²⁴ that complained about the "utterly aseptic" life portrayed in a greenbelt town where "all the citizens [are] practicing to be acrobats," and that argued that it is not "a question of withdrawing from the metropolitan scene ... , but a question of shaping it,"²⁵ *The City* remained immensely popular and, for years, helped promote the suburban settlement pattern.

Later films continue to promote the cultural message first employed in *The City*. *Miracle on 34th Street* (1947) presents the suburban home as the ultimate Christmas wish and offers it to the single working mom and her daughter, complete with a husband/father. Another film, *Mr. Blandings Builds His Dream House* (1948), is an ironic commentary on the cost of home ownership. It depicts the heroic struggle of a family staking its claim in a future suburb, the new frontier of the 50's. And in *Please Don't Eat the Daisies* (1960) David Niven overcomes the temptations of the city in favor of the wholesome family life only to be found in the suburb. Each of the films depicts the city as a terrible place to raise children, and promotes the suburb as the sole alternative. Similarly to *The City*, in which viewers are asked to decide between the greenbelt town and the metropolis, these later movies confront the main characters with a choice between individual self fulfillment in the city and the demands of the collective (family) best catered to in the countryside.

CONCLUSION

Ultimately, the film's title is a misnomer. *The City*'s anti-urban message that declares the urban environment is ill suited for living. Rather than suggesting ways to improve or repair it, the film favors abandoning the city altogether. It successfully communicates the desirable quality of life to be had in the planned suburb to a broad audience by immersing the viewer in

the actual environments rather than presenting the design principles that have formed them. Furthermore, through its dialectical structure, the film implies that clearly defined mono-functional spaces with predetermined uses, as found in the greenbelt town or suburb, are the inevitable answer to our dissatisfaction with the city. As the first motion picture to establish a blueprint for the suburb, *The City* has defined our expectations of suburban life. Further research and analysis of later Hollywood films set in the suburb will show to what degree these expectations continue to be shared, and whether the suburb as settlement type succeeds in the mind of the people or not.

NOTES

¹ Walter Ruttmann, *Berlin: Symphony of a Great City* (1926) and Dziga Vertov, *The Man with a Movie Camera* (1929)

² William Alexander, *Film on the left: American documentary film from 1931 to 1942* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981), p. 255/6.

³ Alexander, p. 255/6.

⁴ The untenable problems in housing, sanitation, and political management were exposed through photographic documentaries such as Jacob A. Riis' *How The Other Half Lives* (1890) which inspired early reform efforts.

⁵ Richard Griffith, "The Film Faces Facts," *Survey Graphic* 27 (December 1938), p. 595.

⁶ Alexander, p. 247/8.

⁷ Between 1936 and 1938, under the auspices of the Resettlement Administration, three greenbelt towns were constructed as model rural-industrial communities planned for leisure living; Greenbelt, Maryland (1937), Greendale, Wisconsin (1938), and Greenhills, Ohio (1938).

⁸ According to Steiner, the American Institute of Planners feared the left-wing bias of Frontier Films who had been negotiating for the movie, and assured Steiner that they would not consider Frontier Films. As a result, Steiner and Van Dyke resigned from Frontier Films, which they considered to be "too gloomy-militant" in December. Russell Campbell, *Cinema Strikes Back: Radical Filmmaking in the United States, 1930-1942* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1982), p. 158/9.

⁹ Richard Griffith, "Films at the Fair," *films, vol 1, no. 1* (November 1939), p. 74.

¹⁰ *The City*, movie transcript, 26:44-26:48

¹¹ *The City*, movie transcript, 9:05-9:35

¹² *The City*, movie transcript, 13:43-14:14

¹³ *The City*, movie transcript, 26:40-26:55

¹⁴ *The City*, movie transcript, 40:25-40:45 and 42:18-42:38

¹⁵ Griffin, "Films at the Fair," p.64.

¹⁶ WordNet ... 1.6, ... 1997 Princeton University

¹⁷ The film proclaims "You can take your choice. *Who* can take it? *The City* proceeds as though every one could, as though it had only to convince us of the value of the future town. But people do not live in slums by choice. They need to be shown not only what they ought to have but how they can get it. And this the film does not mention." Richard Griffith, *Films at the Fair*, p.64.

¹⁸ see *Berlin: Symphony of a Great City* and *The Man with a Movie Camera*

¹⁹ Lauerbach, Helmut, "Ideologie und Rhetorik in *The City*," *Amerikastudien* (1992 37/1), p.59, translation by the author.

²⁰ Lauerbach, p.62

²¹ *The City*, movie transcript, 29:16-29:18

²² *The City*, movie transcript, 34:15-34:55

²³ *The City*, movie transcript, 42:30-42:38

²⁴ "The City: A World's Fair Film," *Architectural Review* (August 1939), p. 93-94.

²⁵ John Grierson, "Dramatizing Housing Needs and City Planning," *films, vol 1, no. 1* (November 1939), p. 86-87.